EUSEBIUS
BISHOP OF CAESAREA
ON
THE THEOPHANÍA
OR
DIVINE MANIFESTATION
OF
OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST,
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH NOTES, FROM AN ANCIENT SYRIAC
VERSION OF THE GREEK ORIGINAL NOW LOST;
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
A VINDICATION OF THE ORTHODOXY, AND PROPHETICAL VIEWS,
OF THAT DISTINGUISHED WRITER.

INScribed BY PERMISSION TO
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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TO HIS GRACE

HUGH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

&c. &c. &c.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

THIS ENDEAVOUR TO RESTORE TO THE

Christian Church

A LONG LOST WORK,

AND TO VINDICATE THE OPINIONS, OF ONE OF ITS
MOST LEARNED AND LABORIOUS PRELATES,

IS,

IN TESTIMONY OF A DEEP SENSE OF OBLIGATION

FOR THE MANY MUNIFICENT FAVOURS

CONFERRED ON THE UNIVERSITY,

IN WHICH HE HAS THE HONOUR OF BEARING OFFICE,

BY HIS GRACE'S PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR.
PREFACE.

Having now to discharge the very agreeable duty of presenting to the Christian Church (in a translation), a long lost work of one of its most learned and laborious Pastors, my first duty will be, to give the best account I can of this Work; my second, to describe the Manuscript from which it has been taken; my third, to lay down the principles by which I have been guided, both in editing the Syriac text of this Manuscript, and in making and illustrating my English Translation of it. When I shall have done these things, I shall,—because some of the opinions of my author have been branded as heretical, and some others will in all probability be considered as groundless and untenable, I mean those which contain his views on Prophecy,—give as brief and candid a review of these opinions as I can: leaving it to the reader to make the conclusions for himself, which he shall deem right and just.

I am well aware of the responsibility attaching itself to an undertaking so perilous, as that of offering to the learned of Europe, for the first time, a work coming from a man so learned, so celebrated, and so often eulogized and condemned, as was the Bishop of Cæsarea and Father of Church History. But, for the purpose of satisfying this responsibility to the best of my power, I now proceed, in the first place, to give all the account I can of the Work which I have the honour and pleasure of presenting to the public.

The first, and probably the only, mention of this Work which occurs in any ancient Father of the Church, is to be found in the catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers¹ by

¹ Otherwise styled, The lives of illustrious men, "Vite illustrium virorum."
PREFACE.


And again, p. 395, nr. 8, speaking of the work of our author against Marcellus, he says: “Hos quinque Libros adversus Marcellum Labbeus putat innui ab Hieronymo in Catalogo cap. 81. et Suida, quando inter Eusebii Scripta memorat libros quinque peri θεοφανειας. Videtur enim hoc idem illi esse quod θεολογίας. Sed id tamquam incertum omitt, quum Hebed Jesu quoque in catalogo Librorum Chaldaeorum memorat Eusebii librum de ortu divino.”

The Catalogue of Hebed Jesu, here referred to, will be found in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman, tom. iii. pt. 1, and the place in p. 18 of this: where, after speaking of the Ecclesiastical History of our author, Hebed Jesu says, θεοφανείας λόγοι, i.e. and the Book on the Divine Manifestation. Asseman refers us, in a note, to Cave’s Historia Literaria, p. 95, where mention is made of this work of Eusebius, entitled peri θεοφανειας, libri quinque; but Cave tells us nothing more about it, than that it is a work not now extant.

But the thing most worthy of remark here, is Asseman’s referring us to Cave at all; when, if the work had existed in the Library of the Vatican, he would, in all probability, as he has done in many other places, have given us a detailed description of it. It may be added that, although Asseman has given us very extensive lists, in this work, of
Syriac books deposited in the Vatican, he has never once spoken of this as being there. And the same might be said, with respect to the present very learned librarian of the Vatican, who has, in his erudite and laborious work entitled, "Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio," said much, and edited some works, of Eusebius, and even given several fragments from our Theophania; yet he has nowhere informed us, that either the Greek text, or the Syriac version, of this Work is to be found there. I may perhaps conclude therefore, that it is not known to exist in that library.

The Citations as noted above in Fabricius, will be found in the following Work, pages 218, 321-2. The Fragment printed at Göttingen in 1740, also mentioned by him, will be either reprinted or noticed hereafter in this Work, if it can be obtained before the last sheet goes to press.

It must be evident, I think, from what has now been said, that the work of our author entitled the Ecclesiastical Theology, noticed above, could not be the same with that entitled the Theophania, or Evangelical Theophania,—for by this latter title is our Work designated in the Catena of Vienna:—while it must be equally certain, that a work by Eusebius bearing the title assigned to it by Jerome, did exist in the Syrian Church: and, as no reason can perhaps be assigned why the Syrians should forge such a work, it is probable, that this is the very work so described by Jerome.

Again, from the fragments of this Work hitherto brought to our notice, (see the places referred to above,) it seems sufficiently certain, that this is the work of Eusebius so described by Jerome. I would add, let the reader also examine in the following pages, the very many places marked as corresponding word for word, with several in the undoubtedly productions of our author. In our Second Book, for example, a very considerable number of the Sections or Paragraphs, are found to be identically the same with many
occurring in the "Oratio de laudibus Constantini:" while in our Fifth Book, the far greater part is also found word for word in the "Demonstratio Evangelica;" not to insist on several others, found either in the "Præparatio Evangelica," the Ecclesiastical History, or some other work of our author, as shewn in the Notes.

There are also certain peculiarities in the writings of Eusebius which may be mentioned here; they are these: It is customary with him, though not constantly, to commence a subsequent book with the matter, and occasionally with the words, which closed the preceding one. The close and commencement of the First and Second, and of the Second and Third books, respectively, of the "Præparatio Evangelica" will supply examples of this; as will the corresponding ones of our following Work, and more particularly those of the Fourth and Fifth.

To this may be added the Style of Eusebius, which is universally allowed to be anything but simple and obvious. His periods are often long, and his style both inverted and involved. He seems moreover, to have been studious to avoid the language in common use, and often to have taken himself to that peculiar to the poets. This latter consideration could not have affected our original text, which is only a translation; while the former has, to a very considerable extent. For our Translator, anxious to shew himself faithful in the discharge of this his duty, has so closely followed his original by endeavouring to render it word for word, that his translation may occasionally be considered as obscurity personified; the Syriac very ill admitting of either inversion, or involution, of style. Several instances of this sort,—to which many more might have been added,—will be found in the Notes attached to the English Translation.

Another consideration is, his Platonic manner of speaking of the Deity as a self-existing Being, and with reference to which, no other can be said (properly) to exist,
of which we shall speak more particularly a little farther on. His manner of speaking of the Son has too its peculiarities; His being God of God, begotten of God, proceeding from the Father; hence complete, and in all respects like Him; His having ever been, and still being, with, and in, the Father; extending Himself nevertheless throughout all things, and meekly lowering Himself to converse with men, and the like; which will be more particularly noticed hereafter. His occasional allusions moreover to the things passing under his own eyes, as the sufferings of the Martyrs (p. 50); the state of the Church of Cæsarea over which he presided, may all be considered, I think, as genuine evidences that Eusebius was the author of this Work; and to these may be added his reasoning generally after the manner of Plato, and in many instances, his adopting the terms used by that philosopher.

From these considerations, I think it must be sufficiently evident, that our Work is a copy of the genuine Greek work of Eusebius, so long lost.—But if not, let it be supposed for a moment that it is a forgery, and that some Syrian was the author of it, who, the better to secure its reception, attached the name of Eusebius to it. I would now ask, Where are we to look for the man, among the writers of the Syrian Church, equal to this task? Philoxenus of Mabug, and Jacob of Edessa¹, had, no doubt, ability sufficient to compose a work on the same subject; but neither of them,
nor yet any other Syrian writer, of which I have any knowledge, had any thing like the vigour and learning evinced in this. Much less likely is it, that in such an attempt the Syriac language would have been subjected to the unnatural contortions and involutions so visible in this Work, or that it would be found to have copied Eusebius word for word, to the extent noticed above.

Nor is it in any degree probable, that such an imposition could ever have been practised upon the learned of the Syrian Church. Besides, the original of the Theophania must have been in existence when this Syriac work first made its appearance, and indeed for a long time after; which would have effectually given the lie to any attempt of this sort had it been made. And to this, its unquestioned reception in the Syrian Church, affords full and sufficient testimony.

Having then disposed of this question, let us now approach our second, which is to give some account of the Manuscript from which our Work has been taken.

Sometime in the year 1839, the Rev. Henry Tattam of Bedford, who is an excellent Coptic scholar, formed the resolution of visiting Egypt for the purpose of procuring Coptic manuscripts, in order to complete, if possible, an edition of the Coptic Scriptures. At the suggestion of his friends a subscription was set on foot, for the purpose of assisting in defraying the expense of this undertaking, and this subscription was headed by a contribution of £300. by government. Individuals contributed to a small extent: and Mr. Tattam accordingly set out for Egypt. In a short time he returned, having procured some good Coptic manuscripts, of which a list has been printed and circulated; and also about 50 volumes of Syriac manuscripts¹, some of which were of an extreme age, and very valuable.

¹ These he purchased at the monastery of the Blessed Virgin in the desert of Nitria (or Askit. The Cœnobium Scetense of Asseman.).
These manuscripts Mr. Tattam sent to me, with the request that I would give him some account of their contents; and, at the same time, say what I thought their value might be: which I did as soon as my other engagements would allow. It was in looking over these manuscripts that I had the extreme pleasure of discovering that of which the following Work is a translation. Knowing then, as I did, the extreme rarity of this Work; in other words, that no other copy of it was known to exist, I requested Mr. Tattam to allow me to take a copy of it before it should leave my hands, in order that the Work might not be lost, whatever might happen to this MS. Mr. Tattam, with the disinterestedness for which he is so remarkable, instantly gave his consent, allowing me moreover to retain the MS. as long as I might want it: and, although he soon after disposed of the collection generally to the trustees of the British Museum, he was so obliging as to make this stipulation, that I should be allowed to retain this MS. as long as I might deem it necessary.

My first business now was, to make a correct copy of this very rare and valuable Codex, as far as our work was situated on the west of the Nile, and somewhat more than 80 miles from Cairo. Asseman visited this Monastery in 1715, when he tells us its Library did not contain more than about 200 Volumes. Of these he requested to have a hundred, but could not get more than nine or ten good authors, with a few others. (Bibl. Orient. Tom. i. Pref.) But in his Catalogue of the "Codices Nitrienses," ib. pp. 361—572, he gives an account of 34 Codices. Some of which were perhaps obtained on a former occasion by his Cousin Elias (ib.); from which, according to Peter Benedict their Editor and Translator, were the Works of Ephrem Syrus published at Rome, in 1737—43. I am greatly rejoiced to find, that Mr. Tattam has just returned from a second visit to this same Monastery, and has brought with him another collection of Syriac Manuscripts, from which, I trust, much valuable matter will be extracted and brought before the public.—It is evident that many of the MSS. brought to England by Mr. Tattam, had passed through the hands of Asseman, from certain marks found in them; and this I think is true of ours, as certain pencil-marks are found in it, which could hardly have been placed there by an Oriental.
concerned; and I accordingly copied it out myself with all the expedition I could command. Soon after I had done this, I applied to the Society lately established in the Metropolis for printing Oriental Texts, requesting they would print it, and thus multiply the copies, so as to ensure the safety and permanency of the work. To this request the Committee of that society very graciously acceded. The work was accordingly put to press, and printed by Mr. Richard Watts, a tradesman long and well known for his ability in printing Oriental works generally. In his hands it had moreover the advantage of being printed in a Syriac type, which was made some years ago under my own inspection, for the purpose of printing a Syriac Bible for the use of the Syrian churches in Malabar. I will add here, that during the passing of the sheets through the press, I collated every one of them with the MS., so that I do trust the Syriac text, now some time completed, will be found as neatly and correctly printed, as the greatest care on the part of both the editor and printer could be expected to insure.

The MS. containing our Work, is very neatly written in the Estrangelo, or old Church-hand-writing of the Syrians, on very fine and well prepared skin. It is of the size of large quarto, each folio measuring about 14½ inches by 11¼, and containing three columns each of the width of 2¼ inches, as may be seen in the fac simile prefixed to this Work. The exterior margins average 2½ inches in width, the interior 1½; and the space between the several columns is about ⅛ of an inch. The MS. contains 245 folios; 71 of the first of which contain a Syriac translation of the Recognitions of St. Clement, as they are called. The 83

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1 London, printed for the Society for the publication of Oriental Texts, sold by James Madden and Co., 8, Leadenhall-street. 1842. To this I prefixed a short Preface, referring the reader to the more ample one intended to go forth with this Work.
next following, the work of Titus Bishop of Bostra, (or Bozrah) against the Manicheans; the next 76 folios contain our Work of Eusebius; the next 14, Eusebius's account of the Martyrs of Palestine, as published in the 8th book of his Ecclesiastical History; and the last folio, Encomiums on their excellencies, entitled, ملاحم بتسمملا بسملن مسمنلا. This last work is incomplete, some leaves having been lost from the end of the MS., and on this account the original date of the MS. has not come down to us in its close, as is usually the case.

We have nevertheless on the reverse of the fourth folio, after the conclusion of our Work, written on the outside margin of one of the folios of the Tract on the Martyrs of Palestine, the following Inscription in a bold, but rather unsightly hand, and in the common Peschito character; ملاحم بتسمملا بسملن مسمنلا. We have, then, an inscription written on the outside of a folio of the ancient book, which, though not in a bold and legible hand, is yet sufficiently clear to be readable by any one who is acquainted with the letters. The inscription is as follows:

See, my brethren, if the latter part of this ancient book has been cut off, and has perished together with that (with) which its writer closed and completed it; it was thus written at its end, viz. that "This book was written in the city

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2 The Metropolis of Arabia Petraea. Syr.  ❖ hara, Gr. and Lat. Bostra. Arab. بصرى. Bostra. Assem. Bibl. Orient. Tom. iii. p. ii. p. 301xxx. Not to be confounded with the Bozrah, لىلاك of Jerem. xlix. 13, of the Idumeans, nor with that of the Moabites, ib. xlviii. 24. Reland's Palestine, Lib. iii. p. 666. Edit. 1714. Where we are told that this Bishop was present at the Council of Antioch, A.D. 363. This work of Titus was printed by Canisius, in the original Greek: the text, however, is any thing but good and exhibits many Lacune, which this very ancient Syriac translation would well supply.
of Edessa of Mesopotamia, by the hands of a man named Jacob, in the year seven hundred and twenty and three, (and) was completed in the month of the latter Tishrin.” (February). And, just as that which was written there, I have also written here without addition. And the things which are here, I wrote in the year 1398, in the (era) of the Greeks (i.e. the Seleucidæ).

If then we are to take the first of these dates, as given in the era of the Seleucidæ, and this Note as containing a true statement respecting the age of our MS., A.D. 411 will be its date, and its age 1432 years! The date of this Note is, we are told, that of the Greeks (or Seleucidæ), that is, A.D. 1398, corresponding to A.D. 1086, just 757 years ago, when, as its author tells us, this manuscript was such as to merit the appellation of ancient!

I was once inclined to think that our MS. could not be so old as this first date made it, and that the year 723, must be that of our common era; which would give 1120 years for its age; and that this, both from the appearance of the MS., and from some other considerations, was nearer the truth. Yet I must confess, as I have never seen, or heard of, a Syriac MS. bearing a date in our common era; and, as all Syriac MSS. said to be written at Edessa, do,—as far as I know,—always bear date according to the era of the Seleucidæ; I do not see how this date can be given in our common era.

As to the appearance of the MS., although it certainly is in very perfect and clean condition, yet as the climate of Egypt, in which it has been kept probably for many centuries, is extremely dry, it is by no means impossible that the fresh appearance of the MS. is anything more than the nature of the case requires. There certainly are MSS. in the same collection bearing a date, making them but little short of 1300 years old, and yet appearing in quite as sound a state of preservation as this does, but which, as written on
skins of a description greatly inferor to this, do not present so clean and bright an appearance. Asseman too, gives us an account of a Syriac MS. of a gospel, preserved in the library of the Vatican, which was written in the year of our Lord 78\(^1\) : and this he affirmes was, in his day,—about 100 years ago,—as plain and perfect as ever it was.

From this it should seem, that it is impossible to say how long a MS. written on good skin and well preserved may endure; and consequently, how unsafe it is to pronounce positively on the age of any MS., merely from its appearance. The colour of the ink must in all such MSS. as Montfaucon and others have well remarked, necessarily have faded; but to what precise extent, it must, as before, remain undefined for many reasons. The ink in our MS. is so faded though not, I think, to so great an extent as is observable in the Beza MS. at Cambridge. But this might have been occasioned by the place, or manner, in which that MS. was preserved, which was apparently less favourable than that of ours. This question therefore, I am disposed to leave in the state of uncertainty, in which I found it.

I said, in my Preface to the Syriac edition of our Work, that the MS. from which it was taken was, probably not less than a thousand years old. I was not then aware that

\(^1\) Assemani. Bibl. Orient. Tom. ii. p. 496. His words are: "Erat quoddam Evangelium Edessenum (hoc est Syriacum Edesse exaratum) percutustum quidem, sed clarum ac dilucidum, ex quo ne jota quidem unum deletum fuerat, legelatur autem clarius quam libri recens exarati, et unus dumtaxat prior quinterno prae antiquitate ex eo excidereat. Ad ejus vero calcem ita scriptum erat." (I omit the Syriac, and give Asseman's translation of it.) "Absolutus est sanctus istic liber Feria quinta, die 18. Canum prioris (hoc est, Decembris) Anno Graecorum 380. (Christi 78.) propria manu Achari Apostoli, socii Mar Mari Discipuli Mar Adari Apostoli, cujus Oratio nobisecum sit Amen." If any reliance is to be placed on this document, it will follow, that this Syriac Gospel (and it does not say which Gospel is meant) was translated from the Greek probably before the death of the last Evangelist!
a date was to be found in it. I am not sorry however to find, that I had greatly underrated its age, as this must be a good evidence to my readers, that I had no disposition to exaggerate.

It may be suggested however, that this very early date might be that of the MS. from which it, or some other prior to it, was copied: it being no uncommon thing with copyists to transcribe, with MSS. which they copy, their dates also; so that a MS. of very modern date, may, in its epigraphie, carry with it one of the highest antiquity. To this I would answer: If we are to ascribe any credit to the Note given above, this MS. must have been considered an ancient one 757 years ago: and to such a MS. we cannot, perhaps, ascribe an age less than 600 or 700 years: if we take the least of these, the age of our Codes will be 1357 years: if the greatest, 1457: while the date, actually ascribed to it by the Note, makes it 1432 years old, just twenty-five years less than this last computation would make.

There are however some considerations, which would at first sight seem to prove the contrary, and which indeed operated forcibly on my mind in this way, when the very early date given to our MS. first occurred to me: they are these: First, Eusebius died about A.D. 340. If then our MS. was written A.D. 411, this must have happened 71 years only after the death of the author of the original Greek work. We shall now have therefore 71, or a few more years, for the period within which our Syriac translation was made, and, as it appears to me, must have been copied out several times

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1 My reason for this opinion is grounded on the fact, that many of the proper names found in this MS. are so deformed by the mistakes of the Copyists, as to make it extremely probable that many Copies had been made from the Translator’s Autograph, before our Copy was written: e.g. p. 71, we have ܡܡܐutos. Malkethrudun, for Melikarpos or Melikhabarpos. p. 120, ܡܡܐutos, for Melikhabarpos. Omadus: p.121, ܡܡܐutos, for Lhdmahd Add. Sanchoniathe: p.123,
before our MS. could have been written; which might seem too little. I see no reason however, why this Work of Eusebius,—which must have been a popular one,—could not have been translated into Syriac very soon after it was published: and if so, the Syriac version might have been copied out times innumerable, before the date of our MS.

When the school of Edessa was first founded, I have not been able to discover. It is certain however that it was, and had been, a considerable time in vigorous operation before A.D. 411, the date assigned to our MS. Our Work might therefore have been translated into the Syriac at Edessa, even during the lifetime of its author, or at least early enough to have allowed of our MS. being copied there in A.D. 411, after innumerable copies had been taken from the autograph of the translator, and from one another.

But there are, I think, better reasons for supposing that our translation was not made at Edessa at this early period, but rather in Palestine. We are told by Asseman (I. c. p. cmxxv.), that there were, both at Cæsarea and at Scytho-

for \( \text{\( \ldots \)} \), or the like: p. 131, \( \text{\( \ldots \)} \), for probably; a corruption so great as to bid utter defiance to critical conjecture, had we indeed had nothing else to rely upon: p. 148, \( \text{\( \ldots \)} \), Herodotus, for Herostratus: to which many others might be added. There are also some other errors, such as \( \text{\( \ldots \)} \); for \( \text{\( \ldots \)} \), for \( \text{\( \ldots \)} \). see pp. 167, 223, 302, 276, &c.—all of which, as far as they have occurred to me, I have corrected in the notes.

According to Asseman (Bibl. Orient. Tom. iii. p. ii. p. lxxix.) it had been established from time immemorial: his words are, "In urbe Edessa Scholam fuisset Persico gentia, ab immemorabili conditam, in qua sacras literas Christiani Juvenes......docebantur." And ib. p. cmxxiv—v. we are told, that Eusebius of Emesa studied during his infancy at Edessa, but finished his education under our author in Cæsarea of Palestine. His words are (after Socrates, Lib. ii. cap. 6), "Eusebium Emessenum Episcopum testatur ab infantia imbutum fuisse literis in schola Edessense urbis, qua illi patria erat, humaniores deinde hausisse literas, sed tandem reversum esse ad scripturas sacras sub magisterio Eusebii Cæsareae Episcopi, et Patrophili Episcopi Scythopolitani."
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polis, (the Bethshan of the Old Testament) in Palestine, schools of sacred literature; and that at Scythopolis the business of interpreting from the Greek into the Syriac language, was vigorously carried on; and, that to this fact our author himself has given his testimony: as also have both Socrates and Sozomen the historians.

If this may be relied on, it is not improbable that our translation was made during the lifetime of Eusebius, and it might be under his inspection, and that of Patrophilus who was then Bishop of Scythopolis. And I think there are certain peculiarities of language in it, tending to show that it was not made at Edessa, which are these: We never find the form of the feminine plural in verbs, as we constantly do in the works of Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, and other writers of that school. The pronoun of the first per-

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1 L.c. quoted by Asseman. His words are, "Scolae sacrarum literarum in utraque urbe erant. Cesareae nimirum, ubi Pamphilus martyrum bibliothecam, ut supra dixi, instituerat et Scythopolis, ubi officium Interpretis de Graecae in Syriacum linguam vigebat, ut in Actis Martyrum Palestinae ab Eusebio Caesarnei collectis de S. Procopio martyre legitur," &c. "Socrat sufragatur Sozomenus," &c. Lib. iii. cap. v. The martyrdom alluded to, occurred in the first year of the persecution of Dioclesian, and it is the first in our author's work on the Martyrs of Palestine. The passage is, as found in our MS., in these words:

His family was of Baishan (Bethshan), and he ministered in the appointment of the Church in (three) different particulars. First he was a Reader: in another appointment, he interpreted the Greek Language in the Aramaic (Syriac.) And (in) the last, which was superior to the former ones, he was opposed to the powers of wickedness, and the Demons trembled before him.—Asseman gives, "Hic generis quidem Hierosolymitanus erat; in Basan autem urbe...morabatur": differing considerably from our MS.

2 As حَمْضِ أَتْلَ. 
son plural is rather of the Hebrew, than the Syriac, form. The pronominal forms, רָמַם, וּלְכַמִּי, never occur in the language of Edessa; nor does the adverbial כָּלַכַלֶּה, nor the impersonal כְּלַכַלֶּה כְּלַכַלֶּה, nor the combination כָּלַכַלֶּה כָּלַכַלֶּה, in the sense of immediately, nor the occasional redundancy, and even defect, of the relative pronoun מִזֶּה, as far as my knowledge goes: all of which will be found marked in the Notes. I am therefore inclined to believe, that our translation was not made at Edessa, but in Palestine.

The language of this translation, allowing for the instances just mentioned, appears to me to be the purest Syriac, and such as might be well expected in a work of so ancient a date. I have already remarked, that its order is very greatly inverted, and its collocation involved, from its having been made servilely to follow the Greek original. Of this any one will satisfy himself, by comparing any of its sections with the places pointed out, as found in Greek, in some of the still existing works of Eusebius: which, although it has had the effect of giving me a great deal of trouble, as it will any reader of the Syriac text, is nevertheless a circumstance of infinite value in other respects; and particularly, as it has preserved to our times a most exact copy of an original Greek work of our author, which has, no doubt, been long ago lost.

There is another advantage arising from the circumstance of so much of this work's being still found in the

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6 כַּלַכַלֶה, not כְּלַכַלֶּה as in the Syriac of Edessa. Heb. כְּלַכַלֶּה. Chaldaic, כְּלַכַלֶּה. For כְּלַכַלֶּה. Usually כְּלַכַלֶּה. For כְּלַכַלֶּה. כְּלַכַלֶּה. For כְּלַכַלֶּה, כְּלַכַלֶּה, כְּלַכַלֶּה.

7 It partakes in no respect of the corrupt dialect, termed by Adler "Hierusalemitana," as noticed in his work on the Syriac Versions of the Scriptures, and as found in a MS. discovered by him in the Library of the Vatican.
Greek of its author, which is this; we are hence enabled to judge of the extent of Greek learning possessed by the translator. And this, I am induced to believe, was very considerable. I have pointed out in my notes, some instances in which I think he has erred; I am nevertheless bound to say, that I believe his translation to be, upon the whole, quite as accurate as are the best translations hitherto published of the Greek works of Eusebius.

It has been stated above, that our MS. is written neatly and correctly for the most part, and in the ancient character termed Estranghelio. I have now to say that it is entirely without vowel marks, and that the interpunctuation is frequently such, as to supply nothing whatever towards a just conception of the construction of the text. That the Syrians had a system of interpunctuation answering, in some respects, to that afforded by the accents of the Hebrew Bible, I have no doubt; yet I must say, that hitherto this has not been satisfactorily developed. Mr. Ewald has indeed endeavoured to do this, in a work published at Göttingen in 1832, entitled "Abhandlungen zur Orientalischen und Biblischen Literatur," in which, at p. 103 and following, he has treated on the "accentuationssystem" of the Syrians according to some MSS. found in the Royal Library at Paris; and this, I have no doubt, he has done with all good fidelity. Yet I must say, the system made out by him, receives but very little countenance from any ancient MS. hitherto seen by me. The older writers seem to have adopted a system much more simple, and less encumbered with marks; the more modern ones, particularly the Maronites,—to whom we owe the interpunctuation of the greater Polyglotts,—appear to me to be the real authors of his system. However this may be, all I have done in printing our Syriac text has been, to follow the MS. as closely as I possibly could; I say this, because cases occur in which it is scarcely possible to say, whether the Copyist intended the
point to stand on the line of the text, above it, or below it. Some remarks will be found, in my notes, on the use of Ribbui, (') the mark commonly attending the plural number in nouns, and occasionally in verbs, in which our MS. seems to be singular. In this case too, I have rigidly adhered to the MS.

The rules, under which I have proceeded in making my translation from the Syriac, are the following. As I professed to undertake the office of a translator, and not of a commentator, I thought it right to confine myself as closely to my original, as the nature of the case and my best endeavours would enable me. If therefore, I have followed my original as closely as I could, I trust I have not done this to such a degree, as to have made my English either harsh, or difficult of apprehension. Where I found the Syriac greatly obscure, I generally added a note, and referred to the Greek, if accessible. And, for the better understanding of the mind of my author, I have occasionally pointed out parallel passages occurring in the Fathers, who were either prior to him, and therefore probably imitated by him, as Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others; or, who succeeded him, particularly Theodoret, who was evidently a great imitator of him. I have also cited such passages from the classical, and other writers, as my author either referred to, or commented upon, as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diogenes Laërtius, Plato, Aristotle, Josephus and others; which cost me much time and trouble. I did not however deem it necessary to make a collation of all, or of any, of the Greek or Latin Fathers for this purpose: all I have done, or intended to do, was, to mark down such coincidences as occurred generally in my reading, during the time in which I was engaged in this work. Many other similar passages might doubtless be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly in Justin
Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, which I leave to the greater industry and time of others, who may choose to follow out the enquiry. Such illustrations and notes as are given on the Syriac text, were intended for the use of students who may be induced to read that work. I trust I have, in this way, provided a very useful Chrestomathy for the advancement of Syriac literature.

The divisions, i.e. the paragraphs, or sections, which I have made in my text, both of the Syriac Edition, and of my English Translation, are in all respects exactly what I found them in the MS. I have however added numerals for the purpose of facilitating reference, either from the Syriac Text to my Translation, or from either of these to the original Syriac Manuscript. I might indeed have made a more equal distribution of these paragraphs or sections, but I thought it would be best, for the reasons just now given, to abide by the old one. I thought too, that, if the original Greek should be discovered hereafter, it might be as well not to alter this division of the text,—particularly as it is one of a very ancient date,—for the purpose of affording the fullest opportunity for seeing what its ancient state was, and thence the more easily to verify the identity of such work, should it indeed ever be found.

I will now add a few remarks on the Work itself, and as to the period at which it was probably written. I think I may say, that the Work itself is worthy of the piety and learning of the deservedly celebrated Father of Church History. As a brief exposition of Christianity, particularly of its Divine authority, and amazing influence, it has perhaps never been surpassed. The work of Theodoret, entitled "Grecorum affectionum curatio," lately reprinted by Dr. Gaisford, is certainly more full on the particular points which it was intended to illustrate: but then it owes much to the industry and learning of our author, and is less comprehensive in its
context. The *Stromateis* of Clemens of Alexandria, and the "*Civitas Dei,*" of Augustine, are perhaps more abundant on particular questions; while the work of Clemens is less orderly, and both of these take a less extensive range of inquiry, and are not so well adapted for general reading. When we consider the very extensive range of enquiry occupied by our author, the great variety both of argument and information which it contains, and the small space which it occupies; we cannot, I think, avoid coming to the conclusion, that it is a very extraordinary work, and one which is as suitable to our own times, as it was to those for which it was written. Its chief excellency is, that it is argumentative, and that its arguments are well grounded, and logically conducted. If it once or twice appeals to the power of Christianity in inducing many to devote their lives to a state of virginity, and to some other things quite unessential to vital religion; we should bear in mind, that this was the foible of his day, and that, of the thousands who may be found both able and willing to deprecate and blame this, not so much as one perhaps will to follow his virtues, or give any thing like such evidences of real learning, and of Christian piety and zeal.

As to the period at which it was written, I think it must have been, after the general peace restored to the Church by Constantine, and before either the "*Præparatio,*** or the "*Demonstratio Evangelica,"* was written. My reason for the first of these suppositions is: Our author speaks repeatedly of the peace restored to the Church; of Churches and Schools restored, or then built for the first time: of the flourishing state of the Church of Cæsarea; of the extended, and then successfully extending, state of Christianity: all of which could not have been said during the times of the last, and most severe persecution. My reasons for the second of these suppositions are, the considerations that whatever portions of this Work are found, either in the "*Præparatio,""
the "Demonstratio Evangelica," or the "Oratio de laudibus Constantini," they there occur in no regular sequence of argument as they do in this Work: especially in the latter, into which they have been carried evidently for the purpose of lengthening out a speech. Besides, many of these places are amplified in these works, particularly in the two former as remarked in my notes; which seems to suggest, that such additions were made either to accommodate these to the new soil, into which they had been so transplanted, or, to supply some new matter, which had suggested itself to our author. And again, as both the "Præparatio" and "Demonstratio Evangelica," are works which must have required very considerable time to complete them, and which would even then be unfit for general circulation; it appears probable to me, that this more popular, and more useful work, was first composed and published, and that the other two,—illustrating as they generally do, some particular points only,—argued in order in our Work,—were reserved for the reading and occasional writing of our author during a considerable number of years, as well for the satisfaction of his own mind, as for the general reading of the learned. It appears probable to me therefore, that this was one of the first productions of Eusebius, if not the first after the persecutions ceased.

Of the authors cited in the following pages, I have not always had it in my power to quote either the latest or the best Editions. In many cases I could consult those only which happened to be in my own possession, not only because it is not always in my power to be within the precincts of the University, and to avail myself of its Libraries; but also, even when there, its Libraries are neither large nor rich in this respect.

I have in some instances written the proper names as I found them in my Syriac original, which I could hardly avoid, both as it appeared to be my duty to represent this
rather than any other exemplar, and also because the nature of the passage occasionally required this.

If I have in any instance failed to seize the sense of my author, I can only say, by way of defence, that I have done the best in my power to ensure accuracy in this respect. I have spared no pains, and have thought no inquiry too great, to do justice to him. Still, as Syriac Literature is but in a state of infancy among us, whether as it respects the character of the Grammars, Dictionaries, Authors, or other helps of this sort; if I have any where failed, I may perhaps hope for the indulgence which the nature of the case requires: and nothing beyond this do I wish. In all such cases, I shall be most happy in receiving suggestions which may improve my Work, and shall be as ready both to adopt these, and to be thankful for them. Of the Work itself I may say, If it has cost me much labour and research, and crowded upon me an increase of labour, depriving me in many instances even of necessary relaxation and exercise; it has nevertheless brought with it pleasures, which I shall ever remember with the greatest thankfulness. To have had the privilege of restoring to the Christian Church, a Work of one of its brightest ornaments as a Scholar and Theologian in the best of its days, is indeed an honour of which few can boast: while the satisfaction of hoping, that it may be instrumental for ages to come, in bringing many to the knowledge of the truth, is more than sufficient to repay any labour which its restoration might have cost.

I have now to express my thanks to the Syndics of the University Press, for their liberality in taking upon themselves the principal part of the expense incurred in printing this Work; and to add, that I hope this will not have been thrown away on the present occasion.
PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

PART I.
ON CERTAIN OPINIONS OF EUSEBIUS.

As the usefulness of any Book must very much depend on the belief entertained of the orthodoxy of its author, I have thought it right to discuss as briefly as possible the following questions: First, The alleged Arianism of Eusebius: secondly, his views of Prophecy, generally; and thirdly, his belief that no restoration of the Jews, and no personal reign of Christ on earth, are to be expected. I think it right to use my best endeavour to place these questions in their true light, because I conceive much mistake exists respecting them.

SECTION I.
On the alleged Arianism of Eusebius, and on the manner in which he has expressed his opinions.

In prosecuting this inquiry, our first business will be to determine, what the opinions of Arius were: our second, what those were which our author himself held, and how he has usually expressed these.

I would premise then, that in endeavouring to ascertain the religious belief of any writer, it is our duty to abide by his positively expressed opinions, and to attach to his words the precise sense, which it is most obvious he intended they should bear. If indeed, we think we see reason for suspecting his honesty, or feel difficulties in accounting for his conduct on certain occasions, we ought perhaps to put the best construction we can on these things; because the sources, from which they may have come down to us, might in the first instance have been any thing but pure; and in the second, from the little we can
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now know of the exact bearing of all such particulars, our knowledge respecting them must necessarily be very imperfect.

Our questions however,—whatever may be the difficulties inherent in them in some respects,—do not appear to me to be greatly embarrassed in these. The great questions are, What did Arius positively propose for belief? And, What does Eusebius appear to have believed, with reference to the creed of this Heresiarch?

The leading opinion of Arius was, as it appears from his own statements, that there was a time in which Christ, the Son of God, had no positive existence whatsoever; that He was begotten; by which he understood, was pro-

1 Socratis Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. c. v. "Εἰ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγένεσε τὸν υἱὸν, ἀρχὴν υπάρξεως ἤχει οἷς γεννηθεῖς: καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον δήλον, ὅτι ἦν ὁτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱὸς· ἀκολουθεῖ τε ἐξ αὐτός, ἐξ οὐκ ὀντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὴν υπόστασιν." "Si Pater genuit Filium, existendi initium habet is qui genitus est. Ex quo manifestè liqueat, fuisset aliquando tempus, cum non esset Filius: et necessario conicitur, eundem ex nihilo subsistere." We have ib. cap. vi. the Bishop of Alexandria’s Letter to the Bishops generally, containing his comments on the dogmas of Arius. After which follows that of Constantine, exhorting both the parties to merge their differences, and not to dispute on matters such as these, which were small and of no moment! which Socrates praises as evincing great wisdom; and to this Le Clerc seems to agree. Constantine’s words are, ὡς τοιοῦτος ματαιόν ἴντηματος μέρος. "De quaedam parte insanis questionis." And, a little lower down, that no new dogma had been introduced, but as both held the same opinion (virtually), they might well agree together. "οὐδὲ καὶνή τις υἱὸς ὑπέρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας αἵρεσις αἱρεσιοφθήσθη. ἀλλ’ ἤνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχετε λογισμὸν ἐκτερ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ὠνήμα ταῖς καταστάσεως καὶ ὑδημα." I would remark here, that Constantine evinced neither the mind of an enlightened Believer, nor of a wise Governour; as indeed the sequel most abundantly proved. To be so liberal as to disregard the truth, is as rotten a policy, as it is to deal out secular pains and punishments on account of religious belief, however erroneous such belief might be. We have a similar account of the opinions of Arius, in Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. c. xv. Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cc. ii. iv. The Epistle of Arius himself, ib. c. v. The Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus Bishop of Tyre, ib. c. vi. Philostorg. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. 3. Epiph. Heres. v. 69, as quoted by Le Clerc. Montfaux. Collect. nov. Patr. p. xvii. &c. and Cave’s Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 126. Edit. 1688.
duced out of nothing. These I take to have been the leading doctrines of Arius; and those, out of which, and about which, the great controversy that agitated the Church, soon after it was established by Constantine, originated and was carried on.

What, in the next place, are the opinions positively and clearly expressed, and maintained, by Eusebius? In our following work, p. 5, Christ is termed "the only (begotten) Word of God, whom the Maker of all generated of Himself, as a ray of light from His own Godhead." He is next spoken of as a Mediator, (p. 6,) appointed by the Father, to whose Godhead perishable beings, such as we are, could make no possible approach. The Word of God is then described as having meekly lowered Himself, become the efficient Cause of all things (p. 8. seq.), the Creator, Ruler, and Governour, of all.

The Person of the Father is then (p. 11. seq.) more particularly described as the (primary) Cause of every thing; incomprehensible, unrevealed, and reserved in the unseen depth of (His own) knowledge. From Him, the Son, or Word of God, is next described as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain to beings otherwise perishing. The Father is next spoken of as, in some respects, similar to the mind concealed within man; the Son, to the Word, sent forth announcing its determinations: and this again, in a manner exceeding all comparison, and least of all like the word of man, which is produced by a mere percussion of the air: the Divine Word being the living minister of God, "the power of God," and "the Wisdom of God."

In the next place (p. 14.), He is said to be the God that is begotten of God, and then John i. 1. is cited as the Scriptural warrant for this. Again, (p. 15.) He is termed the Life and the Light which cannot be described. A little

1 Guarding in this against the errors of Marcellus, as we shall see hereafter. And let it be remembered, that, although our author has instituted comparisons with regard to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, his intention seems to have been, only to give an illustration, and not by the illustration to determine the abstract nature of the Beings so illustrated, as this context is sufficient to shew.
farther on (p. 18.), the Father is said to be the Head (source) of the generation of the Word, and the originating cause of all, and therefore truly styled the Father and God above all, beyond whom no cause can be assigned. From Him, it is added, proceeded forth the Son, the only begotten Saviour of all. Again, He is said to be in all things like to His Father, (so also p. 30), and to extend Himself throughout all things. Again, (p. 21) He is declared to be in nothing incomplete because born of God; and, as being God of God, He is sufficient for all, and Almighty: and is the one, image of His (Father's) essence. Again, (p. 26. seq.) a comparison is instituted between the Father and the Son, with reference to the Divine Economy, by a royal court; the King remaining concealed and unapproachable; the Son sustaining the office of first minster, and sending forth the determination of His Father's will throughout the various orders of society under his government.

In Book ii. Sect. 3, the Son, or Word of God, is said to have had no beginning; and Book iii. p. 178, it is affirmed, that He still remained with His Father, notwithstanding His incarnation, just as He was before, immaterial, incorporeal, and unchanged, as to His (eternal) essence*: and (ib. p. 179), that even when He conversed among men, He filled all things, was with the Father, and was in Him. So far we may perhaps conclude, that there does appear to be a wide and palpable difference of opinion, between our author and the celebrated heresiarch Arius.

Before however, we can fully enter into the mind of Eusebius on these questions, we must inquire how he reasoned about Deity in the abstract, and of created Beings with reference to this: we shall then be able to see, what he meant when he spoke of a Being generated of God, coming forth of God, and, at the same time, having a positive

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* It will be objected perhaps, that the word Eternal does not occur in our text. I answer, the term [ἦν Ἰ] is generally used in the Syriac in this sense; and, if it be a translation,—which it most likely is,—of the Greek ὑπάρχον, there can be no doubt on the mind of those who are accustomed to read the Philosophers, that, in this place the Eternal Essence is meant.
existence, subsistency, or person, and sustaining the character of a rational agent.

On this subject then, he has delivered himself most fully and unreservedly in his Preparatio Evangelica. The place to which I now allude is Lib. xi. cap. ix. p. 523. seq. He commences with Exod. iii. 14, where Moses, speaking in the person of God, says, I am that (Being) which I am. "Εγώ ειμι ο ὄν." "Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, THE BEING hath sent me to you;" laying it down, that God is the only being truly existing; and shewing, that He (alone) is properly and conveniently worthy of this appellation. This, he goes on to tell us, is the real source and origin of all things both spiritual and corporeal. He then cites Plato to the same effect, and reasons accordingly, just as he has in our work, (Book ii. sect. 24, 33, with the notes, also ib. sect. 44, 46, with the notes 1). This is followed up in the Preparatio Evangelica, with a long extract from Numenius, (cap. x.), and another from Plutarch, (cap. xi.) which we shall presently notice. We are then taught, that the Godhead is incapable of description by words (cap. xii.); and then that He is One; Deut. vi. 4. is now cited to establish this. The opinions of Plato are again quoted, expressive of God's all pervading character, power, justice, and the like; and, as corresponding with this, we have Isaiah xli. 4; Ps. x. 8; Deut. xxxii. 35; Ps. xxx. 24; Deut. xiii. 4; James iv. 6; and Job xx. 5, according to the LXX. All of which is apparently intended to afford a determinate, ample, and full view of the abstract nature of the Deity, as conceived by our author.

1 It should be borne in mind, in reading the works of Eusebius, that, as he reasons very much in imitation of Plato, we should be careful to understand him accordingly. When, for example, he speaks of Being (ὁ ὄν, or τὸ ὄν), in the abstract, he means that Being alone which is properly called God, as in the following work, pp. 31, 89: p. 96, sect. 38, with the Notes: also p. 104, sect. 44: p. 106, sect. 46; ib. p. 108. So Le Clerc of Plato. Bibli. Univers. Ann. 1888, p. 387. "Il croit qu'il n'y, qu'un Dieu suprême, spirituel et invisible, qu'il appelle l'ÊTRE, ou l'ÊTRE MEME, le BIEN MEME, le PERE et la CAUSE de tous les autres.—Hence too, we occasionally find the Syriac term |Δόγκ, word, used in our work in the sense of Reason, which I have marked in the notes, just as the Platonists did the Greek λόγος.
We are taught in the next place, and in the same context, that all Being must be one of two kinds only; either that which is spiritual, and to be perceived by the intellect only; or that which is material, and is known by the senses; that the former of these is immortal and impervious to decay; the latter, the contrary. And it is elsewhere argued, that of spiritual Beings, those which are brought nearest to the Godhead, are those which partake most largely of its character (not of its essence necessarily): those, which are otherwise, the reverse: that it is through the mediation of the Son alone, that any such approximation as this can be made by the creatures; and that light, life, and every heavenly virtue can be known by them.—That the Son is of the same essence, (οὐσία) with the Father, is ever with Him, and in Him: is filled with all the fulness of His Father’s Godhead bodily: and that, notwithstanding His incarnation, humiliation, sufferings, and death, His Godhead remained, just as it was before, complete and perfect, immaterial, all-pervading, almighty, unutterable. We have here therefore, a full and marked distinction established between the Divine nature, and that of the creatures, whether spiritual or corporeal.

The Deity is next viewed by our author, with respect to the Divine Economy (ἡ ὀικονομία), which term however does not occur in our Work. But this is of no importance,

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2 Our Work, pp. 24, 27, 29, 30, 35, &c.
3 Eccles. Theol. Lib. iii. p. 185 A..., "ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πάν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος." "Com. in Is. xiii. "τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐπανακαίσατο. ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ κατοίκησε τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς." Col. ii. 9, and again, Com. in Psalm. p. 354. "ὁ γὰρ πατήρ ἐν τῷ νῷ καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ πατρί. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ημιοκύκησεν πάν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος κατοικήσαε." He adds, "καὶ οὐ ποτὲ μὲν δοκήσειν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέστη ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἀπειρον τέλος ἀεὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ νῷ κατοικεῖ." "Neque enim modo habitavit in illo, modo recessit ab eo; sed in infinitum ac semper Pater in Filio inabitat." He had just before said, that this indwelling is not such as that of God is, when it is said that He walks in his people. (2 Cor. vi. 16.)
4 Our Work below, pp. 21, 25, 55, 59, 96, 104, 106, &c.
5 It is to be found however in his Eccles. Hist. Lib. i. cap. i. twice, p. 1..."ἀπὸ πρωτῆς ἄρχομαι τῆς κατὰ τὸν Σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν
as it is most clear, the thing itself does: and, it is worthy of remark, Eusebius is perhaps more particular than the Fathers generally in marking the dealings of the Deity with the creatures, in this respect, at a much earlier period than

ημών ἤσον τὸν χριστόν τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομίας”...“Ab ipsa Servatoris ac Domini nostri Jesu Christi incarnatione” (dispensatione) “initium duum.” Ib. p. 2...“αντά τήν κατά τὸν Σωτῆρα χριστόν ἐπισχυμένην υψηλότερα τε καὶ κρείττοτον ἡ κατὰ ἄλλωσιν οἰκονομία περὶ καὶ θεολογίαν.”...“Ab ipsa que captum longè superat humanum Servatoris Christi dispensatione, et ab ejusdem divinitatis expositione repetetur.” Where we have a manifest distinction made between the terms θεολογίας, and οἰκονομίας: the former having respect to the Deity of our Lord considered in the abstract; the second, to his office sustained in the Divine Economy. This term occurs also in the very valuable Greek work of Eusebius, lately published by Dr. Gaisford, entitled “Eclogae Prophetarum,” (Oxonii. 1842.) pp. 13, 17, 32, &c.—According to the Fathers generally, the Economy (οἰκονομία) had respect (i.) to the providence and government of God generally. So Epiphanius Hier. lxxx. “Καὶ οὐκ οἴδασιν Θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα, οὔτε τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς Θεοῦ σοφίας.” “Non nōrunt Dei potentiam, neque bonitatem, neque ipsius sapientiam gubernationem.” So also Greg. Nyss. Catechet. Mag. cap. xii. Tom. iii. p. 67. Chrysost. Lib. i. de Provid. cap. vili. &c., as cited by Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. sub voce. (ii.) To the ministry of the New Test. Eph. iii. 2. Col. i. 25. I Cor. ix. 17: termed by Gregory of Nyssa, οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου. Orat. Catechet. cap. xxv. Tom. iii. p. 83, &c. cited ib. by Suicer. (iii.) To the Incarnation of our Lord. So Theodoret. Dial. ii. cap. ix. Tom. iv. p. 62. (ib. Suicer), “τὴν ἐνανθρωπίσεων τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου, καλοῦμεν οἰκονομίαν.” “Incarnationem Dei verbi, economiam vel assumant humanitatem, vocamus.” Our author however, speaks of this as being in operation previous to the incarnation of our Lord, (Eclog. Prophet. as noticed above, p. 18), where, speaking of God’s appearing to Abraham, Gen. xviii. 18, and shewing that it cannot apply either to the God of all (i.e. the Father), or the angelic nature, he says it must apply to the Word, ὅτι διαφόρως καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπίσεως ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄνθρωπων σωτηρίας ὀφθήναι τε καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐμφανίσεις οἰκονομίας ἐκτελέσαι τενιστείκαμεν.” Whom we have believed both to have variously appeared, even before the incarnation for the salvation of men, and to have effected the dispensations contained in the divine Scriptures. He goes on to say, that to Him alone, after the God of all (the Father), is the four-lettered appellation (i.e. Γόης, Jehovah) found to be applied. The same is implied (ib. pp. 31, 32.) on Exod. xiii. 21, where the Hebrew text has Γόης, Jehovah.
they usually do. For example, he makes our Lord a mediator between God and the Angels, even before man had a being. In this respect generally it is, that he speaks of the Holy and thrice blessed Trinity, as he now terms the Godhead, and speaks of the generation, or issuing forth, both of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. To each of these he assigns a peculiar office, and Person or ὑπόστασις, for the aid and benefit of the rational creatures, and in order that all these,—which are capable of this,—might be made such as their rational nature, received from the Son, declares they ought to be; and thence, to be made partakers of a higher nature and of higher joys in His immediate presence above. It appears therefore, that he speaks of the Deity under two points of view. One, under which he views Him in His abstract character, and as being the Creator, Governour, and God of all (termed ἡ μοναρχία): another, under which he considers Him, as subsisting in the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, revealed as such with reference to the Divine Economy, and particularly as it respects the creation, redemption, and final salvation of Man: directly and positively asserting, that these are of one and the same Essence (οὐσία): that the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have proceeded out of the Father; and that, as far as it respects their offices in the Economy, they are considered inferior to the Father, inasmuch as He is superior to the every thing like ministration, either of office or of rule: that He can be revealed to His creatures, only by the mediation and ministration of the Son: and known to any saving extent, solely by the ministration of the Holy Ghost.

In conformity with this latter mode of viewing the Deity, He terms the Father the First Cause, the Son, the

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1 Contra Marcel. p. 8. B.
2 See page 11. of our work. The same sentiment is expressed by Philo Judeus, in the Tract entitled, "περὶ δόν ἵερωργον ἢ Αβέλ τε καὶ Καίν." Edit. Steph. p. 91. "Θεώ δὲ τὸ ἀκάματον ἁμοιώματα-τὸν." To be free from labour is most appropriate to God. See also p. 83.
Second, and the Holy Ghost, the Third: not for the purpose, as far as I can see, of lowering in any degree the Divine nature of either: but solely for that of speaking more intelligibly and definitely respecting the Office and Person of each, as sustained in the Divine Economy. Whether Eusebius did right or wrong in making this technical distinction, is not the question here: with this I have now nothing to do. I have only to inquire, what he meant, when he set it up, and reasoned accordingly.

These questions are discussed at some length, in the xith, xith, and xiiith chapters of the Seventh Book of the Preparatio Evangelica, and again, from chap. ix. to chap. xx. of the Eleventh Book of the same work: from some of which I shall make a few extracts, sufficient, as I trust, to shew what the mind of our author was. In chap. xii. then of the Seventh Book he tells us, that the Hebrews introduce a Second Essence¹ and Divine Power, the Principle

¹ The text stands thus: "δεύτεραν οὐσίαν καὶ θείαν δύναμιν, ἀρχὴν τῶν γενετῶν ἀπάντων, πρότην τε ὑποτάσιαν, καὶ τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου γεγεννημένην οἰκάγονα (οἱ 'Εβραῖοι). Which Viger translates, "Naturam alteram" (incorrectly, and then warns the reader of the Arianism of Eusebius, which he himself had created. See also his note on the passage) "constituent, vindices divinam, quae cium eorum omnium quae siguntur principium sit, tum ante ceteras omnes extulerit, ab eodemque primo Principio genita fuerit, quam ipsi (i.e. Hebraei) Verbum, Sapieniam, Deique Virtutem appellare solent." Where it may also be remarked, "constituent, vindices divinam," is anything but an accurate translation of the Greek. In the first of these cases, he has supposed that οὐσία was to be taken in the sense of φύσις; which is indeed often done by the Fathers. It seems not to have occurred to him, that they do nevertheless use οὐσία in the sense of ὑποτάσις, Person, with the view of guarding against the errors of Marcellus, Paulus of Samosata, and others; with the first of whom our author had a warm controversy, "Οὐσίαν vero vocabulum" (says Suicer sub voce)..."de Christo usurpandi sunt, quia Sosamonius et Marcellus Flitum Dei vocarunt ὁμοιόμορφα, verbum, quod ex ore prodit: ut docet Epiphanius hæresi lxxiii pag. 363." And hence we are told (page 12 of our work) that Christ is not "constituted in His nature by the enunciation of names and words," &c. &c. It is worthy of remark, too, that the Arians were most averse to the term οὐσία, Essence, as applied either to the Father or the Son, (see Suiceri Thes. ib.) because, by this, when applied to Christ, His being ὁμοούσιος, Homousian with the Father was implied.
of all created beings; the First subsisting, and Begotten of the First (Essence), terming Him the Word, and the Wisdom, and the Power of God. He goes on to shew, that Job (xxviii. 20), David (Ps. xxxiii. 6), Solomon (Prov. viii. 12, ib. 22—30): also Wisd. vi. 24; vii. 22; viii. 1. had this Being in view. And he then tells us, that this Divine Word is variously represented in Holy Scripture, as sent by the Father for the salvation of men: that He shewed Himself to Abraham, Moses, and other Prophets beloved of God, and taught them many things by Divine enunciations and predictions, where it is said that God and the Lord appeared and spoke to them; that the same came for the knowledge of all, as a Saviour and Physician of diseased souls, being sent by a Greater. He then cites Ps. cvi. 20. "He sent His word and healed them," &c. Ps. cxlvi. 4. "His word runneth very swiftly:" and after this John i. 1—5. We are next told, that Moses, inspired as he was, introduces God speaking to His First-begotten Word, on the creation of Man, thus; "Let us make man in our image and likeness:" and as agreeing with this, Ps. xxxiii. 9, is cited, "He spake and they were made; He commanded, and they were created." This he says evidently marks the discourse of the First with the Second Cause, as of a Father with a Son. We are then informed that Moses speaks in other places of Two Lords, as in the destruction of Sodom; "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire, from the Lord out of heaven." (Gen.

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2 I omit citing these passages in order to save space. I would suggest that they ought to be examined. Le Clerc adds, Wisd. Sol. viii. 19: ix. 2: xviii. 15, 16: which are sufficient to determine the Platonicizing character of its author.

3 Here Viger warns us again, that this is to be read with caution. "Locus hic cautè legendus." But, might he not as well have cautioned us against St. John, nay against our Lord Himself, in the same way, where it is said, "My Father is greater than I?" (Chap. xiv. 28.) The question is not so much in cases of this sort, as to what the naked words are, but as to the manner in which we ought to view them. Our author is manifestly speaking here of our Lord as engaged in the office of a ministering servant in the Divine Economy; and this as before, prior to His Incarnation: which however he has, more than once, affirmed had no influence whatever in lowering the character of His Divine nature.
xix. 24). So "The Lord said unto my Lord," &c. (Ps. cx. 8.) is a similar place: and, in the same (Ps. ver. 4.) the inexplicable and mysterious Generation of the Son is intimated. In the same work (Lib. xi. cc. xiii. xiv.) the same question is discussed; and here, Prov. viii. 12, 22. seq. is cited, as is also, Wisd. vi. 24; vii. 25; viii. 1, as already remarked. All of which appears to me, to have been intended to mark, as existing under the former dispensation, a recognition of the distinct personality and Divinity of the Son; it being more than once affirmed, that this Person was that designated by the name Jehovah (τιμωρομην) under that dispensation.

We are next presented with an account of the Word, according to the mind of Philo Judæus, and Aristobulus, a Jewish writer contemporary with the Ptolemies; the most remarkable parts of which only I shall notice. Philo tells us then,—after stating that the Divine Oracles well ascribe the Image of God to the Word, as to a second God; no mortal nature being adequate to the bearing of such impres-

1 This inquiry is prosecuted to a still greater length, in the work of our author lately published by Dr. Gaisford, entitled "Elogiae Prophetarum." I will here point out a few places only. In pages 5, 6, we have Gen. xi. 5, 6, 7 cited, where the term Ἱδιότητι is used, and is applied by our author to Christ, as ministering to the Father in the Divine Economy. Again (p. 6 seq.), Gen. xii. 1 7: xiii. 14: xv. 1, 7. (Not Gen. 7, as there marked). xvii. 1: xviii. 1: 16—20, 22—25, 33. All of which, we are told (p. 9), cannot, as revealed to Abraham and enounced in the four-lettered name (i.e. Jehovah), apply either to any Angel, or to any Divine Power a little superior to the Angels, but does to God Himself. After noticing some other passages, in which mere angels are said to have appeared as to Abraham and Lot, we are told (p. 11 seq.) that a comparison of the Old with the New Testament, will shew that the Father is invisible, nevertheless that God is said both by Moses and the Prophets to have variously appeared. (Isa. vi. 5 is pointed out, which St. John, xii. 41 explains of Christ, all of which is referred to Christ, (ib. p. 13), and as done by him under the Divine Economy, even before His incarnation, as already noticed. I mention these few places, merely as specimens of our author's mode of treating on the Person of Christ, which I think could not have been done by any Arian. Similar interpretations of places in Genesis are given by Cyril of Alexandria against Julian. Lib. viii. p. 267, &c. Edit. 1696. et ib. p. 292 seq. as they also are by Theodore in his work published by Dr. Gaisford, p. 84 seq.
sion, and the like,—that the Eternal Word of the Everlasting God, is the most powerful and firm support of all things. "Δόγος ὁ ὁίδος Θεοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου, τὸ ἄγνωστον καὶ βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα τῶν ὀλίγων ἐστίν." Where we may observe, the Word (Δόγος) is said to be eternal; as it is above, to be a second God. Philo proceeds, very much in the manner of our author, "οὐτος ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα ταβεις, δολικέεις τὰν φύσεων ἀήθητον δρόμων, συνάγων τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ συσφίγγων. Δεσμῶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀρρήτον τοῦ παντός, ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίης Πατήρ." Which Viger translates, "Hoc enim illud est, cujus arbitrio dum a mediis ad extrema, simulque a summis ad media pertinet, constitutus ac perpetuus naturæ cursus peragitur. Partes enim omnes inter se se conscientiam atque constringit, quod illud Pater, a quo genitum est, firmissimum quoddam totius universi vinculum esse voluerit." Aristobulus (ib. Lib. vii. c. xiv.) tells us, that the Wisdom which Solomon describes (Prov. viii.) as being prior to the creation of the world, the Stoics consider as a sort of Lamp to be followed during their whole lives, in order to be preserved from every sort of perturbation. Again, (Lib. xi. c. xv.) Philo goes on: "Εο-πρεπείς γὰρ τοῖς ἑταρίαις πρὸς ἑπταήμνην θεμελίους, ἐρεί-σας μὲν τῷ τὸ ὁν ἰδεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναντο, τὴν γοῦν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἑρωτατον Δόγον." "Decet enim, eos qui cum scientiā societatem inierunt, ejus quod est, videndi desiderio teneri: aut si minus id possint, ejus saltem imagi- ninis, hoc est sacratissimi Verbi." And again, (ib.) "Καὶ μὴ μοῦν ἡν τυγχάνῃ τις αἴξοιχρος Βόις Θεοῦ προσαγο- ρεύεσθαι, σπουδαζότω κορσείθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτόγονον αὐτοῦ Δόγον ...καὶ γὰρ Αρχή, καὶ Ωμοια Θεοῦ, καὶ Δόγος, καὶ ὁ κατ’ εἰκόνα Ἀνθρωπος, καὶ ὁ ὀρὼν Ισραήλ, προσαγορεύεται." Ut quis minus adhuc fillii Dei appellatione dignus fuerit, se ipsum tamen ad primogenitum illius Verbum ...conformare conetur. Etenim Principium, Dei Nomen, Verbum, Homo secundum Imaginem, et videns Israel appellatur." A little lower down ("the Man whose name is Anatole (lit. Rising as of the Sun, Auth. Vers.

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2 Theoph. p. 7, seq.
3 Zech. vii. 12, according to the LXX.
the Branch)¹ is said to have been spoken of by one of the friends of Moses; and He is said to have been thus named, who is otherwise called the Firstborn, because the Father of all caused Him to arise (as the Sun): "τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον Υἱὸν τοῦ τῶν ὄλων ἀνέτειλε Πατὴρ, ἣν ἐτέρωθι πρωτόγονον ὁμόμοιον."

It must be obvious I think from all this, that, whatever Philo and Aristobulus might have been as Platonists, they could not, as Jews, have supposed this second God to have been any thing less than Jehovah Himself; and this Philo seems to imply when he says, that He is the Being, termed the Beginning² or Principle, the Name of God, and Word; the Man according to Image, and the seeing Israel³, (comp. Gen. xvi. 13.) The name of God, it is well known, is often put for God in the Old Testament⁴. In this respect therefore there is, if we may rely on this reasoning, between Philo and our author a complete agreement.

The opinions of Plato, on the Second Cause or Deity, will be found in the Preparatio Evangelica of our author,

¹ This passage is found in Philo's work, entitled, περὶ συγχυσίων διαλεκτῶν. Ed. Steph. p. 231.
² Alluding perhaps to Is. xli. 4, &c. In the Tract however, περὶ τοῦ τίς τῶν θεῶν, &c. p. 343. Ed. Steph. God is said to be the Principle or Beginning of generation. "ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ γενέσεως ὁ Θεὸς."
³ The place probably had in view is Gen. xvi. 13, where it is said that "She called the name of the Lord (Jehovah Πνεῦμα) that spake unto her, Thou God seest me:" where Israel seems to stand for the Hebrew El Հנ. Philo explains this passage, in the outset of his Tract entitled "περὶ φυγάδου," (p. 308), and says, that the Angel who met Hagar was the Divine Word (θεὸν λόγον): which the Hebrew text shows was Jehovah. Again, in the Tract "περὶ ὀνείρων," ib. p. 400, The Archangel, the Lord, is said to have stood on the top of the ladder (in Jacob's dream, Gen. xxviii. 13.) ἐμῆς δὲ τὸ δυναρ, ἐστηριγμένων ἐκ τῆς κλίμακος τὸν ἀρχάγγελον κύριον......and to have said, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy Father, &c. Ἠγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου, κ.τ.λ. Where there can be no doubt, the Divine Word is meant; and, that it is intended to identify this with Jehovah. Many similar places may be cited: but this is unnecessary.
⁴ Cruden's Concord. under "Name," will supply the places.
PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

(Lib. xi. cap. ix. xvi., and ib. xvii, as taken from his Commentator Plotinus; ib. xviii. from Numenius; ib. xix. from Amelius), and in the Second Book of our following Work (sect. 24, 27, 29); they need not therefore be repeated here. Nor is it intended to enter at length either on the opinions of Plato, or on those of his Commentators. It will be sufficient for our purpose, and it will have greater weight, to state, as briefly as we can, the general results arrived at by Cyril of Alexandria,—a writer by no means likely to favour Arian views,—and Theodoret, the very elegant, learned, and judicious Bishop of Cyrus, on this subject.

Cyril then, in his work against Julian (Lib. vii. p. 267 seq. Ed. 1696), after citing Gen. i. 26. *Let us make man in our image,* &c. as well as several other passages, and shewing that both the *Son and Holy Ghost* are here implied, as subsisting in the Deity, proceeds (p. 270) to shew, that even the Philosophers acknowledged *three primitive Subsistences*; and held, that to the *Essence of the Deity* there appertained *Subsistences to the number of three:* sometimes too, laying down the term *Trinity,* they assent to the opinions of the Christians; nor would any thing have been wanting to them, if they had chosen to apply the term *Homoousian* to the *three Subsistences*.

We have in the next page (371) a citation from Porphyry stating, that Plato extended the *Essence of the Deity*

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* His words are,..."τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις ὑποτιθέμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ μέχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τῆς ὁσίας του Θεοῦ προσήκειν ἵπποςάμενοι, ἐμποροῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς τριάδος τιθέντες ἄνομα, ταῖς χριστιανῶν συμφέρονται δόξαις, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ ἀν πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως, εἰ τὸν τῆς Ὁμοουσίωτος λόγον ἑφαρμότειν ἢθελον ὑποστάσει παῖ τρισί." We have in the Bibl. Univers. of Le Clerc (Ann. 1688, p. 369) a passage cited from Porphyry, in which the term *Trinity* occurs. "Platon, dit Porphyre, a enseigné que l’essence divine peut s’entendre jusqu’à trois hypostases, &c. de sorte que c’est par l’Esprit qu’il faut commencer à contem la Trinité τῆς τριάδα, &c." He has also shewn in the same work, that the terms *Homoousian ὁμοούσιος,* Ἐtereousian ἐτερούσιος, Ὑποστασία ὑπόστασις, *Essence oú sia,* and others common to the Fathers, had been used much in the same sense by the Platoniats. He has also given a good outline on the general subject now before us, which he concludes, by condemning our author as an Arian.

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as far as to three Subsistences; that the supreme God was
(the chief) Good; that after Him was the second, the Maker
of the world; and the third, was the Soul of the world:
(implying) that the Deity extended to (this) Soul. And
the conclusion of Cyril upon this is, that, as no difference
can subsist between those that are of the same nature
(φύσις, i. q. οὐσία) it may be sufficient for the Christians
to believe, as these Philosophers did, in a Divinity extended
to three Subsistences, and hence to be mindful of the
Trinity (so propounded).

Plato’s Epinomis, and Epistle to Hermias, Erastus, and
Coriscus, are then cited, (Book ii. sectt. 27, 29 below), and
commented upon, as is the passage from Numenius the
Pythagorean (p. 272), and that from Plotinus (p. 273),
which have also been cited by our author. In the last, the
supreme Deity is termed the Most Perfect: the Second
Cause the Mind, and the Image of God: and these are said
(p. 274) to be the Generating and the Generated; to be
one and inseparable, although distinct. In the former,
the First God is, it is said, to be considered the Father of
the Maker of the World. And the Second and Third God,
as one⁴. To this Cyril objects as inconsistent, although he does not appear averse to the doctrine generally; which may be inferred from his stating (p. 273), that he finds the knowledge of the Holy Trinity among the wise men of the Greeks, as most closely connected and admitting of nothing intervening: that they say, these (Subsistences) are present with one another; and that the order which the Mind has to the First, the same in like manner has the Third or Soul, to the Mind which is (derived) from the First². Where, as it should seem, no inferiority of nature in either could have been intended, although a distinction of order is insisted upon.

We have, in the next place, a description of the Spirit or Soul of the world also from Plotinus, (ib. p. 275), to the effect that it affords life to all, whether on the earth, in the air, or the heavens: that this formed the Sun, the great Heavens, this makes them to revolve; and, that being of a nature different from that of the things so formed, and moved, and to which it gives life, it is necessarily more honourable than they; these having been made, and being subject to destruction; but it ever existing⁶, &c. And, a little lower down, after matter much to the same effect, it is said, that this Spirit is like to the Father that generated it, both as to its Unity, and Ubiquity⁷. This Cyril affirms, points out the creative and enlivening energy of the Holy Ghost, which is in nature not diverse from that of the Father, or of the

⁴ “ὁ Θεὸς μέντοι ὁ δεύτερος καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἔστιν ὁ ἐκ.”
⁵ “Πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνοίκησαν ἐφημερίν τοῖς Ἐλληνῶν σοφῶν τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος τῆς γυναῖκος. προσεχθήσατε γάρ, καὶ μεσολαβώντος οὐδενός, ἀλλά ἐνυκτείνας φασιν αὐτά, καὶ ἐν ἄν ἔχου τάξιν πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ὁ Νῦν, ταύτη ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆν ψυχήν ἐσπνεύεται φασίν πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου δεύτερον Νῦν.”
⁶ “Πάσα Ψυχή, ἢ αὐτή ἠὰ μέν ἐποίησε πάντα, ἐμπνεύσασα αὐτοὶ ἠὰ, ἢ τρέφει, ἢ ταλάσσει, ἢ τε ἀεί ἢ τε ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα θεία. αὐτή δὲ ἐλίλου, αὐτή δὲ τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον οὐρανόν, αὐτή δὲ ἐκοψίμησεν, αὐτή δὲ τὸς Τάξιν περιάγει, φώς οὐχ ὡς ἡτέρα ἢν κόσμῃ καὶ ἢν κινεῖ καὶ ἢν ποιεῖ καὶ τοῦτον ἀνάγκη εἶναι τιμωρεῖαν, γιορμένων μέν τοῦτον καὶ φθειρόμενων.”
⁷ “Τῷ γεννήσαντι πατρὶ ομοιομένη, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐν κατὰ τὸ πάντη.”
THEOPHANIA.

Son. To this is added another extract from Plotinus, nearly to the same effect; to the weakness of the comparisons, instituted in which, Cyril objects: although he does not to the general doctrine taught; and, what is more to our purpose, maintains that no inferiority exists in the Persons.

This subject is touched upon by our author in his Prep. Evang. (Lib. xi. cap. xx. p. 541), where he tells us, that the Hebrew Oracles place the Holy Spirit third in order, with respect to the Father and the Son; and, in such a manner, lay down the Holy and thrice blessed Trinity, that by this Third Power all created nature is surpassed. He then gives Plato’s letter to Dionysius, which states the matter thus: about the King of all are all things, and His are all things, He too is the Author of all good things. But the Second (Cause) is about the things second; and the Third, about the third. He remarks upon this, that those who undertake to explain the mind of the Philosopher, refer these things to the First, Second, and Third, Cause or Soul of the world, which they also determine to be a third God; but, he adds, the Sacred Scriptures place the Holy and blessed Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the predicament of Principle, according to the things already given.

1 "Αρ’ οὖν ὁ τοῦ φυσεῖς τῶν τοῦ άγίου πνεύματος δημοφιλίας τε καὶ ζωτικῆς ἔνεργειας ἐν τούτοις ήμιν διαδείκνυσι." ...... "καὶ οὐκ ἐπέραν φύσις ἐστὶ παρὰ γε τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἦσον τοῦ Υἱοῦ." ...... "Τοῦ παρ’ Εβραίων λογίων μετά τοῦ περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ λόγου, εν τρίτη τάξιν τοῦ Άγίου Πνεύματος καταλεγόμενον καὶ τῆς τῆς άγίας καὶ μακαρίας Σωτού τούτων ὑποτιθέμενων τῶν τρόπων, ὡς ἐν τῇ τρίτης δυνάμεις πάσαν ὑπερβεβηκίαν γενετῆς φύσιν." ...... "Παρὰ τοῦ παντὸς βασιλεῖα πάντα ἐστὶ, καὶ έκεῖνος ἓνεκα πάντα, καὶ έκεῖνος Λοίτον ἄπαντων καλών; δεύτερων δε παρὰ τὰ δεύ-

2 τερα, καὶ τρίτων παρὰ τὰ τρίτα." ...... "Ταῦτα οἱ τῶν Πλάτων διάσασθεν περίμενοι, ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων Θεόν ἀνάγουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶ δεύτερον Λοίτον, καὶ τρίτων τῆς τοῦ Κόσμου Ψυχῆς. Θεόν τρίτων καὶ αὐτήν ἀριθμόμενοι εἰσιν. οἱ δὲ γε θεου λόγοι, τῆς άγίας καὶ μακαρίας Σωτού, Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ άγίου Πνεύματος, ἐν ἀρχῆς λόγος πάντως, κατὰ τὰ ἀποθεομένα." The sense and bearing of ἀρχή, as applied by the Philosophers, is thus
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It will be found that Theodoret has adopted reasoning on these passages, quite in unison with that of Eusebius and Cyril of Alexandria, as just now noticed. And, as a very neat Edition of this portion of Theodoret's works, by Dr. Gaisford, is accessible to all, it is the less necessary I should cite much from it. This subject will be found discussed at p. 87 seq. of Dr. Gaisford's publication, as it will in Tom. iv. p. 498. B. of the Edition of 1642. The only question I shall now touch upon, is one which has been discussed and pronounced upon, in similar terms, by these three Fathers. I mean, the opinions expressed by Amelius on the first few verses of St. John's Gospel. (Præp. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xix. p. 540. Cyril contra Julian. Lib. viii. p. 283. Theodoret. Edit. Gaisford, p. 92.)

The reasoning of Amelius on John i. 1, &c. is to this effect: This then was the Word, according to which,—ever existing,—the things in being were made, even as Heraclitus also deemed: and indeed, the Barbarian thinks it right to have placed Him in the order and dignity of Principle, and to be with God, and to be God: that by Him alone (singly) all things were made; in whom, that which was made became living, and life, and Being: that he descended into Body, put on flesh, and appeared as man: after which, he then also shewed the greatness of His nature; and being forthwith set free (by death), returned to the Deity, and was God, such as He was before He descended to the Body, the flesh, and the man. —Which,

given by Timæus Locrensis. (Theodoret. Edit. Gaisford, p. 101.) “Mía ἀρχα πάντων ἐστὶν ἀγένετος· εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἐπὶ ἁρχα, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα ἐξ ἆρχα ἐγένετο.” There is one ungenerated Principle of all things; for, if it were generated, it would not then be Principle, but that (would be) Principle out of which it were generated. See also Suidas sub voce.

2 The following is the text of Eusebius, which 'differs in a few particulars from that of Dr. Gaisford, and of Cyril. "Kai oúτος ἀρχὴ ἦν ὁ λόγος, κἀ' ἂν αἰεὶ ὕπατα τὰ γενόμενα ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἠξιώσει, καὶ νή. Δ' ἂν ὁ βαρβαρὸς αξίων ἐν τῇ τῆς ἁρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξίων καθέστωτον πρὸς θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ θεὸν εἶναι· δ' σοὶ παντὶ ἀπόστι ἐγενεσθαι· ἐν τῷ γενόμενον ζωήν, καὶ ζωήν, καὶ ὁ περικείναι· καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα (meliûs τε σώμα πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα εὐθυσί-
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according to the opinion of these three Fathers, truly sets forth the Divine character of our Lord. And I may here affirm that, if these Fathers (i.e. Cyril and Theodoret) cannot be justly charged with Arianism, because they have made this use of the Greek Philosophers, and have set to their seal, that the view which treats the Father as the First Cause, the Son as the Second, and the Holy Ghost as the Third, in the Holy and thrice blessed Trinity, does not tend to lower the Divine nature of either; neither can our author, who has only done the same thing, and this I think, in every case, with regard to the Divine Economy. It ought to be borne in mind too, these Fathers believed that the Philosophers universally took these notions from the Holy Scriptures, whether right or wrong signifies nothing to our argument. They held accordingly, that the statements so made conspired with revealed truth, and thence they cited them. For my own part, I believe they were right in so doing, as I can discover no other source, from which they could have possibly been taken.

μενον, φαντάζονται ἄνθρωπον, μετὰ καὶ τό την κατὰ δεκακών τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλείον· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλυόμενα πάλιν ἀποθεοοῦσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν ἐναι, οἷος ἤν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθηναί. It certainly does seem, from the reasoning of Philo on the Logos (λόγος), and from the Targumists, who use the term Νῦν (Word) in the same way, as well as from St. John's adoption of the term (λόγος), that this mode of viewing the Deity, with reference to the Divine Economy, had then got very considerable footing among the Jews,—from whose Scriptures it was, as I think, most probably taken at first. St. John's statement is moreover, that this Being "was made flesh, and dwelt among us;" adopting, apparently, the general belief on this subject as correct, but taking care to restrict it to the Person of our Lord.

1 See the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. xii. Clemens Alexand. ib. cap. xiii. Le Clerc, Bibl. Univers. Ann. 1688, p. 403, seq. Theodoret. ib. p. 91, seq. tells us that Plotinus, who wrote a book on the three Hypostases, Plutarch, Numenius, and others, of the same class, coming after the advent of our Lord, inserted many things of the Christian Theology in their works. Plotinus therefore and Numenius, explaining the mind of Plato, state that he spoke of three time-exceeding and eternal (Beings), the (chief) Good, the Mind, and the Soul of all; which, he goes on to say, we term the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. "Καὶ Πλωτίνος...περὶ τῶν τρίων ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων βιβλίον ξυνέγραψεν...
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It is true Cyril has, as noticed above, occasionally expressed his dissatisfaction with certain modes of comparison instituted by the heathen Philosophers, whose opinions and expressions our author occasionally adopted: and of this, Viger and others have availed themselves, to his injury. But it is not with modes of expression merely that we have now to deal; it is, with these, also to ascertain as far as we can, the things discussed and positively intended. All must see that every sort of comparison, instituted with respect to the Deity, must be inadequate; and consequently, that if we endeavour to ascertain a writer’s opinions, through a medium so faulty and insufficient, the result must be, we shall either deceive ourselves, or injure him. Our author has however, guarded himself abundantly against this again and again, declaring, that the nature of the Deity exceeds every effort of comparison or description; whence it should seem, he intended to provide, that his opinions should not be judged of in a way so unlikely to do them justice. If he has adopted too much of the Platonic mode of reasoning, or entered too particularly into questions, on which later times have deemed it prudent to say little or nothing; these are things with which we have now nothing to do: all we have before us is, simply to ascertain as far as we can, what his views respecting the Deity positively were.—Having then, so far inquired into, and ascertained, his modes of thinking and stating his opinions, we may now proceed to examine them upon other grounds.

ψεῦ... “καὶ ἐτερα δὲ γε πλείονα εἰρηται καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ Πλούταρχος, καὶ Νομηνίως, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄλοι πὶ τὴς τούτων ἤσαν ἄνομοι. Μετὰ γὰρ [ὁ] τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἤμων ἐπιφάνειαν οὐκ ἐνομομεν τῆς χριστιανικῆς θεολογίας πολλὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀνέμεξαν λόγοι.” I think it extremely likely, that the Text of the New Testament afforded these later Philosophers much new matter on this very abstruse subject, although that of the Old might have supplied quite as much as Plato and Philo were able to say upon it: nothing being more common in the East, even at this day, than the adoption of Christian opinions by the Idolaters.
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SECTION II.

On the Opinions of Eusebius, as deducible from the History of the Council of Nice.

We now come to consider the Letter of our Author addressed to the Church of Cæsarea, respecting the proceedings of the Council of Nice, particularly as this has been made one of the chief grounds of accusation against him.

The first thing we shall notice is, the profession of faith which he then offered to the Council 1, and which is thus given: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, the First Born of every creature, begotten of God the Father before all ages, (or worlds,) and by whom all things were made: Who, for our salvation, became incarnate and conversant among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and shall come again in glory to judge the living and the dead. And I believe in one Holy Ghost." "Each one of these," he adds, "we believe to be and exist: the Father, truly the Father; and the Son, truly the Son; and the Holy Ghost, truly the Holy Ghost, even as our Lord, sending forth his apostles to preach, said: "Go (and) make Disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" 2."

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1 The Creed agreed upon at the Council, which is evidently based on this, as this was on others of a more ancient date, proceeds no farther than this place, with the addition of the Anathema. The whole formula will be found in Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. xi. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. viii. as also in the authorities mentioned by Bingham, Antiq. Book x. cap. iv. sect. 4. On the additional portions found in this Creed, as it now stands in our Prayer Books, see, lb. sect. 16. seq. See also Jortin's Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. ii. Book iii. p. 224—5.

2 The Greek of which stands thus: "πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τοῦ τῶν ἁπάντων ὀρατῶν δὲ καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν, καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον ἴσον χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φως ἐκ φωτός, ζωῆν ἐκ ζωῆς, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης τῆς
things,' he goes on to say, 'we affirm that they thus are, and that we thus think, and that we thus formerly held, and that to this faith we will stand even to death, anathematizing every ungodly heresy. That we have thought these things from the heart and soul, as far as we have known ourselves; that we now think and say them in truth, we attest before Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ; having it in our power to shew, and by proofs even to satisfy you, that we thus believed and preached even in times past.'

It should seem, I think, that the profession here made, was made in all simplicity and good faith. I can conceive of no other motive, which could have induced the Father of Church history to act otherwise. And, if this may be relied on, it also must that he did not, on this occasion, make any profession, which he had not always made, and always taught, previous to this time.

κτίσεως, πρὸς πάντων τῶν αἰῶνων ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς γεγενημένου, διʼ οὗ καὶ ἑγέρετο πάντα· τὸν δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπων πολιτευόμενον, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ημέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἔχοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρίνασα καὶ κεκρούσα. πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἐν πνεύμα ἄγιον." From the expression, "ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς γεγενημένον," as well as from what he here adds, viz. "τούτων ἐκαστὸν εἶναι καὶ υπάρχειν, πιστεύοντες, πατέρα ἀληθινὸν πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν ἀληθινὸν υἱὸν, πνεύμα τε ἄγιον ἀληθινὸν πνεύμα ἅγιον." k. t. l. it must be evident, according to his mode of thinking and speaking of the Deity, that nothing short of the self-existing and independent nature of God could have been intended.

It is positively asserted nevertheless, by Athanasius, that his belief was Arian up to the time of the Council of Nice. His words are these: "πρῶτον μὲν συντρέχως τῇ ἀρειανῇ αἰρέσει, ὑστερον δὲ ὑπογραφάς εἰς αὐτὴ τῇ ἐν νικαίς συνόδῳ." "Qui cum prius suffragaretur Arianice sectae, postea tamen Nicenici Concilii decretis subscriptit." Vales. Life of Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Tom. i. p. mihi 24. Jortin however tells us (Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. ii. pp. 189, 270, Edit. 1767), that "Eusebius proposed a Creed, in which he avoided the word ἄμοιοισιν, and anathematized every impious heresy, without specifying any." Would it not have been more accurate to have said, that Eusebius did not insert the term Homoousian, as it does not appear to have had a place in any creed up to this time? And ought not Jortin in fairness to have added, that,
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Let us now examine this profession of Faith itself, with reference to the charge of Arianism so commonly brought against our author. Of his belief respecting the Father we need say nothing, because that has not been impeached. Of the Son then he says, He is God of God. Now, What could a writer, holding the notions of Plato, and the opinions which he himself has expressed on the character of Deity, have possibly meant by this God of God? and which is interpreted, a little lower down, by 'begotten of the Father before all ages' or worlds, if it was not, that the Son was of the Divine Essence of the Father? It should be observed too, we have here no delusive attempt to screen the notions of an Arian, under the substitution of one Greek verb for another, which might have the effect of deceiving the unwary. Again, a little farther on, we have, 'The Father truly (really) the Father,' and, in the same sense, 'The Son truly (really) the Son.' And the same must be true of the phrases, 'Light of Light, Life of Life,' which are followed, as before, by, 'The only begotten Son,

that, when this term was inserted, and had been discussed, Eusebius was one of those who gave it his warmest support? Jortin's other remark is not worth noticing. Le Clerc makes no scruple here in charging Eusebius directly with duplicity: "Eusebe," says he (Bibli. Univers. Ann. 1688. p. 490)...."était un homme adroit, qui ne faisait pas scrupule de souscrire à des termes qui ne lui plaisaient pas, pourvu qu'il les pût expliquer en un sens conforme à sa pensée." (See also p. 482), which has been re-echoed by Jortin. I will only ask here, What would Le Clerc and Jortin have thought of the writer who had treated them in this manner, after protestations such as those made by Eusebius?

1 Even the Arians, if they could have allowed the generation of the Son, in Eusebius's sense, would not have hesitated to receive Him as being equally eternal and divine with the Father. See the Letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus of Tyre. Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. vi.

2 It was a very common practice with the Arians to substitute some part or other of the verb, γενώμαι, γένωμαι, or γένομαι, for that of γεννάω, γεννώμαι; as γενητός, for γεννητός, &c. of which both Valesius (Annot. in Hist. Eccl. Theodoret. Lib. ii. cap. viii.) and Montfaucon (Coll. Nov. Patr. Tom. ii. p. lix.) has deemed it necessary particularly to apprise their readers. Yet, it ought to be observed, that this distinction does not universally hold, even in the orthodox writers, particularly in the term ἀγενητός.
begotten of the Father," and so on; for the purpose, apparently, of determining that the Son partakes of the very essence and nature of the Father.

To this Creed, our author informs us, no objection was offered by the Nicene Fathers. Some additions only were made, which—as it appears to me—added nothing of real moment to its meaning, as it respected either the mind of our Author, or the notions of the Arians. The whole differences, in the two forms, amount in the main to these: viz. for "The only begotten Son," we have "the only begotten Son of the Father, that is, of the Essence of the Father." And again, "God of very God, begotten not made, Homoousion with the Father (i.e. of the same substance &c.), by Whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth." Which, although added with the greatest propriety to a formula intended for common use, and therefore well calculated to guard general readers from mistakes, into which they might otherwise fall, really added nothing of which a philosophical mind could stand in need: the being begotten of God, God of God, Life of Life, and the like, implying to the fullest extent, all that the additional terms conveyed, as far as the question with the Arians was concerned. In another point of view, these additions were more important; that is, for the purpose of guarding believers generally against the heresy of Sabellius, of the Docete, and others: and this the Fathers of the Council probably had in view, when they added them.

To this formula an anathema was added, evidently for the purpose of opposing Arianism. It runs thus:

"But those who say, there was a time when (the Son) was not, and that before He was begotten He had no being; and that He was made of things not existing, or out of any other subsistency or essence, alleging that the Son of God was subject to change or conversion, the Holy

Gr. "γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρός μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός."

"ἐνθάνεται ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινῶν, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοιωμένῳ τῷ πατρὶ δὲ οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ γῆ."

"
Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes. It may be observed, that the Anathema appended to the formula of Eusebius is here, as before, made more specific and comprehensive by the Council: although in effect, it reaches no heresy which might not have been brought under that of our author; it being the privilege of the Church to determine, what heresy was. In this respect, the prior formula was more full, as it would comprehend future heresies. Still the latter was better adapted to general use at that time.

It appears indeed, that our author did not allow these additions to pass without severe inquiry, as to their intention and bearing: and this was perhaps not improper in a matter of such great moment; and especially when a new term was to be introduced into the Creed of the Universal Church. And, What was the result? His entire and conscientious concurrence, as noticed above. The terms, "being of the substance," were explained to indicate, the "being of the Father, but not as a part of the Father": to which, as he tells us, he cordially agreed, not thinking it desirable to keep up a warfare, and to lose sight of the truth for the sake of words only. For the same reason he adds, he received the terms begotten not made; and because it was said, The term made applied commonly to the creatures, which had been made by the Son, to which He was in no respect similar, but was of an Essence far superior to every thing made: while the Scriptures too declared, that the Son was begotten of the Father, in a way neither to be conceived

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1 Gr. " καὶ δὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, ὑμολόγητο πρὸς αὐτῶν δηλωτικὸν εἰναι τοῦ ἐκ μην τοῦ πατρός εἶναι, οὐ μὴν ἢ μέρος ὑπάρχειν τοῦ πατρός." "Et hos quidem voces, ex substantia, saepe sunt hoc significare; Filium quidem esse ex Patre, sed non tanquam partem ipsius Patris." He then adds, "ςαντη και ημήν ἐδόκει καὶ κλῆς ἐχειν συγκαταίθεσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ, τῇ εὑςεβούς διδασκαλίᾳ υπάγορει ποντίκη ἐκ τοῦ πατρός εἶναι τον υἱόν, οὐ μὴν μέρος τῆς οὐσίας αυτοῦ ὑπάρχειν, διότι σαντη τῇ διανοίᾳ και αὐτοίς οικεῖομεθα." "Hunc sensum ut nos quoque amplectere mur, equum omnino videbatur, cum pia doctrina predicet, Filium ex Patre esse, non tamen partem esse illius substantiae. Quamobilem et nos huic notioni assensum præbemus."
nor described by any creature. 'In the same way,' he adds, 'the investigation shewed the Son to be Homoousian (of the same substance) with the Father, not after any bodily sort, nor allied in any way to that of mortals; neither by division of the substance, nor by abscission, passion, conversion, or change, of the power of the Father: that the nature of the unbegotten Father was foreign to all these: that the being Homoousian with the Father, shewed that the Son bears no similitude whatsoever to the begotten creatures; but that He was, in all respects, like the Father who begat: and, that He was of no other subsistency, (or Essence) but of that of the Father 2. To which, our author adds, he agreed as being well propounded, since many ancient and famous Bishops and Writers had used the term Homoousian in the same sense. He then adds his consent to the Anathema subjoined, because the terms 'out of nothing,' "there was a time when he was not," and the like, were unscriptural, and had been the cause of much confusion in the Church: it being confessed by all, that the Son of God did exist before his generation in the flesh; and that, prior to his actual generation, He existed in power ungeneratedly (detur venia verbo) in the Father 3.

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2 Hence will be seen how far from the whole truth Jortin's flippant account of this matter is, when he says, "His (Eusebius's) sense of consubstantial was, that the Son of God was not like created beings, but received his existence and his perfections from the Father in a different and in an ineffable manner," &c. Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. i. Book ii. p. 189. Ed. 1767. The Greek here will shew, that our author occasionally used the term ὑπόστασις and οὐσία, in the same sense: "καὶ μη ἐγὼ ἐστι ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ὑποστάσεις οὐ καὶ οὐσίας, οὕτω ἕκ τῆς του πατρός." And also that he did believe, that the Son was of the Essence of the Father.

3 This is a very remarkable passage, and one which ought not to be passed over without notice. It stands thus: "ἐνεγόρητο καὶ πρὶν ἐνεγόρητο γενηθῆναι, δυνάμει ἢν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἄγεννητος, ὅταν τοῦ πατρός, ὅπερ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἔδω, καὶ σωτῆρος, καὶ δυνάμει πάντα δότος ἐδω τε καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, καὶ ὑστάτως ἔχωντο." "Nam primum actu gigneretur, potentia erat in Patre, ingenita quodam ratione: cum Pater semper sit pater, Rex item atque Servator." Here, it should be observed, Eusebius speaks of the abstract nature of the Deity, as it respected the monarchy, (κατὰ τὴν μοναρχίαν) as being ever immutably the
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One of the most important considerations, however, connected with this Letter is, that it appears to have been written to Arians\textsuperscript{1}. It has already been remarked, that

\textit{the same:} and, although he uses the terms \textit{Father} and \textit{Son},—which he usually applies with reference to the Divine Economy (ἡ οἰκονομία)—it is for the purpose of affirming here, that each is equally eternal, and coessential. To this, Valesius has a strong objection, which he declares in these words in his notes, (p. mihi 12.) “In his Constantini sive Eusebii verbis error est manifestus. Neque enim verbum fuit in Patre potentiā, primumque actu gigneretur ex Patre. Primus enim actus et potentia non distinguuntur in Deo. Deinde ex eo sequeretur Verbum non fuisset ab eterno. Nam et reliquae creaturae antequam actu crearentur, potentia erant in Deo,” &c. I must confess I do not very clearly see the force of this objection. If the Schoolmen have said, that \textit{act} and \textit{power} are not to be considered as distinct things in the Deity, I do not perceive, either in what this is self-evident, or why the distinction is not to be made. Nor again, can I discover, in what way the creatures—here supposed to be created \textit{out of nothing},—could also be said to exist in the Deity in \textit{power} before they were created, and hence be held to have been from eternity. This seems to me, to be judging of the opinions and reasoning of Eusebius, by principles not recognized until some centuries after his death. It appears to me, that Eusebius might have believed the Deity to have existed in His abstract character from all eternity immutably the same, and yet the Divine Essence to have comprehended the subsistences of \textit{Father}, \textit{Son}, and \textit{Holy Ghost}, all, each, and every, of these, vested with the power which is inseparable from Deity. But, however this might be, the passage most unequivocally affirms the eternity of the \textit{Son}.

\textsuperscript{1} So Theodoret, from whose Eccles. Hist. (Lib. i. cap. xi.) these extracts are taken, ib. whose words are: “\textit{Eusebii} τοῦ καισαρέως \textit{ἐπιστολή}, ἥν περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἔγραψεν, ἐκθείναι βαθύλοιμα τῇ συγγραφῇ, τῆς τούτῳ λύττῃς ἔλεγχον ἔχουσαν ἐναργή. τούτων γὰρ γεραιοστετε ὁ βύδροις, τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦτον γραφείαν ἀντικριν ἀντιλεγονων γέγραφε δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολήν πρὸς τινας τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντας, προσδοσίαν ὡς εἰ καὶ ἐγκαλουντας αὐτή, δηλοὶ δὲ ἄμενοι τὰ γεγραμμένα τοῦ τοῦ γεγραφῶν σκοπῶν.” “\textit{Eusebii Cesariensis epistolam, quam de fide scriptas, libet hoc loco inserere, ut que illorum}” (i.e. Arianorum) “\textit{rabiem manifestè convincat. Hunc enim ut consentientem honorantes, ejus scriptas apertè contradicunt. Epistolam autem scripsit ad Arianos quosdam, qui illum, ut apparat, proditionis accusabant. Sed auctoribus mentem melius verba ipsa declarant.” Then follows this Epistle: which, be it remembered, Theodoret cites for the purpose of shewing that our author was not friendly to the views of the Arians. Socrates gives a similar account of this Epistle (Lib. i. cap. viii. p. mihi 23. D.) “καὶ τῷ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν λαῷ ἔγραψεν τὸν ἀριστον τῆς
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Eusebius's hesitating to subscribe to the Homoousian doctrine, has been made matter of accusation against him*. Now let it be supposed that this Letter was written to Arians within his own diocese; What, I ask, could be more proper or becoming in him, than to assure them that he did not assent to this doctrine until he had obtained a full

πίστεως διεκμήγατο (Εὐσέβιος ο τοῦ παρμιλοῦ), τὴν τοῦ ὁμοούσιον λέξιν ὑπνοήσας, ἵνα μη δὲ ὅλως τις ὑπόνοιαν ἀνθρωποσύνην ἐχει περὶ αὐτοῦ."..."et Cassariensis suis conscriptam fidei formulam misit, vocem consubstantialis interpretatus, ne quis sinistrum quidpiam de ipso suspicaretur, eo quod aliquantulum substitisset."

* It is curious to observe how Athanasius meets this: "It is wonderful," says he, "that Eusebius of Cesarea of Palestine, although refusing the day before, yet the day after subscribed; and sent an Epistle to his Church, asserting that this was the Faith of the Church, and the tradition of the Fathers; and to all he openly shewed, that they were formerly in error, and had vainly contended against the truth." He goes on to say, that "although these were words which he was then ashamed to use, he nevertheless was willing to defend himself to the Church in this way, not denying the Homousious doctrine, which must have been grievous to him: and that to carry this on, he ever after accused the Arians." His words are: "καὶ τό γε παράσοφον, Εὐσέβιοι ο ἀπὸ καισαρείας τῆς παλαιστίνης, καὶ τοι πρὸ μιᾶς ἀρνημενον, ὅλως ὑποτετρον υπογράφας, ἐπεστείλε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ, λέγων εἰναι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς πίστει, καὶ τῶν πατέρων τῆς παράσοφοι πάντες τα φανερῶς ἔδειξεν, ὅτι πρῶτον ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ μάμθη εὐφονείκονα πρὸς τὴν αὐλήναν εἰ γάρ καὶ ἠγχολθή τῷ ταύτῃ τῶν λέξεων γράψας, καὶ ἦλθουσαν αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσατο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλάγει διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῷ ὁμοούσιον, ἐναρμονίας τοῦ φανερῶν τούτο σημαίνη βούλεται, καὶ κείνον ποιεῖν δεινον, ὅπως αὑτοὺς ἀπολογομένους καταγράφει λοιπὸν τῶν ἀρέσκων." Vales. Life of Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Tom. 1. It is greatly to be regretted that Athanasius did not here, as well as elsewhere, bring positive matter of accusation against our Author if he had any. The fact is, all he has advanced amounts to nothing beyond inferences, drawn from documents now in our hands. In one case, indeed, he cites a document not extant, and in this he accuses him of saying that Christ is not the true God. It is probable however, that all our Author there did was, to the Father the only true God, as in John xvii. 3: Christ there speaking of Himself as a Minister in the Divine Economy; a thing which Eusebius has done again and again. Athanasius, no doubt, gave the real impressions which he felt; but it is to be feared that,—as it often happens among ourselves,—a fervent zeal to maintain the truth, was suffered to overcome his better judgment, and, with this, his Christian feelings as a controversialist.

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and clear explanation as to its bearing? that he had not been lightly carried away with the many, but had persevered to the last in refusing subscription, until the matter had been made out entirely to his satisfaction? that he then subscribed, declaring that the term proposed (Homoousian) was neither new, nor,—as then explained,—in any way differing from the teaching of the Divine Oracles; and then attesting in the presence of the Almighty, that he had in sincerity, and in the fullest conviction of his conscience, given his assent to this Creed? Nor is this all, but he as fully assented to the Anathema also, which fell directly on the notions of the Arians; and called to their remembrance, that these were the doctrines which he had from the first taught and preached, and would to the last maintain among them. Let it also be borne in mind that Arius, as noticed above, had looked upon our Author as one of his adherents; and I think it must appear, that this Letter was both intended to undeceive them in this respect, and at the same time to lay before them his real, long entertained, and deliberately formed, convictions as to the proper Divinity of the Son of God, and as to the unscriptural and heretical notions of the Arian party. This, I think, is the course that any Churchman at the present day would pursue, when arguing with a Dissenter. He would endeavour to convince him,—if he dealt fairly with him,—that he had taken all due care to consider his opinions; that he did not rashly or hastily oppose his views: but that, after every necessary investigation made, he felt bound both to express, and to maintain, the opinions to which he had from the first been attached.

To this it may be added, that Theodoret, a writer of no mean attainments and judgment, devotes a whole chapter in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. i. cap. xii.)¹ to the task of convincing the Arians, from the writings of our Eusebius, that they laboured under a great mistake in

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¹ Yet, he is made (ib. Lib. v. cap. vii.) to enumerate "even Eusebius" of Cæsarea among the abettors of Arianism! Is it not probable that this ("καὶ Εὐσεβίου") was added by some zealous scribe? for it is well known, that the margins of the MSS. are occasionally loaded with reproaches on his name vented by this race of men.
supposing, that he was attached to their opinions. This he does first, by shewing from his Epistle to the Church of Caesarea, that the term Homousian was not of recent coinage: secondly, by appealing to the consent which he, with the Nicene Fathers, gave to the Creed then established: which Theodoret also affirms, he had also shewn in his Life of Constantine. And he concludes, that, although the Arians considered it no impiety to contradict other Fathers; to Eusebius, whom they usually treated with respect, it was but reasonable they should give credence when he affirmed, that the agreement of the Council was complete.

It will be quite sufficient to our purpose now, to add the testimony of Socrates to the same effect; and particularly, as he has had sagacity enough to discover, on what grounds it was, that our Author had been charged with Arianism, and also to suggest, from the nature of the case,

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2 As this passage is important to our question, I give it in the Greek of Socrates, with the Latin translation of Valesius...“πῶς ἄρειανίξεων αὐτῶν τις ἐγκαίμβανωσιν πλανῶνται δὲ καὶ ἄρειανει, φρονεῖν αὐτῶν νομίζοντες τὰ αὐτῶν ἀλλ’ ἑρεῖ τις ὡς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν ἄρειανιξειν δοκεῖ, τῷ συνεφώ λέγει διὰ Χριστοῦ πρὸς ὅν ἀποκρυνόμεθα, ὅτι τῇ λέξει ταύτης πολλάκις καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ταῦτα ἄλλα ταύτης πολλάκις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς αὐθεντικότητος τοῦ Ἐστῆρος ἦμας καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀπαύγας τούτων, ὃ ἀπόστολος τῷ λέξει ταύτης ἐχρήσατο, καὶ οὐ δὲ πάποτε ως κακοδεξαίως ἐξάσκαλος ἐνομίσαν.”...Quid cause est cur nonnulli cum existimant Arian dogmæi consentire? Falluntur etiam Ariani, qui illum opinionis suæ suffragari arbitrantur. Sed dicet fortasse aliquid, illum Ariani dogmatis assertorem videri, propter quod in libris suis crebro dicere solet, per Christian. Cui nos respondemus; et haec loquendi ratione, et aliis hujusmodi que dispensationem humanitatis Jesu Christi designat, Ecclesiasticos Scriptorum et consuevisse: et ante hos omnes Paulum Apostolum iiisdem vocibus usum fuisse, qui tamen perversi dogmatis magister nunquam est existimatus.” See on this use of the term Economy (οἰκονομία) pp. xxix, xxx. note, above; and on a very extended application of it the “Capitula de Incarnacione Domini” of Cyril of Alexandria, Script. Vet. Nov. Collect. Tom. viii. Rom. 1853, by Signor Mai, p. 88, seq. It. Athanasius, Collect. Nov. Patr. Tom. ii. Paris, 1706. Ed. Montfauç. p. 6, seq. It should be borne in mind however, that our Author often speaks of the Economy (ἡ οἰκονομία), under which our Lord acted as a Minister, even before His incarnation, as already remarked.
how the expressions of Eusebius ought to be viewed. Socrates then, in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. ii. cap. xxi. p. mibi 108) argues to this effect: 'Since some have endeavoured to criminate Eusebius as Arianizing in his writings, I think it not unseasonable to say a few things about him. First, he was present at the Council of Nice, which defined the Homousian doctrine; and with it he agreed.' His Life of Constantine is then, as before, cited, containing his own testimony to this fact. Socrates then asks, 'How is it, that some suppose him to have Arianized; for the Arians err who imagine that he thinks with them? One may say,' he adds, 'that in his writings he seems to Arianize, from his frequently saying through Christ. To such we answer,' continues he, 'Churchmen often use this expression, as they also do those other (similar ones), which have respect to the Economy of the manhood of our Saviour; and indeed, before all these, the Apostle used the (same) expressions, and he has never, on this account, been considered a Teacher of corrupt doctrine.' Socrates has, I think, here assigned the true cause of the alleged Arianism of our Author.—It should be remarked, that in this respect Eusebius has, perhaps more frequently than any other of the Fathers, spoken of our Lord under this point of view, without, at the same time, apprising his Reader of it: which might however well be excused in a mind so philosophical as his really was: while in others less so, it would easily be mistaken for heterodoxy. Socrates proceeds; 'Hear' what Eusebius says, when Arius affirms

*1 This is taken by Socrates (Hist. Eccl. iib.) from our Author's controversy with Marcellus, which we shall notice more particularly in our next section. As the place is important, I give the original: 'Ετι μὴν καὶ ἀρείων κτίσμα τῶν ὕδων ὡς ἐν τῶν ἄλλων τολμήσατο εἰπείς, ἐπάκομον οὖν Ἐσέβιοι περὶ τούτου...φησίν ὁ μονογενὴς θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνος αὐτὸς, καὶ οὐ δὲ ἄλλος αὐτοῖς δηθεὶς τοῖς εἰκότεσι ἐν τοῖς κτίσματος τοῖς κτίσμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ φάναι τετολμηκόσιν, ἐξ' οὐκ δὲντων ὑμοὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κτίσματι γενόμενω καὶ τῶν γὰρ ἐτὶ ἐσται νῦν; πῶς δὲ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς λοιποῖς κτίσμασιν ἐπιγραφόμενος φόρει; τῶν τε πολλῶν γενητῶν ἔσται εἰς, ἀτε τῇς ἐξ' οὐκ δὲντων κτίσεως ὑμοῖς αὐτῶν μετασχηματισμενωσι; ἀλλ' οὐρ' δὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ θεία παιδεύει λόγια...ἀ γὰρ ἐξ' οὐκ
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that the Son of God is but a mere creature: He alone and no other is, and is named, the only-begotten Son of God; whence one may justly reprehend those who dare to affirm that He is a creature, made out of nothing like other creatures. For, How can He then be the Son? How the only-begotten of God, who is characterized as of the same nature with the creatures, as one of the many that have been made, and as partaking of a common creation with them, out of nothing? But, the Divine Oracles do not thus teach of Him. And, a little lower down, 'That which is made out of nothing, cannot be truly the Son of God; nor indeed can any other made thing. But He, who is truly the Son of God, He who is begotten of God as of a Father, is justly named the Only-begotten and Beloved of the Father. And thus indeed, must He also be God. For what,' adds he, 'is that which is begotten of God, but that which is assimilated to Him (as) the Generator?' It should be remembered, that our Author reasons here as a Platonist, holding, that whatever had independent existence as opposed to creation, could be nothing less than Deity; as must every thing, which is said to be generated of Deity, necessarily partake of the Divine Essence.

As far therefore, as the Council of Nice is concerned, there appears to be no good reason, either for suspecting the
sincerity of our Author; or for supposing that, either then, or at any previous time, he really favoured the views of the Ariane. Whether his reasoning was good or bad, or whether he talked at one time too much like a Platonist, at another, too much like a Theologian, for general readers, or not, is not now the question. I will say here, that, taking his reasoning as it ought to be taken, as resulting from his own modes of thinking and of expression, I may perhaps conclude, that, so far, there appears to be no good grounds either for suspecting his sincerity, or his orthodoxy. It should be observed too, that, of all the testimonies against him, collected from the Fathers of the Church and others by Valesius, not so much as one is grounded on any thing better than inference, and this drawn, as I think, from narrow and partial views of his conduct and writings. In one instance indeed, he is accused with having sacrificed to idols during the persecutions: but here also, it will be found upon inquiry, this rests on grounds no better than those of conjecture¹.

SECTION III.

On the Opinions of Eusebius as discoverable in his Controversy with Marcellius.

Having considered some of the leading modes of thinking and of expressing himself adopted by our Author, and examined these in some of their details as connected with the Council of Nice; it is now my intention to extend this inquiry to a few particulars taken from his controversy with Marcellus², both because controversy has usually the

¹ As cited by Valesius, ib.

² A very good account of him, and of this controversy, will be found in Cave’s Hist. Liter. Tom. i. p. 182. Edit. 1686. He was Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia; and, according to Socrates, (Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. xxxvi.) he fell, in combating the opinions of the Arians, into the opposite extreme, Sabellianism. And this, I think, is obvious enough from the extracts given by Eusebius from his writings. The Council of Jerusalem, having considered this question, ordered him to amend his opinions, and to burn his books. This he promised but neglected to do, and was accordingly deposed by that of Constantinople. He then betook himself to Rome, and laid his case before Pope Julius, declaring
effect of laying open the minds of those engaged in it, to a
greater degree than any thing else, on the questions at issue;
and also of affording a good opportunity to judge, in what
way the several disputants interpreted the documents on
which they undertook to argue.

This controversy will, in both these respects, afford us
considerable assistance towards ascertaining the truth in the
question before us; and particularly in the latter case, as
it will bring before us certain passages of Scripture, which
could not have failed to call forth the Arian notions of our
Author, if indeed he entertained such. An extract from
this controversy has been noticed above, as adduced by
Socrates in defence of our Author. The first we shall
here touch upon, has also been adduced by him for the same
purpose; and, as the Scripture which it cites, seems to speak
of our Lord as a created being, it will afford us a good
opportunity of seeing how Eusebius dealt with it.

The passage here adduced is Prov. viii. 22, which, ac-
cording to the Septuagint, reads, "The Lord created me
the beginning of his ways." On which our Author says,
'If one find it once said in the Scripture, The Lord cre-
ated me the beginning of His ways for His works, it is
necessary to observe the mind of the passage, which,' says
he, 'I will shortly do; not, like Marcellus, for the purpose
of beating down a principal doctrine of the Church, from
one mere expression.' Socrates then tells us, that Euse-
bius teaches us in his Third Book (against Marcellus,) how
the term created ought to be taken here: which he
does to this effect.—' The terms, The Lord created me the
beginning of His ways for His works are to be considered
as consequent on what precedes; and, if he says that Him-

that his writings had been misunderstood and misapplied by his ac-
cusers. Upon this the Pope received him into communion, as also did
the Council of Sardica, and restored him to his Bishoprick. It is
probably to be ascribed to this circumstance, that Roman Catholic writers
are often found among his zealous supporters, and that Montfaucon
undertook an elaborate, but,—to my mind,—a most unsatisfactory,
defence of him; which will be found prefixed to his edition of our
Author’s Commentary on the Psalms, p. li. lii. seq.


Lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 169 D.
self was created, He could not say these things, as implying that He came forth from nothing into existence; nor, that He was, like the other creatures, made out of nothing: which some have erroneously understood: but, as subsisting (ὑπερτῶν) indeed, and Living (ζωῆς), and Pre-existing (προῴου), and previously having a Being (προϋπάρχων), before the constitution of the whole world; appointed by His own Father and Lord to rule over all things: hence the term He created (ἐκτίσεως) was said for, He appointed (κατέταξεν), or, He established (κατέστησεν)." We then have several passages¹ pointed out, in which creature, or created, signifies something appointed, constituted, or the like; but not created out of nothing; and the conclusion is, that this text has respect to the constituting of Christ by the Father, the Ruler of all things. We have nothing here therefore, implying in any way, either that our Lord was a creature, or that He was, as to His Divine Essence, in any respect inferior to the Father; but only as it respected the office of a Minister in the Divine Economy, which He took upon himself to hold and to fulfil.

But, that we may enter the more fully into our Author’s mind, we must see how he viewed the opinions of his opponent, whose object was—let it be borne in mind,—to prove that he was an Arian. These Eusebius has affirmed were Sabellian. He then gives the following from Marcellus;

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 13. Amos iv. 13. Ps. l. 11 (Septuagint.) Eph. ii. 15; iv. 24. Theodoret Dialog. 1. aduers. Anomæos. Tom. v. p. 281: takes this passage in the Proverbs, as referring to the Incarnation of our Lord; the past tense in, He created (ἐκτίσεως) being used to imply the thing enounced as present to the Divine mind, as in, “They pierced my hands and my feet, &c.” which, he goes on to say, points out “the mystery hidden from the foundation of the world.” Eph. iii. 5. John viii. 57, 58, &c. But here I think Eusebius is right, and Theodoret wrong, for this reason; the passage in Proverbs is evidently an imitation of a place in Job, viz. chap. xx. 19: where the First of the ways of God, cannot refer to the animal there mentioned, but to the Wisdom of God, had in view: and this Wisdom Solomon evidently had before him, which the Fathers generally refer to Christ. See my translation of the place with the notes. An interpretation of this passage in the Proverbs, not unlike that of Eusebius, was given by Eustathius of Antioch; and it has been preserved by Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. vii.
"That there is not, nor did there (ever) preexist, nor has there at any time existed, a Son of God before his being brought forth by the Virgin: but that he was only a word coexisting with the Father, being eternally with Him, and united, just as an unspoken word might be with man. For

* Lib. ii. cap. i. contra Marcellum, p. 32. A. it. p. 35. B. This is stated in substance by Montfaucon (Collect. Nov. Patr. Tom. ii. cap. ii. p. iii. seq.) to which are added similar statements from Basil, Chrysostom, and Theodoret; to which Epiphanius, and Athanasius have, to a certain extent, expressed their agreement. In cap. iii. ib. Montfaucon takes up the defence of Marcellus. His first assertion is, that Marcellus had done only as many Catholics had, who maintained that the ousia, Essence, or ὑποστάσις, Hypostasis of the Father and the Word were one and the same: while Eusebius held, that these were separate, and unequal: which is not true! A little lower down he tells us that Marcellus, acting against the Sabellians, could not but have held that the Word was distinct from the Father. But this is also incorrect. Marcellus was not here writing against the Sabellians, but against the Arians, as he also shews (ib. capp. i. iii.). He next cites Marcellus saying, that the Word of God, was not a word so called abusively, or figuratively, (οὐ λόγον καταχροστικῶς ὑπομασθήτα), but was truly a word (ἀλλ’ ἀληθῶς δεῦτα λόγον): which he tells us means, that the Word was truly self-existing, "verbum exstitisse verè et per se." I more than doubt this. All Marcellus says seems to me to be, that the Word, in his mind, implied nothing whatever in a sense not (οὐ καταχροστικῶς) strictly its own, but really and verily a word, such as he had before described, resting unanounced in the mind of the Father. And this Montfaucon next adduces, declaring that it involves nothing uncatholic, but what agreed with John i. 1. And, what should exceed all wonder, he then tells us, that Athanasius and others read here, ἐν τῶν θεόν, καὶ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ; but, that certain Fathers, to avoid the usages of the followers of Marcellus (Marcelliani), and of others, rejected the terms ἐν τῷ Θεῷ. One would hardly have expected this in a defence of the same Marcellus! Montfaucon thinks in the next place, that he finds a real distinction between the Father and the Son, in Marcellus's citing, "Let us make man," &c. But, Does this necessarily follow, in a writer reasoning as Marcellus does? It is doubtful at best. His next argument (iii.) amounts to nothing whatever. In page lx. it is insinuated that Eusebius, with the Arians generally, considered Christ as a created being: which is not true! And in the last place, he allows that Marcellus was scarcely excusable, believing that he had so written his book, that he could easily make that look well, which was in itself really ill.—And, upon the whole, I do not think that Marcellus, were he to appear again, would thank Montfaucon for this defence.
he (Marcellus) uses this example; that a word was within God himself, sometimes at rest, sometimes operating significantly, but proceeding forth by the sole act of the Father. After stating some of his objections to this, he proceeds, in his second chapter (ib.) to refute these opinions upon statements taken from the work (now lost) of Marcellus himself. —It is of no concern to us now, whether Eusebius was right or wrong in his statements of the notions of Marcellus: all we wish to ascertain is, How he defended himself against the charges of Arianism brought against him by this writer.

In the fourth chapter then, of his first Book, Marcellus attacks several writers on their opinions respecting the Son, and among these Eusebius. I shall notice only one instance of his reasoning against Asterius\(^1\), and then proceed to those advanced against Eusebius himself. And this I notice merely to shew, how our Author meets it. It was the object of Marcellus to prove here (p. 24. D.) that the assertions of Asterius, affirming that Christ was God, and at the same time, the image of God, could not hold. His words are, "How can He, who was born both God and Lord, as he (Asterius) has presumed, possibly be the Image of God? For, the Image of God is one thing, and God another; so that if the Image be not Lord, neither is it God, but the Image of God and Lord; but, if it be truly God and Lord, it cannot be the Image of Lord and of God.\(^2\)"

This, our Author, affirms is most blindly said: Marcellus not being aware, that a Son endued with a soul might be said to be the Image of His own Father, since He would be in all respects like Him. He then cites Gen. v. 3, to shew\(^3\), that this was justified by the usage of Scripture. He then quotes the Apostle (Philip. ii. 6, 7), thus speaking on the Divinity of the Son, (περὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Υἱοῦ.) “Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to

\(^1\) Who was, according to Socrates, a Sophist of Cappadocia who wrote in favour of the Arian party.

\(^2\) The words of Marcellus are: "πῶς γὰρ ὁ κυρίως (κύριος?) γεν生物质 καὶ ὁ Θεός, ὥσ αὐτὸς προλαβὼν ἔφη, δύναται εἰκὼν Θεοῦ εἶναι; ἕτερον γὰρ εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ Θεός, ὡστε εἰ μὲν εἰκὼν, οὐ τοῦ Κύριος οὐδὲ Θεός, εἰ δὲ Κύριος ὄντως καὶ Θεός, οὐκ εἰκὼν Κύριου καὶ Θεοῦ εἶναι δύναται.”

\(^3\) Also Col. iii. 10. Wisd. vii. 26.
be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation:
and again, (Heb. i. 8) "Who being the brightness of His
glory, and the express image of His person," &c. evi-
dently intending to urge the Divine Nature of our Lord
on the one hand, and his voluntary humiliation in taking
the office of a ministering servant on the other, in the work
of the Divine Economy. Marcellus next charges Narcissus
and Eusebius (ib. p. 25. C.) with holding, that there were
Two, and even Three (different) Essences (in the Deity),...
daring to separate the Word of God, and naming it an-
other God, in substance and power different from the Father.
He then classes our author with Valentinus, Hermes, Nar-
cissus, Plato, and Marcion (ib. p. 26. A). To this, and
some subsequent matter, Eusebius thought it sufficient to
answer, that his words were those of the Apostle, out of
which his opponent had fabricated two substances and two
Gods: and who had, a little lower down, also charged him
from the words of the same Apostle, with affirming that
Christ was a mere man. I may remark here, If our Author
did affirm, either directly or indirectly, that there were two,
or three, distinct Essences in the Deity, he could not have
been an abettor of Arius. It is sufficiently evident how-
ever, that he only spoke of the Hypostases or Subsistences,
believed to exist in the Holy Trinity, as we shall presently

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4 Lit. Emptyed Himself, "ἐκώσε ἐαυτόν." A passage admirably
calculated to express the mind of Eusebius, both as to the Divinity, and
the Humiliation of the Son.

5 "πρεπὴν εἶναι πιστεύειν ὑσίαν ἀποκρυφόμενην."...i.e. in answer
to the question whether he believed two substances to exist in the Deity,
"he answers three."—And it should be remembered here, as noticed
above, (p. xxxii.) that ὑσία, substance, is to be taken in the sense of,
ὑπόστασις, subsistence or person.

6 Ib. p. 27. A. "τῷ ἔτει τὰ ὑπὸ διαλογιστὴ ψευδών, τῷ
μηδὲν εἰρημένῳ παλαιῷ, ὡς πῶς γράφει, ἢ τὰ ἀποστολικὰ μυθῶν.
καὶ γὰρ πείρα τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγει τὸν Εὐσέβιον ὁμολογεῖ, ὡς καὶ τὸν νῦν
tοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν λέγοντα σὺν τῷ πατέρι." "Nota mihi autem quanto
cum felle et acerbitate convivietur ei, qui nihil prorsus in scripta retulit,
preteter nuda ipsissimâque Apostoli verba, idque etiam ipso fatente
accusatore. Et adhuc qui fatetur hoc in loco Eusebium duos Deos,
preteri, ut puta qui cum Patre suæ, una et Filium quoque Deum
agnoscat esse."
see. But, what is most important here is, Marcellus bears testimony to the fact, that our Author held the Godhead of the Son, and the existence of the Holy Trinity. His method of stating this, resulted solely from his own Sabellian views of the subject.1

Paulinus is next charged (ib. p. 27. C.) with 'making Christ a God Second in order, and begotten after the human manner;' also with 'making Him a creature, and with setting up many gods:' and in this category is our Eusebius included, with the addition, that he had affirmed, not only that there was one only God, but that the true God was one only. We have nothing to do here with the opinions of Paulinus: the extract is given, because the same things are charged upon our Author. And, What do they amount to? Why, that Christ was considered by him as God, holding a secondary place: that is, as we have already seen, 'thinking it not robbery to be equal with God, nevertheless taking upon himself the form of a servant.' Then again, that he had set up many gods: which is only Marcellus's way of designating the Persons of the Holy Trinity: and the same may be said of his gloss on the term begotten. But, on his affirming that Eusebius made God (the Father) the only true God, Eusebius himself declares, that if he had adduced his words, he would have known that he had affirmed no such thing; but, that it was the Saviour who had said, "that they might know thee the only true God."2

Now, as our Author's interpretation of this last passage is all-important to this question, we cannot do better perhaps than adduce it. It is given considerably in detail in his "Eclogæ Prophetae," lately published at Oxford by Dr. Gaisford, (pp. 48—6) where we are told that Jehovah sustained under the Old Testament, the same office of Person sent, as our Lord does under the New. The terms "only true God," could not therefore,

1 See also ib. p. 29.
2 His words are: "καὶ παραθέμενος τὴν Εὐσεβίου λέξιν, συνέγεις, ὡς οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν πατέρα μόνον ἀληθινόν Θεόν διδάσκοντα φημί· τοῦ δὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰρηκότος, ἵνα γινώσκως σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινόν Θεόν." (John xvi. 3.)
have been intended to deny the Deity of the Son, or in any way to exclude Him from a participation in the supreme Godhead, unless this could also be said of Jehovah himself. In our Author's Commentary on the Psalms, however, this passage is treated in a more summary and positive manner, to this effect. 'The term alone is used even by our Lord of the Father, in’ "that they might know the only true God." 'For, since the Son is a partaker in the Godhead of the Father, participating in the same Rule, inasmuch as He is the only-begotten Son and Word of God, and the Wisdom of God, it is but right that He should be recounted in the Theology (doctrine respecting God) now before us; which teaches, that there is not one among the many that are named Gods, like the God who is over all: but, in His one only-begotten Word, is the likeness of the Father preserved.'—It must be obvious I think from this, that, when our Author spoke of the God who is above all, the God of all, and the only true God, there could have been no intention on his part, either to deny the Divinity of the Son, or to exclude Him in any way from partaking in that of the Father. (Ib. p. 28. C.)

The next charge of Marcellus is, that Eusebius had made Christ a mere man: but here happily, he has adduced the words of our Author; which expressly state,
that "there is one Mediator between God and men, the
man Christ Jesus"; and this, Marcellus himself here al-
 lows, he had spoken solely with reference to the Divine
Economy. If then Eusebius had used the words of
Scripture, he had very prudently guarded himself against
the imputation, that he intended by them to lower the
Divine nature of the Son; which the introduction of the
term Economy effectually did. I must be allowed to remark
here, that it will be difficult to discover what could have
induced Marcellus to persevere in a charge like this, when
he must have seen that the passage cited was Holy
Scripture, and that Eusebius had given a sufficient clue
to his view of its meaning; unless indeed the Sabellianism,

1 T. ii. 5. "τὸ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, Ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός." Marcellus adds, "et homine hominem autem eiusmod
feci, τη κατά σώμα αυτοῦ μόνη προσέχεις οἰκονομία, κάτω πάντως κακεί
νοι συνομολογεῖ, το μοδί ἔχειν ἔλεγχα ἐκ αὐτῶν." κ. τ. λ. "Medi-
torem quosque unum Dei atque hominum constituit hominem Jesum
Christum." He adds, "Quod si ergo hominem ideo illu appellet, quod
respicereat cam" (tolam) "quae est secundum carmen, economiam, non
potest fieri quin simul profitetur ille, sper se nullam in eo collocari," &c.
Jer. xvii. 5 is then cited. It is scarcely possible, Marcellus could not
have understood what Eusebius meant here, by the Economy according
to the flesh. He probably thought, as I suspect many others have done,
that it would suit his purpose better to disregard this wholly. It
should be observed, that the Fathers often use the term Monarchy,
(ἡ μοναρχία. p. xxxi. above) when speaking of the universal rule of
God in the abstract, in contradistinction to that of Economy; which,
as applying to the work of redemption, views the Holy Trinity as compre-
hending the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with reference to the declara-
"Εἷς Θεὸς παρ’ ἡμῖν προσκυνεῖται τριακόντα μὲν κατὰ τὴν υπό-
στασιν, μονακίων δὲ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ μοναρχίας παρ’ ἡμῖν τὸ
τριάκοντα, οὔ πολυμοναρχία." "Unus Deus apud nos adoratur: tres
quidem personas secundum hypostasis, unus vero Deus secundum essen-
tiam: et unus apud nos honoratur Deus, non plures autem." See the
other examples supplied by Suicer, which will abundantly shew, that
the Monarchy (ἡ μοναρχία) and Economy (ἡ οἰκονομία), thus used, are
opposed to one another.

2 Cyril of Alexandria directly charges Marcellus with being a Sabel-
where he says: "καὶ ἡ τριάς Ῥόην ἐν ψυλῷ τοῖς οὐρασί, ἀλλ’ ἐν
tοῖς υποστάσεσι γνωρίζεται: οὐ γὰρ ἐν λέγομεν τριάς Ῥόη,
cata την
with which our Author, with others, has charged Him, was the cause of it.

Having so far examined our Author’s views in this place, let us now pass on to his Third Book on the Ecclesiastical Theology, also written against Marcellus. We have here then, (cap. iv. p. 168) Marcellus arguing on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, more particularly as held by our Author; on which Eusebius concludes, that these three Hypostases or Persons, must in the mind of Marcellus have constituted one and the same being, and have been only names; he not seeing, that the Son was said to proceed forth of the Father, as was also the Holy Ghost; nor, being able to understand, how it was said of the Holy Ghost, “He shall take of mine and shew it to you” (John xvi. 14); nor, how our Lord breathed on His Disciples, saying, “Receive ye the Holy Ghost.” but, which were all easily solved by those whose views were according to piety, when they considered, that the Son was ever with, and present to, the Father, inwardly as it were, and as existing in the inaccessible and untrodden parts of the Father’s Rule: then affirming Himself to have come out of the Father, as sent by Him for the salvation of the human race...‘From whence then came He forth,’ asks he, ‘but from the most inward Royal apartments of the Father’s

tοῦ Σαββελλίου καὶ φωτεινοῦ καὶ Μαρκέλλου συναίρεσιν τε καὶ σύγ-
χρωσιν.” κ.τ.λ. The Trinity too is acknowledged (as existing), not in mere names, but in the Persons (or subsistences); for we do not say One three-named (Being), according to the contraction and confusion (in system) of Sabellius, Photinus, and Marcellus, &c.

And he also allows the consequences contended for by our Author, would be good, provided he could allow his premises which speak of God as generating the Son: his words on this point are: “πάν γὰρ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον τέλειον εἶναι ἁμαρτη, μηδαμῶς προσδεμένου τῆς παρ’ ἐτέρου βοινθείας.” “Nam quod de Patre procedit, omnia necessario perfectum est, nec ullaus alterius indiget auxilio.” And much to the same effect Eusebius of Nicomedia, as quoted by Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. vi. p. mihi 22. D.

4 Eccles. Theolog. Lib. m. cap. iv. p. 169. B. “εἰς τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ συντρίπτα
τοῦ τῶν άνθρώπων γένους πρὸς τού πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενος, ἐκ τοῦ πα-
τρός εξεληθῆναι πάντων ἐλεγεν”...“εἰς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμεθα
καὶ αὐτὸ (τὸ πνεῦμα) εἰρηται.”
THEOPHANIA.

Divinity? When, he goes on to say, 'in the same manner as the Holy Spirit ever present to the Throne of God (Dan. vii. 10 is then cited): that He is at one time sent, in the form of a Dove, on the Son of man; at another, on each of the Prophets and Apostles; whence He himself is also said to proceed from the Father.' And again, (ib.) 'The only-begotten Son teaches, that He himself came forth from the Father, because He is ever with Him.' And, in like manner, the Holy Spirit, being another distinct from the Son. This, too, the Son Himself shews when he says,

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1 The following is a most full recognition of the Divinity of the Son, which I think it right to transcribe. Eccles. Theol. Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 68. A. "οὐτω καὶ υἱὸν Θεοῦ μονογενῆ, Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν παραδίδωσι (ἡ Ἑκκλησία), τὸν πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατέρου γεγεννημένον, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπάρξεις τῷ πατρὶ, καθ' ἐαυτὸν δὲ ὅπως καὶ Ἰωνᾶ, καὶ ἀληθῶς υἱὸν συνάντη, Θεόν ἐκ Θεοῦ, καὶ φως ἐκ φωτός, καὶ ζωῆς ἐκ ζωῆς, ἀλεξιός καὶ ἀβρέχητος... λόγος, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν δικόν, γεγεννημένον καὶ υἱός ομοίως μὲν τοῖς λοιποῖς γεννητοῖς ὑποστάσεως, οὐδὲ ζωῆς ἐμφάνισθη τοῖς εἰ αὐτῷ γεγεννημένοις ζωητεύμονα, μόνον δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποτελέσθη, καὶ αὐτοί ἰδίαν ὄντα... ὁ μόνος ἀγάθος πατήρ τῶν ὑιῶν ὑφήσθη ἄντωνζωῆς ὑπάρξεις, ζωοποίων τῶν δικόν, καὶ αὐτὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν." "Ad eundem quoque modum Dei filium unigenitum agnoscit (Ecclesia) eum, qui ante omnia secuta de Patre fuit genus: non illum certè, eundem cum Patre existentem, at per se subsistentem, vicevenerunquam verum filium, eum Patre coeidentem, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, vitam de vita, inenarrabilibus, ineffabilibus... rationibus de Patre genitum, ad salutem universi procurandam: nec vitam viventem cum illis parem qui ab eo sunt creati: solum de solo Patre genitum, ipsemet vitam existentem... qui solus bonus Pater est, Filium progenitum suum, ipsemet vitam existentem, et omnium quae sunt vivificatorem: ipsemet lucem verum." Where it should be observed that "ipsemet" does, in neither of these cases, express the force of the Greek compound, which is equivalent to the "καθ' ἐαυτὸν... Ἰωνᾶ, &c. above. The whole of this, and the following chapter (ix.) may justly be considered as our Author's exposition of the Nicene Creed. So again, (ib. p. 121.) "καθ' ἐαυτὸν δὲ ἐστὶν ζωῆς, καὶ ψευστῶς ἀτε Θεοῦ ἐστὶν." "per se vivens est et subsistens, veluti qui Deus sit." 2 P. 169. D. "οὐ δὲ μονογενῆς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξελλυθήναι εἰσίν αὐτῶν διδάσκει, διὰ τὸ συνείναι αὐτῷ πάντοτε, καὶ τὸ ἀγίον δὲ πνεύμα ὑμων ὑπάρχειν παρὰ τον υἱὸν." On the office of the Spirit, ib. p. 172. B. "πρὸς τὸ παρακαλέων αὐτούς (i.e. μαθηταῖς)
“He shall take of mine, and shall shew it to you.” for, he adds, “this must clearly establish the point, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not one and the same (person): since that, which receives something from another, is understood (necessarily) as being something different from him who gives.’ We have our author therefore, affirming, that in the Trinity of Persons, from the First in order, proceeds both the Second and the Third in order: that, as the Son is ever present with—the Father; so also, is the Holy Spirit ever with Him: and further, that each of these is a personal Agent distinct and different from the other.

This question is carried on through the next chapter (v.), from which I shall deem it sufficient to make two extracts only, where mention of the Holy Trinity is again made, and the Divinity, and distinct Personality, of the Holy Spirit asserted and maintained. On the passage, “He shall glorify me,” and “He shall take of mine” (p. 173. A. B.), it is said: ‘To understand all these things, as said by the Saviour Himself respecting Himself, would be a grievous and incurable fatuity; for, on the contrary, the Saviour Himself clearly taught by them, that the Holy Ghost was another beside Himself; more eminent, more excellent, and more exalted in honour, glory, and endowments, than any intellectual and rational Essence. Hence,’ it is added, ‘He is also comprehended in the Holy and thrice blessed Trinity, not superior (al. inferior), nevertheless to Him (the Son); which He shews when He says, “For He shall not speak of Himself, but that which He shall hear He shall speak.” ‘And of whom He shall hear He clearly shews, saying: “He shall take of mine, and shall shew it you.” ’ ‘that is, out of my treasure; “for in Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.” Where

καὶ παραμιθείσαι ἐφ’ οἷς κηρύττοντες τῷ Ἐσαγγέλιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλαιώντων αὐτοῖς ἐπαχοῦν...ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι αὐτοῖς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείαν τῆς καὶ κυρίως διαθήκης.” “Qui parakáleth, id est consoletur, confortet, et adhortetur eos ad patieter sufferendum in Evangelii annunciatione; propter quam erant exagitandii...sed instituendos insuper in omní veritate noví fdeíre.”

5 John xvi. 13, 14. The words are: “ταῦτα γὰρ παῦτα ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν Σωτῆρα αὐτοῦ περὶ ἕαντον λέγειν, δεινὴ καὶ δυσθεράπευτος σωφρική...θεία
It may be observed, our author considers the words of our Lord sufficiently clear to determine the point, that the Holy Spirit was an Agent, entirely distinct and different from Himself: that in honour, glory, and endowments, He far excelled every rational and intelligent Being, because comprehended in the Holy and three blessed Trinity: though not superior to Himself (i.e. the Son); which He shews by saying, "He shall not speak of Himself, but what He shall hear He shall speak." "From whom He shall hear,"—continues he,—"He makes clear by saying: "He shall receive of mine, and shall show it to you;" that is, out of my treasure:" "For in Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." We have here therefore, the Holy Spirit exalted above every created Being, because He is comprehended in the Holy Trinity, yet not elevated above the Son; nor yet, in honour and dignity placed beneath Him, although receiving from Him.

Θεία (αλ. εἰρθεία). άλλα γὰρ σαφῶς διὰ τούτων, αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτήρ τοῦ πνεύμα τὸ ἁγιόν, ἔτερον ὑπάρχειν παρ'] ἐαυτοῦ ἐδίδαξε. τιμὴ μὲν καὶ δόξα καὶ προσβεβίων ὑπερέχου καὶ κρείττον καὶ ἀνώτερον πάσης τῆς νοερᾶς καὶ λογικῆς τυγχάνον οὐδὲν: διὰ καὶ συναπειράτηται τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ τρισμακαρίᾳ Τριάδις οὐχ ὑποβεβηκός (αλ. ὑπερβεβηκός) γε μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ. ὅ ἐν παριστῇ εἰκόνι οὐ γὰρ ἐαυτῷ ἐλήφη, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀκούει λαλήσει. παρ' τίνος ἐκ δὲ ἀκούει, διαεσφερέται λέγων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήγεται, καὶ ἀναγγέλει ὅμως ἐν τοῦ ἐμοὶ ἑκλατικῇ θεσαυρῷ. ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εἶναι πάντων οἱ θεσαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας ἀποκεκυρμένου καὶ γνώσεων."

1 See also Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xx. p. 841.
2 The text has here οὐχ ὑποβεβηκός, which ought, no doubt, to be ὑπερβεβηκός, as the Editor has observed in his notes, p. 23.
3 Col. ii. 3.
4 And, to put this out of all doubt, he adds here: "ἀγνωστοὶ μὲν οὖν, καὶ ὁ ἐν πάσης Ὀσίως Πνεύμα, οὐ αὐτοῦ ἐδίδαξεν ὁ Σωτήρ, εἰπών Πνεύμα ὁ Θεός, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦσαν αὐτοῖς, ἐν Πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δει προσκυνεῖν καὶ ἁπάντια ἁλθῶν ἁγίος ἁγίων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐν ἁγίῳ ἀναγνώσματος."

"Quodcirca et Deus qui est super omnia, spiritus disiur: quemadmodum ipse nos docuit Servator, Deus spiritus est, iniquiema, et qui adoravit eum, in spiritu et veritate adorare debet." Eritque versusifter sanctus ille Sanctorum, et in sanctis acquiescens. He adds, "ἀλλ' καὶ οὗι τοῦ Θεος Πνεύμα ὑπ' ὑγιείᾳ, καὶ Πνεύμα καὶ αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἁγίων, εἰ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστιν τοῦ πλάστου, διὸ καὶ τοις αὐτοῦ ἅλεκτρα, ἅ
PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

according to the Divine appointments (or Economy), those spiritual things, which it belongs to his office to bestow. And, to assure us that He is not of the same nature or rank with the Angels, he tells us a little lower down (ib. D.), that "although His proper appellation (δίωμα) is that of the Comforter (παράκλητος); still, no one of the angelic Beings can be equal with Him. He alone is therefore, comprehended in the Holy and thrice blessed Trinity." He adds, after citing the commission of the Saviour to His Disciples, to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,—in strict reference to the work of the Divine Economy,—"The Father authorizing (ἀδεντούτος) and giving the grace; the Son administering this:—"for grace and truth are by Jesus Christ,"

δὲ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμα ἢστι." "Sed et Filius Dei eum Deus sit spiritus est: et Spiritus sanctorum sanctus si modo sit imago invisibilis Dei." I would merely remark here, that the same Divinity, the same sanctifying power, is ascribed to the Father and to the Son; and that the Holy Ghost is then declared to be a distinct and different Person from each, and is termed the Comforter, (παράκλητος), as shown in the text. In the preceding page (172. C.) he tells us, that the Apostles were "baptized with the Holy Ghost at the day of Pentecost, imparting thus to them the Power which had been promised from above. Again, (in page 3. ib.) he tells us, after stating that God over all, and the Father of the Only begotten Son, was now to be preached, so was the power and efficacy of the Holy Ghost, imparted through the Son to those who were worthy; by which the holy Church of God receives, and keeps, the Holy, blessed, and mystical Trinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for a saving hope, through the regeneration which is in Christ..."τὴν τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνικηρηγοῦσα δύναμιν. αὐτὴ τῶν τὴν ἀγίαν και μακαρίαν καὶ μυστηρίου Τριάδα, Πατρός, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, εἰς σωτηρίων ἐκπίστα, διὰ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναγεννήσεως ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία παραλαμβάνει φιλάττει." All which, while it implies the one energy of the Deity as existing in the Monarchy (ἡ μοναρχία), or, which is the same thing, the Holy Trinity considered in the abstract, does, to my mind, clearly and correctly point out a diversity of Persons, as it respects the Divine Economy (ἡ οἰκονομία).

"Άλλον οὖτος ἐξαμάθει δύναται τῇ παρακλήτῃ πνεύματι. διὸ τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ἑρμηνευρίᾳ Τριάδος μόνου τούτω συμπαραλαμβάνει." Which places the Holy Ghost far above all angelic nature, and joins Him in the same Godhead with the Father and the Son.
—the Holy Spirit, that is, the Comforter Himself, being the Dispenser (χορηγοῦντέων) of this, according to the division of gifts made by Him: “For one is given, by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit;” with those other things recounted in like manner. Considering therefore, that Marcellus was attacking our author as an Arian, I do not see how he could have answered him more satisfactorily than he here has done.

There is one passage more which I think it right to adduce here, as affording a good opportunity of calling forth our Author’s Arianism, if indeed he possessed any: it is 1 Cor. xv. 28. “And when all things shall be subject unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.” I must say, if there is one place in Scripture more likely than another, to call forth the Arianism of any writer, it is

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1 Ib. p. 174. A. 1 Cor. xii. 7. seq.
2 It will be seen how much reliance is to be placed on the statement of Du Pin, as given by Jortin (remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. ii. Book iii. p. 271), when he says, (Eusebius) “in his Prep. Evang. and Demonstr. and Eccles. Theol. affirms that He” (the Holy Ghost) “is not truly God. The Holy Spirit, says he, is neither God, nor Son of God, because he hath not his origin from the Father, like the Son, but is of the number of things...made by the Son.” I have not yet been able to find this passage in either of these three works mentioned; the fact is, it is taken from the acts of the seventh general Council, presently to be noticed.
3 Of the subjection to the Son he says (p. 184. B.), “υποταγήσεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὰ πάντα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐθεκοσίων προαιρέσεως ὑπακοήν, καὶ τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἡν ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, οἷα Σωτηρί, καὶ βασιλεία τῶν ἀλών τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸν ἐαυτὸν υποταγήσεσθαι τῷ πατρὶ, οὐδὲν ἐτέρον σημαινεῖ ἂν, ὃ τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν τιμήν, καὶ τὸ σέβας, τὴν τε μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὴν αὐθεκοσίαν ὑποταγήν, ἡν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδώσει τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πάντας ἄξιον τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος εἶναι παρασκευάσῃ.” “Omnia Filio subjecuntur.” “Sed obedientiam voluit de libera procedentem voluntate et gloriam et honorem, et referendam ei omnia, utpote Servatori et Regi omnium: ad eundem modum, et illum subjectum iri Patri suo nihil altud significat, quâm gloriam et honorem, et venerationem, et magnificentiam, et voluntarium subjectionem quem redditurus est ipse Deo et Patri, cum universos effecerit dignos divinitate paterna.” He goes on to say (ib. p. 185), after citing Rom. viii. 5. Philipp
this. And, How does Eusebius deal with it? He tells us generally (ib. p. 187.), that to the kingdom of Christ there can be no end, according to the promise given by Gabriel to the Virgin. (Luke i. 33). He adds, ‘The Apostle has not said that. His kingdom shall ever cease; if he had, he would have contradicted the declaration of the Angel; but he said, that’ “He shall deliver the kingdom to his Father.” ‘that is, those, over whom He shall have reigned, He shall, when all shall have been perfected and enlightened by Him, deliver up to the Father; having received them as a deposit: which He teaches,’ adds he, ‘by saying: “All things are delivered to me of my Father” (Luke x. 20.). ‘Then,’ continues he, “shall God,” ‘according to the saying of the Apostle, “be all in all”... For as He was first in the Son, according to the declaration, “The Father is in me; and I in the Father” (John x. 38); ‘so shall He then be’ (though not to the same extent, p. 186. C.) ‘in all those who have been made perfect by the Son: the Apostle not saying, that the Son shall cease to reign, and that God shall reign; but, that the Son shall deliver to God the Father the kingdom as a safe deposit, thus manifesting His sufficient service, and priesthood, to the Father.’ He concludes to the effect (ib. p. 186. B. seq.), that thus shall God be in all, dividing severally to each according to his capacity; but (ib. p. 188) ‘to His only begotten Son He shall reserve that peculiar, glory, honour, and rule, which belong to the Father, and are incommunicable to all others.’ And this is, in substance again affirmed (p. 194. B. C.). The subordination of the Son therefore, he appears to understand as applying to the part which He sustained in the Divine Economy, as “Ser-
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"vant and Priest," but not in any way tending to interfere with His Divine nature or Godhead. I must repeat it therefore, that, as this passage afforded an admirable opportunity for our Author to evince his tendency to Arianism—of which indeed every Socinian, Semiarian, and the like, has ever availed himself—and, as he has thus interpreted it, we cannot by any means consistently believe, that he was inclined to Arianism.

SECTION IV.

On the charges of Arianism brought against our Author.

It will be quite sufficient to our purpose, to consider only a few of the main objections brought against Eusebius, both, as it would be endless to examine every writer who has favoured the world with his opinions on this subject, and also unnecessary; I shall content myself therefore, with the principal ones advanced by Montfaucon; a writer

1 There is however one document which, as it has been made much of by Le Clerc, and also by his constant imitator Dr Jortin, should be noticed: it is a Letter,—cited by the image-worshipping Fathers of the seventh general Council, and ascribed by them to Eusebius,—which contains the abominations of Arianism. It will be found among the "Testimonia contra Eusebium," appended by Valesius to his life of Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. r. p. mihi 26: to which he gives this answer: "Neque enim de Eusebii fide agebatur in illa Synodo, sed de imaginum cultu, ad quem subvertereendum cum adversarii paulo ante in urbe Regia congregati, testimonium ex Eusebii ad Constantiam Epistolam protrin- sent, eoque maxime intereat; Patres septima Synodi ad elevandum testimonii auctoritatem acclamarunt, Eusebium Arianum fuisse." And a little lower down: "Proinde testimonium illud Patrum septime Synodi adversus Eusebium, etiam maximam habet auctoritatem, tamen praejudi- cium potius quam Synodale judicium nobis videtur." From the epistle itself, it is evident that it is no genuine work of his: ascribing as it does to him opinions, not only not to be found in his writings, but actually combated by him; and savouring too strongly of those of Eusebius of Nicomedia, (p. l.v. above,) to be ascribed to any other writer. Montfaucon seems to have thought this document too contemptible to deserve notice. Theodoret tells us too, that many such Letters were written by this said Eusebius, not to Alexander, but to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre. (Eccl. Hist. 1. cap. vi.): and Socrates, that our Eusebius did not favour the Arians, (Eccl. Hist. ii. cap. xxi.)
confessedly of the first learning and ability in matters of this kind. The work of this author, which I propose now to examine is, his "Preliminaris in Eusebii Commentaria in Psalmos," prefixed to the first volume of his "Collectio nova Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum, Parisiis 1706."

This writer then, in page xvi. commences his objections thus: "Ab unitate Dei ordiri opere pretium erit, quam Eusebius in uno Patre servari, neque Filium, multoque minus Spiritum Sanctum, in ejusdam unitatis consortium clare et multis in locis adfertat." Then come the proofs.

1. "Patrem enim in se totam dictatis plenitudinem, exclusive Filio, complecti indicat, dum ipsum solum passim vocat, τὸν τῶν δεόν θεόν, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεόν, τὸν ἐπίκενα πάντων θεόν: id est, Deum univserorum, Deum supra omnia, Deum ultra omnia." I answer: Nothing can be more certain, than that Eusebius does frequently speak of God in these terms. But I ask, Are we to conclude merely because he thus speaks of the God of all, who is over all, beyond all, and the like, that he thereby intends to exclude the Son, and much more the Holy Ghost from partaking in His unity, and universal rule? From what we have

* From charges such as this brought frequently against our Author, one is tempted to imagine, that he was one of those who held that there was a great, a greater, and a greatest Deity; which, according to some, was first introduced by Arius. So Greg. Presh.: "Μέγαν θεόν τὸν πατέρα, καὶ μικρὸν τὸν εἶν, καὶ κτίσμα τὸ ἄγιον πνεύμα ἐλεγον (sc. οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ." "Dixerunt magnum Deum esse Patrem, et parvum Filium, et creaturam Spiritum Sanctum." So also Greg. Nazian. "ἐκ μεγάλου, καὶ μείζως, καὶ μεγίστων συνιστάν τὴν τριάδα." "ex magno, et majori, et maximo constituere Trinitatem." Sulp. Thee. Eccles. sub voce Τριάδ. I will remark here that, if the views, under which Trinitarians consider and speak of the Persons of the Holy Trinity, supposing they used no terms but those found in the Scriptures,--as to be disregarded; it will perhaps be difficult to say which of them can escape the charge of Arianism. Cave thinks, that Eusebius was not so careful in expressing himself on this question, as he might have been, and that he was, on this account, misunderstood and misrepresented. It should be remembered, he lived in the earliest times of this controversy, and was therefore likely to speak less cautiously than those who came after him; but, on this account, he should be read with the greater care.
already seen, it appears to have been customary with the orthodox Fathers, when speaking of God in the abstract, or with respect to his sole rule, (ἡ μοναρχία) in opposition to the Polytheists, constantly to use these terms; and yet to have declared that they did not thus exclude either the Son, or the Holy Ghost, from the unity of the Godhead. And the same is obvious from our Author's reasoning above. In one place he expressly tells us (p. lxiii.) that, our Saviour's using the terms, "The only true God," does not exclude Him (the Son) from participating in the Godhead: nor does the apostolic declaration, that "Christ shall be subject to His Father, that God may be all in all." And, the repeated declarations, that the Holy Ghost is comprehended,—notwithstanding His office of minister in the Divine Economy,—in the Holy and Thrice blessed Trinity, and is of a nature superior to every intellectual and spiritual Essence, are quite sufficient, as it appears to me, to establish the same of Eusebius.

But there are other places, of which Montfaucon could not have been ignorant, positively declaring that the Son is not excluded, when terms of this description are used. If we turn to the forty-third chapter of Isaiah in his edition of our Author's commentary on this Prophet, we shall find (p. 529), first, that the person there named the Lord God, ("κύριος ὁ Θεός") is said to be Christ, who gave his own blood for the redemption of Israel: and generally, throughout this Commentary, the Saviour is designated in terms equivalent to these. Again, (ib. v. 10.) we are instructed that the words, "saith the Lord God, and my servant, whom I have chosen" (λέγει κύριος ὁ Θεός, καὶ ὁ παῖς μου, ὃν ἔξαλεξάμων") refer also to our Lord, in conformity with Matth. x. 32. "Whosoever shall confess me," &c. And (ver. 11), on the words, "I am God, and besides me there is no Saviour" (Ἐγὼ ὁ Θεός, καὶ σὺν ἐστι πάρεις ἐμοῦ σώζων), it is said: 'There being one principle, there must be one Godhead, in which is also comprehended the Theology of His only begotten Son;' by which we are, according to the technical usage of this term, to understand

1 See p. xli. above, notes.
the Divine nature of Christ. To the same effect, (ib. p. 527. D.) on chap. xliv. 7: also (ib. 532. A. seq.) on chap. xliv. 7. seq. 22. (p. 535. D. E. 536. A. seq.) to which many other places might be added; all manifestly referring to the Person of Christ, when the only true God and Saviour is spoken of. Which will probably be deemed sufficient here.

Let us now examine a few of the more specific objections of Montfaucon. 'Let no one,' says he, 'reply that

2 Gr. "μὰς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρχην, μία εἰς ἓν ἡ θεότης, ἡ συμπαραλλαγή καὶ ἡ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ θεολογία." As this latter term (θεολογία) has a technical application with the Fathers, it is desirable the reader should see how they use it. According to Suicer, sub voce, it is applied in four ways. 1. "Notat doctrinam de Deo." 2. "Notat doctrinam de SS Trinitate." 3. "Notat divinam Christi naturam, seu doctrinam de ea." This is its import here: I shall therefore, give a few of the places cited by Suicer under this head. "Greg. Nyss. Orat. iv. contra Eunomium, Tom. ii. p. 633. dicit Johannem Evangelistam κατὰ τὸ μνημεῖον τῆς θεολογίας, Theologia, vel potius de deitate Filii mysterium praeclare. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. cap. xxiv.... de eodem Johanne asserit, eum theologiam αὐτάρξασθαι, δε deitate Filii eum incohare Evangelium." And a little lower down, "Greg. Nyss. Orat. vii. contra Eunomium, p. 633." "Ει Θεός ὁ πατήρ, Θεός δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱός, τι ἐνεμπίπτεται πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβή τοῦ μονογενοῦς θεολογίαν ἁμφισβολία;" "Si Pater est Deus, et Deus etiam est Filii: quaenam ad exactam de unigenito theologiam relinquatur dubitatio?" And again: "Hic observandum," says Suicer, "θεολογίαν et oikonomiam apud Patres frequenter inter se opponi, quemadmodum oikonomia et θέσης, de quo in Oikonomia. Θεολογία ad divinam, oikonomia vero ad humanam referatur naturam." Chrysost. Hom. cvi. Basil. Cesar. Epist. cxxi. p. 927. are cited; the latter of which is important to our question, and I shall give it. On John xviii. 3. (cited above), and xiv. 1, Basil thus writes: παντοκράτωρ τὴν ἔνοιαν ἡμῶν ἀσφαλίζομεν τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἵνα μὴ θατέρη προσβαίνοντες, θατέρου ἐκπίπτωμεν καὶ τῇ θεολογίᾳ προσέχοντες, τῆς οἰκονομίας καταφρονέμεν. "Ubique mentes nostras confirmat Spiritus Sanctus, ut ne dum alteri acquiescamus, ab altero exs commodity, hoc est, ne, dum ad naturam divinam attendimus, naturam humanam contemnamus." Several other passages are adduced to the same effect.—The fourth acceptation of this term, which he tells us is less obvious, is, its signifying Holy Scripture.

3 Ne quis vero reponat, Patrem ideo Deum universorum ab Eusebio vocari, quod sit origo et fons Trinitatis, et in ratione principii primus existat; hoc catholicum interpretandi genus respugere occupat Eusebius, dum
Eusebius hence calls the Father, the God of all, because He is the origin and source of the Trinity, and is, as to principle, first: this Catholic mode of interpreting,' adds he, 'Eusebius undertakes to set aside, when he says, p. 404, on the tenth Psalm of Asaph, That no one might suppose Him to be a mere man, like the many, he (the Psalmist) Deifies Him in the words before us, saying, "God stood in the assembly of Gods. And that no one should be disturbed as to the question of the Monarchy, on hearing the Christ of God called God, he properly names those, many Gods, who are laid under accusation by the things following (i. e. in this Psalm): almost commanding (them) not to hesitate to call the Son of God, God. For, if the criminated governors of the nation were worthy of being called gods, What danger could there be, in confessing the man of the right hand of God, and the Son of man "made strong" (for Himself, Ps. lxxx. 17.) to be God ? 'And this still more clearly,' adds Montfaucon, 'in the exposition of the eighty-eighth Psalm, p. 550: (Heb. lxxxix.) to this effect:

...Clarius autem in expositione psalmi lxxviii. p. 550. id ipsum exprimit his verbis: 'Doxei de mi o profeptis...apaxek-ploitseba tov evkeiva pantin, kai ap parant tov monogevn tov theou: eit' ek tov baumatos anaparathenai to oti tis en ophiades isuhsate tov kuri;...tota de peri mil tov monogevn tov theou legeousai swkoi aiv ekevei thn diakonian, ou men peri tov patroi kai theou twn olwn. avoikeis gar kai avosths h parathesi. to gar uioi theou paraballein to panton aitoun, kai to sugkriniv uperboi tolma tov evkeiva tov olwn theon, pantai aiv genvoioo anoiwstatav, akidwvvei...An ep o logos uioi theou sugkrinen uioi monogenvi.' k. t. l. "Hic manifeste vide Filium longe inferior quam Patrem gradu ab Eusebio rependi; iata ut nec ad unitatem Dei, nec ad unitatem principii universorum pertinent, neque delitae cum illo primo principio unum sit."
'The Prophet seems astonished at the consideration of Him who is beyond all, the only begotten Son of God, and then to have cried out in his wonder, Who in the clouds shall be equalled with the Lord? &c....which, as spoken of the Son, evince a pious mind; but, as spoken of the Father and God of all, would present an improper and impious comparison. For, to compare Him who is the God of all, with the sons of God, and to dare to join the God who is beyond all, with others, would be of all things the most wicked. But it would incur no danger to compare the only-begotten Son of God with the sons of God,' &c. Which Montfaucon affirms, shews that Eusebius placed the Son far beneath the Father in dignity, so that He could not appertain to the unity of the Godhead, nor to that of the Principle of all things, nor to be one in the Deity of that first principle.

It must be perceived at first sight, that the whole of this, as before, rests on mere inference: I now proceed to shew, that the inference is groundless. The place from which our first extract is made, is our Author's commentary on Ps. lxxxii. 'God,' it is said "standeth in the assembly of Gods;" where, according to our Author, God refers to Christ; gods, to the governours of the Jewish nation. 'If then,' he adds, 'these governours (judges) were here so named by the Psalmist, What possible danger can there be, in ascribing the Divine name to Christ? The Psalmist,' he continues, 'almost commands this,' &c. Montfaucon then concludes upon the whole, that by this, i.e. as our Lord is here put in opposition to men only in the comparison, he is necessarily excluded from having any part in the Deity of the Father. But, Is this really the intention of our Author? All that he says, as far as I can see, is, that if these governours are thus dignified with the name of gods, much more ought He to be, whose place is the right hand of God. The argument is that, which is usually said to be à fortiori, i.e. makes its conclusion the stronger by introducing such comparison as this: which would induce one to believe, that Eusebius intended the very reverse of Montfaucon's conclusion.

It is interesting to observe, that this very Psalm has been cited, and this same comparison instituted by our Lord Himself, apparently for the purpose of convincing the
Eusebius hence calls the Father, the God of all, because He is the origin and source of the Trinity, and is, as to principle, first: this Catholic mode of interpreting, adds he, "Eusebius undertakes to set aside, when he says, p. 486, on the tenth Psalm of Asaph, That no one might suppose Him to be a mere man, like the many, he (the Psalmist) Deifies Him in the words before us, saying, "God stood in the assembly of Gods. And that no one should be disturbed as to the question of the Monarchy, on hearing the Christ of God called God, he properly names those, many Gods, who are laid under accusation by the things following (i.e. in this Psalm): almost commanding (them) not to hesitate to call the Son of God, God. For, if the criminated governing of the nation were worthy of being called gods, What danger could there be, in confessing the man of the right hand of God, and the Son of man "made strong" (for Himself, Ps. 1xxx. 17.) to be God? 'And this still more clearly,' adds Montfaucon, 'in the exposition of the eighty-eighth psalm, p. 560: (Heb. lxxxix.) to this effect:"

dam sit, p. 424. ad Psalmum Asphi decimum:." "ονα μη τα αυτων ψιλων υπολαβοι άνδρα και ταυτολογεαι αυτων ευ ταυτω μετα χειρας, φησαι το θεον ινατη ειν σουαγωνηθει θεου. και δειν η μη παραχαιρετη το εις τον περι μοναρχων λογον, θεου ακοινων τον χριστον του θεου, εικονιαν και πλειονα θεουν ονομαζει τους δια των εξων καταγγελλων, μονουχων παρακελευσεν μη απακευθει και του ινιου του θεου θεου άνοκαλειν. ει γαρ οι διαβαλλομενοι του θνεον αρχησαν, θεος εξασθαι ονομασθαι, ποιοι δε γενοντε κινοντος των άνθρωπων δεχοντες του θεου και του ινιου του ανθρωπου των κεραυνωμενον, θεου ομολογειν;"..."Clarius autem in expositione psalmi lxxxviii. p. 580. id ipsum exprimit his verbis: "Δοκει δε μοι ο προφητης...υπερεκπληττεσθαι των επεκεινα παντως, και οπερ παντες του μονογενου του θεου ειν εκ του βαθμου ανακεφαληκαι το δι τι εν ηπειρας ινακεφαλεσθαι το κυριο...ταυτα εκ περι μεν του μονογενου του θεου λεγομενα σωσιον εν εισεβη την διανοιαν, αυ μεν περι του πατρος θεου των ολων, ανοικειον γαρ και αποβησι τη χειραν, τη του θεου παραβαλλειν το παντα υπον, και το συγκεκριμεν επερειον των επεκεινα των ολων θεους και των εκορπισθεν οικονισμουν οι ονομαζεται ειν αν ο λογος και ευνοιαν ε μοναρχων, manifeste vides quomodo et quum semper et ubique, res osum pertinat.\"
'The Prophet seems astonished at the consideration of Him who is beyond all, the only begotten Son of God, and then to have cried out in his wonder, Who in the clouds shall be equalled with the Lord? &c. which, as spoken of the Son, convince a pious mind; but, as spoken of the Father and God of all, would present an improper and impious comparison. For, to compare Him who is the God of all, with the sons of God, and to dare to join the God who is beyond all, with others, would be of all things the most wicked. But it would incur no danger to compare the only-begotten Son of God with the sons of God,' &c. Which Montfaucon affirms, shews that Eusebius placed the Son far beneath the Father in dignity, so that He could not appertain to the unity of the Godhead, nor to that of the Principle of all things, nor to be one in the Deity of that first principle.

It must be perceived at first sight, that the whole of this, as before, rests on mere inference: I now proceed to shew, that the inference is groundless. The place from which our first extract is made, is our Author's commentary on Ps. lxxvi. 'God,' it is said "sustained in the assembly of God;" where, according to our Author, God refers to Christ; mode, to the governors of the Jewish nation. 'If then,' he adds, 'these governors (judges) were here so named by the Psalmist, What possible danger can there be, in ascribing the Divine name to Christ? The Psalmist,' he continues, 'almost commands this,' &c. Montfaucon then concludes upon the whole, that by this, i.e. as our Lord is here put in opposition to men only in the comparison, he is necessarily excluded from having any part in the Deity of the Father. But, Is this really the meaning of our Author? All that he says, as far as I can understand, if these governors are thus dignified with the Divine name, much more ought He to be, whose place is the residence of God. The argument is thus: which is usually a fortiori, i.e. unless in conclusion, introducing such comparison as this, which would induce one to believe, the Psalmist meant the
Jews of His Divine nature. We have in ver. 6 of this Psalm; "I have said ye are Gods." In John x. 33. seq. it is said: "The Jews answered him, saying, for a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God." Our Lord then cites this verse, and adds, "If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken: Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?" He adds,—"Believe the works, that ye may know and believe, that THE FATHER IS IN ME, AND I IN HIM." Upon this it is said, "therefore they (the Jews) sought again to take him." Because, as it should seem, He thus persevered in laying claim to the Divine nature. Is it not marvellous, that a writer of such learning and discrimination as Montfaucon really was, should thus have stumbled upon the very Scripture which our Lord himself had so explained, and have unhappily taken a view, as adverse to His interpretation of it, as it is to that of Eusebius?

It should also be observed, that, if our Author intended to exclude Christ from having any part in the Godhead, it will be extremely difficult to discover, why he prefaced his reasoning with these words: That no one might suppose Him to be a mere man, like the many, he (the Psalmist) Deifies Him in the terms, "God stood (ο θεός, with the article prefixed) in the assembly of Gods;" when he had

just before said, that this had respect to His appearing in the flesh ("τὴν ἐνσαρκίαν αὐτῶν παρουσίαν σημάνει"). He adds, "And, that no one should be disturbed as to the question of the Monarchy (μοναρχίας), on hearing the Christ of God called God; he properly names those, many Gods," &c., "almost commanding (them) not to hesitate to call the Son of God, God." That is, he terms them many for the purpose, as it should seem, of excluding them from the Divine Monarchy; but, as good as commands (them) to call Him God, and to entertain no fear that this would, in any way, tend to injure the dignity of the Divine Monarchy. But, if it had been intended to exclude all here, Why was mention of the (Divine) Monarchy introduced? and, Why was the possibility of His being otherwise supposed to be a mere man, also introduced? In this case our Author would only have had to say, that, by all the terms, God, and Gods, was only meant mere men, the governours or judges among the Jews. But, when we know, that he did positively place our Lord, with the Holy Ghost, in the Holy Trinity; did, in other cases, positively make Him a partaker in the Godhead; and, that our Lord Himself did, from this very psalm, urge the question of His real Divinity upon the Jews,—which Eusebius had most probably in his eye,—it does seem, to my mind, as conclusive as it could possibly be, that he did intend to inculcate His Divine nature. Under this view our Author is consistent: the drift of his whole argument is obvious; and his conclusion is regular and complete.

We now come to our objector's second extract; and here, as before, we have nothing beyond inference; and that drawn from premises, which will by no means bear it. The sum of his reasoning is this: Eusebius declares that, to compare the beings here had in view with the Father, would be improper and impious; but, that it would not be so, to compare them with the Son. Eusebius, therefore, places the Son at an infinite distance from the Deity of the Father. This I will allow might seem

and weigh. It may here be remarked, that our Author always uses the terms adopted by the orthodox Fathers, and in the sense in which they employed them.—See also our work below, pp. 177—179.
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to be the case; but, is it necessary to suppose that it does, beyond all doubt, present us with the intention and mind of Eusebius? Let us inquire.—First then, he instructs us in the same page of his Commentary (560. E. seq.) that the place is to be understood, just as that is, which was last considered, viz. "God stood in the assembly," &c. And this, as we have seen, was intended to assert, not to deny, the Divinity of the Son.

In the next place, Eusebius speaks of the only begotten Son,—even as cited by Montfaucon,—as the Being who is beyond all, and above all, (τοῦ ἐπέκεινα πάντων, καὶ

1 Gr. "εἰ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐκ θεοὶ καὶ θεοὶ κατὰ τοῦ, ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν." "Quod si multi filii Dei sunt multique dixi, secundum illud, Deus stetit in synagoga deorum." And again, (p. 561. C.) "τόσοι δὲ τοῦ εἰς ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτῷ θεοὶ χρηματικοί, ἐν τῷ εἰς εἰρηνή, ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν...καὶ παντόν εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ." κ.τ.λ. "Quinam autem in circuitu ejus fuerint, nisi filii Dei, qui et ipsi quoque dixi nuncupantur: quorum causa dictum est, Deus stetit, &c...unam et idem esse videtur mihii." And speaking of the service rendered by these heavenly powers he adds, pointedly marking the Divinity of the Saviour: "ἐνεκείναι μεριμνῶν τιμώσων καὶ ζωνίζων, καὶ τῆς ἁλλήλων συναγωγής, εἰς τοῦ εἰς ἀναστασίαν τοῦ καθαροῦ τῆς καθαροῦντος τῇ καθαράτικων τοῦ μεταθεματικῶν τοῦ μεταθεματικῶν. "Nam quis potens es, Domine, inquit, et veritas tua in circuitu tuo, jure magnus es, et terribilis et gloriosissimissimus in consiliis sanctorum et in iis qui Dei servientes sumi, qui conspecta promotorum tuorum veritate debitas cum admiratione Dei tuae gratiarum actiones emittat." Now, let it be asked,—considering the opinions held by Eusebius about Deity, and, that this was intended to be a representation of what was going on in heaven itself,—whether it is possible an Arian, intending to lower the dignity of the Saviour, could have uttered respecting Him sentiments such as these, and which occur in the very next page to that from which Montfaucon made his extract? A little farther on (p. 567) he asks, On what account is this people of Christ blessed, who knows the song of jubile (here) spoken of, otherwise than since they acknowledge the Daity of the Saviour? "διὰ τί δὲ μακάρων ἐστιν αὐτὸς οἱ χριστῶν λαὸς ὁ τοῦ εἰρημένον ἀλαχμὸν ἐπιστάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐνεκείμενοι τῆς βιοτητάς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπιγνώσεσιν." 2

2 Ib. also p. 564. A. "ἐλεηθεύειν δὲς σε τοῦ θεοῦ ἅντα καὶ κύριον τῶν ἀλλων πεποίησαι χρῆ...καὶ δωσάμενο εἰ μένως καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντως
PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

υπερ ταύτης, ascribing to Him the very same epithets that he does to the Father; and this, as distinguishing Him from the company of holy Angels, Archangels, and other Divine Spirits and Powers (ἀγίων ἀγγέλων, καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων πνευμάτων τε θεοί καὶ ὑπάρχων χορού); which last, however, Montfaucon omitted to cite. From this it should seem, that it was our Author's expressed intention, as before, to elevate the Saviour above every created being, however dignified. He also tells us, that the Prophet here seemed,—filled as he was by the Holy Ghost,—to be viewing the glory of the only begotten of God, and standing in the midst of the Church of the saints (“ο προφήτης αγίων πνεύματος θεοφορείς ... τὴν δόξαν εὐφράκεια τόυ μονογενέως τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν αγίων ἐστῶτος”). A similar vision has already been noticed (p.xxxiv. note), in which Isaiah saw “Jehovah high and lifted up;” and where St. John (xii. 41) has interpreted this, as belonging to Christ. We can hardly expect our author would think of giving a less dignified interpretation of this place; especially as the terms “viewing the glory,” &c. (τὴν δόξαν εὐφράκεια) could scarcely have failed to bring to his mind the words of St. John, “when he saw his glory” (“ὅτε εἶδε τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ”): and, if so, he could hardly have intended to point out here a Being inferior to that mentioned there, which was Jehovah himself. And again, the passage here had in view (Ps. lxxxix. 7) has, in the Hebrew text, the term Jehovah; where the whole passage stands thus:

...πάντων σὺ κράτεις, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀλών οὐσίας σὺ διεστάλεσις, ἐκεῖ καὶ τοιούτω τῶν ἀλών τροχάνεις...τῶν τῆς θεότητος περιπολούμενων ἄγγελων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων ὁλοκληρία...καὶ σὺ πάντων κράτεις, κύριον ὃν καὶ βασιλέως καὶ θεοῦ.” “Te portæ utrōque Deus et Dominum unumum universorōm, verumque credere convenit...quibusque ut suae omnis potens es...Tu ubique imperes, et universoram substantiae dominarius, quia universorum opifex es...Angelorum et Archangeliarum Deitatem tuam stipiantum, domicilia...et tu omnibus imperes, utroque omnium Dominum, Rex et Deum.” And p. 565. E. “cumque sibi tēn dōminum καὶ τὰ δωμάτια sibi οὐαθεός καὶ διεστάλεσις τῶν ἀλών πάρεστιν” “cum voluistine quisque tibi, utroque Domum unum unorūm, adeo potestas.” I do not see how words could have attested the Divinity of Christ more strongly. See also the “H lastIndex Prophetarum,” p. 52.
Auth. Vers. “For who in heaven can be compared unto the Lord? who among the sons of the mighty can be likened unto the Lord?” And, as our Author has occasioned marked down the readings of the Hebrew text in his Commentary on this psalm, I shall perhaps be justified in taking it for granted, that he was aware of this fact. So far, there seems to have been no intention on his part, to place the Son of God in the predicament of a creature.

Let us now see, to what the objectionable comparison amounts. This, Eusebius has told us, might, without any danger, have been instituted with the Son. That is, as I understand it, for the purpose of shewing, that He was exalted far above every created intelligence, and therefore Divine, in the highest sense of that term. This, he seems to say, would have point and force here, and would evince true piety in any one who did it: but, if said with respect to the Father, would be improper (ἀνόητος): that is, as I understand it, would have been to compare mortal and finite beings, with a Spirit which is immortal and infinite, and with whom no such comparison could properly be instituted. It would be impious (ἀρεσθύς), not only because it would have been a daring attempt to set up a measure of those attributes, of which man can have no adequate conception; but would have had the effect of positively excluding the Son, who is, beyond all doubt, the Being had in view throughout this psalm. It would have been to judaize to the fullest extent, and therefore would have been impiety of the grossest and blindest sort. I must conclude therefore here, that the inferences of Montfaucon drawn from this passage are groundless, and not to be relied on; and, on the contrary, that Eusebius did in this instance, as in those already noticed, intend, to maintain the proper Divinity of the only begotten Son. And Why, let it be asked, did not Montfaucon bring forward some of the many passages, also occurring in the Commentary on this very psalm, positively asserting the Divinity of the Son, and shew us, how these ought to be understood conformably with his objections? This, I will affirm, he was in honour and honesty bound to do. His not having done so, can perhaps be ascribed to one cause only, namely, his inability to do it.
PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

The next objectionable passage adduced (p. xvii.) is from the "Demonstratio Evangelica" of our author (lib. vi. p. 257), where mention is made of a first and second Deity. But, as we have already seen that Eusebius did not, by this distinction, intend to lower the Divinity of the Son; and, as Montfaucon seems to have adduced it quite as much for the purpose of correcting the Latin translation of it, as of accusing him, it will not be necessary to notice it further.

His next citation (ib.) is of a different description, although it was made for the purpose of giving weight to the last; and, as this has also been brought forward by Le Clerc, and repeated after him by Jortin, I deem it right to give it a full consideration. It is taken from the Controversy with Marcellus (p. 109), and runs thus: "οὐδὲ διὸ θεοῦ ἀνάγκη δοῦναι τὸν τὰς δύο υποστάσεις τιθέντα οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰσοτιμίων αὐτὰς ὀριζόμεθα." "Necque necessæ est enim duas Deos fateri, qui duas admiserit substantias: non enim illas honore pares esse definimus." Which Montfaucon tells us, so far allows the unity of the Deity, as it preserves the primary Deity and first principle, in the Father only; to which God the Son is far inferior, and is not comprehended in that unity. The same, he continues, is affirmed in these words:—viz. of another extract from the same place.—"Ἀλλὰ φοβηθή, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μὴ δύο υποστάσεις οἰμολογήσας, δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσαγάγοις, καὶ τής μοναρχικῆς θεότητος ἐκπέφανοι. μᾶθαι τείνην, ὥς εἰς ὅσον ἀνάρχου καὶ ἁγιεννητόν θεοῦ, τοῦ δὲ υἱὸν εὗ ἀυτοῦ γεγεννημένον, μιὰ ἔσται ἀρχὴ, μοναρχία τε καὶ βασιλεία μιὰ. εἴπει καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ἀρχὴν ἐπιγράφεται τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατέρα. κεφαλὴ γὰρ χριστὸν ὁ θεὸς, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον." "At vereris, mi homo, ne si duas fateare substantias (hypothesis), "duo item principia inducas, et a monarchia deitate excidas. Discas igitur, quod cum unus sit sine

1 His words, which I have here paraphrased, are, "Ita ut estenus unitatem deitatis statui velit, quatenus illa prima deitas, primumque principium in uno Patre servatur, cui longe inferior Deus Filius, in unitate illa non comprehendatur." I add, all the orthodox Fathers, I believe, also made the Father Principle in the Divine Economy: but did not,—as Eusebius did not—therefore exclude the Son from the Divine Unity.
principio et ingenitus Deus, Filius autem ex illo gignatur, unum necessario principium fuerit, monarchia et regnum unum; quia ipse Filius Patrem suum principium describit: saput enim Christi Deus est, secundum Apostolum."

Let us now endeavour to ascertain what Eusebius really meant by this. We must bear in mind, in the first place, that he was here arguing with a man who held, that Christ, the Word, had no real and positive existence (οὐσία), or Hypostasis (ὑπόστασις), in the Godhead; but remained only as an accident to the Divine mind, as a mere unannounced word; and hence, as remarked above, the term word was not here to be understood (καταγραφητικῶς) i.e. in an abused or figurative sense, but in its own proper force and meaning. And hence, our Author used the term Hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) in the first extract here given, and substance (οὐσία) in that from the "Demonstratio Evangelica." It has also been shewn above (p. xxxii), that the term (οὐσία) substance, was often used in the sense of Hypostasis (ὑπόστασις), when arguing against Marcellus and his followers. This must suffice on this part of our question.

We now come to the more important parts of these extracts, in which it is said (i.) that the Father and the Son are not of equal honour (οἷς ἴσοις), and (ii.) that the Father is the Principle of the Son; ascribing in each case a superiority to the Father. Let it be observed, in the first place then, that our Author does affirm, and in the very chapter from which these extracts have been made (p. 111), that the Church teaches,—having itself been taught by the Saviour,—that "the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father." It is but right to inquire therefore,

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1 John v. 22, 23. His words are: "ἡ Ἐκκλησία αὐτοῦ δεδιδακται, τοῦτο πράττειν παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθώσα: λέγει δὲ οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ σωτήρ; οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ κρίνει: οὐδένα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπασχολημένην γεγονός τῷ νῷ Ἰησοῦ πάντες τιμῶσι τὸν νόμον, καθὼς τιμῶσι τὸν πατέρα." He had just before said, quoting St. John i. 3, "πάντα γὰρ δὴ αὐτοῦ εγένετο, καὶ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἔγενε καὶ ἐν θυμίατα καὶ θεότητά, καὶ δεσπότητα, καὶ σωτήρ, καὶ βασιλεία ἀναγορεύοιτο ἀν. διὸ καὶ
how Eusebius intended to be understood, when he made these apparently conflicting statements.

The manner, in which Eusebius words our last extract, is, I think, quite sufficient to clear him from the charge of intending to deny the Divinity of the Son. His words are to this effect: You (Marcellus) are afraid, lest by confessing two substances, (Hypostases, or Persons,) you should introduce two Principles, and so should fall short of the one supreme Deity. Learn then, that since there is one God ungenerated and without beginning; and that, as the Son is generated of Him, there will necessarily be (but) one Principle, one monarchy, and kingdom: because the Son himself ascribes the Principle to His Father: for "the Head of Christ is God" according to the Apostle; and this, as Montfaucon affirms, excludes the Divinity of the Son. But, Does this necessarily follow from these words?

Eusebius, it should be remembered, was arguing against a writer who denied the existence of the Person (οὐσία or ὑπόστασις) of the Son, and who supposed that if he allowed this, he should also allow the existence of two Gods; and so virtually destroy the notion of the unity of the Deity. He is then admonished, that the Deity, considered in the abstract, is one eternal, and un-

σέβειν, καὶ προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οἷα θεὸν, ἢ Ἐκκλησία.” κ. τ. λ. “Omnia...per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. Tum et Deus, et Dominus, et Servator, et Res praeclarar potierit” Atque idem illud” (cum) “adorare veluti Deum, et colere, et venerari, Ecclesia,” &c. And again he tells us here, of what sort the honour is which is to be rendered to Christ:...”μη ὁμοίως τοῖς προφηταῖς, μηδὲ όμοίως τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις, ἢ ταῖς τούτων διαφερονσις ζωάμες, ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ τῷ πατρὶ παραπλησίως”..."Non tanquam Prophetas, non velut Angelos, aut Angelis similes potestates”(1), sed quemadmodum ipsum Patrem.” I might therefore, if I thought it right to deal with Montfaucon as he has with Eusebius, have deemed it quite sufficient, merely to confront his citation with these.

* According to Justin Martyr, Suicer. Theus. Eccles. sub voce Τροπ. Tom. ii. p. 1300. the terms ungenerated and generated are only names signifying modes of existence, not kinds of Essence. “οὐκ οὐσίαις ὑμέναις, ἀλλὰ τρόποι οὐράζεται.”
begotten Being; and that as the Son is, according to the Divine Economy, generated of Him, consists of His Essence, subsists in Him, and is ever present with Him; there will still be but one Principle, Monarchy, and Kingdom: the Son Himself (although Divine in His nature), ascribing this supremacy (as Son) to the Person of God the Father: which is amply confirmed elsewhere by our author’s asserting, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, constitute one Principle, are included in the same holy Trinity, and partake of the same Essence and Godhead, as already shewn. And with this view

1 Montfaucon tells us (ib. p. xviii.), that he has rendered ὑπόστασις by substance, because it was customary in the times of Eusebius so to receive this term, as Athanasius has also done; and also, as Eusebius both admitted and taught, that the substances of the Father and of the Son, were diverse, the common distinction of Persons and Hypostases would be useless. That is to say, as this term was then in use, and Athanasius himself had used it in the same way; it is right to condemn Eusebius because he has so used it; yet, as I (Montfaucon) can assure you for a totally different purpose. One cannot but wonder, I think, in finding reasoning such as this in the deservedly eminent Bernard Montfaucon. He proceeds then to affirm, that Eusebius has in these two extracts openly professed two diverse substances (Hypostases) in the Father and the Son; and adds, that He who places the unity of Principle and of Deity in the Father, excluding the Son, must necessarily lay down two diverse substances. But Eusebius has openly done neither: the whole is a mere inference on false grounds. The reasoning too, affords as fine an instance of arguing in a circle, as I remember ever to have seen!

2 Page xl. note.

3 Ib. notes.

4 See particularly our work below, pp. 178–9. So also Basil de Spiritu Sancto, Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub. voce Μοναρχία. “Θεόν καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ προσκυνοῦτε, καὶ τὸ ἱδίατον τῶν ὑποστάσεων ὄμολογοῦμεν, καὶ μένομεν ἐπὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς πλῆθος ὑπεσχισμένον τὴν θεολογίαν μὴ σκέδασσώμενε.” “Deum enim ex Deo adorantes, et proprietatem profitemur personarum, et manemus in fide de uno Deo, non dividentes divinae nature rationem in multitudinem subdivisam.” And Athanasius on the humiliation of the Son. “τὸ, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἄμελες, καὶ, ὁ πατὴρ μου μείζων μου ἐστί, καὶ τὸ, ἐκτεινόμεν, καὶ, ἐγὼ εἰμι σκάλης καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπος, καὶ δεκα ἐν τοῖς ἐναγγέλιοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφητεῖς εἰμὲν ταπεινὰ περί αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ ἐφόρεσαν σώμα δι’ ἡμᾶς εἰρηται.” “Ilud; Ego sum vitia, et Pater meus major me est, item, Creavit me, et, Ego sum vermis et non homo; et quaecumque in Evan-
agrees the context following, viz. “ουδὲ δύο Θεούς ἀνάγκη
dōnai τῶν δύο ντοστάσεως τυθέντα. ουδὲ γάρ ἵστοσιν αὐ-
tῶς ὁριζόμεθα. ουδὲ ἄμφω ἀνάρχους, καὶ ἄγεννήτως· ἀλλὰ
μεν μὲν, τὴν ἄγεννήτον καὶ ἄναρχον· θατέραν δὲ γεννητῆν
καὶ αρχὴν τὸν πατέρα κεκτημένην.” “Neque necesse est
eum duos Deos fateri, qui duos adminiserit hypostases. Nam
neque illas” (sc. hypostases) “honore pares ponimus: ne-
que ambas principio carentes, aut ingenitas: sed unam ex
illis ingenitam, sine principio existentem; alteram vero
genitam, et patrem sui ipsius” (ceu?) “principium pos-
sidentem.” By which our author seems to say, It is not
necessary that he who admits two Hypostases, should also
admit two Gods distinct as Principles; for we do not
define these Hypostases as equal in honour, so as to set
up two Monarchies; nor, hence two without beginning
and unbegotten; but we define one Hypostasis, as with-
out beginning and unbegotten; the other begotten, and as
having for Principle the Father. The meaning of Eu-
sebius evidently is, that, as he holds one Godhead, one
Monarchy, one Holy Trinity, which comprehends the
scriptural doctrine respecting God; he does not by con-
fessing two, or even three, Hypostases,—which, as such,
are not spoken of with equal honour in the Scriptures,—
necessarily confess the existence of two or more God-
heads, Monarchies, or the like, each equal in honour;
but on the contrary, he does, with reference to these
Hypostases, consider them in the order and rank in which
Holy Scripture places them. And, in this point of view,
the Father is looked upon even by the Son as Prin-
ciple. Then follow certain passages of Scripture, ascrib-
ing the superiority to the Father, as “I go to my Fa-
ther and to your Father, to my God and your God.”
And, after combating the notion of Marcellus, and shew-
ing the impossibility of these Scriptures being made to
quadrat with his Sabellian notions; he concludes, as al-
ready remarked, by ascribing an honour to the Son equal
to that given to the Father, and superior to that atrib-
buted to any created being whatsoever; for, adds he, He
who has seen the Son, has seen the Father; viewing the
gellis et in Prophetis de se humilia et abjecta dixit, corpus quod propter
ii. p. 8.
unbegotten Godhead, as in an image or a glass, characterized in the Son.  

From which it think it must be evident, that Eusebius here spoke, not as a Metaphysician, but as a Theologian. As a Metaphysician he tells us, that the Son existed unbegotten eternally in the Father, as noticed above; and in our work (p. 67), that He had no beginning. Here, he tells us as a Theologian, and in conformity with the terms of Scripture, that his creed embraces one God only, one Principle, one Supreme rule (μοναρχία); and that, although he holds the Father and the Son to be two distinct subsistences, the former Superior and as Principle, with reference to the other; yet, that the other is nevertheless God and King, and is adored and worshipped as taught by the Church as God, and is to be honoured even as the Father is; because in Him alone can the Father be received, known, and honoured. We may therefore conclude here, that, so far, Eusebius does not appear to have intended to speak lightly of the Divinity of the Son, and that Montfaucon’s reasoning on the subject, is partial and defective.

The next objectionable place cited by Montfaucon, is one in which he thinks he has detected a very defective

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1 ο γὰρ ἑμαυτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἑμαυτε καὶ τοῦ πατέρα, τὴν ἄγεν-
νητον δύναμιν, αὐτὸν εἰς εἰκόνα καὶ κατάστροφην, εἰς τῷ ἃ ἐμφανιζο-
ζόμαιν ὑμῖν." Ib. p. 111. D. See also ib. p. 194. seq. where this point is argued more in detail, and Col. ii. 9. is referred to, as determining the Godhead of the Son.

2 Page xlix. note, and again, Lib. ii. cap. xiv. p. 121. A. "ο δὲ Θεὸς
λόγος, οὗ θέρου δεῖται τοῦ προφορομενοῦ, ἵνα εἰς τὸν γενόμενον ἄνω-
τας καὶ ἕκαστον δι' ἕκαστος συνών καὶ ὑφεστάν, ὅτε ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν." "At
Deus logos, non aliorum indigent praesistente: ut in ipso (coi) sit et sub-
sistat: sed per se vitens est et subsistens, veluti qui Deus sit." Then
again, in the following context, he speaks as a Theologian of the Father as Principle. In the one case affirming of the Word, that it subsisted of itself, and stood in need of no other pre-existing (Being), being itself God; and, in the other, as not being without another as Principle (μη ἄναρχον).

In the former case, speaking of Deity in the abstract, and also in accordance with the Scriptures, and positively ascribing this to the Son: in the latter, as to the particulars recorded of the Deity in the Scriptures only, and with respect to the Divine Economy. Not as Montfaucon and others have supposed, viz. that what he has said, under one point of view, is to be regulated and limited, by what he has affirmed under another.
statement respecting the Unity, made by our Author: it is this, (Contra Marcellum c. xix. 192). ‘And‘ indeed we all shall be in this way, one with the Father and the Son. For as, He said, that Himself and the Father were one, saying, “I and the Father are one;” ‘so does He pray that we all should, in imitation of Himself, partake of His own unity; not according to Marcellus; the Word being united to God, and (considered as) being attached to the Essence (as an accident); but, as the truth testifies, the Saviour Himself saying,’ “The glory which Thou hast given to me, I have given to them; that they may be one, according as we are one.” ‘Where,’ he goes on to say, ‘Eusebius clearly explodes the substantial unity of the Father and the Son,’ &c. I remark, This, as before, is a mere inference, and it is as groundless as it is positive.

Let us consider the circumstances of this case. Eusebius is here arguing with Marcellus; who, as already stated, considered the Word as a mere unsubstantial enunciation; and which, before enouncement, rested as a volition only in the Divine mind: and this he has in view when he speaks of ‘the Word being united to God, &c. His assertion here is therefore, that the Saviour’s prayer (John xviii.) is not to the effect that He and the Father, the Disciples and Himself, should be considered as united in this way; but in that in which each should, in His own proper person, partake of the Father’s glory: or, in the words of St Peter, that the Disciples should be “partakers of the Divine nature” (2 Pet. i. 4.), even as Christ was, of that of the Father. So far then, we may conclude, nothing unscriptural, untrue, or dishonourable to the Son, was here intended by our Author: the question here not being, as to Essence, but as to privilege.

* Gr. “καὶ δὲ κατ’ αὐτὸν τοῦ τρόπου ἐν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν οἱ πάντες γενησόμεθα. ἔστερ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐν εἶναι ἐλεγε, φάσκων ἐγὼ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑσμεν οὕτω καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μιμησάν, τῆς ἐνότητος τῆς αὐτοῦ μετασχεσίν εὐχέται οὐ κατὰ Μαρκέλλων τοῦ λόγου ἐνεμένω τῇ θεῷ, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῖς εναπθησαμένω καθὼς δὲ ἐμαρτύρησεν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὁ σωτὴρ αὐτὸς εἶπὼν τὴν δόξαν ἡ ἐν θεῷ καὶ ἡ ἐν οἴκοις ἢ βασίλει, καθώς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ἑσμεν."
It should be observed, that this extract is taken from our Author’s explanation of 1 Cor. xv. 28; of which some account has already been given above1 (p. lxx). From chapter xiv. (p. 182), to the end of the Ecclesiastical Theology against Marcellus, he argues this question, viz. as to how the passage, "When all things shall be subject unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all," ought to be understood: his general conclusion we have already given. The part of it, which now concerns us is, How did Eusebius understand its last portion, where it is said, "that God may be all in all"? The passage cited above by Montfaucon, and objected to by him, is part of his reasoning on this point; and it must be obvious from what has already been said of it, that Eusebius did not here intend in any way to discuss the question, as to the abstract nature of the Godhead, either of the Father or the Son, but only to speak of the glory received under the Divine Economy, from the Father as Principle, both by the Son, and by those also who are said to be made the sons of God, in and through Him. What our Author had said therefore on one question, Montfaucon very disingenuously cites against him on another!

If then Eusebius had left the question in this state, no Theologian, laying claim to a particle of ingenuousness, could have taken it up as matter of charge against him, on the Godhead of the Son. But happily, Eusebius has not left the question at this point; he has also stated his mind,

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1 I think it right to make one extract here to shew, in what way believers were supposed by Eusebius, to partake of the excellence of the Son, (ib. p. 184. D. seq.) "φωστήρει τε ἀναδειχθῶσιν τῷ νέῳ αἰῶνι ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ φωτά χορηγούμενοι καὶ νότα δὲ Θεοῦ ἑσονται, τῷ τῆς ὑιοθεσίας πνεύματι κοσμηθήντες καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν αὐτώ ἐκ αὐτῶν μεθέχοντες, οἱ αὐτῶν ὑποταγόμενοι τίς καὶ δικαίως γενοῦσι εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἁγίως ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἁγιωσύνης." κ. τ. λ. "Luminaria designabuntur novi seculi, quibus lux ab illo suppleditabitur. Filii Dei futuri filiationis spiritu ejus adornati et exculti. Quomodo, qui illi sunt subjiciendi omnes, facultatum ejus ceterarum participes fient. Nam et justi futuri sunt, de justitia ejus; et de sanctitate illius, sancti," &c. A passage, I think, evincing as highly an enlightened mind, as it does a deep and well grounded piety.
as to the different degrees, in which this is to be realized both in the Son, and in His followers, in these words,—which have been already cited, that “That God may be all in all.” He shall be all things in all, according to the faculty of each: supplying to all the different conceptions of His Divinity; but reserving to His only begotten Son alone, the Chief and Paternal Glory, Honour and Kingdom, which is incommunicable to all others.’ The same sentiment is also given (ib. p. 186. C.). After stating, that God shall dwell and walk in those who are His, he adds ‘but, thus He will not be in them, as He is said to be in the Son: οὕτω μὲν οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτοῖς ὃς καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ λέγεται εἶναι τῷ οὐ. And again, (ib. p. 192. C.) after stating that we shall not henceforth be many, but shall all be united in the Godhead and glory of His kingdom,’ he adds, ‘Not by commixture in one (Divine) Essence; but by a perfection (even) to the summit of virtue.’ In ἦμαστε ὑμεν πολλοί, ἀλλὰ οἱ πάντες εἰς ἑνώθησις αὐτοῦ τῇ θειότητι, καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῆς βασιλείας, οὐ κατὰ συναλοφήν μᾶς ὑσίας, κατὰ δὲ τελείωσιν τῆς εἰς ἀκραν ἀρετῆς."

* Ib. p. 193. D. “οὕτως οὖν ἐν εἰσὶν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κατὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς δόξης,” &c. “Ita Pater et Filius unum sunt, communi nione claritatis (glorie).” And again, (p. 194. B.) After citing, “I will walk in them,” &c. Eusebius adds, “ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν, καὶ κινούμεθα, καὶ ἐσμεν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα περὶ ἡμῶν λέγεται, τῶν καὶ ἰδιῶν ὑπόστασιν ἵπτομεν, καὶ ζῶμεν, καὶ μὴν ἐχόντων κοινοῦ πρὸς τὴν πατρικὴν θεότητα. τὸ δὲ οὖν χρῆ θαυμάζει, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, αἱ παραπληροῦσι φέρονται φωνὴς οὐκ ἀναροῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, ἀναδιώκουσιν τὴν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰδιαζουσίν καὶ ἐξαιρέτου τιμήν, καὶ δόξαν, τῆς μονογεννότητος καὶ θεικῆς κοινωνίας παριστάσει.” “Nos in ipso vivimus et movemur, et sumus.” “Quæ sané omnia de nobis dicuntur, qui tamen in propria hypostasi substímus et vivimus; nec quicquam habemus cum paterna divinitate commune. Quocircum non est mirum, sì de Filio tales voces usurpuntur: quæ minimè tollant tamen ipsius hypostasìn: nequid confirmant ipsum esse et patrem et filium: tantummodo representant illam divinam unigenitì Fili communione, honorem, atque gloriam, quam ex ills a patre suo habent.” The latter part of this falls very far short of the original; which virtually affirms, not only that these terms have a very different application when applied to us, from what they have when applied to the person of the Son; and, that the Father and the Son are not the same Hypostasis; but also,
From which I think it must be as certain, as the nature of the case can require, that Eusebius did not here intend to argue on the abstract character of the Deity; and also, that he sufficiently guarded himself against the accusation, which Montfaucon thought it right to advance against him.

I do not think it necessary to follow Montfaucon any farther: every main point, connected with the question before us, has been considered at sufficient length to shew, that our objector had no good grounds for the allegations which he brought forward. It must be evident, I think, to every one desirous of adhering to the truth, that the sort of controversy here set up by Montfaucon, is not that, out of which truth can elicited. To cite a passage here and there from the works of any author, and then to argue thereon, regardless of the context in which it is found, and of the opinions elsewhere positively expressed and maintained by such author,—which is the course pursued here by Montfaucon,—must leave it at the will of him who does so, to come to any conclusion whatever, which may seem good in his sight. We pass on now therefore to other matter.

Section V.

On the charge advanced by Photius against our Author, alleging that he erred with Origen, on the resurrection of the dead.

The charge brought forward by Photius is, that Eusebius was infected with the malady of Origen, as to the resurrection of the dead. The passage containing this charge is given by Montfaucon, in his "Bibliotheca Coisliniana," page 348, as something new, and worthy of presentation to persons skilled in Ecclesiastical History; and out of which new matter for controversy would probably arise: although, as he goes on to say, many had suspected that

that they ascribe to the only begotten Son, the proper and chief honour and glory of the Father, and a divine communion with Him. Is it not marvellous that all this escaped Montfaucon?
Eusebius was so tainted, from his frequent perusal of the works of Origen.—There was however, nothing new presented in this extract from Photius; for Valesius had published it long before among the testimonies against Eusebius, which he appended to his life of Eusebius.¹

The charge runs thus: Many² know, and it is easy to find from numerous places, that (Eusebius) did from the first secretly foster the Arian opinions, and ceased not to the last to defend them. And, that he partook of the disease with which Origen was infected, as to our common resurrection:—if it escapes the many;—he, who reads his compositions with care, will nevertheless perceive him to have been no less held by this destructive unsoundness, than he was by the Arian mania.

The error of Origen was, that the Body of our Lord became, after His resurrection, of an etherial and divine quality.³ Let us now see how far the writings of Eusebius are chargeable with this error. In our following work, he speaks of the ‘Body being impervious to death,’ after it shall have undergone dissolution by death; and again, he says

¹ Prefixed to his edition of the works of Eusebius.
² The words, as given by Montfaucon, are these: ‘αλλ’ ἐτι μὲν ἀτ’ ἀρχής ταῖς Ἀρεινικαῖς δόξαι ὑκέθαλπεν, καὶ μέχρι τέλους οὐ διέλευ περέπτων, πολλοί τε συνεπίσταται, καὶ μην ἐστὶ λαβεῖν πολλαχόδεν ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῆς Ὀμηρέων νόσου μετέχειν ήτα κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἐκείνου ἔνσοφεν ἀναστάσεως, εἰ καὶ τού τοῦ πολλοῦ ὑπολαβάνει ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦτος σὺν ἑρευνή τοῦτο ἐκείνου λόγων αναλεγόμενος, οὐδὲν ἐπάτου αὐτῶν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τούτῃ ἀρματήματι ή ταῖς Ἀρεινικαῖς μανίας κεκρατημένοι δύνη.” The charge here made,—and in which Montfaucon seems to exult,—as to our Author’s persevering in Arianism and even defending it to the last; Athanasius himself, who was no friend to Eusebius, has sufficiently answered; who tells us, that after he had subscribed to the Council of Nice, (p. li.) he went on to accuse the Arians. Vales. Life of Euseb. p. miih 25. Athanasius also declares in the preceding page, that Eusebius was his enemy.
³ As cited from Origen’s Tract against Celsus by Suicer. Thes. Ecles. sub voces ἀνάστασις. “τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ θνητοῦ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σώμα, εἰς αἰθέριον καὶ θεῖαν ποιότητα.” “Qualitatem mortalem Jesu corporis in etheream et divinam qualitatem mutatam esse.” See the following extracts also given by Suicer: who tells us here, that the Romanists, (Pontificii) assert the same thing.
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(p. 61), 'When he shall receive his Body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption,' &c. evidently alluding to 1 Cor. xv. 53. (See also ib. sect. 76.) Again (page 185), speaking of our Lord's appearing after His resurrection, he says, 'He shewed to His disciples the selfsame person, both in body and substance just as it formerly was.' Again (p. 186), 'Had He led on that mortal (being, or body)...to corruption and perishing, He would have seemed as a spectre.' Evidently intimating that His body was substantial. Again, p. 187, 'He shewed proof that this same (Body) was superior to death; and (so), by the divine power, made immortal that which was mortal.' In page 195, he makes the resurrection of our Lord, 'the beginning of that immortal life (for us all) which is with God.' Ib. p. 196, 'It was necessary the Disciples should see, with their own eyes, the life which is after death;' which must imply their viewing their own resurrection in His. It is added, 'He shewed them in the deed itself, the signal mark of the victory obtained over death.' To the same effect are pages 188-9. And again, p. 200, 'Then also did the all-life-giving Word of God evince the hope that is laid up for all men, by means of the second birth of this selfsame mortal (body)'. Ib. sect. 62. he speaks of this second birth, which had also (now) become that of the Disciples, and which they preached to all. See also ib. sect. 63. seq. and p. 207. Whence it will be seen, that a very large portion of this book (iii), proceeds on the assumption,—as on a thing about which there can be no doubt—that the body shall be, after the resurrection, just as that of our Lord's was,—identically the same with that, which had previously lived and died.

We are told in the Controversy with Marcellus, (p. 184. seq.) that, when the last enemy death shall have been subdued, then shall our bodies be made like unto His glorious Body: ours swallowed up of life, His of the Divinity, as already noticed. This subject however is more particularly discussed, in an earlier part of this Work, (Ib. x. p. 177. seq.), from which it will be sufficient for our purpose to make a few extracts.

After speaking of the absurd Sabellian notions of Marcellus, as to the flesh of the Saviour being laid aside at His
death, he proceeds: ‘You\(^1\) see what words he dares to throw out against the flesh of the Saviour; not aware that before His being taken up into heaven, He thus glorified it (i.e. the flesh), before suffering, on the mount while on earth, shewing to His three chosen Disciples alone the image of His kingdom, so that His face alone, and gave forth rays of light.’ “For His face,” says the Holy Scripture, “became as the Sun, and His garments white as the light.” ‘Nor,’ adds he, ‘did he (Marcellus,) understand what sort of glorified body of Christ,—nor how our bodies are to be conformed to that body,—the Apostle taught, by saying,’ “Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious Body.” ‘Nor knowing in what way he wrote, that mortality shall be swallowed up of life, saying,’ “Not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.” ‘Holding ignorantly of all these things,’ adds he, ‘he goes on to shew that the Word, (as a mere word) ‘shall one and the same be with God, as it formerly was; but the flesh be left by the Word, I know not whatever to be.’—From all which it must be as clear as words can make it, that Eusebius believed the Body of our Lord, so glorified on the mount, was not only the same Body that should be glorified in heaven; but also, that this transfiguration was intended to shew, that our bodies should in like manner be clothed upon, and our mortal be

\(^1\) Matth. xvii. 1, 2, &c.

\(^2\) “Ορθές, οποίαι προσέβαι φωνές κατὰ τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τετόλμηκεν οὐκ ἐπιστήμησα, ὥστε καὶ πρὸ τῆς εἰς οὐρανόν ἀναλήψεως, ἦταν οὕσον αὐτὴν ἐκίνησε, πρὸ τοῦ πάθους, οὕτω εὐδόκησεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, σκότος τῶν ἐκείνων αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν μόνος, εἰκόνα δεινῶς τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ὥστε ἕξασταράξαι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ φωτὸς μαρμαρικὸς ἐκλάμψαι.”

“Αλλὰ οὐδὲ σωσί, ἀποτάσιοι χριστιανοὶ δόξης ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόστολος καὶ οὐ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα σώματα ἐκεῖνο τῷ σώματι εἰδέθης.” (Phillip. iii. 21.) “Αλλὰ οὐδέ νοσίας τίνι τρόπῳ κατακυθήσεται τῷ θεότω τῆς χοιρινοῦ, ἔγραψε” (2 Cor. v. 4.) “τούτων ἀμαθῶς ἔχων, τῶν μὲν λόγον διαβεβαιώμενων ἐν καὶ ταύτω μελετῶν γνώμενοι τῷ θεῷ, ἀστέρω καὶ πρῶτον ἦν τὴν δὲ σάρκα, καταλειφθέναι ὕπὸ τοῦ λόγου, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ, τι ποτὲ γενήσεται.”
swallowed up of immortality, just as that of the Saviour’s should, of the Divinity. This will also supply a good comment on certain passages in our following work, e. g. p. 54. “Shall clothe him, both in body and soul, which are now incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description.” See also pages, 57, 61, &c.

Reasoning to the same effect will be found in his commentary on Isaiah, where we are told on chapter lx. ver. 19, that there shall be a certain pillar emitting Divine light, the Body of the resurrection, called “the garment of salvation.” ‘For there shall be no longer the Body of death, such as Paul shewed forth’ (Rom. vii. 24). ‘For, he goes on to say, ‘The garment of salvation shall be put about the soul, and the coat of gladness,’ &c. In the first case the same glorified Body of our Lord is evidently meant; as the words are a comment on, “The Lord shall be thy everlasting light, and God thy glory.” and, in the second, the glorified bodies of His followers, as clothed upon by virtue of His resurrection. So again, on chap. lxvi. 20. p. 597. C. D. 588 A. chap. lxvi. 20, 21. p. 592, 593. to some of which, parallels may be adduced from our following work.

I shall notice only one place more, and then come to a conclusion on this whole subject. This place I think an important one, as it will shew how far our Author had the advantage over his opponent, as an interpreter of Holy Writ; and, at the same time, as to the spirituality of his views. Marcellus tells us then, (ib. p. 179 A.), that the flesh could not, as it respected the Resurrection of our Lord, profit in any way, as the Saviour Himself had said (John xi. 62, 63.), “What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where He was before? It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.” To this Eusebius replies: ‘But you must, upon again taking up the evan-

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1 His words are: “στήλη δέ τε της ἁστατοστουσα θείον, τό σώμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τὸ λεγόμενον ἰμάτιον σωτηρίου. εἰκάτε γὰρ ταυτάτου σώμα, οἷον ὁ Παύλος ἐθάλλον λέγων (Rom. vii. 24)... σωτηρίου δὲ ἰμάτιον τῇ ψυχῇ περιθύεται, καὶ χειρόνι εὐφροσύνης.”

2 “Αλλὰ αὐτοὶ γε ἀναλαβάντι τὴν ἐναγχελικήν γραφήν, θὰ τὴν τάσαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἤµῖν ἐδακτολαίας, ὅπως οὐ περὶ ἤν ἐνελήφθη σαρκὸς διε- λέγετον περὶ δὲ τοῦ μνηστικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἷματος.” (John vi. 30.)
gelical Scripture, observe that the whole of our Saviour's doctrine (here), does not speak of the Flesh which He had assumed, but of His mystical Body, and Blood.' He then cites a considerable part of the context, and adds: 'By which He taught them, spiritually to hear the things said respecting His Body and Blood.' 'Think not that I say, It is right to eat the flesh which I carry about me; nor understand me to enjoin, the drinking of the sensible and bodily blood; but know well, that the words which I have spoken to you, are spirit and life. So that His declarations and words were (hereon) the Flesh and Blood, of which he who ever partakes, shall, as nourished with heavenly bread, also partake of the heavenly life.' He repeats it, that these things are to be spiritually received, not as this new Interpreter had taken them, as referring to the Flesh of our Lord; which, as being profitless according to his views, could be of no avail in the life to come. From which I think, both the heterodoxy, and ignorance of Scripture, betrayed by Marcellus, must be too obvious to require one word of comment; as must the sound and scriptural views of our Author. And, we may conclude here upon this question, that it is equally evident, the charge which Photius brought against him, is no less discreditable to himself, than it is groundless and scandalous.

seq. Exod. xvi. 14)...‘ὅς ὁ ἐπαιδευθεὶς αὐτῶν πνευματικῶς ἀκούει τῶν περὶ τῆς σάρκος καὶ τοῦ σῶματος αὐτοῦ ληλογισμῶν μη γὰρ τὴν σάρκα, ἥν περίειρα, νομίσῃ με λέγειν, δὲν δέον αὐτὸν ἐσθίειν, μηδὲ τὸ αὐθεντικόν καὶ αὐτοματικὸν αἰών πόνων ὑπολαμβάνει με προστάτες οὐκ ἐστι δὲν ἕστιν, ὥστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτού, τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἀν ὁ μετέχων αἰεί, ἡσανεῖ ἄρτῳ οὐρανίῳ τρε-φόμενον, τῆς οὐρανίου μεθέξει ζωῆς.' The Commentary of Euthymius on this place, is to the same effect: taking the general sense to be the Doctrine of Christ; but the particular one, as having respect to the sacrament of His Body and Blood. How much better is this than the modern figment of Romanists, whose whole attention is directed to the bodily and sensible elements? Yet Jortin, after Le Clerc and Pere Simon, thinks that he held much the same opinions that Christians now do; but this, his very zealous and learned advocate Montfacon, could neither prove, nor persuade himself to affirm.
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GENERAL CONCLUSION.

Whether we view the opinions of our Author as apparent from his Platonic inclinations, and his notions of Deity accordingly; his assenting to the statements of that philosopher; of his commentators Plotinus and others; of Philo and Aristobulus, as Platonizing Jews; of certain portions of the Apocryphal Scriptures, as to the particulars here had in view; his viewing the Holy Trinity, in conformity with these authorities, as consisting of a First, Second, and Third Cause, each equally Divine; his viewing the Holy Trinity as a Theologian, and affirming of it, that it constitutes the one Monarchy, Principle, and Rule; declaring also as a Theologian, that it comprehends, according to the Divine Economy, the Rule of the Father, and the ministration of the Son in the person of Jehovah under the Old Testament, in that of the man Christ Jesus under the New, and of the Holy Ghost:—whether we view his conduct at the Council of Nice, or consider the real import and bearing of his letter to the Church of Cæsarea; his mode of commenting on the Scriptures generally, and particularly with reference to the Divinity of the Son, the Divinity and personality of the Holy Ghost, as found in his Commentaries and other writings generally, and particularly in his Controversy with Marcellus; or whether we examine his opinions, as sifted and condemned by Montfaucon and others, with reference to the proper Divinity of the Son; or, whether we take a similar survey of his reasoning on the Resurrection and glorification of the real Body of our Lord, and, by virtue of this, the glorified state of those of his true followers:—taking these things, I say, as they appear in his own writings, and attested positively by himself;—we are, I think, bound to conclude, that he was no Arian: and the same reasoning must prove that he was no semi-Arian:—that he did in no degree partake of the error of Origen, ascribed to him so positively and so groundlessly by Photius.

To this may be added the testimony of Valesius ¹ a writer of no mean acquirements and judgment, strength-

¹ "De Vita et Scriptis Eusebii Cæsariensis," pp. mihi, 14, 15.
ened as it is by that of the Western Church generally, and particularly that of Gaul, which canonized Eusebius,—with the single exception of Jerome,—and confirmed by that of Popes Gelasius and Pelagius. To these, he adds that of Gelasius Bishop of Cæsarea, and of Theophilus of Alexandria; of Socrates—whom he should have joined Theodoret,—and of Gelasius Bishop of Cyzicum. And last of all, though by no means least, our own Cave gives the same testimony; whose very valuable Life of our Author can never be read without great interest and advantage.
PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

PART II.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE VIEWS OF EUSEBIUS ON PROPHECY.

It will appear upon a very slight perusal of the two last Books of our following work, that the views of its Author on Prophecy are, in some important particulars, directly opposed to those generally held in the present day. And, as the views now held are usually put forth with great zeal and earnestness, as containing matter of the greatest importance to the Christian Church; many will necessarily be tempted to conclude at once, that Eusebius is in this particular entirely wrong; and that so far, his work is worse than useless. I trust all such will allow me to intreat them calmly to consider, whether it is likely Eusebius would, with the whole Christian Church of his times, and of those preceding him, err on a question so momentous as this; and on which the interests of Christianity so much then depended: whether it is probable, the views promulgated by the Apostles themselves on this question could, without any assignable cause, have undergone a revolution so great, as this takes for granted was the fact; and further, whether the writers of his, and of former times,—men confessedly of the greatest learning and piety, and who certainly had spared no pains to inform themselves as to the declarations of Holy Scripture,—could possibly have embraced, and maintained with one voice, views so directly opposed to the truth, as this state of the case necessarily supposes.

If it be supposed that progress of time necessarily brings with it progress in knowledge; it may be suggested, that, in the sciences and arts connected with civilized life, this may be fully admitted; while it may be extremely doubtful whether it can be, as to revealed truth; and
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especially, as inspired Interpreters of this lived so near to the times of which we are now speaking. Add to this the fact, that, among modern Interpreters, there is nothing like the agreement which prevailed among the more ancient ones; that, in very many instances, the statements, grounded on their views of prophecy, have proved utterly false: in others, the results arrived at have given rise to theories and practices the most ludicrous; and that in all, no principle of interpretation more solid than that which rests on resemblances, has either been proposed or contended for: and accordingly, what was once "the more sure word of prophecy," has been made the most unsure: and I think it will appear, that there is quite as much reason for supposing the present speculations on this subject to be erroneous, as there is that those of our Author's times are unworthy of regard. I will say for myself, I have,—I trust with the sincerest regard to truth, unembarrassed with any desire for novelty, or to oppose the favourite views of any man,—long suspected the soundness of the principles on which these modern views have been founded, and for some years past have felt convinced, that the more ancient ones are much nearer the truth: their results much more accordant with the general tenor of Scripture, and tending to throw a much greater light on the declarations of both Testaments. I now proceed therefore, to lay before the reader a mere outline,—and nothing further can be expected here,—which will, I trust, be found to rest on principles of interpretation more solid than those just now adverted to, and calculated to bring the Old and New Testament into a much more intimate connection, than they can otherwise be made to stand: and hence to justify the views advanced by our Author in the work before us.

SECTION I.

On the period termed by Eusebius "the Time of the End."

We have in Sects. 28, 36. of our Fourth Book, express mention of the "time of the end," intimately connected with our Author's proofs of the fulfilment of prophecy in the erection of the Christian Church. In neither of these places indeed, is he particularly clear, as to the precise
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Period meant; but, as his arguments rest on the fact, (real or supposed) that the Gospel had then been "preached in all nations," the natural inference is, that he supposed the "time of the End" had then come. I have shewn this, and added a few remarks on the subject generally, in a note on the latter place (p. 282). Let us now inquire how this matter stands in Holy Scripture.

The question now before us is, Whether a period or End is actually fixed in Holy Scripture, with reference to the things of Christ and His Church, unconnected with every consideration about the dissolution of all things, commonly termed the End of the world. We will commence this inquiry with those declarations, which appear to be the most obvious and definite, and then pass on to those which seem less so, by means of their connection with these, and with one another.

Our Lord says then, generally as I conceive, "The things concerning me have an End" (Luke xxii. 37). In this case, He was to be numbered with the transgressors. "This was soon to be done and finished. Upon the Disciples asking Him, in another place (Matt. xxiv. 3. seq.) "When shall these things be? and what the sign of thy coming, and of the End of the world?" The answer is, "Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars," ... "all these things must come to pass, but the End is not yet." And again, (ver. 14) as cited by our Author, "This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the End come." We are also told (ib. ver. 8), that the troubles then spoken of are

1 Gr. "τῶν συντελειών τοῦ αἰῶνος." Not necessarily signifying the end of the material world; and, if Christ's coming (τῶν σημαντικοί) is to be connected with this, as the context here implies, it is obvious that the then existing generation should not pass, until this had commenced at least (ver. 34, &c.); and, as Theodotion uses this term (Dan. xii. 13, where we have εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελείας) to imply the period elsewhere spoken of as the End of the system to be done away, and to be succeeded by another; it is certain, the end of the material world cannot here be meant. This place has, "till all these things be fulfilled," which is erroneous. The verb in the original is "γένηται," be, become, or the like.
"the beginning of sorrows"; and again, (ib. ver. 15), these predictions are connected with one or more of those given by Daniel the Prophet: whence it should seem, that all has respect to the same events and times.

Again, in Mark xiii. 4, the question of the Disciples is, "When shall these things be? and What the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled? We have here no mention of "the end of the world," but only of the time "when all these things shall be fulfilled," given probably as equivalent to that of "the end of the world," mentioned by St. Matthew. And again, (ver. 7.) as before, "the end shall not be yet:" and, in the next verse: "these are the beginnings of sorrows." And (ver. 13.) "He that shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved." And then the prophecy of Daniel is, as before pointed out, intimating its connection with these things. Again (Luke xxii. 9), as before, "The end is not by and by." And (in ver. 22.) it is said, "These be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled" (in them): that is, as I understand it, that the accomplishment and end of all things written may arrive and come. A very large number of instances occurs elsewhere to the same effect; we shall presently notice some of these. From all which it must, I think be evident, both that a Beginning, and an End, of all the troubles here mentioned, is distinctly pointed out and affirmed; and, more generally, the days in which all those other things foretold by the Prophets, should also be accomplished, and come to their destined end.

Let us now inquire, whether both of these periods are so fixed and determined, as not to admit of being carried farther in any direction. Of the Beginnings of these troubles, there can perhaps be no doubt, connected as they

* And in the verb corresponding to συντέλεσθαι, noted above, in συντελείωσθαι.
* Gr. "τον πληρωθηναι πάντα τα γεγραμένα." Lit. Of all things written being fulfilled; i.e. for the fulfilment of all things written in the Scriptures. Eusebius tells us occasionally, in his Commentary on the Psalms, where the terms το τέλος occur, that this intimates this time of the End.
PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

are with the pestilences, earthquakes, persecutions of the Disciples, the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, coupled with the declaration, that the generation then existing should not pass away until they should be (in progress); Mark, xiii. 30), with the fall of the Temple (Luke xxii. 5, 6), the investiture of Jerusalem by the Roman army (ib. ver. 21), the captivity of the Jews (ib. ver. 24. comp. vv. 28, 29—31), and all those other remarkable events which so soon, and so exactly corresponding with these predictions, actually took place for the first, and necessarily for the last, time. The period of these Beginnings is therefore, too particularly defined to admit of doubt as to when it was.

To determine the period of the END, will require a more extended investigation; which, as it will involve more particulars of equally certain occurrence, will therefore lead us to a conclusion equally sure and certain. It will be seen, from what has already been cited,—and as noticed by Eusebius,—that, when (i.e. not before) the Gospel of the kingdom should have been preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, the END should come. (Matt. xxiv. 14, &c). We may remark here; first, that the Gospel was to be so preached; and, secondly, that this was to be done for the purpose of affording a Testimony to all nations. Let us now see, what means we have in our hands for determining its period, and extreme limit.

It has been remarked above that our Lord has, in uttering his prediction (Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Luke xxi. 20), referred to the Prophet Daniel as having made predictions to the same effect; and, from the manner in which this reference is made, ("whoso readeth, let him understand,") particular stress seems to be laid upon the declarations of this Prophet. The passages more immediately

1 Matt. xxiv. 34. Mark xiii. 30. Luke xxi. 32. See the note above on the term γενέται. A passage to the same effect occurs (Matt. xvi. 28.) "There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom;" and again (John xxi. 21), "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" all intended, no doubt, to fix and determine the period here had in view. Let this be remembered.
had in view are, perhaps, chapp. ix. 23, 27; xii. 11. But, as these are only parts of a more extended system of predictions on this subject, it will be best, first to consider the whole of this generally; and secondly, more in detail.

The first place in which this question is touched upon is, Daniel ii. 28—36; where the dream of the King is said to comprehend "what should be in the latter days"; by which last expression we are to understand, as we shall presently see, the period of the end generally; the beginning of a certain part of which has already been brought before us. Now, the interpretation given of this dream by Daniel goes on to shew, that Three kingdoms or dynasties shall succeed that of Nebuchadnezzar, each of which shall successively fall and give place to another; and that a Fifth shall be raised, which shall have no end. That these kingdoms, designated the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, I need not now perhaps stop to inquire; both, because this is generally allowed, and because we

* This usage is much older than the times of Daniel: it occurs for the first time in Gen. xlix. 1. "That I may tell you what shall befal you in the last days." Where (ver. 10) we have the remarkable prophecy of the coming of our Lord, and of the gathering of the people to Him, &c. The next place is Numb. xxiv. 14: "I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days." Where, (ver. 17) we have the prediction of a Star that should come out of Jacob...(19) "Out of Jacob shall come He that shall have the dominion," &c., perfectly equivalent to the place in Genesis. The next place is Job xix. 25, where the Redeemer who should stand at the latter day upon the earth, is the subject-matter of the discourse. In these cases, as in those occurring in the Prophets, respect is had to the period generally, in which the peculiar privileges of the Jews should cease, and all nations should partake in the blessings to be derived from the promised seed of Abraham. (Gen. xviii. 16; xxii. 18, &c.) "In his days shall the righteous flourish," &c. (Ps. lxxii. 7) is another intimation of the same period, as is "Thy times." Is. xxxiii. 6: "The last days," (ib. ii. 2.) Micah iv. 1, &c., all of which mark, more or less distinctly, the times of our Lord's ministry, and those immediately succeeding; but less definitely than in Daniel, particularly chap. ix. 27. It is not meant however, to assert that the phrase "last day," or the like, must necessarily refer to this period. In John vi. 44, 54, for example, it relates to a totally different one. All that is intended to be affirmed is, that, by phrases similar to this, the time of the end, in the sense above given, is often pointed out, which the context will always be sufficient to determine.
shall presently come to matter, sufficient to determine this point beyond all possible doubt. I need only remark here, that, as these Four kingdoms were to fall in succession, and a Fifth was then to be raised which should never fall, the latter days noticed above, as intimating generally the time of the End mentioned by our Lord, must necessarily mean the period, in which the last of these Four should come to an end; the last, or Fifth, never coming to an end in the language of prophecy, can, in that language, have no latter days. This period must therefore, be limited to the time of that particular event, and cannot be extended to any other, falling either short of it, or beyond it.

In the viith chapter of Daniel this subject is resumed, and—as it might be expected,—is treated in a manner much more specific than in the last case. I shall now give only the general outline as before, reserving what is more particular for future consideration. Here then, the Four Monarchies, pointed out in the last vision, are designated by Four Beasts. The last of these is slain, his body is destroyed and given to the burning flame (v. 11); and then, as before, a Fifth Dominion is set up, which is given to one like the Son of Man coming in the clouds; and this is, as before, to be both an everlasting and an universal Dominion (ver. 14). An interpretation is then given, determining these Four Beasts to be four Kings; and also, that the Saints of the Most High shall next take the kingdom, and possess it for ever (vv. 16, 18). We are then instructed, that some constituent part of this last system of Rule, shall make war against the Saints and shall prevail, until the Ancient of days shall give judgment in their favour; and that these shall then possess the kingdom. And, a little lower down (v. 26), the judgment is again said to sit, and to take away this last portion of the Fourth kingdom, and to de-

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1 So in the case of Malchisedec (Heb. vii. 3. seq.), "without father, without mother," &c., can only mean that no father, mother, &c., are found recorded of him in the Scriptures.

2 As King in the Heb. and Chald. properly signifies Rule. See my Hebrew Lexicon under מִלְחִּ֣סֵד, we need not be surprised in finding it here used in this sense.
strew it unto the (extreme period of) the End. It is also repeated, that the Saints shall now possess the kingdom, and that this kingdom shall be both universal and everlasting. And the next verse (28) tells us, that "hitherto is the end of the matter," which I understand to mean, the close and final period of every thing referred to in this vision.

In the viiith chapter of this same Prophet, we have another vision to the same effect; and, in some respects, more specific than either of the preceding ones. We shall, as before, now take the general statements of this only. In the first place then, a Ram is seen standing by the river Ulai, which becomes fearfully great. A He goat is then said to fly, as it were, over the earth and to come in contact with him; and to overcome him. This He goat is then said to become irresistible; but, that in the zenith of his power he shall fall, and his Rule be divided among Four others. To these shall succeed another Power, which shall take away the daily sacrifice, and cast down the place of the sanctuary. From this last declaration, it must be evident that the Roman Power is had in view; no other having ever done this. In this latter vision therefore, the Babylonian empire is not included; which is also evident from the interpretation given below (ver. 20, seq.), where we learn, that the Ram designated the Medo-Persian empire, the He goat, the King of Grecia (Alexander the Great); the four succeeding kingdoms, those of his Generals; and the third and last, as before, the Roman. So far, this vision points out events essentially the same with those of the two preceding ones; and, what is very important to our main inquiry here, it also tells us (ver. 19), that the Angel shewed to the Prophet what should be in the latter time of their kingdom (ver. 23), and also (ver. 19), in the last end of the indignation: "for," he adds, "at the time appointed the end shall be." Which seems to imply, that, when a certain predetermined indignation should have been poured out; and have come to its close, then, i.e. at that specific time, the period named the end should come, and at no other: and this, I take to be equivalent in bearing to the expressions..."unto the end," and "hitherto is the end of the matter," noticed above. We learn here also (ver. 23), that
this vision is styled the "Vision of the evening and the morning:" i.e. as comprehending what may be termed a day, divided into these its two natural portions.

We shall, for the present, pass over the ninth chapter of this prophecy, because its declarations unfold the events of the visions hitherto considered, in a point of view differing in some respects from that had recourse to in them. In the tenth chapter, then, (ver. 14) the angelic message sent is, to make Daniel understand what shall befall his people in "the latter days;" by which we are probably to understand, the "Time of the end" generally, as noticed above.

In the eleventh chapter, we have a repetition of the last vision, with which a very large number of particulars is connected. These we shall pass over for the present, and notice the more general enunciations only. We are told here then, that Three kings should arise in Persia; to whom a Fourth should succeed, who should stir up all against the realm of Grecia. We then have a repetition of the rise of a mighty king, Alexander the Great apparently, whose kingdom should be broken, and divided towards the four winds: pointing out as before, the kingdoms of his Generals; noticed also, but more particularly, by our Author (p. 136, below). The events following, i.e. from verse 5 to verse 30, have been shewn, I think satisfactorily, to refer to what took place under Antiochus Epiphanes¹, one of the branches which arose out of the Rule of Alexander. In verse 30, the Roman Power² is, I think, again brought before us; which, as the history of those times shews, forced Antiochus to return to his own country³, and

¹ Sir Isaac Newton on the Prophecies of Daniel, &c. Part i. chap. xii. seq. who, however, makes no scruple to break down the limits so set to the predictions of Daniel, and recognised by our Lord; and then to expatiate, with Mede and his followers, over all the times and places which seem to suit his purpose.

² "For the ships of Chittim," &c., which is manifestly an echo of Numb. xxiv. 24, where this coming, and also the fall of the Roman Power, is clearly foretold. See Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. iii. cap. v.

³ Jerome says on this place: "Hec plenius in Machabaeorum gestis legitimus: quod postquam eum de Aegypto pepulerunt Romani, indignans venerit contra testimonium sanctuarii," &c.
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who then committed great outrages upon the Jews. In verse 31 we have, the pollution of the Sanctuary by this Power, the taking away of the daily sacrifice, and the setting up of "the abomination that maketh desolate," which has been so pointedly marked out by our Lord; and sufficiently so to shew, that this place of Daniel refers to those particular times, and to no other. Verse 33 points out to us, as it should seem, the labours of the Apostles, with the persecutions which our Lord declared should come upon them, and upon their followers: and this is carried on through verses 34 and 35, where we are further told, that it shall continue "even to the time of the End." And, in the next verse, it is said that "the king shall do according to his will, &c. . . . and shall prosper till the indignation shall be accomplished: for" it is added, "that that is determined shall be done." From which it should seem, some King or Power existing within the times of the fourth, or Roman Dynasty, was to arise and thus to act, even to the time of the End, and until the indignation determined upon should be completed and finished. We have here therefore, "the abomination of desolation" set up, designated by our Lord as the beginning of sorrows, and the tribulations which were thence to take effect, "even to the time of the End."

The twelfth chapter commences with the times of unheard of troubles, the period of which our Lord has also fixed. In this, the Disciples are warned to escape to the mountains; which they did, and were preserved, untouched and uninjured. The vision is then to be shut up, and the Book to be sealed, even to the (general) time of the End, when many shall run to and fro, and knowledge should be increased. The question is then put (ver. 6), "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" The answer given is, "It shall be for a time, times, and an half." That is, as it should seem, from the time in which the abomination of desolation should be set up, to the end of

4 And, at the time of the End, this book is unsealed by the Lion of the tribe of Judah, Rev. v. 1. seq.

5 A similar question is put, and answered much to the same effect, Isaiah vi. 11.
these troubles, a period shall elapse which may be designated by a mystical number (yet to be explained) amounting to three and a half. It is added, "When he shall have accomplished to scatter (disperse abroad) the power of the Holy People, all these things shall be finished." That is, as I understand it, when the Saints shall have taken the kingdom, shall have been put in possession of "the kingdom under the whole heavens;" in other words, when the new or Fifth kingdom, shall have been established by God himself; when Kings and Queens shall, in the words of Isaiah, have become the nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers of the Church; then shall all these things have come to their destined and full completion and end.

And, I may conclude here generally, that, from a close and accurate comparison of these several Visions, it must appear clear to demonstration, that, upon the fall of these four kingdoms, a Fifth should arise which should never end; that the period marked, as that in which the fourth of these should fall, was termed the End, the latter days, and the like generally: that, at a certain point of this, the abomination of desolation should be set up; and that, after this, even to the end; in other words, to the fulfilment of every thing here had in view, troubles such as never had been, and never should hereafter be, heard of, tribulation; indignation, and wrath, should take place: and that, when the (now) Mighty and Holy People, the Christian Church, should have spread and established its power, under the guidance of the Almighty miraculously granted, all these things should be fully and finally accomplished. These Visions are so intimately, and indissolubly, linked together, and are hence so obvious and plain, as to what they unfold, and have been so bound up by our Lord Himself, with the extraordinary events which were soon to follow upon His death, that no power either human or angelic, can possibly separate them, or make them apply to any other times or circumstances.

We may now turn back to the ninth chapter of this prophecy, and see how far that contributes towards laying open the same things. We are told then, in the 24th verse of this chapter generally, that "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish
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transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy." That is, a considerable period of time is fixed and determined upon, during the lapse of which, all the particulars here mentioned shall be effected. And first, as to the people of Daniel during this period: they shall return, rebuild their city, and eventually shall experience those things, which it had been foretold should befall them in the latter days. In other words, during this period, all the events hitherto touched upon in these Visions shall be finally accomplished: this whole period shall bring about their fulfilment. Secondly, as to the Holy City during this space of time; It shall also undergo its fate so frequently and plainly foretold, and here (ver. 27), also predicted. Thirdly, "To finish transgression," &c. i.e. to make the great sacrifice for sin, whereby alone reconciliation with God can be obtained, and to bring in an everlasting system and means of righteousness, in the never-ending and spiritual kingdom thence to be set up. Fourthly, to bring to a fulfilment and close, all the things which had been foretold of Christ, under the Old Testament (Luke xxii. 22), either by Vision or Prophecy. And Fifthly; to anoint or consecrate with the Holy Ghost, the Holy of Holies now to be set up; and, under His ministration, to continue the work of grace during the ages of this everlasting kingdom. This therefore lays down, generally, the period during which all these particulars shall fully come to pass.

We next have a recital of particulars, which are then to succeed; to each of these a period is also assigned; each containing some portion or other of these Seventy weeks.

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1 That is Vision and Prophecy generally: the Hebrew having no definite article here. So the Greek.

2 As noticed above, p. cv.

3 The terms "Holy of Holies" signify literally, the Holy of Holies; but, as provision is here made for the fall of the old one; so also is there for the consecration of the new one or Christian Church, which was effected on the day of Pentecost. Acts ii.

4 This I take to represent a certain indefinite period, (seventy, seven, &c.,
First, from the time of the Edict to build and to restore Jerusalem, unto the Messiah, 69 of these weeks are to elapse; and again, after the lapse of 69 weeks, that is, after that of these, with 7 others added to them, making as before 69 weeks, the Messiah is to be cut off. The people of the then ruling Power, the Prince, or the Fourth Dynasty according to the former Visions, i.e. the Romans, are next to come and to destroy both the city and the sanctuary; the End of which things is to be, as an overwhelming flood, not unlike that of Noah, (Matth. xxiv. 37. 1 Pet. iii. 20) and even to the End of this warfare, desolations; i.e. the indignation, unheard of troubles, and the like, already mentioned are, we are told, determined. This is generally stated. In the next verse, the particulars, with their immediate and determined periods, are given.

We are here informed then, that "He shall confirm the covenant with (the) many (for, or during) one week: and, in the midst of the week, He shall cause sacrifice and

\[\text{æ.c., being occasionally so used) to be determined by the events here foretold, and which the language of inspiration should also certify. The usual mode of reckoning this period, taking these weeks to be weeks of years, and the whole amounting to 490 years,—which is very ancient,—must, after a moment's consideration, appear utterly inapplicable to this place. For first, from the issuing of the edict by Cyrus, to return and to rebuild Jerusalem, could not be much less than 450 years, before any of these events took place. But, suppose it could be made to quadrate, either with the birth, or the death of Christ; How is it to be made to take in the fall of the Temple, and the other circumstances still to take place, before the end should come? Besides, the cutting off of the Messiah is to happen in the 69th week; after which, another week is to come, and to complete the seventy; and, it is in this last week that the covenant is to be made with the many; in other words, the Apostles and their immediate followers are to receive the kingdom (Luke xii. 32), and the desolations determined are to be poured out. What ingenuity, I ask, can make such 490 years cover this whole period? The view, which makes 69 weeks take in the whole 490 years, which it also ascribes to the whole 70, must be too inconsistent to bear a moment's consideration; as must its attendant one, which carries this last week onwards to other far remote and distant times and events. If this be not "δουλεύειν τῷ ἦν ὑποθεσίν," I know not what is.}

\[\text{1 The term 'ἡμί' used here, does not necessarily signify half, or middle; but any portion: and it is here applied indefinitely.}\]
oblation it cease, and, for the overspreading of abomina-
tions, He shall make it desolate, even until the consum-
mation," of end, "and (until) that which is determined
shall be poured out upon the Desolator."

We have already seen the events, of the first 69 of the
weeks mentioned, determined; and, what is most import-
tant to our question, it is determined that in the 69th of these
the Messiah shall be cut off: which,—as we know when that
event took place,—we cannot but perceive was the period of
that week’s expiration. We now come to the events of
the one (remaining) week, which makes up the seventy, or
the whole period here had in view; and we are told, that
during this He shall confirm (lit. magnify) the covenant
with the many: that is, during this latter period or week;
these latter days, or time of the end, generally, the Gospel
of the new Kingdom shall be preached, and received by the
many, in other words, throughout the world: that, at some
time, within this week, He shall forcibly bring sacrifice and
oblation to an end, by destroying the Temple, which, with
the city, shall lie desolate; and this shall continue, even to
the end which terminates all vision and prophecy: and

* That is sacrifice and oblation generally; the Hebrew having no
definite article here; and this event must have taken place when the
Temple fell, which put a forcible termination to these things.

* The Hebrew term used here, דְָּבֵֽרָה; should, from its form, have
an active signification; and, in chap. viii. 13, this would suit the context
well; and the place would mean, the transgression giving (supplying) a
desolator. In this case the feminine form would signify woman, or thing,
either, evincing or making desolation. In this acceptation the End or con-
summation here, is that which is determined shall fall on that (Power)
which maketh desolate; which is in strict accordance with the concluding
portions of all these visions.

* And hence we are told, (Luke xxi. 34.) that Jerusalem shall be
trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be ful-
filled: i. e. until the period has arrived, in which it is determined that
heathenism shall fall in this last dynasty. Comp. Rom. xi. 25. In Rev.
xi. 3, we are told that this shall continue for 42 months, i. e. 3½ years, the
half of 7, or period of this last prophetic week. This is necessarily the
last half, which (ib. vrr. 9, 11) is said to be 3½ days. Again, (chap. xiii. 5)
the power of this beast is to continue 42 months, and then he is to fall;
i. e. his time is now fulfilled. Vision and prophecy therefore, leave
Jerusalem in this state, promising no restoration whatever.
also, until the ruin determined shall fall upon the Power which has here acted the part of Desolator, who, living in the latter times of the fourth kingdom, should make war on the Saints and prosper wondrously, until he should be cut off by the judgment of the Almighty, and his body be given to the devouring flame.

The predictions therefore, contained in this ninth chapter, although differing in certain particulars from the preceding ones, do foretell the same events: the chief difference is, that they arrange these under a more specific determination of time: reserving to its last period all the particulars relating to the establishment of the Christian Church; and this last period, it considers under the figure of a week. It then proceeds to divide this into two periods; the one preceding the fall of the Temple and City; the other, that which extends from that event, to the extreme period termed the End: when, as shewn above, all these things shall be finished.

If then, we consider this whole Week as thus divided; the first portion will be that, in which the preaching of the Apostles took place; and will designate the commencement of the whole period styled, "the latter days," "last times," "days," &c.; the last, that during which the fall of Jerusalem, and the persecutions of the Church were effected. These persecutions too, were to be set on foot by the Fourth or Roman Dynasty, as foretold in all the preceding visions; and these our Lord himself also pointed out, for the accomplishment at once of all the troubles which He foretold, especially noticing by the way, the predictions of Daniel, and generally, those of all the Prophets as foretold respecting Himself.

If then, we may consider this period as constituting a week; we may each of these its portions as its one half: and we may then speak of either of them under the terms, "time, times, and a half." "time, times, and the dividing of time:" or "three days and a half"; or, if we view the whole, as "a week of years" (i.e. seven years); then, three years and a half, or, in other words, "Forty two months,"

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1 Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7. Rev. xi. 9, 34 days. it. ver. 11; see ver. 13.
or "Twelve hundred and sixty days," or any other number of days amounting nearly to the same sum. But, if we consider the whole as constituting a Day, then these portions may be designated by the terms "the Evening and the Morning": if by a year, then "Summer and Winter" will mark its portions: or, if we take a thousand years to designate any one of these portions; then, that which falls within the Apostolic times will be the first of these; the other, that in which both the Temple and City shall be destroyed, and extending itself through the whole of the times of the persecutions; and the same may be said, if the period of an hour be taken to represent either of these: which, in the aggregate, will point out the whole period of

1 In Ezekiel xxxix. 8, 9, a period of "seven years" is made to designate the day of God; and ib. ver. 12, it is styled "seven months." Comp. ver. 13. Rev. xi. 2; xiii. 5, "forty-two months." Rev. xii. 6, 1260 days. Dan. xii. 11, 1290 days. St. Peter (2 Ep. iii.) referring to this period says, "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years." Comp. ver. 10 with the parables; also Rev. xx. 2, when Satan is bound; also ib. ver. 7, he is let loose; ib. ver. 10, he is cast into hell for ever.

2 In Daniel viii. 26, the vision is termed that of the Evening and the Morning, which is a repetition of the two preceding ones, and therefore has respect to the same events. This day of the Lord is mentioned in Zech. xiv. 7, when at Evening time it shall be light; i.e. the evening commences the day in the East; this period therefore, may denote that of the Apostolic preaching; and, accordingly, the next verse tells us, that living waters shall in that day go out from Jerusalem. Comp. Ezek. xlvii. This period is here also termed "Summer and Winter" (Zech. xiv. 8.), evidently identical with the preceding. That by the day of the Lord is often meant this period, in many places of Scripture, it is too obvious to admit of a doubt; it is sometimes styled that day, great and dreadful day, and the like. Comp. Isaiah ii. 12; which ib. ver. 2, is "the last days:" ver. 17, "that day," it. ver. 20. In which context the fall of heathenism, and the kingdom of Christ are plainly foretold. See also Joel ii. 29—31, 32, with the parallel places: also 2 Pet. iii. 7—11. In the Rev. ix. 15, an hour, a day, a month, and a year, seem all, and each, to be used in the same way. Rev. xviii. 8, "In one day."

3 Rev. xiv. 7, "The hour of his judgment;" ib. xviii. 10, "In one hour;" ib. vv. 17, 19; ib. xvii. 12, "Receive power as kings one hour with the beast." It must be evident, I say, to any one reading these passages with attention, that the same remarkable time, or period, must be meant. It should be remembered, it is not our business to determine what usages the sacred writers should have adopted: all we have to do is, to endeavour to ascertain what they meant by those which they did.
this last of the seventy weeks given above. It is not pretended, that these portions are to be considered mathematically or chronologically equal to one another: all that is meant is, that they should be considered generally as periods of time, to be determined as before by the events mentioned, and enounced evidently for that purpose.

Having seen then, how "the more sure word of Prophecy," has fixed and determined—"as a light to our feet, and a lantern to our path,"—the period of the cutting off of the Messiah, as also that in which the times termed "the latter days," "the End," &c., should happen, which may in the figurative language of prophecy be called a week, the close of which should present us with everlasting righteousness brought in and established, Vision and Prophecy sealed, and the Most Holy anointed: that in a certain portion of this, sacrifice should terminate in the fall of the Temple and City; and that, from this period of "the Abomination of desolation," "even to the" (extreme) "end," desolation and indignation should be poured out, and which should eventually fall upon and destroy the Desolator himself:—seeing also, how all this is indissolubly connected with the latter times, and fall of the Roman Empire, whether we view it in the declarations of the Prophet, or of our Lord; we cannot doubt that we have discovered a sure clue to the truth, as it respects this interesting and most important question: and, if we find that the immediate followers of our Lord, spoke and wrote under the same views and feelings; we shall have it in our power to conclude, that the opinions held by our Author, and reasoned under in the following work, are worthy of all acceptation.

We have already seen, that the first portion of this prophetical week so divided, necessarily falls within the period of the Apostolical preaching: and also, from the words of our Lord, that the (extreme) End should not

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1 Which must here signify completed, fulfilled: sealing, in the sense of closing up, being elsewhere determined to continue up to this period. (chap. xii. 9.)

2 That is, the Christian Church, as shewn above.
come until the Gospel had been "preached throughout the whole world, for a testimony to all nations." Now the commission with its grounds, given by our Lord to His Disciples, is, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," (Matt. xxviii. 18, 19.) In Mark (xvi. 15) it is given in these words: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Then follows a recital of the powers they should possess, of the signs that should accompany them, and of the saving-results to those who should believe. In the Acts of the Apostles (chap. i. 8), our Lord says to His Disciples, "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea; and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." There can be no doubt perhaps, that the Disciples themselves were here meant; that they did receive this power from above; that the signs and wonders here mentioned, did attend their preaching; that they did so preach in Jerusalem, throughout Judea, and Samaria, and in foreign nations; and that they actually did become witnesses unto Christ, even unto the uttermost part of the earth.

But, if the whole of this was not effected by them, it may be asked; For what purpose were they so gifted? and How can they be justified, in not having endeavoured to fulfil the whole of their Lord's commands, especially when such signs and wonders were granted, and they had also received the positive promise, that Christ himself would ever be with them? The fact however appears to be, that they did so preach the Gospel every where; and also, that they succeeded to the full extent of the commission given; St. Paul himself declaring to the Colossians (chap. i. 6. 23.) that the Gospel had come to them, as it then was in all the world, and which had (then) been preached to every creature under heaven; and to the Romans (chap. x. 18), that "yes verily, their" (the Preachers') "sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." To the same effect the testimony of our Author,—frequently
given in the following work,—together with that of all the primitive Fathers of the Church who have touched on this subject, may be adduced corroborative of this fact¹. To what precise extent this was then done, it would, in the absence of the particular history of every region of the earth, be idle to inquire: it is enough for us to know, that both the word of inspired prophecy, and of the divine commission on the one hand, has been fully responded to by the inspired word of the Apostle on the other: and surely we need not doubt, that what the former meant, either in prediction or command, respectively; the latter also meant, as to the fulfilment of these: and which perhaps amounted to no more than this, viz. that the knowledge of the Lord should be carried abroad, under divine and miraculous means, as far as these should be necessary; and, as in all other similar cases,—no farther: the same command and promise still lying on the Church, to use every effort both for its further propagation and perpetual maintenance. And, it may here be remarked, that after the times in which this great and good work was effected, miraculous powers were gradually withdrawn as unnecessary.

We may conceive then of the Apostles, as entered upon their work within the first portion of the prophetical Week cited above; and of the many spoken of by Daniel, running to and fro, that (divine) knowledge might be multiplied. Let us now see how they speak of these times, and whether they do, in a manner suitable to the predictions of Daniel already noticed.

The first instance that we shall fix upon, occurs early in the Apostolic preaching, viz. in the Acts (chap. ii. 16, 17.), immediately after the gift of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost: that is, after the new Church had received its consecration in the unction of the Holy Ghost. "This

¹ On this subject the "Lux Salutaris Evangelii," (Hamburgi, 1731) of Fabricius will be consulted with the greatest advantage and interest whence it will appear, that, according to the early Fathers, the Gospel was preached to the extent which both the commission of our Lord, and the predictions of the Prophets, required; and that this extended to every known part of the world.
is that," says St. Peter, "which was spoken by the prophet Joel: And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh... (ver. 19.) and I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath," &c. We can have no doubt here, that the Apostle determines these last days generally, to be those in which he was then speaking: that he alludes to the signs and wonders, spoken of more than once by our Lord; and that the same Spirit was to be poured out upon all flesh; and this also, in those self-same last days.

Again, the same Apostle (1 Pet. i. 20) says, "But (Christ) was manifest in these last times, for you:" which must mean, in Peter's own times: and again, (ib. iv. 7.) "The end of all things is at hand." So also St. John (1 John ii. 18), "Little children it is the last time: and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many Antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time."

St. Paul again, (Heb. i. 2.) (God) "hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." (Ib. ix. 26.) "Now once in the end of the world hath he appeared;" &c. Again, (1 Cor. x. 11.)—"They are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come." And to this period must be referred (2 Pet. iii. 3), "Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers... saying, Where is the promise of his coming," &c. which is all grounded on the words of the Prophets, and the commandments of the Apostles. Equivalent to these are the following passages, all of which attach themselves to these times. "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, (Gal. iv. 4.)..." In the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one all things in Christ. (Eph. i. 10.) "The times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord... Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken of by... all his holy Prophets since the world began." (Acts iii. 19. 21.) And again, (ib. ver. 24.) "Yea, and all the Prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days."
To which a very large number of parallel places might be added.

It should be borne in mind, that throughout the times of the preaching of the Apostles, there was generally neither opposition, nor persecution, presented to them by the Heathen. Wherever any thing of this kind happened, it originated with the Jews; whose inveteracy ended only with their loss of all power to give it effect. The Heathen, on the contrary, now enjoying a general peace; and governed by Emperors, many of whom felt no concern in opposing Christianity, afforded one of the best means—as our Author has well remarked,—for its extension and establishment. Our Lord himself had moreover, assured the Disciples, that all the power of the Enemy should be subject to them, which Eusebius has also very properly noticed. And, if this period may be termed "the day of the Lord, consisting of an "Evening and Morning," or, be said to be equivalent to "a Thousand years," in the language of

1 Our work below, pp. 155—6, seq. Lactantius tells us moreover, that even after the general persecution had begun under Domitian, the Church greatly extended itself under several mild emperors who followed. "Rescissis igitur actis Tyranni (i. e. Domitian), non modo in statum pristinum Ecclesiae restituata est, sed etiam multo clarius ac floridius eruit; secatisque temporibus, quibus multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clavum regimenque tenuerunt... manus suas in orientem occidentemque porrectit, ut jam nullus esset terrarum angulus tam remotus quo non religio Dei penetraret." De Mort. Persecutorum, III.

2 Luke x. 17—25, vi. 18, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." Comp. John xii. 31; xvi. 11. Rev. xii. 9, 10. After this, ver. 12, seq. he commences the persecutions; but the Woman, i. e. the Church, is preserved during those times in safety; i. e. for a time, times, and a half; i. e. 3½ days, or during the first portion of our prophetical week. Comp. Mark xvi. 17, 18; and Matth. xii. 29. In Rev. xx. 2: The Dragon, the old Serpent, the Devil, is bound for a thousand years; after the expiration of which, he is to be let loose for a season. From ver. 4 to 7, the Saints reign with Christ a thousand years, i. e. during the period in which Satan is bound. This period is therefore, that of the Apostical Millennium, and it is termed a thousand years for the reasons assigned above. See also my Exposition, p. 339, &c. At ver. 7, this period being expired, Satan is let loose to make war on the Saints. (ver 8, 9). After this his body is given to "the burning flame," and then the new heaven and new earth descend from above. This period is therefore fixed.
prophecy; it will be no extravagant thing to affirm, that this must have been the period, during which Satan should "be bound for a thousand years:" and therefore, the Evangelical millennium of the Apocalypse. According to Lactantius, the period of the Apostolic preaching extended through about five and twenty years; after this, the work of evangelizing the Heathen must have been vigorously carried on by their successors.

It should also be observed here, that, as throughout the period of the Apostolic preaching a strong expectation was expressed, in strict conformity with our Lord’s enunciations, that another state of things should shortly exist, in which there should be a falling away among Believers, the Abomination of desolation should be set up, and the Man of sin should be revealed, whom the Lord should destroy with the spirit of His mouth; and that, as this was to be in progress at least, during that very generation; we may now conclude, that this was the period generally, in which all the power of the Enemy was, as our Lord had promised, bound: and during which, the Disciples did become witnesses to Christ both in Jerusalem, and in all nations, actually preaching the Gospel to every creature, as far as it was necessary miraculous powers should be employed to do this; and, that this was the period foretold by Daniel, in which many should run to and fro, and knowledge be multiplied; which synchronizes accurately with the first portion of Daniel’s seventieth week, already adverted to.

Let us now approach more particularly, the events predicted for the latter period of this prophetical Week,—those of the first having been touched upon—as referred to by the writers of the New Testament: and, if we find these all falling in with this last particular period; our conclusion will be as well grounded, as it can be desired it should be, that these were the days in which all

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3 From the prediction, that "this generation shall not pass," &c., and "There be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power," Mark ix. 1. Matth. xvi. 28...the Son of Man coming in his kingdom." See also Luke ix. 27.

4 2 Thess. ii. 8: presently to be noticed more particularly.
things spoken by the Prophets respecting Christ should be fulfilled.

The most remarkable passage to this effect occurs in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, (chap. ii. ver. 2—11). It is evident from the context here, that a report had got abroad among the Thessalonians that the day of Christ, foretold in His memorable discourse with the Disciples (Matt. xxiv. 32—40, &c.) was very soon to arrive. The Apostle does not deny that this shall be the case, but warns them,—according to the tenor of that discourse,—that the signs to be taken, as intimations of the Lord's coming, had not yet appeared. "Let no man deceive you," says He, "by any means: for (that day shall not come,) except there come a falling away" (read, the falling away, i.e. as predicted) "first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God"..."And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth" (will let), "until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders," &c.

From certain parts of this it is evident, that the Apostle had in view the discourse of our Lord, in which this falling away is foretold, as is also His coming; the things then foretold being in answer to the question, What shall be the sign of thy coming? The signs and wonders moreover, here adverted to by the Apostle, are there said to be such as should, "if possible deceive even the very elect." to which is added, "As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be:" and then again,..."After the tribulation of those days...then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven
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WITH POWER AND GREAT GLORY. And again, in the same context, "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things be," (i.e. in progress). It has already been observed that, in this Discourse, the Prophecy of Daniel is particularly recommended for investigation: and it is evident, from this last place, that the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven, as mentioned by Daniel, is had in view.

We have seen generally, that the fall of the Fourth empire of Daniel, that is the Roman, was to precede the erection of the Fifth kingdom, which was to be that of the Saints; and that all the Visions of Daniel conspired in pointing this out, and thence in marking the period in which this should certainly come to pass. Let us now turn again to Daniel, and see, whether the more particular enunciations of that Prophet, conspire in declaring the same thing.

In the first of these Visions (chap. ii. 28. 35. seq.) we learn that "in the latter days"...the image of iron, clay, brass, silver, and gold, should be struck on the feet and broken to pieces, by a stone cut out of the mountain without hands; and that this stone should grow into a great mountain, and fill the whole earth. Which is thus explained, in verse 42. seq. "As the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken." And it is added, ver. 44. "In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed...it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever." It should seem here, that as the feet were to be taken as representing this last kingdom generally, so were the toes perhaps to designate the Ten kings, mentioned in one of the other visions. These ten kings must therefore fall, before this last kingdom could be set up; and these can possibly represent no other Powers, except those of the latter period of the Roman Empire.

1 The coming in the clouds is, in the Old Testament, generally accompanied with great terrors and tribulations: comp. Isaiah v. 30; viii. 22, seq.; ix. 1, 18, seq. evidently relating to these times. Also Ps. xviii. xxix. and civ. Such was the revelation of Christ on Sinai, Deut. iv. 11. seq. Joel ii. 2, seq.; ib. ver. 30, seq.
In the seventh chapter, we have the particulars of the latter part of the Fourth kingdom specified, with still greater precision; and here again, the termination of these is followed by the establishment of the same everlasting, and universal dominion, as already noticed. Let us endeavour to see what these particulars mean. In ver. 7, we are told that the Fourth Beast, or Dynasty, had "Ten horns:" it is added (ver. 8), "I considered the horns, and beheld there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things (ver. 11),..." I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame."

It should be observed, that it is not merely this horn which is destroyed, but the beast and his whole body is given to the burning flame. By the beast and his body therefore, must be meant, the Dynasty, not merely some constituent part of it. And we are told accordingly (ver. 23), that "the Fourth beast is the fourth kingdom, or Dynasty: and (ver. 24), that the "ten horns out of this kingdom, are ten kings that shall arise, and (that) another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and shall subdue three kings. And (ver. 25), he shall speak (great) words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws; and they (the saints) shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of time. But," it is added, "the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end." Then, as before, the kingdom under the whole heavens is given to the Saints, and, it is added, "Hitherto is the end of the matter." Enouncements equivalent to these, are also given in the eighth chapter (ver. 22, seq). "In the latter times of their kingdom, when transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power; and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and holy people, and
through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall he destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand." It is added, "The Vision of the evening and morning is true."

It must be obvious I think, that the same particulars are had in view in each of these Visions: that in the first, "the latter days," (chap. ii. 28,) must synchronize with "the end," (chap. vii. 26,) which (ib. ver. 25) closes with that styled, "a time, times and the dividing of time:" and thus again, (chap. viii. 19,) with that termed, "the time appointed, the end: and (ib. ver. 26,) that of the evening and morning; and particularly with the portion designated by the latter term used here ¹. The Horn's making war with the Saints and prevailing against them, (chap. vii. 21), followed as it is with destruction from the Almighty, even to the time of the end, seems to me to identify itself, beyond all doubt, with the king's here destroying the mighty and the holy people, and prospering until he is broken without (human) hand (or power): His speaking great words, too (chap. vii. 25), seems to identify itself with, "He shall magnify himself in his heart," here: all which is terminated by styling the Vision that of the Evening and Morning.

In chapter xi. these particulars are again taken up, and dwelt upon still more minutely. After learning from verse 30, that ships shall come from Chittim,—which must here mean from the West,—we are informed that this power shall pollute the sanctuary, take away the daily sacrifice, and place the abomination that maketh desolate², as noticed above. Then, after being told (ib. ver. 35), that "some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end,"—in strict accordance with the prediction, that

¹ These terms must therefore, necessarily designate the same period: and here, that last portion of Daniel's seventieth week.

² Shewing plainly enough that this does not refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, who did not make, or cause, a desolation of the Sanctuary; besides, our Lord's directing us to its fulfilment, after his times, ought to satisfy all doubt on this point.
war should be made against the Saints; that this power should wear them out, and prosper, even during the period of a time, times, and the dividing of time,—a particular description is given of this Power, thus (ver. 36): “The king shall do according to his will; and shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done,” (completed). Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god; for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his estate shall he honour the god of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain,” &c. And we are again told (chap. xii. 6, 7.), that these wonders shall continue, “for a time, times, and a half;” and that, “when He shall have accomplished to scatter (abroad,) the power of the Holy People, all these things shall be finished.” That all the particulars of each of these Visions must synchronize, it must be too obvious to admit of a moment’s doubt: as it also must, that the establishment of the Christian Church on earth, immediately upon the fall of the Roman Heathen Dynasty, presents us with the period, at which they all were to be completed.

Let us now endeavour to identify, as far as the nature of the case will allow us, the persons here designated under the figure of Horns: a term usually applied in the Scriptures to imply strength. The Beast itself is, as already shewn, put to represent the Heathen Dynasty of Rome; the Horns certain powers, arising within it. These horns we are told are ten, after which another, unlike the preceding ones, shall arise and make war on the

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1 This, occurring as it does in context speaking of Deities, was probably intended to designate the Messiah, who was the desire of women, as it should seem, among the ancient Hebrews.
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Saints: and here that Dynasty is to terminate. By these ten Horns appears to be intended, a succession of persecuting Emperors amounting to this number; after which another Persecutor, small, as compared with the foregoing ones, should arise; who, as far as his power should extend, should combine within himself all that was vicious in the preceding ten. It is also said, that before this Persecutor three others should fall, or be subdued: which has probably been said, for the purpose of enabling us to ascertain who the actors were to be in this tragedy, and how, and when, this matter was to terminate.

If then, we suppose that the Emperors, who were persecutors, were here had in view:—and it would be absurd to suppose that those, who were not persecutors, would be so recounted;—and, if we suppose that the 1st, was Domitian; the 2nd, Decius; the 3rd, Valerian; the 4th, Aurelian; the 5th, Diocletian; and, in his persecuting colleagues, the 6th, Maximian (Herculius); the 7th Galerius; the 8th, Severus; the 9th, Maximinus; the 10th, Maxentius; and the 11th, and last, Licinius; we shall have both the number, and the characters of the Horns or Persecutors, as given in these several visions.

Nero was in fact the first persecutor, for both Peter and Paul suffered at Rome, according to Lactantius, under him; but, as his persecution was apparently confined to Rome, he can hardly be reckoned among the general persecutors of the Church. Besides, St. Paul himself seems to have considered his taking away necessary to the appearance of the Antichrist, (2 Thess. ii. 7, seq.) which, we shall presently shew belongs exclusively to this period. Allowing this, therefore, Domitian will be the first persecutor.

The persecuting Emperors are however, variously numbered by the different historians, as may be seen in the Lus Sahutaria of Fabricius, already referred to. On the particular application of these prophecies there may therefore, be difference of opinion; but this cannot affect the main question,—viz. that these Persecutors are the Kings, or Horns, mentioned by Daniel; the circumstances of the case make it impossible to substitute any other power or powers for them: their time of rule, and of fall, is too exactly fixed by facts, to admit of any others taking their office. All I pretend to do here is, to give the best explanation that has occurred to me, of the particulars connected with these Horns; and I have given the order and names of the Persecutors generally, after Lactantius.
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Saints: and here that Dynasty is to terminate. By these ten Horns appears to be intended, a succession of persecuting Emperors amounting to this number; after which another Persecutor, small, as compared with the foregoing ones, should arise; who, as far as his power should extend, should combine within himself all that was vicious in the preceding ten. It is also said, that before this Persecutor three others should fall, or be subdued: which has probably been said, for the purpose of enabling us to ascertain who the actors were to be in this tragedy, and how, and when, this matter was to terminate.

If then, we suppose that the Emperors, who were persecutors, were here had in view:—and it would be absurd to suppose that those, who were not persecutors, would be so recounted;—and, if we suppose that the 1st, was Domitian*; the 2nd, Decius; the 3rd, Valerian; the 4th, Aurelian; the 5th, Diocletian; and, in his persecuting colleagues, the 6th, Maximian (Herculius); the 7th Galerius; the 8th, Severus; the 9th, Maximinus; the 10th, Maxentius; and the 11th, and last, Licinius; we shall have both the number, and the characters of the Horns or Persecutors, as given in these several visions.

* Nero was in fact the first persecutor, for both Peter and Paul suffered at Rome, according to Lactantius, under him; but, as his persecution was apparently confined to Rome, he can hardly be reckoned among the general persecutors of the Church. Besides, St. Paul himself seems to have considered his taking away necessary to the appearance of the Antichrist, (2 Thess. ii. 7, seq.) which, we shall presently show, belongs exclusively to this period. Allowing this, therefore, Domitian will be the first persecutor.

The persecuting Emperors are however, variously numbered by the different historians, as may be seen in the Lactantius of Fabrius.
We have (Dan. vii. 25.) a particular, which will afford us some assistance in this question. It is said that the Saints shall be given into this king's hands, during the period termed "a time, times, and the dividing of time;" that is, during the whole period elsewhere assigned to the war to be carried on against the Saints. Again, (chap. viii. 25.) this persecutor is said to be a king of fierce countenance; and again (chap. xi. 36), The king, it is said, shall do according to his will: and (in chap. xii. 7) this is to continue as before, for "a time, times, and a half." Which seems to speak of the whole work of persecution, as if placed in the hands of one Persecutor: or, in other words, to speak of these in the aggregate under the person of one only.

If then we may consider these Persecutors, as all comprehended under one general description of character, or, it may be, under a description, summing up the whole of what they all were—otherwise we shall have no description whatever of them; we may now inquire, how far that given by the Prophet will correspond with that, which is given of the persecuting Roman Emperors above mentioned, and whether this will agree with that, of St. Paul's "Man of sin" already adverted to. The first character is, that this Dynasty, or Beast, should be diverse (Dan. vii. 7, &c.) from all that had preceded it. This consisted, among other things, in the fact, that it persecuted a.

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1 This usage is common enough in the Hebrew Bible, by which something affirmed of the Whole, is applied also distributively to each of the individuals composing it: e.g. "As for men, his days are as grass," which is equivalent to, As for men, the days of each and every of them is but as grass. A very remarkable instance of this sort is Job xli. 15, "Behold now the beasts...each eating grass like the ox," which has been made to say, "Behold now Behemoth," &c., thus creating by one slight grammatical error, an enormous nondescript animal! See my Translation and Commentary. The book of the Revelation too, speaking of these, as we shall presently show, says (chap. xvii. 13), "These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength to the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb," &c. Gr. οί τε οἱ μὲν γνώμην ἔχοντες, κ. τ. λ. and Lactantius, speaking of Diocletian and Maximianus, says: "Nec enim possent in amicitia tam fidelis coniunxere nisi esset in utrique memó rae, etam cognitios, par voluntas, eaque semetipsa." (Mort. Persecut. viii.) Which surely may be said of them all.
very large portion of its own subjects, purely on account of their religious belief.

It had in the next place a little Horn, which grew up among, and (ver. 24) after, the ten others: and this, according to our arrangement above, was Licinius. He was the last in order, and before him,—affected in one way or other by his politics,—three of the other Persecutors fell (ver. 8. 20. 24). He was too, to be diverse from the first persecutors (ver. 24). According to Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. Lib. ix. cap. viii.) he made new laws of a most oppressive character; abrogated the ancient ones relating to marriage, death, &c.; gave the wives of incarcerated nobles, as well as virgins, to be abused by his menials; invented new modes of slaughter, torture, &c. According to Aurelius Victor, he was an enemy to letters, and particularly to all learning of a forensic nature; and was immoderately avaricious. He was diverse also, as being a little Horn or power, unable to carry the persecution beyond the limits of his own particular rule, because he was associated with Constantine in the empire.

Taking then these characters in the aggregate, i.e. the whole, described as existing in one person (Dan. vii. 25, &c.) “he shall speak great words against the most High,” &c. as cited above, (p. cxxiv.) also chap viii. 28: ix. 32. Let us now see, how far the description given of these heathen Roman persecutors, will agree with all this.

Our first Horn, King, or Persecutor, Domitian, is thus described by the historians. Suetonius (Lib. xii.) says of him: “Bona vivorum et mortuorum usquequaque, qualibet et accusatore et crimine corripiebantur: satis erat objici quae- leumque factum dictumque adversum majestatem principis. Confiscabantur alienissimae hereditates: vel existente uno qui diceret, audisse se ex defuncto, cum viveret, heredem sibi Caesarem esse.” And again, “Pari arrogantia cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistolam, sic cepit: Dominus et Deus noster sic fieri jubes”...“Statuas sibi in Capitolio non nisi aureas et argentae poni permisit, ac ponderis certi...Per hec terribilis cunctis et invisus, tandem oppressus est.” So also Sextus Aurelius Victor, (cap. xi), after speaking of his vices says: “Major libi- dinum flagitio, ac plus quam superbe utens Patribus;
quippe qui se Dominum Deumque dici coēgerit:” and again in his Epitome (cap. xi.) to the same effect. Similar accounts, to some extent, are given of him both by Lactantius and Eusebius, who make him the author of the Second Persecution. It is obvious therefore, that he uttered blasphemies against the most High: magnified himself against every thing called God: honoured a god with gold and silver, &c. whom his Fathers knew not, and this in a strong hold, the Capitol: that he destroyed the Holy People¹, and seized upon the land, if he did not actually divide it, for gain.

Our second Persecutor is Decius. Lactantius says of him (Mort. Persecut. iv): “Exitit enim post annos plurimos execrabile animal Decius, qui vexaret Ecclesiam:” he then tells us of his miserable end. We may remark, that as this writer terms the persecutor here, “execrabile animal,” and some of the others, “Bestice” generally, it is not improbable he had the predictions of Daniel, and the passages corresponding to these in the Revelation, in his mind.

Valerian is our third Persecutor: of him Dionysius (in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. vii. cap. x.) tells us, that it had been revealed to John (Rev. xiii. 5.) that there was given to him a mouth speaking great and impious things; and, that power was given to him forty and two months: which Baronius explains, as marking out accurately the three years and a half of his reign (Notes of Valesius, ib.). Whatever Dionysius might have meant by this,—and his referring it at all to this place of the Revelation, is worthy of remark,—it is obvious enough, that the whole period of the persecutions is, as we have already shewn, marked out by this period. His persecuting the Church is then generally mentioned, with his unhappy end. Lactantius says of him generally: “Non multo post Valerianus quoque non dissimili furore corruptus, impias manus in Deum intentavit, et multum, quamvis brevi tempore, justi sanguinis fudit.” He then mentions his miserable end.

¹ Let it be remembered, the Jews could not now be called either “the mighty,” or “the holy people.” Their power was gone, as was their holiness; and God’s people were now called by a new name. Isaiah lxii. 2.
THEOPHANIA.

Of Aurelian, our fourth persecutor, Lactantius says, "Quis esset natura vaeus et preceps, quamvis captivitatis Valeriani meminisset, tamen oblitus sceleris ejus et poene, iram Dei crudelibus factis lacessivit." To this he adds a short account of his early death. To the same effect, Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. vii. cap. xxx). He is spoken of by Flavius Vopiscus Syracusius, as Divine (Divus), whence it should seem, he claimed the title of Deity; and as being a severe, cruel, and bloody Prince: "Aurelianus, quod negari non potest, severus, truculentus, sanguinarius fuit Princeps" (ib. cap. xxxv.).

We now come to Diocletian, our fifth persecutor. He is described by Lactantius as the inventor of vices, and of every sort of evil, and as an enemy to God. He divided the empire into four parts; and so multiplied the rapes of virgins, exactions, and confiscations of every kind, for the purpose of satisfying his own lust and avarice, that the greatest distress, with an incredible scarcity, ensued: much blood was shed for the smallest offences; and in all these his vices, Maximianus (i. e. Heraclius) his colleague, cordially partook. According to Sextus Aurelius Victor (De Caesar. cap. xxxix.), he allowed himself,—the first after Caligula and Domitian,—to be openly addressed as Lord, and to be addressed and worshipped as God: "Namque se primus omnium Caligulam post, Domitianumque, Dominum palam dicit passus, et adorari se, appellare uti Deum." Constantius and Galerius (Maximianus) were chosen for his other colleagues, each of whom received the title of Caesar. But, as Constantius used the utmost clemency in his portion of the empire, which was Britain, Gaul, and Spain (having from the first given up Africa and Italy), he has not been ranked among the persecutors. In Galerius however, to whom the origin of this last persecution is

* Eutropius says of him: "Diocletianus moratus callide fuit, sagax prætereas, et admodum subtilis ingenio, et qui severitatem suam aliena invidiâ velit explere, diligentissimus tamen et solertissimus Princeps; et qui in Imperio Romano primus regis consuetudinis formam, magis quàm Romanae libertatis, invexit; adorarique se fuisse, cum ante eum cum cuncti salutarentur; ornamenta gemmarum vestibus indidit." See also Suidas sub voce Διοκλετιανόν.
PRELIMINARY DISSENTATION.

generally ascribed, every thing seems to have concurred, calculated to form the complete Persecutor and Tyrant. Lactantius tells us that he commenced his most insolent career, wishing to have it thought that he was the progeny of Mars, and another Romulus (so far honouring the God of forces), as descended from the Gods. He soon got rid of his father-in-law Diocletian, as he also did of Maximinus, the two Augusti. After this he nominated two creatures of his own, Severus and Maximinus; who, as it might be expected, concurred in following out his sanguinary measures to the utmost. In the mean time Maxentius, the son of Maximinus, encouraged by his misrule, assumed the Purple at Rome; which tempted his Father also to resume his: who indeed had never cordially resigned it. Severus was sent to put down Maxentius, but fell in the attempt. Maximinus, after some attempts to destroy Constantine, also fell: upon which Galerius and Constantine named Licinius Caesar. From the confusion now happening, there was at one time not fewer than six Caesars, viz. Maximinus, Galerius, Constantinus, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius. Maximinus and Maxentius however soon fell by the hands of Constantine; the latter partly, as it should seem, by the aid of Licinius who had received the sister of Constantine in marriage, and who hence acted in concert with him.

Maximinus had, in the mean time, secretly formed an alliance with Maxentius; and, as Licinius was now in the interest of Constantine, Maximinus and he regarded each other as rivals. It appears extremely probable, that this alone prevented Maximinus from acting against Constantine in his expedition against Maxentius. It is also said, that Licinius undertook an expedition against Galerius, in the

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1 Who, according to Eusebius and others, was greatly addicted to magic. Hist. Ecle. Lib. ix. cap. ix.
2 The latter, as Eusebius tells, not unlike the fall of Pharaoh, for he perished in the Tiber. Lib.
service of Constantine; that Galerius sorely repeated his having made Licinius Caesar; and also, that Licinius did eventually put to death all the children of Galerius. So far I think it appears, that Licinius did contribute towards the fall of Galerius; which however was finally effected by a most loathsome disease, inflicted on him by the Almighty.

Not long after this, Maximianus was vanquished by Licinius in a severe battle, fought between Hexaclea and Adrianople. Three of these persecutors therefore, actually fell before Licinius, either mediately, or immediately; and so far, the word of prophecy was complied with.

A short time after this, Licinius, who had now succeeded to the sovereignty of Maximianus, succeeded also to the work of persecution which had been carried on by him; and on this, and some other accounts, war was made upon him by Constantine. After three severe battles, the last of which established the sole power of Constantine, and was fought both by sea and land, just as the prophet had foretold it should be, Licinius fell. With this ended the last most

* And it is worthy of remark, Pomponius tells us that it was upon this very occasion, that Galerius repented of having made Licinius Caesar: his words are, "In itinere quum acciperet de futura militum defectione, qui ita curaverant, si cessa Maxentius confixisset illyriam redit: et jam pontebat legisse Licinium." And Eusebius speaks of Constantine and Licinius, as engaged against Maxentius and Maximinus. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ix. cap. ix.


* According to Eusebius, the immediate cause of his death was a disease inflicted by the Almighty. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ix. cap. x.

* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. x. cap. viii. Who tells us, that now methods of slaughter, executions, admmeasurements of the lands, and rapes of women, were also set on foot by him, for the purpose of satisfying his lust and avarice.

* This is probably had in view (Dan. xi. 40, seq.), where it is said: "And at the time of the End shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships." Licinius was, when he was Augustus with Constantine, sovereign of the south, Egypt, Libya, &c. Upon his seeking occasion for war against Constantine, which it appears was the case, and upon this war's breaking out, he might, perhaps, have been considered as divested of this rule in the mind of the prophet; and the fact is, as Eusebius affirms (Hist. Eccl. Lib. x. cap. ix.), Constantine was,
fearful and bloody persecution that the Church ever wit-
nessed, and this had continued upwards of ten years. The
Gospel had already been "preached to every creature under
heaven;" and, during this period, it had been carried out,
received, tried, and established, in places innumerable; so
that Kings and Queens, as Eusebius has declared, now
became its nursing fathers and nursing mothers; and
now were therefore fulfilled the terms of prophecy.

During the whole of this latter period, in which the
politics of Galerius were in full play—except only as
checked by Constantine—the characters sustained by the
persecuting Emperors, were necessarily of a piece with
his own; and the consequence was, exactions, taxations,
and proscriptions, the most grievous were carried on.
The lands were actually measured out for gain; every
species of produce was noted down, and the people arbi-
trarily assessed by public Censors, in the most exorbitant
and cruel manner. Beggary was now the only refuge from
extortion: and, in this case, multitudes were inhumanly
murdered.

It was too, under the rule of Galerius and his crea-
tures, that the heathen Priests were, for the first time,
every where put into the highest offices of the state, for
the purpose of driving more effectually the measures of

upon the fall of Licinius, recognised emperor of the south. In that case
Constantine would be considered sovereign of the south; and, as he had
lately obtained signal victories over the Sarmatians, the Goths, and other
people of the north, he would be sovereign of the north also. It is the
fact that he came upon Licinius out of the north, and that his fleet, com-
manded by his son Crispus, also gave him battle in the straits of Galli-
poli; in both of which encounters Licinius was vanquished. The re-
mainning context (Dan. xi. 40), from this place to the end, is probably a
recital of the proceedings of Licinius immediately before his fall; and the
mention of Egypt, with Libya and Ethiopia, being at his steps with their
riches, seems, I think, to confirm this: for, however unjustly he might
have retained this sovereignty, after breaking faith with Constantine
who ceded it to him, he did, de facto, exercise that authority, and
received tribute from those countries.

1 In his commentary on Isaiah xlix. 23. His words are: δὲ ρ ῶ καὶ
αὐτὸ κατὰ λέξιν πληροίμεναν αὐτοῖς ίδομεν ὑφαλτῶν. "Quod ad
literam impletum ipsius oculis cerimius." And the sentiment is often
repeated in our following work.
the Tyrants. Throughout the East, which fell to the lot of Maximinus, and afterwards to Licinius, the Priests were erected into Judges in every district; who, the better to effect their sanguinary purposes, kept altars burning in the courts of justice, by which to try the accused Christians whether they would sacrifice, or not, to the Images of these their persecutors, and thereby recognize at once the power of the Beast, and of the false Prophet! And thus did these men, even from the very commencement of this fearful season of trial, put themselves forward as Gods, claiming to be worshipped either in their own persons, or in their images, in direct opposition to Him, whose sole right this was; and they visited with confiscation, imprisonment, bonds, and death, multitudes who refused to do so. During this time also, pestilences, famines, earthquakes, wars, and the like, happened to such an extent, that even Gibbon believed a moiety of human nature to have suffered\(^2\); in other words, one of every two was taken, and another left, just as our Lord’s memorable prediction had declared it should be.

If then, the latter period of the Roman Empire, is the one assigned by Daniel for the occurrence of things such as these, under the abominable dynasty of the Beast, and the diabolical ministration of its Horns or Kings,—aided as it was by False Prophets; which must necessarily be the case; and, if our Lord has, by directing our attention more particularly to this Prophet, fixed upon the investiture of Jerusalem by the armies of this same Power, as one of the beginnings of the fearful things which were so soon to take place; it must appear as certain, I think, as words and facts can make it, that St. Paul’s man of sin,—who should soon be revealed, and should finally be consumed by the spirit of our Lord’s mouth; who should magnify himself against every thing that was called God, shewing himself to be God\(^3\),—must also have been this self-

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\(^2\) Decline and Fall, &c. chap. x.

\(^3\) This passage (2 Thess. ii. 3, seq.) of St. Paul deserves particular consideration in this place. It has already been cited (p. cxxxii). The first place I shall notice is this: “except there come a falling away first,” which should be the falling away, &c (Gr. ἐὰν μὴ ἑλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον):
Preliminary Dissertation.

same Power, setting up as it did in those Rulers, this very claim; and enforcing it, for the first time, by fire, sword, and every species of torment, upon the very people that St. Paul was then addressing. It must have been, I say, the combined and constant rule here had in view, which so exactly falls in both with, the times, and persons here mentioned.

τραπετομὸ: that is, some apostacy already known, and most probably that foretold by our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 10—13): "Then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another," &c. Again, "The man of sin... the son of perdition" (Gr. ὁ ἀνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὁ ὄς τῆς ἁμαρτίας) must also mean some person, of whom previous notice had been given. No such person is mentioned in our Lord's prediction; but, as he refers us to Daniel, it is likely we must there look for him. In Daniel then, as we have seen, such person is mentioned, who, it is there foretold, shall fall, shall be given to the burning flame, and hence shall be consumed. We are also told,—and we are told this no where else,—that "he shall speak great things against the most High; shall magnify himself above every God, shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods," &c. St. Paul tells us, "that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God;" "exulteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." Which I think I may affirm is a mere citation of this place in Daniel; not indeed verbatim, but giving the true theological sense and bearing of it; to which a parallel can no where else be found. Besides, the terms "eis τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς Θεὸν καθίσαι," does not necessarily mean, "that he as God sitteth in the Temple of God;" but, may be rendered, that he himself sitteth in the Temple of God, as God; i.e. he sits to be taken for the Temple of God, and as containing the Deity within him; so putting himself forward as God: it being well known, that the ancients held every extraordinary person,—as indeed the orientals now do,—to be filled with the anima mundi in an extraordinary manner: and hence, the king of Babylon said of Daniel, "the spirit of the Holy God is in him." The Hellenistic usage of eis will fully admit of this. See Schleusner, sub voc., and my Visitation Sermon and Notes, p. 60, seq. St. Paul moreover, so qualifies this passage as to make it certain, that the person spoken of by him was seen to appear. That the apostacy, or falling away, was then also in progress there can be no doubt. St. Paul himself tells us (Gal. ii. 4), that certain "false brethren had crept in unawares," &c. In 2 Pet. ii. 1, these are styled false teachers, who should bring in damnable heresies. See the whole chapter, and Jude 4, seq. 1 John ii. 18, 19. "They went out from us," &c. 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. "Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats," &c. Which the heretics of those times did, to the very letter; and which none since that day have done, except partially.
Let us now examine a few other pieces of the New Testament, which, from the manner of their wording, seem to relate to the same particulars. In the Revelation (chap. xiii. 1 seq.) we have a Beast rising "out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns." And (ib. ver. 5) there was given to him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; ... "and he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven." It is added: "And it was given him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them." Nothing is here said about his sitting in the Temple of God; but only, of his blaspheming against God and his Tabernacle. Here also, as in Daniel (chap. vii.) the Beast comes up out of the sea. It has likewise "Ten horns (vv. 7, 8) and a mouth speaking great things." And (ver 21) one of these horns makes war on the saints: speaks great words against the most High, and wears out the saints: and this he does during a period termed "a time, times, and the dividing of time:" and then he is to fall. In the Revelation, this is to continue for "forty and two months." In the one case, three times and a half is given; and in the other, three years and a half: intended, apparently, to mark the same period. In Daniel (chap. xi. 36, seq.) the same power is described: which (xii. 7) is to continue for a time, times, and a half; and then, when the power of the holy people shall be scattered abroad, all these things are to be finished: and (ib. ver. 11) we are told, that from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate is set up, there shall (till the time of the end) a period of twelve hundred and ninety days elapse, exceeding inconsiderably that of three years and a half. Again, in Daniel (viii. 9, seq.) we have apparently the same Power described; but the time given

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1 I do not think any apology necessary to justify a comparison of the Revelation with other parts of the New Testament, and with certain parts of the Old; because I see no reason why it should be supposed, that this book contains in itself anything independent of the rest of the Scriptures. On its authority, see Sir Isaac Newton, Part ii.

2 This holy people cannot be the Jews, as mentioned above; because both their power and their holiness had left them.
for its duration is, two thousand and three hundred days: a period greatly exceeding any of those hitherto mentioned. But, as this period falls but little short of seven years, it is not improbable, Daniel’s whole prophetic week may have been intended. Be this as it may however, it is certain, from the events mentioned, that it must have ended with those which closed that week. The same Persecuting Power is therefore, apparently, had in view in all these places.

Let us now return to Rev. xiii. 7. It is here said, that “power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.” It is evident Daniel’s fourth kingdom was to be thus universal (comp. chap. ii. 39, 40: vii. 23): and, from the nature of the case, as already shewn, that must have pointed out the heathen Roman power: and there seems to be as little room for doubt, this must mean the same.

Again. Rev. xvii. 3, the same Beast, having seven heads and ten horns, is presented to us: and we are told (ib. ver. 9) that “the seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth: and (ver. 12) “the ten horns... are ten kings, who receive power as kings one hour with the beast.” “These,” it is added, “have one mind”...

1 Let it not be supposed, as it sometimes is, that anything more is meant in the predictions of these four monarchies, than the fact of their fall as monarchies; and of the last, of its fall as an heathen monarchy, to be followed by the erection of one that should be religious and never-ending; succeeding the last, nevertheless, in the possession even of earthly dominion: Kings then becoming the nursing Fathers, and Queens the nursing Mothers of the Church. It is quite foreign to the question therefore to suppose, with Sir Isaac Newton, that, as Persians and Greeks still exist, we may still extend these predictions to them; or, with others that, as Caesars (Cesars) are still in being, we may therefore still look to such fragments of the Roman empire, as may suit us, for a further fulfilment of these prophecies. This is deliberately and blindly to break down, and to remove, the ancient landmarks which have been given for our guidance; and to take into our hands, things with which we have no right to meddle.

2 In J. Vaillant’s book on coins (Par. 1694, p. 30) we have an account of one of the coins of Vespasian thus given: “Roma Figura muliebris septem Romanus collibus insidens, ad quarum radios lupa cum puerulis.” One would imagine, that the Evangelist had this very coin before him when he gave this description!
“these shall make war with the Lamb: and the Lamb shall overcome them.” We are then told, that the waters seen by the Evangelist, “where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,” implying, as before, universal rule: which is confirmed by ver. 18, which says: “And the woman (drunken with the blood of the saints, ver. 6) which thou savest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.” The then reigning city was, as every one knows, remarkable for its seven hills: its ten persecuting Caesars, did, as we have seen, make war upon the saints; did, for a certain period, prevail against them; and this was in the last portion of the last prophetic week of Daniel’s seventy; which might well be described by any period mystically called an hour, three days and a half, or the like.

In chapter xvi. 10, 11, the kingdom of the Beast is filled with darkness, because a vial of God’s wrath is poured out upon it: they now gnaw their tongues for pain, and blaspheme the God of heaven. Evil spirits (ver. 13, 14) then proceed out of the mouth of the dragon (that old serpent the devil), and out of the mouth of the Beast, and of the false Prophet, working miracles to deceive if possible the Elect, and to stir up all to battle against God himself. The judgment then sits (xvii. 1, as in Dan. vii. 22, 26) upon this great whore; and (chap. xviii. 2) the sentence is proclaimed, “Babylon the great.

The eleventh, or little horn, is not taken into the account in the Revelation; the round number, with the other particulars there given, being quite sufficient to point out the dynasty of heathen Rome. It is truly pitiable to observe the impotent and vulgar ribaldry of Gibbon on this subject; who, although he allows that all the folly of millenarians was to be attributed to their ignorance of the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse, indulges nevertheless in sneering at Christianity on this account; and particularly, because the groundless notion had obtained currency, that the world was about to be destroyed by fire! Decline and Fall, &c. chap. xv.

Rome was, for some reason or other, occasionally called Babylon in these times. Babylon was too, the Mother of harlots: it was in the plains of Shinar that idolatry took its rise; it stands first in the order of the dynasties moreover, in Daniel’s first vision; it oppressed the captive
is fallen,” (ver. 8.) “she shall be utterly burned with fire,” shall be consumed with the spirit of his mouth; “for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her;” from before whom “a fiery stream issued and came forth,” (Dan. xii. 11): and the body of the Beast, is accordingly “given to the burning flame.”

Similar to this is chap. xiv. 6, seq. where we learn, that, after the everlasting Gospel has been carried forth into every nation, Babylon is declared to have fallen: according to our Lord’s prediction, the xvi had now come. This is repeated in terms a little different (chap. xxi. 9, 10) where we are told, that the devil is turned into hell, with the Beast and the false Prophet, and that they are there to be tormented for ever. After this, the new heaven and new earth promised by the Prophet; and then expected by the Church, comes down, as does the New Jerusalem, from God out of heaven; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. The power of the holy people is therefore, now extended far and wide: and (Dan. xii. 7) all these things are finished. In like manner (Rev. x. 6, 7) an oath is sworn, “that there shall be time no longer,” but that now, the mystery of God is finished, as He hath declared to his servants the prophets: when, again (Rev. xi. 15) “The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; who shall reign for ever and ever.” The same thing is said virtually (chap. xvii. 16, 17), where we are told, captive Israelites—as Egypt did—and hence its fall was predicted by several prophets; and here, for a similar reason, the terms of some of those predictions are applied to heathen Rome.

1 Isaiah lxv. 17; lxvi. 22.

2 2 Pet. iii. 18. Examine this chapter from ver. 7 to the end, with the parallel passages marked in the margin, and it will be found, that no dissolution of the natural world could have been meant. It had long been foretold, that the Jewish polity should be destroyed by fire; comp. Deut. xxxii. 21, with Rom. x. 19; and ib. Deut. ver. 22, seq. and ver. 43, which unites, as here, the nations with the Church of God.

a Rev. xxi. 2—10, 24. “The tabernacle of God is with men” (3)...in which all things are made new (5). See also chap. iii. 12, where the coming down of the New Jerusalem is also mentioned, and the new name to be written upon believers, i.e. Christian.
that God hath put it into the hearts of these Persecuting Powers to have one mind (comp. ver. 13), and to fulfil his will, so that they should (in effect) hate the whore, and eventually make her desolate... until the words of God (as spoken by all his prophets) should be fulfilled. In the words of our Lord, the Gospel had now been preached in all nations, and the End was come: the days had now closed, in which all things foretold of Him should be fulfilled: the latter days were now passed, and the kingdom, having no such terms or period assigned to it, was for ever established.

It is not my intention to follow out this question further here, or to enter on a detailed account of the Book of the Revelation, having done this to some extent elsewhere. I would remark on this Book generally, that if the passages noticed above are so particularly limited and defined by the circumstances and events adverted to—which I think it is impossible not to see—then it must be certain, no ingenuity can fairly apply them, either to any other period, or to any other events whatsoever. And, if this be the case, then we have all the leading events determined and fixed; which will supply a sufficient clue to the true and complete development of all the other particulars, there laid down by the Evangelist. To me the Revelation seems to

4. It is evident from the context here, as compared with chap. xiii. 1, and with the parallel places in Daniel, that the same persecuting powers are meant in all; and if so, they must form a part of the latter days of the heathen Roman empire: which indeed is sufficiently clear, even from the Book of Revelation itself. Their hating and desolating the whore therefore, must here be understood metonymically, i.e. as doing this in effect; an usage by no means rare in Holy Writ. See Isaiah iii. 8, 9, 14; ix. 20, seq.—This did not occur to me when I wrote my Exposition on this book. I then followed Dr. Hammond, erroneously placing these powers beyond the limit assigned to them by Daniel and St. John.

5. "Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures...to which are annexed Two Dissertations," &c. London: 1830. James Duncan, Paternoster Row; where a large number of the prophecies are brought to bear on this subject, as are many opinions of the Fathers. Still this question requires a much more extended investigation, which I hope one day to give it.
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contain three distinct visions¹: the first ending with chapter iii.: the second, with chapter xiii.: and the third, to which additions are made, with the end of the Book. The first Vision contains a warning, perhaps, to the whole Christian Church then in being: the second and third, are different visions relating to the same things; the latter, as in the visions of Daniel, being the more full and particular. The parallel passages cited in the margins of our common Bibles, if diligently compared with one another, and with those also given in the places referred to, and particularly as explained in various parts of the New Testament, will supply perhaps the best commentary that can be written on this Book. Add to this, its own repeated declarations, that what was then said was shortly to come to pass; and we shall be led to a conclusion as strong as words and facts can make it, that the purposes of God, as declared by the Prophets, and generally summed up in this Book, have been long ago fulfilled and finished.

If, on the other hand, we are to interpret this Book with those of the Prophets generally, by the resemblances supposed to exist between the declarations made, and certain events of history, which have, or have not yet, come to pass, independently of any other limiting and determining considerations,—as it has usually been the case;—then I will allow, these declarations may be made to speak of any, or every, extraordinary person or event, which has hitherto existed, or may hereafter exist, on earth: and the consequence must be,—as it certainly has long been the case,—that the more sure word of Pro-

¹ Primusius, quoted in my Exposition (p. 305), has these remarkable words on this subject: "Post ipsam utique visionem so alteram memorat videssse: non gestorum est diversum tempus, sed visionum: ac siquis unam rem diversis modis enarret." And again (ib. p. 333), "Quicquid igitur in tubis minus dixit, hic in phialis est. Nee est aspicendus ordo dictorum, quoniam sepe Spiritus Sanctus ubi ad novissimi temporis finem percurret, rursus ad eadem tempora reedit, et supplet ea quae minus dixit." Nothing is more common with the prophets, than to repeat the same predictions again and again. The things detailed in the two last visions of this book, are so clearly identical, that, it must be matter of the greatest wonder, this should have been so constantly overlooked.

² Chap. i. 1, 3; iii. 11; xxii. 7, 10, 12, 20.
phecy, will, of all things here below, be made the most unsure: and, that he will act most wisely, who meddles with no such declarations, and particularly with those of the Apocalypse.

It could scarcely be supposed one would think, that a Divine Revelation would be given, which should not be understood; or that means would not be afforded, for the attainment of its intentions. My own impression is, that this Book was intended to be understood, and that means fully adequate to this have been afforded: and further, that the determining and defining limits of all the events necessary to be known, have been so clearly marked out, and so immovably fixed, by the mention of events well known and ascertained, not only that he who runs may read them; but, that he who reads them, cannot doubt, as to their intent and purpose. How it has come to pass, that they should have been so long overlooked, or disregarded, especially as the Fathers of the Church have so generally given views on this subject, which must have been grounded on these considerations, is to me a matter of the greatest astonishment. I will only add, if Daniel has, in all his visions, so limited the things respecting the last of his Four Dynasties, and the commencement of his Fifth; and, if all the declarations cited from the other Prophets, and the Psalms, do, according to the interpretation put upon them by the Evangelists and the Apostles, fully conspire with the times and events so pointed out;—which I will affirm is the fact;—then I say, it will not only be folly, but impiety of the most daring sort, to attempt to fix other limits, and to point out other events, as the mere fancy of the individual may suggest: and then to call upon Believers, to act upon these as faithful indications of the Divine will. Some of the prognostications founded on these views, have already shewn themselves to be false; and, I will venture to predict, that time will shew all those, whose periods have not yet run out, to be equally groundless and deceptive. I might say much on the immensity of the evil hence resulting, in destroying a chain of evidence, given in this more sure word of prophecy,—
and on which the primitive Church implicitly relied, and which it urged with so much effect and success,—as it might on the power supplied to the Infidel, the Scoffer, and the Lukewarm;—but I forbear. If I have said enough to rouse others to a more rational and extended inquiry on these subjects, I shall have gained my point, having no doubt that the truth will in the end prevail.

A circumstance that has not failed to call forth the usual sneer of Gibbon; which must, of necessity, be put down to the score of his extreme ignorance on the subject. “It was,” says he, “universally believed, that the end of the world, and the kingdom of heaven, were at hand. The near approach of this wonderful event had been predicted by the Apostles”...“the revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation.” Decline and Fall, &c. chap. xv. The first part of this is as untrue, as the last is insidious and vicious. It is to be regretted indeed, that so much folly has been grounded by Christians on the Scriptures here had in view; still, the ignorance so evinced was not greater than that of Gibbon himself; and it partook not in the vice of his.
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PART III.

ON THE PERSONAL REIGN OF CHRIST ON EARTH.

This question has been shortly discussed by our Author in the following work, (pp. 278—281), and determined in the negative; which might have sufficed for us, had it not involved other considerations, which ought not to be overlooked here. For, if it be true,—as shewn above,—that all things foretold by the Prophets, received their fulfilment at a certain period of time; it will also be necessary to shew, that the promise of Christ's coming, so frequently mentioned in the New Testament—and of which the notion of a personal reign is only an abuse,—did actually take place within that period; and this we now propose briefly to do.

We have already seen that the Disciples inquired of our Lord, on a certain occasion, "What shall be the sign of thy coming?" (Matt. xxiv. 3). After warning them, as noticed by our Author, be answers, among other things, "As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be." (ib. ver. 27.) And again, (ver. 30), "Then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power, and great glory;" and (ib. ver. 37. comp. Mark xiii. 26, 88: Luke, xxii. 27), "As the days of Noe were, so also shall the coming of the Son of man be." Then follows an intimation of the destruction which is to ensue: "Two shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left." It is added, "Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord cometh." It should be remembered, all this is said in opposition to the notion,
that Christ shall then be found personally, either here or there, as Eusebius has well remarked. It should also be remembered, that this His coming was to be preceded and followed by unheard of tribulations, not only in Judea, but among all the tribes of the earth: and that no precise time was fixed for its occurrence. It was, as in all the other cases adverted to above, to be known by the events pointed out.

This event is again introduced in St. John (xxi. 20) in these words: “If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?” And again, (Acts i. 11,) “This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven;” which has tempted many to imagine, that the promised coming must also be personal. But, it is not necessary to suppose, that the “like manner,” mentioned, must refer to the person of our Lord: one would rather think it would relate to the manner of His ascension into heaven; and this was in a cloud, attended probably, as that of Elijah was, with a chariot of fire, and a whirlwind.

If then we may rely on this, we are brought at once to the several descriptions given of this coming, both in the Old and the New Testament. In Daniel for example, we have (chap. vii. 13, 14): “One like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven: ...and there was given Him dominion and glory;” which seems to identify itself with (Matth. xxiv. 30), “They shall see (ib. the sign of) the Son of man, coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory;” and also with (chap. xxvi. 64), “Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of

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1 Matth. xxiv. 5—12; 29, seq.
2 Ib. ver. 33. “So likewise ye, when ye shall see these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.” And, ib. ver. 36: “But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven.” If this be the fact, then the seventy weeks of Daniel had not defined the period chronologically, in which these things should take place; it had only described the events—undetermined in the prediction—by which the period should be known; and this was enough.
3 2 Kings ii. 11.
And this the High Priest seems to have understood, as an intended comment on this place of Daniel.

Again, this place in Daniel is evidently referred to, in these words (Rev. i. 7.): “Behold he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see (perceive, recognise) Him, and they also which pierced him; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him” (Comp. ib. xiv. 14.). Where, it should be observed, judgments and woes are had in view. And to this St. Paul appears to refer when he says (2 Thess. i. 7.), “When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.” And again, (ib. ii. 8.) speaking of the man of sin, he says, “Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth: and with the brightness of his coming:” alluding to our Lord’s words, that this should be as lightning shining from the east to the west; and, as foretold by Zechariah (chap. ix. 14.): “The Lord shall be seen over them, and his arrows shall go forth as the lightning:”...“and shall go with the whirlwinds of the south.” Again, (in 2 Pet. iii. 5. seq.) this coming of our Lord is adverted to, and the times of the flood are taken by way of illustration, just as our Lord had before done, in his memorable prediction. Its period is termed

* Math. xxiv. 30. They “knew not until the flood come, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.” That is, its precise period is not foretold: the signs of its approach only are. St. Peter (ib. ver. 10) connects this place with our Lord’s prediction also by the terms, “the Lord will come as a thief in the night (ib. Math. ver. 43), St. Peter also adverts to the Epistles of Paul on this subject (vv. 15, 16). The place alluded to is, apparently, 2 Tim. iii. 1. seq. “This know also, that in the last days, perilous times shall come,” &c. Then, in order to fix the times here meant, he adds, “Of this sort are they which creep into houses (9). “But they shall proceed no further,” &c. So Jude also, as given in the text. St. Paul again, in 1 Tim. iv. 1, seq. “Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils...Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,” &c. That the Gnostic sects generally did this, is matter of fact. Romanists, who partake to a certain extent in their errors, never did it but partially.
"the day of the Lord," and,—as our Lord had also said,—it is to "come as a thief in the night:" the judgments to accompany it are then dwelt upon; and the descent of the new heavens and earth is enounced, for the encouragement of the Believers.

Jude again, (14.) cites a prophecy of the very early times of Enoch on this subject. "The Lord," says he, "cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly," &c. He identifies the persons meant in these words: "These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaking great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration because of advantage." He then warns them, that this had been foretold; that "there should be smote in the last time." "These," he adds, "be they (now, i.e. in these times) who separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit."

I need only add to this, that the Book of the Revelation, is only a more detailed and highly figurative account of this Revelation of Jesus Christ; in which a very large portion of the Old Testament is brought immediately to bear upon this subject; for the purpose of shewing, among other things, that the Testimony of Jesus is the spirit of (all) prophecy. I have already remarked, that, from the beginning of the fourth chapter, to the end of this Book, we have two distinct visions, intended to depict the judgments inflicted by the Lamb on his enemies; and to declare the final, and full, establishment of His Church. Towards the close of the first vision (chap. x. 6.) it is sworn that "there shall be time no longer:" in other words, nothing now remains of the predictions of Holy Writ, which shall require time for its fulfilment: and this is only an echo of Daniel (chap. xii. 7.) where an oath to the same effect is sworn, declaring that, when the power of the holy people shall be scattered (abroad) "all these things shall be finished." So also here (Rev. ib. ver. 7.), when the seventh Angel shall begin to sound (his trumpet) "the mystery of God shall be finished." And (ib. xi. 15.) The seventh Angel sounds, and now "the kingdoms of this

1 Rev. xix. 10.
world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever:" as remarked above, exactly as Daniel had also predicted. Again, (giving the same things in a further vision, ib. xvi. 17.) when the seventh Angel has poured out his vial, a voice proceeds from the Throne saying, "It is done." Some further particulars are added for the purpose apparently, of making the whole more specific; and it is repeated, (xvi. 6.) "It is done."

In chap. xxii. 5, the particulars of the last vision end, when the Evangelist adds, as instructed by the Angel, "The Lord God of the holy prophets sent his Angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly be done." And it is added, "Behold, I come quickly:" that is, I Jesus will shortly reveal myself in power, inflicting judgment on my adversaries, avenging the blood of my servants, and establishing for ever my kingdom. The warning that all is shortly to come to pass, is repeated in verses 10, 12, 20. To which the response of the Church is, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

The fact, that the Lord Jesus did so come, and this within the period fixed by Daniel, and recognized by our Lord, is certain, as well from the fall of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews taking place even within that generation, as it also is from the fall of the heathen Dynasty of Rome, which commenced its work of destruction and of persecution from the same period; and also, from the establishment of the Christian Church, which immediately followed. The miraculous powers granted to the Apostles for this purpose, in the first instance, and continued, as it should seem, for some time after their death, were gradually and imperceptibly withdrawn, as being no longer wanted. The ordinary aids of the Spirit were granted, and, according to the promise of our Lord, are never to be withdrawn: these, with the helps of Holy Scripture, and the ordinances of the Church, are now sufficient, and for ever shall be, so to build up Believers

* Where the seventh vial of his vision answers to the seventh trumpet of the preceding one.
* John xiv. 16, comp. Rom. viii. 1, seq.; 1 Cor. xii. 1—14, &c.
in their most holy faith, and to make them even Temples of the Holy Ghost, that they shall want no manner of good thing; but shall go on their way rejoicing here; be made meet to be partakers with the Saints in light, and finally be received among them.

To conclude: If the word of prophecy is the more sure evidence to the Believer of the truth of the hope that is in him; then, it must have been delivered in terms such as would at once be intelligible to all, and would, at the same time, set forth such facts as would be obvious, convincing, and accessible to all. And this character it certainly sustains. To notice that portion of it only, which has been brought under review in this inquiry: Four great Empires are brought before us, which are to fall in succession. The first three of these are determined by the Prophet, as shewn above; while the last, or fourth, is made too plain to admit of a doubt, that the heathen Dynasty of Rome was intended. Our Lord also points this out in a manner not to be misunderstood: it was that, which should set up the abomination of desolation; which should not leave one stone upon another in the Temple; which, according to Daniel, should destroy the City and Sanctuary; but which, in its turn, should also fall. And this again, the Author of the Book of the Revelation designates, as the Power that in his days reigned over the Princes of the earth: the woman sitting on the seven hills; in other words, on the Beast which had "seven heads," and "ten horns," and was seen "drunken with the blood of the Saints." This Power was to make war with the Lamb; according to Daniel, with the Saints; and, for a while was to prevail: but, according to both, was to be consigned to the burning flame, and this destruction was to be permanent.

These Horns, or Kings, are placed moreover in the last period of days, of this dynasty: let this be carefully remembered: to that they must belong; they cannot therefore be assigned, without palpable violence, to any other period. In this period St. Paul looked for them, under the general appellation of the Man of sin; their description he took from Daniel, and their destruction he spoke of, in terms equivalent to those used
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by that Prophet. Other writers of the New Testament; and particularly St. John in the Apocalypse, looked in like manner for things which were shortly to come to pass, as St. Paul did when he declared, that he who then withheld, should do so, until he should be taken out of the way: all of which was but a virtual repetition of our Lord's prediction, when he said, "This generation shall not pass away until these things be:" and, "If I will that he (John) tarry until I come, what is that to thee?"

All these authorities concur moreover, in the declaration, that when all these things should have been done, the END should come: that "the mystery of God should be finished, as he had declared to his servants the prophets:" it should be completed: time should now be no more: the END of all things (so foretold) should be at hand, and be fully brought to pass: in these days should be fulfilled all that had been spoken of Christ (and of his Church) by the Prophets: or, in other words, When the Gospel should have been preached in all the world for a testimony to all nations, and the power of the Holy People be scattered (abroad), then should the END come, then should all these things be finished. I need now only say, All these things have been done: the old and elementary system passed away with a great noise; all these predicted Empires have actually fallen: and the New kingdom; the New heaven and earth, the New Jerusalem,—all of which were to descend from God, to be formed by his power, have been realized on earth; all these things have been done in the sight of all the nations: God's holy arm has been made bare in their sight: His judgments have prevailed, and they remain for an everlasting testimony to the whole world: His kingdom has come, as it was foretold it should, and His Will has, so far, been done; His purposes have been finished: and, from that day, to the extreme end of time, it will be the duty, as indeed it will be the great

1 See also p. 282 below, note.
privilege of the Church, to gather into its bosom the Jew, the Greek, the Scythian, Barbarian, bond and free; and to do this as the Apostles did in their days, in obedience, faith, and hope.

This was once done by the exertion of miracle, for a testimony to all nations and to all times. If many have fallen back since those times into heathenism, let it be remembered, the Apocalypse warned the churches of the danger of this, from the first.
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PART IV.
ON THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

On this question much need not be said; for, if the events of prophecy have all been fulfilled, and were so fulfilled upon the establishment of the Christian Church, as already shewn, every hope of a restoration of Jews to Palestine must be groundless and futile. Besides, it must be most incongruous to look for the temporalities of the Old Testament under the New, in which we are taught, that there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision, nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all. That neither in Jerusalem, nor on Mount Gerizim, exclusively, should the Father be worshipped; but, that wherever there was a real spiritual child of Abraham, there should be a Temple of God the Holy Ghost. And, let it be remembered, this was the doctrine which the Apostles themselves felt the greatest difficulty in receiving, met the greatest in its propagation, and laboured most anxiously and constantly, to preserve entire from commixture with Jewish notions.

Suppose, in the next place, the Jews were to be carried back to Palestine, and placed upon the land of their Fathers; How, I ask, could the inheritance of the different tribes be ascertained: for this must form as

1 Be it remembered, the Seventy weeks of Daniel were determined upon his people, and upon his holy city, to finish, Sec. Dan. ix. 24.
2 Col. iii. 11. See also Gal. iii. 28, where all, we are told, are one in Christ Jesus; and if Christ's, then Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.
3 John iv. 21—24.
4 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; vi. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16.
essential a part of such restoration, as their returning can? And, again, Who shall determine the individuals constituting each particular tribe? this being an utter impossibility to uninspired man. But, if we are to have recourse to miracle in order to effect these things, then, I say, we have recourse to that, for which Holy Scripture gives no warrant whatsoever. A new Revelation will now be as much required to give grounds for this, as will miracle to determine, either the individuals of each particular Jewish Tribe, or the place of residence each should claim in the Holy Land. Neither of which is to be expected. And again, supposing all these things possible, then I ask, by What means are individuals, and whole families, to be transported from China, Tartary, the interior of Africa, and almost every known part of

To "the loss of all precise" knowledge as to families and tribes among the Jews, is, I suspect, to be ascribed the Jewish figment that ten of their tribes have been entirely lost. That a remnant of all the tribes returned from Babylon is certain from the fact, that sin-offerings were offered, for all Israel, in the times of Ezra (chap. viii. 35), one apparently for every distinct tribe. Both St. Paul, and St. James too, speak in their days of twelve tribes, as then known to exist. See Acts xxvi. 7. James i. 1; and, in the latter case, converts from each of these are particularly had in view. To this the Revelation cordially responds, telling us (chap. vii. 5, seq.) that, out of each of the twelve tribes, twelve thousand were sealed; that is, a considerable number out of every tribe, was then to be collected into the Christian Church; which, this St. James seems to say, was the fact. The truth is, a very large number of the captive Jews never returned at all to Judea, but remained in Babylonia, and in the other places to which they had been carried. Hence the Rabbinic schools of Sora, Pumbeditha, &c., and hence also the Babylonian Talmud. Many of these merged, in all probability, in the heathen about them; and others became Christian. Of this latter sort a very considerable number has been found in Koordistan, by Assael Grant, M.D. as he confidently thinks. (London: John Murray, 1841). However this may be, one thing is certain,—and this makes marvellously against his hypothesis,—that instead of the Christian Church receiving anything like life from the dead from these, they actually stand in need, at this moment, of both spiritual light and life from the Christian Church, as Dr. Grant himself freely confesses! This loss of the distinction of tribes is perhaps judicial; and let it be remembered, the preservation of the Jews, as a people, without this, amounts to nothing.
the world to this land of promise; ample provision having been made for the return both from Egypt and Babylon? And, in the next place, What is to become of those who now occupy it, and who have realized a property in its lands? And, lastly, What is there to be gained by all this? Is Christianity now so imperfect as to make this necessary, in order that Believers may be "complete in Him, which is the head of all principality and Power?" If so, the Apostle has hitherto been a false witness to the Church: and the Church itself, any thing but complete in its ordinances and privileges! A conclusion which has indeed been arrived at by some of the modern interpreters of this school. I would suggest to such the propriety of asking themselves, Is not this the very sort of judaizing, against which the Apostles so strenuously laboured?

They occasionally do cite however, some places in the New Testament, which they affirm clearly foretell this state of things. And of this, Rom. xi. 26. is dwelt upon as the most clear and positive. "And so all Israel shall be saved." But, Is this a prediction of any particular event? Is it any thing more than a doctrine, declaring (ver. 29) that, "if they abide not in unbelief, they also shall be grafted in?" And then, after a parenthesis reasoning on the fitness of this, it is added, "And so (better, thus, οὖτως, i.e. in this way) all Israel shall be saved:" in exact accordance with what the same Apostle says (2 Cor. iii. 16.), "When it shall turn to the Lord, the vail shall be taken away." But no where is there to be found any unconditional prediction of this.

As to the places usually cited from the Old Testament, it may be said once for all, that supposing they extend into Christian times, and beyond the limits assigned above, which I affirm is no where to be found;—

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8 For this is anything but a case similar to that of the Canaanites; all being supposed, at this happy period, to have fully embraced the true religion.

9 Col. ii. 10; see also ib. iv. 12.

* It should never be forgotten, that predictions, foretelling future events, are things altogether distinct and different from doctrines.
then, the interpretation of these must necessarily be so regulated, as not to run counter to Christianity, or in any way to interfere with its primary and acknowledged laws: and these positively deny every thing like exclusive privilege to Jew, Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free. In this case then, as before, nothing short of a new Revelation, and a new Dispensation, can justify the expectation of any such things as these. Whether we are to expect any such new light, and new appointments, I leave it to others to determine. I can find no such things foretold. I conclude on this question, therefore, that no restoration of Jews, either to temporal, or spiritual, exclusive privileges, is to be expected: that all such expectation is groundless; and, what is worse, that it tends only to confirm Jewish prejudices, which have hitherto proved all but invincible without it; and further, that those who are so anxiously pressing it, are unwarily calling into exercise a power, more than equal to all their better efforts to the contrary. To call the Jews to a belief in Christ, is a legitimate work of Christian

1 In interpreting the Old Testament, especial care must be always taken to ascertain, what the party addressed is; i.e. whether it is the faithful, or the unfaithful one. If we do this, we shall not apply the promises to reprobates, as is very commonly done; nor shall we lose sight of that pious portion, which was found to the last among that people, and of which St. Paul spoke when he declared there was in his days, "a remnant according to the election of grace." Rom. xi. 5, seq. These formed the New Church of Jerusalem, of Rome apparently, and of several other places. Of the rest, it is enough to say, that they were spiritually blinded; that they became strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, and subject to the curse of the law. Hence, threats the most grievous have been denounced against them, by Moses and all the Prophets; and, under these, they now wander and suffer. To such, no promise can be, nor is there, extended; and to neither, can any exclusive privileges be assigned; the converted Jews of the Apostles' times found none; and it must be absurd to imagine, that length of time has altered the terms and provisions of the revelation in this respect. Again, it was common under the Law, to speak of Christian times and observances, in the terms peculiarly applicable to the Law. So Isaiah's mountain of the Lord (chap. ii. 2), Ezekiel's temple (chap. xlviii.), and Zechariah's Jerusalem (viii. 22, &c.), must necessarily refer to the Christian Church, and to the Apostolic, and immediately subsequent times; and the same will be found to be true of all similar passages.
faith and love: it is that which our Lord commanded, and it is that in which the Apostles persevered to the utmost. Circumstanced as the Jews now are, they are strangers to the covenants of promise, they are without hope, and without God in the world. They are as branches broken off; and dismembered from the stock of Abraham*: and it is faith in the Redeemer alone, which can graft them in, and make them the spiritual seed of Abraham: the fleshly descent availing nothing whatsoever under the new Covenant. To this end it is the duty of the Christian Church to labour; and, in this work, there are the best grounds for believing, that their labour shall not be in vain.

CONCLUSION.

If then, any reliance can be placed on what has been said above, it must appear, that the opinions of Eusebius were neither heterodox, as it regards the Divinity of our Lord, nor groundless, as to the declarations of prophecy. I may say for myself, I have examined the first of these questions with the most earnest desire of ascertaining the truth: and, in doing this, I have endeavoured to bring together such statements of Eusebius himself, as appeared to me the most likely to discover the true bent and inclinations of his mind. I have too, combined these with those of others, in which he appeared to partake, for the purpose of ascertaining to what results these actually led. Hence his Platonism, his concurrence with Philo, and his controversy with Marcellus, have been brought forward; and to this have been added, all the objections of Montfaucon and of others, which seemed to require notice: and my conclusion on the whole has been, that, Eusebius has, in no case, evinced any inclination whatever to the errors of Arius; but has, in all,—if not so frequently as some have done, yet quite as fully,—maintained the entire and perfect Divinity, and distinct Personality, both of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. This, I think, must be the conclusion of every unprejudiced person, who takes

* See the following work, p. 251, note.
the pains fully to enter into his modes of thinking and of speaking: as it also must, that those who have thought differently, have but partially considered this question.

As to his opinions on Prophecy, on the personal reign of Christ, and on the restoration of the Jews, I may perhaps say, proof has been given that these were well founded. It is, I think, impossible to find any questions more determinately settled and fixed in the Scriptures than these are. In the question of Prophecy, declarations the most plain and positive are so bound up with facts, the occurrence of which is well known to all, that it is impossible to conceive of any thing more plain, certain, and determinate, than this question is. Of the actual fall of the Four great Empires pointed out, no doubt can possibly exist: of the certainty of the things foretold to take place, during the latter period of the last of these, there can surely be no question; nor can there, that the extreme limit has been fixed, beyond which they cannot be made to pass. Again, our Lord, His Evangelist John, and His Apostles generally, connect this, beyond all possibility of doubt, with the generation then existing; and both these, as well as the Prophet Daniel, affirm, that, when the particular events so pointed out shall have taken place, then all is fulfilled; the purposes of God are finished, as declared by His Prophets, and the end is come. The Fifth kingdom of Daniel, the New Heaven and Earth of Isaiah and the Apocalypse, and the New Jerusalem of the latter, is for ever established. All is here plain, fixed, and determined: no ingenious conjectures, no wire-drawn theory therefore, no double, triple, &c. interpretation, no devices turning aside the obvious import of language, are here wanted; all is plain, simple, obvious, and requiring no powers higher than those of the rustic, for its comprehension, and, for its reception, nothing beyond the simple and sincere desire of knowing the truth. And, what is perhaps best of all, it will throw a clear and steady light over the whole of the Old Testament, making its prophetic declarations as easy, and obvious, as are the doctrines of the New; and, at the same time, afford a system of evidence, in all respects irresistible. As to the other questions, just mentioned, they are so intimately
connected with this, that what determines the one must also determine the other: if the requirements of Prophecy are fulfilled; then nothing remains to be done by the Jews for this purpose. The period is past; and faith in the Christ of God, is now their only resource; and this comprehends no privileges whatsoever of an earthly nature.

I will only now add, if I have succeeded in vindicating the character and views of this very eminent writer and Prelate, and have been permitted to bring to light one of his very valuable works, which had long been supposed to be lost; and have, at the same time discovered and pointed out the means, by which the hitherto untractable and difficult problem of Prophecy may be satisfactorily solved; I shall indeed, have the greatest reason to be thankful to the great Giver of every good gift, for favours so great conferred upon me, and which, it may perhaps be reasonably hoped, will exert a beneficial influence on the Church of Christ for ages to come.
## ERRATA.

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THEOPHANIA.

THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS\(^1\) OF CAESAREA ON THE
DIVINE MANIFESTATION.

1. Those who say on the constitution of the whole of this great and beautiful world, and on the diversified subsistence and manifold structure of the heavens and the earth, that it has neither beginning nor governour; and that there is no Lord, and no Providential care (existing); but that it has arisen of itself, casually, undesignedly, and by blind (lit. foolish) accident, however this may have happened, are altogether impious and godless\(^2\): on which account they are excluded from the divine assemblies, and with propriety shut out from our holy temples. Because, neither can they themselves possess a house without contrivance and care; nor can a ship be well constructed with its appurtenances\(^3\), without a shipwright; nor a garment be woven, without the art of weaving; nor a city

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\(^1\) Our MS. reads, מַגָּה הַמֶּרֶם, which ought rather to be מַגָּה מֶרֶם, or מַגָּה מֶרֶם as generally printed by Asseman, and as it often appears in the MSS.

\(^2\) "Cujus sententiae," says Lactantius, de falsa religione, Lib. 1. cap. ii., "auctor est Democritus, confirmator Epicurus, sed et antea Protagoras, qui Deos in dubium vocavit; et postea Diogoras, qui exclusit," &c. These are the Atheists, μὴ Θεοί, of the ancients, on whom some excellent remarks from Plato's xth Book of Laws will be found quoted, Pref. Evang. Lib. xii. cap. 1. p. 621. Edit. 1628.—But more on this subject when we come to our second Book. It does not appear that this exclusion took place, except at the celebration of the Lord's supper.

\(^3\) Syr. שֵׁנֶה שֶׁנֶה. This word is not found in the Lexicons; but, as it is evidently derived from the same root as שֵׁנֶה, ship, is, I take it for granted that something connected with a ship must be meant. In the Arabic, too, we have سفينة, navis, سفان, naupega, and سفان, naupeus. Syr. שֵׁנֶה. Castell gives שֵׁנֶה, nauta; but
be built, when the science of the architect is wanting. And, as they themselves confess these things, I know not by what estrangement of the intellect it is, that they do not consider the courses of the sun (as being) according to their manner; the changes of the moon, according to their appointments; the (several) orders of the stars, as in their due course; and the revolutions of the curvatures of the heavens, and the recurrence and changes of times and seasons. And again with these, that (they do not consider) the weight of the mountains (as regulated) by the balance; the equalization of days and nights; the unimpeded production of the animals; the traditionary and unchanging succession of life of long duration; the herbs of every sort of flower which spring out of the earth; the provisions for all the animals, as suitable for each; their several senses; the members of the body; their properties of excellence, and as located in their (several) situations, so that (men) see with their eyes, and feel with their hands: which they also say, is obvious to the blind. So that with atheistical affirmations, and injurious wickedness of mind,
(they assert) that there is no work either of wisdom, of the \textit{Word of God}, or of Providence (evinced in all this); but they imagine on the contrary, that (all) is of blind fortune, and happens just as it may be, without object or end. These same therefore are, as being atheistical, driven far away from the Divine hearing (of the Word), and entirely from the society of those who fear God.

2. The company too of the Polytheïst\textsuperscript{4}, on the other hand, set in order against the preceding, seems to me to be in extreme error; —that they err, as children in intellect, who change the worship of the Maker of the world, the Governour of all, the God who is over all, for (that) of the things which are of Him; and (hence) honour the sun, the moon, and the rest of the parts of the universe, the primary elements, the earth, water, air, and fire, with the name due to Him, who is their Maker and Creator; and call those Gods\textsuperscript{5} which never existed; nor had existed, nor had been (so) named, had not the Maker\textsuperscript{6} of the universe, \textit{The Word of God}, willed that they should exist. Nor do they appear to me better than those who leave the chief Architect, to admire the excellency of workmanship (visible) in the houses of kings; the wrought ceilings\textsuperscript{7} and the walls; their many coloured and flowered pictures; their roofs variegated with gold and sculpture of precious stones; and attribute to these the praise and wisdom due to their Artificer; which they ought to ascribe, not to the things seen, but to Him alone who is their chief Architect; to confess Him to be the cause of their wonder, and of these many works

\textsuperscript{4} Syr. \textit{όλωθεον} apparently imitating the Greek \textit{πολύθεον}, Polytheists.

\textsuperscript{5} Not unlike this, our Author in his "Oratio de laudibus Constantini," cap. vii. p. 512. D. Edit. 1695; and particularly cap. xi. p. 524. A. seq. which is identical with it.

\textsuperscript{6} It is common with our Author to consider Christ as the Maker of the World, and Father of the intelligent creature man.

\textsuperscript{7} The Syriac here \textit{βασιλικά}, I can find in no Syriac lexicon. The Greek, however, l.c. above, from which this passage is a literal translation, has \textit{διαφόρους}, which the Latin translator (Edit. Valesii) has rendered by "cameras." The Syriac, however, is evidently

\textit{1—2}  a com-
of wisdom. For He alone is wise who supplied the cause, that these many things should thus be. These differ, therefore, in no respect from mere infants. Nor do those whose admiration is expended on the lyre with its seven strings,—the (mere) instrument of music,—but not on him who is the inventor of its structure, nor on him who knows its use, nor yet on his wisdom. Nor (again) do those who leave him who is eminent in war, to adorn his spear and shield with the crowns of victory. Nor do those who honour the streets, squares, buildings, temples, gymnasia—things inanimate—with the admiration due to the great king, who caused the erection of such chief city of his kingdom: when it was right they should admire, neither the pillars nor the stones, but the great maker and lawgiver\(^1\) of these instances of wisdom.

3. In conformity with these (considerations) also, we make this same (Being) the (efficient) cause of all which we see with the eyes of the body; not the sun, the moon, nor any other of the things in the heavens. It is becoming too, that we should confess them all to be the works of wisdom: but not, that we should honour or worship them by means of any similitude of Him, who is their Maker and Creator. From the contemplation of these too, we both praise and worship, with the whole affection of the soul, Him who again is known, not by means of the bodily eyes, but only by the mind which is pure and enlightened;

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\(^1\) Syr. \(\text{செது} \) which is an error, for \(\text{செது} \). And here I may inform the reader, that where I have supposed an error to exist in the Syriac text, I have generally proposed its emendation in brackets thus \[\text{செத்து} \].

Him (I say) who is the King of all, THE WORD OF GOD. For no one ever graced the (mere) body of any wise and intelligent man, (or) his eyes, head, hands, feet, or the rest of his flesh, much less his external clothing, with the title of wisdom; nor yet has termed the vessels in the houses, nor the service-vessels, of the philosophers, wise; while every thinking person has expressed his wonder at that concealed, and unseen, mind which is in man.

Thus, and more particularly,—before these visible ornaments which are (but) the bodies of this whole universe, and which have been fabricated from one (species of) matter,—let us express our wonder at that unseen and invisible WORD, that Maker and Adorer of the exemplars of all things, who is the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD: whom, the Maker of all, He who is beyond all, and above all being, generated of Himself as a ray of light from His own Godhead, and constituted Him both the Leader and Governour of this whole (world).

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2 Imitated apparently by Theodoret,—Grec. affect. curat. Edit. Gaisford, p. 183, &c.;—who, it may be remarked, is a very constant imitator of our Author.

4 The Greek text (l.c.) of the Orat. de laud. Constant. (p. 526. A.) has no term corresponding to this. Syr. legate.

5 So Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ, p. 57. Ed. 1624. «ἀπόρροιαν εἶναι φαμέν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπορρέων καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον, ὥστε ακτίνα ὕλιον. “Ita a Deo emanare ad ipsumque reflecti dicimus, ut emissi a sole radii reciprocant,” &c. See also p. 70. C.

Tatian’s statement (Orat. contra Graecos. Ed. 1624, p. 163,) is deserving of notice here. He says, “θελήματι δὲ τῆς ἀπόλοττης αὐτοῦ “(σ. τοῦ Θεοῦ,) προτηθά λόγος ἰδὲ λόγος οὐ κατὰ κενὸν χωρὶς, ἐργον πρωτότοκον τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεται. τοῦτον ἱσμεν τοῦ “κόσμου τῆς ἀρχῆς.” Cum voluit autem ipse (Deus Pater sc.) verbum “ex ejus simplicitate prosiliit. Et verbum non insaniter prolatum, pri-”mogenitum opus fit ipsius Patris. Hoc scimus esse principium mundi.” Which seems to me to express very accurately the mind of our Author on this subject. Again, ib. the notion of “revelation, so commonly had recourse to by our Author, when speaking of the Word, is thus ap-plied by Tatian. “λόγος γὰρ ὁ ἐπονομασιόν πνεύμα γεγονός ἀπὸ “τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ λόγος ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως, κατὰ τῆς τοῦ “γεννήσαντος αὐτὸν πατρὸς μνήμην, εἰκὼν τῆς ἐθανάσιας τὸν ἅν-“θρωπὸν ἐτοίησεν.” k.t.l. “Verbum enim illud coeleste, spiritus a “patre
5. For it was impossible that this perishable being of bodies, and this Nature of reasonable creatures (such) as it now is, could be brought near to God the Governor of all, on account of its exceedingly great imperfection. For He is an Essence beyond and above all, which can neither be described, comprehended, nor approached; and (which) dwells in the glorious light, to which nothing can be compared,—as the Divine words declare. For this had no existence, and out of nothing did He send it forth. And (hence) it was greatly different, and very far removed, from the nature of (His) Essence. Well therefore did He, the fulness of all good, the God of all, first appoint a Mediator, the Divine Power, His only (begotten), who should be sufficient for all; who could accurately, abundantly, and as present, hold converse with His Father, receive of His inward and secret (nature), and be meekly lowered to the form and manner of those who were (so) far removed from His princely state. In no

"patre genitus, et ratio ex rationali potentia, hominem immortalitatis imaginem fecit ad imitationem sui genitoris." John i. 1. seq. is evidently the Scripture had principally in view here, just as it is again and again in our Author. Euseb. Orat. de laud. Constant. cap. i. p. 801. B. "δὲ καὶ ἀνάμεθεν ἐξ ἀληκτοῦ καὶ ἀνάρχου θεότητος ἀναβαλλόμενον, ἐκὼ πρόειη" κ. τ. λ. "Queque (i.e. lux) superne ex divinitate principii ac finis experere emanans, extrà procedit," &c. To the same effect Lactantius, Lib. ii. cap. vii. and again very fully, Lib. iv. cap. vi. seq. Theophilus ad Autolycum, Lib. ii. p. 119. Ed. 1624. it. ib. p. 128. Clemens Alexandr. Admonit. ad Gentes, p. 5, it. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 703. Ed. 1629; and our Author in his work against Marcellus, Lib. i. cap. i. p. 3. B. seq. See also Sect. 22, below.

1 Alluding to 1 Tim. vi. 16.

2 Our Author argues in his tract against Marcellus, pp. 8, 9, that even before the incarnation, Christ was a Mediator between God and the angels, and this he grounds on Gal. iii. 19. —"ordained by angels in the hand of a Mediator." His words are: "καὶ ἐν τῷ μεσίτην τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Ἀγγέλων." He has misunderstood the Scripture here.

3 This sentence is not found in the Greek, Orat. de laud. Constant. ib. p. 525. B. See the note of Valesius on this place. It is, however, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vi. p. 155.

other way could it be either glorious or right, that He, who
is beyond and above all, should be mixed up with matter
that is perishable, and with a body. On this account, the
DIVINE WORD entered by a (sort) of commixture into this
whole, and bound together the bands (as it were) of all
things,* by means of the Divine power which is incorporeal:
leading on and carrying forward, and governing (the
whole) by every species of wisdom, as it seemed good to Him.
6. The proof, then, of this conclusion is obvious.
For, if those which we usually term the primary ele-
ments of all,—the earth, water, air, and fire, were them-
selves the constituent portions of the universe, and are
constituted of a mixed nature, which we even see with our
eyes is the case,—and, if the essence of all were one, and
that comprehending the whole, and were (as) the Mother
and Nurse (of all these things), as those who are subtle in
these matters love to term it; and were without figure and
visibility, and wholly destitute of soul and of reason:—
Whence, one may ask, was it, that this world* was made
to consist of that of which it now does? Whence also
the distinction of the (several) elements? And whence the

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* This whole sentence is erroneously translated in the Latin, thus:
"sumptis in manus habentis totius mundi:" the Greek being, "καὶ ταῖς
/socket (malē ἕνας) τῷ παντὸς ἐνθέρματος." The Syriac is correct,
and stands thus: [ΣΧ] ο[إصابة] [ΣΧ] ἤνετο. It was not
necessary to suppose that ἕνας must signify a bridle: both it, and the
Syriac [ένει], meaning any strap, thong, or the like, by which any
thing is tied or bound together, as well as bridle.

* The Greek, ἓχει καὶ φέρει, is literally translated by the Syriac
here, [ΣΧ] [ΣΧ]. Our translator has, in like manner, ren-
dered the Greek ἵνα χῶν, by [ΣΧ], governour, not "auriga," as
in the Latin.

* De laud. Constant. ib. p. 525. C.

* The Greek here, "εἰς ἀλόγου συνέστηκε φύσεως:" the Syriac,
[ΣΧ] [ΣΧ], which I have translated literally.

* The Greek is (l. c.), "πώθεν ἂν εἰσοδο τις τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κόσμω
ἐννοϊκοις τῷ." Lat. trans. "unde ornatum ei inesse quis dixerit."
Our Syriac, [ΣΧ] [ΣΧ], ο[إصلاح] [ΣΧ] [ΣΧ]. Where he was, perhaps, wrong in taking τῶν κόσμων to signify the
world, rather than beauty, order, or the like.
concordant course of those things which were adverse to agreement? And, Who commanded this heavy element of earth, to ride over that of humid matter?

7. And, Who is He that has caused water, the nature of which is to run downwards, to take an opposite course, and to ascend to the clouds?

8. And, Who is He that has so constrained the power of fire, that it shall insinuate itself into wood? and has made it to mix itself up with things which are in their natures opposed to it?

9. And, Who has attempered this cold air with the power of heat; has released these from their (natural) contentions with one another, and has reconciled them (as it were) to love?

10. Who is He that has distinguished the race subject to mortality with the character of extension, and drawn it out to the length of the life which is immortal?

11. Who is He that has so formed the Male, fashioned the Female, and associated them both as one compound, and (thus) discovered one source of generation for all animal life?

12. Who is He that changes this fluent generating seed from its fluid, perishing, and senseless state, and makes it (that) of the generation of animal life?

13. Who is He that performs even to this time all these things, and innumerable others beyond them, and which exceed all wonder and astonishment?

14. Who is He that daily and hourly, secretly and by a power that is invisible, effects the generation and changes of these things?

15. But, the efficient Cause of all things is justly said to be that worker of miracles, the Word of God. For the Word of God who is Almighty, has in truth

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1 See our Author's Demonstr. Evag. Lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 151. B.
extended himself into every thing: above into the heights, and beneath into the depths, has He drawn out His incorporeal soul. He also holds, as it were in His hands, the breadth and length of all in (its) extent. This whole has He brought, and bound up together; and has (thus) set up for himself this (immense) vessel filled with every sort of compound. He too, by every species of wisdom, and by means of the power which is rational, has made well to combine and to harmonize, according to their several measures, this essence of bodies destitute of reason, form, and visibility; governing by words unutterable, and directing for the advantage of all, the Sun, the Moon, and those (other) luminaries that are in the heavens.

16. This selfsame Word of God too brought himself down also upon the earth, and (there) set up all the various kinds of animals, and every beautiful form of plant.

17. This selfsame Word of God alsoimmered even into the depths of the sea, and determined those swimming natures: and here again he made the myriads of forms which are innumerable, with every various kind of living creature.

18. The selfsame also completes, by the effectuating art of nature, those (beings) which are inwardly con-

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4 Syr. יָדַע, a verb not found in the dictionaries: but, as it must be cognate with יָדַע, Acts xxvii. 17, and with the Chald. יָדַע, there cannot be much doubt as to its meaning.

5 Gr. "אָרְגָּנוֹנִי τε τοιοῦτον παναρμόνου αὐτοῦ ἑαυτῷ ἐξυπηρέτησεν." To the same effect Clemens Alexand., Lib. vii. p. 704. A. seq.

6 Alluding to Job xxxvii. 7. See my Translation and Notes.

7 Gr. ib. B. "πολυμορφα καλλα συνεστησατο." "Lat. multiplices plantarum species produxit." Minus exacte. Syr. melius. | לְמַשְׂכִּיתָ | לְמַשְׂכַּת | מַשְׂכָּת.

8 Syr. בֵּית. This is one of those cases, in which a verb takes a new sense from a metonymical use of it in the first instance. It is taken to signify baptism, because baptism and confirmation are administered at the same time in the East. And as it is so taken to signify baptizing, so it is subsequently to imply immersion.

9 Alluding to Job xxxviii. 16.

10 Syr. לְמַשְׂכִּיתָ | לְמַשְׂכַּת | מַשְׂכָּת lit. by the artifice of nature. Gr. ib. B. εν τω φυσεω εργασηριν τελειουργιν. Lat. trans. "in ipsa naturae officina perficiens."
ceived in the womb, and forms (them) into animals. The same too makes to ascend to the heights as light, this humid, heavy, and naturally descending, matter (of sea-water'), and thus, completing the course of his government, changes it to sweetness, and brings it (again) in due measure, and at determined seasons, upon the earth: and, like the excellent husbandman who waters his land well, and attempers the wet with the dry, he changes (things) into every sort of form: at one time, into beautiful flowers; at another, into the forms peculiar to each species; at another, into delightful scents; at another, into different and diversified sorts of fruits; at another, into every kind of taste which gives pleasure.

19. But why need I take upon myself to discuss the powers of the Word of God? or, venture upon a thing, the doing of which is impossible, and, it is clear, greatly surpasses all mortal mind?

20. Others indeed name this same (Being) Universal nature; others, the Universal soul; others, Fate; and others say, that He is the God who is beyond all. But, I know not how they confound together the things, which are so greatly and widely different; and (thus) cast down to the earth, and mix up, that Governor of all, that Power of (eternal) existence which is above all, with bodies, (and)

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1 It is evident, from what follows here, that the sea-water is meant: for, in no other case, can we suppose the water spoken of to be changed into sweetness. Syr. μεθ’ θρόνος. This argument is also beautifully and powerfully urged by Theodoret. Serm. de Provid. 1. Tom. iv. p. 330. C., where it is said to be the βαλαντιων ῥυμπρης, sea-water, which is so changed, "εις γλυκειαν μεταβαλλων πωιτης."—Copied probably from this very place of our Author.

2 Syr. μεθ’ θρόνος, for μεθ’ θρόνον, the "Iod being often omitted; as in Δαι, for Δαις, &c. The Greek has "οδμαιν ηθειαν."

3 Ora. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 526. C. D.

4 Gr. ib. ειμαρεμεναν. Syr. καλουμενον.

5 Gr. των οπεκειαι των δλων. So Euclides of Megara, (Diog. Laërt. in his life) "οὐτοι ἐν τῷ ἁγαθω δεσθειντῳ πολλῳ όνομασι κα- λομενον, ὑπὲ μὲν γὰρ φράσεις, ὑπ’ ἐν θεον, καὶ ἄλλοτε νον, καὶ τὰ λοιπα."
with perishable matter; affirm, that He is the medium both of irrational and rational animals, and is comprehended both in those that are mortal, and immortal. But these things they (do).

21. The Divine doctrine, however, declares that He who is above all that is good, the same is the (efficient) Cause of all, and is beyond all comprehension; and that on this account He cannot be described, enounced, or named: and, not only that He is elevated above all verbal description, but also above all mental apprehension; that He is neither contained in place, nor existing in body, neither in the heavens, nor in the æther, nor in any one portion of this whole. But that He is at once within, and independent of all, reserved in the unseen depth of (His own) knowledge. The Divine declarations teach us to recognize Him alone as the God of truth, who is far removed from all essence of body, and a stranger to all service of government. It has, therefore, been delivered to us, that all is of Him, but not that it is by (or through) Him.

22. But He, as a king within the concealment and privacy in which He is incomprehensible, sits in the elevation of His own splendour, governing and ordering (all) solely by the power of His own will. For, by His will exists whatsoever does exist; and, had He not (so) willed, neither had it (so) existed. He wills, however, every good thing, because He is also good in His own essential being.

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6 Gr. μέσον ἐληθθαί. Syr. φάσον ἐληθθαί. 7 The Syriac is elliptical here, and has אֶת רִבְיוֹן, closely imitating the Greek 'Ἀλλ' οί μέν ταύτα. 8 The Greek has, τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνώτατον αὐτό ὑπὸ τὸ πάντων αὐτίων: which Valesius suggests should be read, αὐτό ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ανώτατον. κ.τ.λ., which our Syriac text confirms. 9 The Greek (ib. p. 527. A.) has δὲν: the Syriac, נֶאַט הָבַשְׁתִו. 10 By this is meant, that all is of the Father as the great source of Divinity; but is in the Son as the Creator, Upholder, and Governor of all things. 11 Syr. καί ἁμακρός. Gr. ib. A. B. "εἴσον ποιν ἀνάρτητοι καὶ αἰώνιοι καὶ ἀβάτοι, φῶς οἰκεῖον ἀπρόσιτον."
23. He therefore, by whom are all things, the Word of God, proceeded forth from above, from His good Father, as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain, in words unutterable, to those who were perishing, completely furnished for the common salvation of all. And, as in the case with ourselves, that secret and invisible mind which is within us, no man ever knew, either how, or why, it exists in its own essential character, but (which) sits as a king within the secrecy of its chambers, and considers of the things to be done; so the only word then proceeding from it, begotten as it were of a Father in the privacy of retirement, and being the primary angel (messenger) to all, of the mind of its Father, openly publishes those things which its father considered in secret; and, passing on into the hearing of all, brings to full effect the will (so made known). These (hearers) then receive the benefit of the word, while the secret and invisible mind, this father of (such) word, no one had ever seen with the eyes. So also,—that is, (in a manner) surpassing all examples and comparisons, that completing Word of God, the King of all,—was, as being the only (begotten) Son of His Father, established, not by any mere emanating virtue; nor constituted in his nature by the enunciation of names and words; nor designated by any sound produced by the percussion of the air: but the Word is living, and is the minister of God who is

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1 Gr. ib. ἀνομβρῶν λόγος ἄρρητος: which the Latin translator has entirely omitted. Valesius, however, remarks that ἀνομβρῶν λόγος ἄρρητος must be the true reading; and this our translator confirms by giving γενέσθαι ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος. See also Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii p. 702. A. seq. Edit. 1629; also Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 531. D.

2 So also our Author against Marcellus, Lib. i. p. 5. D. See also the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 105.

3 The Syr. has here ἁγιασσόμενος, Lit. Performer, agent. Castell gives Episcopus as the meaning of this word. I could not find a better term than Minister, to express our Author's meaning.
over all, and in His essence, He is "the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God." He proceeds moreover from the Godhead and rule of His Father; and is the good offspring of the good Father, and the common Saviour of all. He also waters all, pouring out from his own fulness upon all, life, and reason, and wisdom, and light, and every good thing. He waters too, not only the things that are before Him and near Him, but those also that are removed far away on the earth, and in the sea; and if there be any other creature, in any thing that exists. He too keeps in order, by His justice and the power of His rule, every border, place, law, and possession: to each and every thing does He distribute and give that which is suitable: apportioning (this) to some who are in the sphere above the world; to others, who reside in the heavens; to others, whose habitation is the æther; to others, that are in the air; and to others, on the earth. Then passing on from these, He again well distinguishes, in other quarters, the lives of all; carrying forward with due discrimination, their customs and various observances. He also provides the food for the animals, not only for those that are rational, but also for those that are not so: (and this) for the advantage of those that are.

24. To some he gives the comforts of a mortal and temporary life; to others, that they may partake of immortality: and of every thing, as the Word of God, is He the Doer. And, being near to every thing, and

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4 Gr. "κατ' υἱόν τε ὕψος δότα θεοῦ δύναμις, κ.τ.λ. ib. p. 527. D. The Syr. here, also confirms the emendation of Valesius, as to τα σώματα ζωής." ib. The Latin translation is here inaccurate, in "ac personaliter subsistens."

5 So Didymus on the Holy Spirit, as preserved in the works of Jerome: "Bonus Dominus noster Jesus Christus ex bono Patre generatus est."

6 Syr. Ἰουλίπος, Lit. life of provisions, by an Hypallage, for Ἰουλίπος. Gr. ζωής τε καὶ τροφῆς; which would suggest that Ἰουλίπος Ἰουλίπος, was the original reading.

7 Gr. καὶ τοῖς μὲν θεσποί, κ.τ.λ. which Valesius emends thus: καὶ τοῖς μὲν θεσποί, κ.τ.λ. and which our Syriac confirms.
pervading all with a power which is rational, and, looking up to His Father, He governs the things that are below according to His intimations, and after Him¹ accordingly as the Saviour of all. And thus, mediating and bringing near to the (eternal) Being this essence of things, He constitutes the bond which cannot be severed. The Word of God (I say), which is in the midst, which binds together those which are diverse, and suffers them not to fall off (and) away, He is the Providential care which is watchful over all, He is the Director of all: He is “the Power of God, and the wisdom of God²:” He is the only (begotten) Son of God; the God which is begotten of God³, the Word. For, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. Every thing was by Him, and without Him was not any thing⁴:”—the glorious words of the divine men (so) teaching.

25. This is the common Saviour⁵ of all, on whose account this universal essence is productive, and rejoices that it ever drinks from his dewdrops⁶; is always youthful in its stature, and ever presents the appearance of beauty. He therefore holds its reins, and, at the intimations of His Father, rightly guides the mighty ship of this universe,

¹ Gr. Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 528. ib. καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἀκόλουθον, κ.τ.λ., which the Latin makes, “et post se ipsum orta:” which is a comment, and that not a very correct one. Our Syriac renders the place quite literally by ḫaṣṣaṭa στῆλος: not favourably to the emendation of Valesius.
² 1 Cor. i. 24, cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 151. D.
³ Gr. “οὗτος μονογενὴς θεός, ἐκ θεοῦ γεγενημένος λόγος.” Our translator seems to have read this last clause thus, ο’ θεός ἐκ θεοῦ γεγενημένος, ο’ λόγος. Syr. [ṣalāḏ] [ṣalāḏ] [ṣalāḏ]. In our Author’s letter, as preserved by Theodoret, the words are, . . . “τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, θεόν ἐκ θεοῦ.” k.τ.λ. “so also in the Nicene Creed, followed by “φως ἐκ φωτός, θεόν ἀληθινόν, ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινόν.” Tom. iii. pp. 553, 554. Ed. 1642.
⁶ Alluding to the distilling of rain, above, Sect. 23.
(and) with His own helm \(^7\) He governs it. This (Being) excellent of art \(^8\), did He who is God above all, as a good Father beget as good Fruit \(^9\), the only (begotten) Son, and give (him) to this world (as) a most excellent gift; did cast as a Soul into a body destitute of soul \(^10\), and into the nature of irrational bodies, His own rational Word: and (so), by virtue of the Divine Word, did He both enlighten and enliven this (otherwise) shapeless, unsightly \(^11\) and colourless, being (Syr. \(λογος\). Gr. \(οὐ \\
\)ος\))—by Him, (I say) whom we ought, both to know and to worship \(^12\), as being ever near to the matter and elements, of (all) bodies. Thus, that which was immaterial, bodiless, and unconscious (lit. unwise), became, as from others, endued with consciousness (lit. became wise). But He is the Life, and He is the Light; the intelligent offspring of the Light which cannot be described. He too, is One in His Essence, even as He is

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\(^7\) Gr. \(πεδαίον\) \(χίτων\), which the Latin translator has omitted to express. Syr. \(σοφαίσαον\).

\(^8\) Gr. \(τοιοῦτον\) \(καλλίτεχνην\) \(υἱόν\). k.τ.λ.

\(^9\) The Syriac here confirms the emendation of Valesius, which stands thus, \(οὐ \) \(κατά\) \(άγαθόν\), \(άγαθόν\) \(άποκοιμήσας\) \(καρπόν\). Valesius: \(οία \) \(πατὴρ\) \(άγαθόν\), \(άγαθόν\) \(άπογενήσας\) \(καρπόν\). See Sect. 23, note from Didymus, and the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 146. B.

\(^10\) Here again, our Syriac favours the conjecture of Valesius, thus, \(λευκός\) \(и\) \(καμάκτι\) \(ν\) \(αύτος\) \(διψάχως\). Valesius, \(ότε \) \(ψυχή\) \(νά\) \(σώματι\) \(α'πψαχως\). k.τ.λ.

\(^11\) The Syriac has here, \(ορός\) \(ι\), Gr. \(ανείδεων\), which, however, the Latin translator has omitted. So Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 702. Ed. 1629, makes Christ the giver of all wisdom to the Greeks.

\(^12\) Gr. καί \(εκείνων\). Syr. \(σάχος\) \(μακάοδον\). The Greek is here probably wrong: it has too a slight addition. See also the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 150. C. Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 528. It may be remarked here generally that, as \(λόγος\) is taken to signify reason, we have many allusions to this in this work and elsewhere, where Christ is spoken of under the title of the Word; intimating that He is the source of every thing that is rational. So Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes, p. 62. B. Ed. 1629, "ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκώς, ὁ " \(λόγος\) \(αὐτοῦ\), καὶ \(υὸς\) τοῦ \(νοῦ\) \(γνώσις\), ὁ \(θεὸς\) \(λόγος\), \(φωτός\) "\(αρχή-"
from One Father. He possesses however many powers (virtues) within His own person. For, we should not suppose that, because the (constituent) parts of the world are many, they therefore constitute many powers\(^1\) (Demons): nor, because the operations are many, we ought therefore, to set up for ourselves many Gods.

26. Those therefore who follow many Gods, commit, as children in soul, a grievous mistake when they make into Gods the (constituent) parts of the Universe, and (virtually) divide the one world into many.\(^2\) As if one should take from the person of a man the eyes only, and then affirm that these were the man; and again, that the ears were another; and so again, the head (another); or, should gradually sever the neck, the breast, the shoulders, the feet, the hands, or the rest of the members; or, that he should (so) divide the faculty of sense by pro-

\[\text{"ἀρχήτυπον φῶς εἰκών δὲ τοῦ λόγου, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀληθινὸς νοῦς ὁ \}
\[\text{νοῦς ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν διὰ \}
\[\text{τούτου γεγενήθησαν λεγόμενος, τῇ κατὰ καρδίαν φρονήσει τῷ θείῳ \}
\[\text{παρεκκλήσιν Λόγῳ, καὶ ταύτη λογικός." "Est enim Dei imago \}
\[\text{eius Verbum. Et filius mentis legitimus divinum illud Verbum, Lucis \}
\[\text{lux archetypa. Verbi autem imago est homo. Vera mens est quae \}
\[\text{in homine est, qui ad Dei imaginem et similitudinem propterea fac- \}
\[\text{tur esse dicitur, prudentie quae est in corde, divina ratione assimil- \}
\[\text{ritus, et ea ratione Verbi rationisque particeps." It is important to \}
\[\text{bear this in mind, as it will afford a clue, in many instances, to the \}
\[\text{full sense of the Fathers, and of our Author in particular.} \]

\(^1\) i.e. Deities. See the note of Valesius here, p. 529. A. ib. notes, p. 254.

\(^2\) This place may be adduced to shew how literal our Syrian translator has endeavoured to be, and how very greatly he has distorted the order of his Syriac, in order to suit it to that of his Greek original. The Syriac stands thus: ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ أَنَّ هَذَا عَلَيْهِ ـَحَدَّثَ A. \text{Than which nothing can be more preposterous. The Greek is this: " Διεισὶ δὲ οἷα νῆσιοι τὰς ψυχὰς, πολυβένων ἀνδρῶν παῖδες πλαίνην ἐπλανηθήσαν, τὰ μέρη τοῦ παντός θεουσθανοῦσιν." Which is not a bad specimen of Eusebius's want of simplicity.—This argument is also given in the Demonst. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 180. D. seq.}
cess of reasoning, and then affirm on this one man, that these (portions) really were many men: he would deserve nothing better of the wise, than the ridicule due to folly. Such as this man would be, would he likewise be who fabricated for himself many Gods out of the (constituent) parts of the one Universe, and would sever into many sections those Bodies of all, whose nature is fleeting and dispersive, and which are fabricated out of one primary material; and then again, would by an effort of reason make these his Gods.  

27. Much worse than this would he be, who would also imagine that this entirely made world,—constituted as it is wholly and altogether of many parts,—is God: not considering that the Divine nature could never subsist of parts or be complex, or could stand in need of some other to compound it: nor again, that if it consisted of parts, could it be Divine. For, How can it consist of things different and dissimilar, faulty and excellent? Because that which is compounded, must also be dissoluble; and that which consists of many parts, is of necessity dissimilar: while that which is equal in all and unchanging in all, is simple and incomplexe. That too which is complex, is compounded of things dissimilar. And that which is dissimilar has in itself something faulty, opposed to that which is excellent. For if the whole were excellent, it would (then) be equal and similar. And, if it were so in the whole, it would in the whole be consistent with itself: and thus would it be in essence simple,
and without parts. But this nature (of things) does not shew itself to be such, since this world is viewed as wholly subject to sense: for it is constituted of many parts, and is (therefore) compounded; it is too, in many of its parts, changing. And where it is thus, there is also the capability of a nature of an opposite description. And hence this world associates beings, at once both mortal and immortal, rational and irrational; in matter too, both cold and hot; wet and dry. From all which, God is (necessarily) free. For, if the nature of God be simple, it is also without parts, and is uncompounded; (placed) beyond, and far removed from, every ordinance of this visible world. On this account the Preacher of Truth thus openly says: "The Word of God proclaimed, He who is before all, is alone the Saviour of all rational beings". But God who is beyond all, is the head (source) of the generation of The Word. He alone is the Cause of all; and, of His only (begotten) Word, He is truly styled The Father. Above Him therefore, no other Cause can be assigned. He therefore is God alone; and from Him proceeded forth, by (virtue of) His own secret will which is unutterable, the only (begotten), the Saviour of all, the one Word of God, who (is) through all.

28. This sensible world is therefore, not unlike the lyre of many strings, consisting of many dissimilar portions:

1 Our text here exceeds that of the Orat. de laudd. Constant.
2 This, according to Valesius (Notes on the place, p. 264—5), is nothing more than a paraphrasical interpretation of John i. 1. adduced above, sect. 24.
3 It may perhaps be supposed that our author shews his Arian propensity here. But the same might be said of Justin Martyr, and, indeed, of the Fathers generally, if this were allowed. See Whitby on Eph. iv. 6. and the note on Book ii. sect. 3. below.
4 Syr. סמך. Gr. διὰ πάντων. The Latin has, "per cuncta permanens." This phrase occurs in the N. Test. (Eph. iv. 6, alluded to probably here), and is usually taken as signifying through, i.e. permeating; or the like. Theodoret appears to have had the same feeling on this passage; for he says, το διὰ χαλεποράθεν, i.e. by διὰ πάντων, he points out the Providence (of God); in other words, his care for all. The Syriac Peschito, and Philoxenian N.T., render the passage (Eph. iv. 6.) by the same Syriac phrase.
—of acute and grave, lax and intense; and of others between these, all well combined together by the art of the Musician. Such then is also this (universe), collected (as it is) into one compound, consisting of many parts, and many compositions; of cold at once, and warm its opposite; and of matter, wet and dry. It is moreover a mighty vessel, and is the work of the God of all.

29. But the Divine Word has not been constituted of parts, nor has it been compounded of any opposing (nature), nor does it consist of (either) part or compound; but both wisely and well does He in every thing resemble His Father; and to the King of all does He give back the praise, which to Him is both suitable and due. (And) as in one body there are many parts, members, viscera, and bowels, collected together, and one invisible soul (only) is diffused through all; and one is the mind which (consists) of neither body nor parts; so also (we say) of this one world, which is constituted of many parts. So also the Word of God, manifold in power and Almighty, is one extended into all things, and is invisibly diffused throughout them: and of all, in which He (thus) subsists, He is the (efficient) Cause.

30. Do you not see with your eyes, that one heaven surrounds the whole world? and that many orders of stars revolve in this? And again, (that) there is one sun, not many? and that this eclipses the splendour of them all by its superior light? So likewise is there one Father, the Word of whom also is one, who must be the good

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2 Orat. de laud. Constant. ib. C.D. In the next paragraph, too, we have, Gr. ἔπαυντων ἡκών, which our Translator renders by [as in the Greek]. In this place, the Greek has a few additions.

6 Our Syriac has no term here answering to the ἀνακροιταυ of the Greek. Ib. D.

7 Syr. [as in the Greek]. Gr. μελωδίαν.

8 The Greek text has ἀπλανὸς here, which Valesius thinks (p. 255), should be ἀπανὸς, and thus our translator must have read it; for he gives [as in the Greek].

offspring of the good Father. If therefore any one complain, that there are not many Sons; so should he also complain, that many suns, moons, and worlds, are not established, and at many other things, after the manner of madmen, who endeavour to subvert those of nature which are right and good. But, as in things visible, one sun gives light to the whole sensible world; so also in things intellectual, the one Word of God, filled with all power, secretly and (in a manner) imperceptible to us, gives light to all. For why should many suns be required, when one is sufficient to effect every thing? And again, What need can there be of many Sons of God, when the one, the only (begotten), is sufficient to effect the will of His Father? For, if there were many, then would they be either similar, or dissimilar. And if they were similar, then would their multiplicity be in vain; because one Effectuator, and this Almighty, would be sufficient for the performance and due ordering of all. But the Word of God, and the Wisdom of God, which is one in its essence, brings along with it the light, and the life, and (indeed) all the fulness of goodness. The multitude (then) of those who were (thus) vainly, and not well joined together in a power that were similar, could have no advantage. But, if it were necessary they should be dissimilar, How then could that which were dissimilar, or incomplete and defective in its nature, be on the

1 There is much reasoning of this sort in Aristotle's Tract on Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias; and which cannot but be read with interest here, particularly the part on Zeno. See also Diog. Laërt. Life of Plato near the end. This same argument is also urged by Lactantius, Lib. i. cap. iii. A little lower down, cap. v., he shews how some of the greatest poets and philosophers taught, that one supreme God formed and governed all things. Among the poets, Orpheus, Virgil, Ovid, &c.: among the philosophers, Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Antisthenes, &c. See also Prep. Evan. Lib. ix. capp. ix.—xiii. Ib. Lib. iii. capp. ix. xii. xiii. &c.

2 The Syr. stands thus, σωματες τον... where the latter terms might be taken as referring to the Father. If this had been the intention of the author, I think it would have been thus expressed, ἦν σωματες τον... Besides, it is the oneness of The Son, on which the argument here proceeds.
other hand an Effectuator, and that sufficient for all? But nothing which is born of God is incomplete. The only (begotten) of God is therefore complete (the Efficient). Nor are there many Words of God. On the contrary, The God who is of God is sufficient for all, and is Almighty; is the one Image of the light of His Essence, as the divine words declare; who, for the convenience of governing and healing all existing beings, was necessarily appointed; who is also in His essence one, but in His powers manifold. And Him alone do we declare to be sufficient for the adorning of all things.

31. Because too, there is in man (but) one Soul and one reasoning faculty, and this at the same time capable of comprehending many things; whether (for example), it cultivate the earth, or fit up a ship, or guide it, or build (a house), still it is one and the same: or, whether it learn and do many things, still there is but one mind and cogitative faculty in man. It is moreover capable at once of many sorts of knowledge: the same man will be the geometer, or will be skilled in the courses of the stars, or be perfect in the precepts of the grammarians and rhetoricians; or, he will become a leader in the science of healing, or in its manual operations. Nor has any one ever yet imagined, that there are many souls in (any) one body: neither has it been made matter of wonder, that there exists many essences in man, because of his ca-

3 As this place is obscure, I give the Syriac which stands thus: 

4 Heb. i. 3.


6 Gr. ἡ αὐτῆ γα καὶ ναπηγεῖν, καὶ κυβερνᾶν, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν. Our text has probably lost the term [Διατηρῶ] here.

7 Our Syriac here observes a different interpunction from that of the Gr. Demonstr. Evang. ib.

8 Syr. [Συντάσσω]. Gr. συντάσσω. Lat. trans. “substantias,” malè. The essences here meant are intelligent as being of various sorts; not that of matter, as derived from the earth.
pability of many sorts of knowledge. For, should a man find a shapeless piece of clay, and afterwards so model it with his hands, as to impress upon it the forms of certain animals; on one figure, the head; on another, the hands, the feet, or the eyes (of a man); and again, that he otherwise imitate by the art of the modeller, the cheeks, ears, mouth, nostrils, breast, and shoulders, Would it be right also to suppose that, because many forms and members had been (so) wrought in this one body, many were therefore their makers? We ought rather to bestow the full meed of praise on the one artificer of the whole, who had by one train of thought, and the exertion of one executive power, (so) disposed the whole:

32. So also, of this universal world which is one, consisting nevertheless of many parts, it cannot be right to erect the many powers (visible within it) into makers; nor again to call these many Gods: but rather, to bless the one who abounds in every species of wisdom, and every sort of compounding (power): Him (I say) who is in truth "the power of God, and the wisdom of God;" who, by means of one (almighty) power and virtue, pervades, and remains in, the universal whole; who also gives establishment and life to all: and who, for the whole and singular of

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1 The Syr. [ον] ꞌοι may here be read either [ον] ꞌο, or ꞌο [ον]. The first would make the sentence interrogatory, as I have translated it; the second would make it a direct negation: either of which supplies the true force to the place. The following ꞌος, however, seems to require the former. The Gr. reads the former; χρι.


3 Gr. παρμονον. Ib. p. 530. D. Syr. ꞌαλδοζ ꞌος. In this, as in many other instances, the poverty of the Syriac language is too apparent not to be felt. By compounds, or compositions, is necessarily meant here, such things as agreeing together, may be considered as constituting a sort of harmony, in opposition to the "faulty and excellent," mentioned above, sect. 27. See also sect. 20.

these bodies and elements, in their several situations, produced at once from himself, the several and various means of subsistence.

33. So also the light of the Sun is one; yet, by its one incidence, it at once illuminates the air, affords light to the eyes, warmth to the touch, ripens the (produce of) the earth, gives growth to the plant, and fixes the several periods of time. It also precedes the stars (in its course), makes the circuit of the heavens, rises upon the world, and clearly establishes the power of God with respect to all things. All these things it completes in a momentary period of nature. Thus too, the nature of fire (is such) to purify gold, to melt lead, to dissolve wax, to dry (wet) clay, and to consume dense (bodies): by means of one burning power, it effects all these things.

34. So likewise the Word of God, the King of all, He who is extended throughout all, is in and pervades all, that is both in the heavens and the earth; He is the governour of the things which are invisible and visible, and He directs by powers unspeakable, the Sun, the Heavens,

5 Syr. [μίας], occurs in Castell, but without any meaning attached to it. Gr. (Orat. de laudd. Constant. Ib. p. 531. A.) χαράγματα.
6 This last sentence is not found in the Greek.
7 Alluding to Ps. xix. 4—6.
8 Gr. ροζυ. Syr. [δοξα]. Minutum, scrupulum horarium.
10 Syr. ῥῆμα (κατά δοξα λόγος κανέων. Which is much the same with, διὰ πάντων χερων, Syr. ῥῆμα, a little lower down. By κανέων, therefore our translator intends to express the Greek διὰ πάντων: as remarked above, p. 18 note.
11 ἀφέσθες δύναμεν: and so our Syriac. Valesius's emendation (p. 255.), therefore, which proposes ἀφέσθης λόγων δύναμες, is not here countenanced. So Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 711. "οὕτως ὁ λόγος πάντη κεχυμένος, καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν τοῦ βίου πράξεων ἐπιβλέπει." "ita Verbum undiquaque effusum vel minima respicit ex is quae in vita geruntur."
and the whole Universe. He is present to all things in His effectuating power; and He remains throughout all. He also makes to distil as rain, from His own resources, the never-failing light to the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars. He has established, and perpetually holds fast, the heavens (as) an image of his own greatness. He also fills from the treasury that is with Him, those hosts of Angels and Powers of intelligent and rational spirits, at once with life, light, wisdom, and all the abundance of every species of beauty and of goodness. And by one and the same effectuating art, He never fails to supply substance to the material elements, and to Bodies (their) commixture and concurrence; (their) forms, appearances, and characters. He otherwise varies also and time after time, (His) innumerable operations, (whether) in the animals, the plants, or in the beings rational or irrational: at once He provides every thing for all, by (His) one power; and clearly shews, (that this) is not a mere Lyre (as it were) of seven or many strings, but is the one universe of manifold composition, the workmanship of the one Word, the Maker of the world.

35. Such therefore, is the common Saviour of all, THE WORD OF the God of all, of whom one discoursing on God thus mysteriously speaks: "He was in the world, and the world was (made) by Him; and the world knew Him not." For, from ancient times (and) hitherto, it knew Him not, until He manifested Himself, in the latter times, to those who were holden in the darkness of vice. But He, the Maker of the whole world, He, who is the common Saviour of all, has been directly made known to us, as thus existing; and as affording to this whole, all this assistance. But, as to this whole world which is

1 Gr. οὐσίας. Syr. [טכ]\. Demonstr Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 153. A. where this passage occurs, we have οὐσίας.
2 Our Greek (Orat. de laud. Constant.) leaves us here, and does not join us again till we come to Book ii. Sect. 3.
3 Syr. [אכ]\. a paraphrase for Theologian:\ a title very applicable to St John, who spoke much of the Ἀγγελος του Θεου.
4 John i. 10. with the Peschito.
governed by one Ruler⁵; (and) which consists of the heavens, the earth, and of the things therein, it is now necessary we should shew in a few words, what the nature of the being is which He has assigned to it.

36. This (universe) then, partakes of two natures; of the essence which is more excellent and is allied to the divine Word; which, being intellectual and rational, is perceived by the mind, and apprehended by the reason: and to this is possible all that is superior to (material) Bodies. (It partakes) also of that which was necessarily brought forth for the use of this; which is matter,—is the offspring of Bodies, and is understood by the sense of reason, both to exist and to be perishable: and which, as I think, has been well said never to have had any (independent) being⁶. But this, which is visible to the bodily sense, designates the one Universe. This same (too), the whole of which is visible, as well as that which is invisible, may thus be well said to constitute one family of rational beings; just as in the things that are visible, the nature of bodies is one; while of this, some are in the heavens and the æther⁷,—those among these being distinct, and different;—some in the air and on the earth; and of which, the things visible are the animals and plants. So also, in the essence which is intelligent and invisible, the common kind of them all is one. One also is the nature of the generation of the rational and intelligent faculties, while many and various are the distinctions existing in this⁸.

37. This same therefore, which has been fabricated out of matter, and (material) bodies; this, which we usually

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⁵ Syr. מָלַכְי הָאָלָל צָרִים. The last word of which ought probably, to be מַלְאָכָיו; the preceding requiring the passive voice, unless indeed this form is capable of a passive sense, of which I know no example.
⁶ Alluding to the reasoning of Plato, see Book ii. § 33. seq.
⁷ See the Note to sect. 41. below.
⁸ So also Aristotle, Lib. de Juventute et Senectute, cap. ii. "Ἄναγκη δὲ καὶ θεραπείας ψυχῆς, ἐνεργεία μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, εἰςαὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν δὲ πλείονα." "Necesse autem est, ut anima vegetatrix in habentibus, actum simplex unâque sit, potestas multiplex ac plures."
name the sensible world, which consists of the heavens
the earth and of the things therein, may be likened to
an imperial city in which there are many citizens, the
houses of some of which have been distinguished (as)
apartments of the state. Of these, the inner ones are
neither entered into, nor trodden, by the many. Some
again are for stations without, (set apart) for the keepers
of the middle portions. Others again, are far distant
from the court, and are left for the inhabitants (generally)
and their various assemblies. Many are (thus) the sta-
tions in the heavens, and many are those inferior to these in
the aether, and in the air above the earth. The habitable

1 The Syriac has לֶּכָּה. But as this last word does not
occur in the Syriac lexicons in the sense necessary here, I have taken the
Heb. and Chald. לֶכָּה, as the root. And, as the inner courts have just
been mentioned, and the outer ones occur immediately after, I have
thought it likely, that middle or intermediate was the sense intended here.
If we suppose לֶכֶּה, dorsum, femur, &c. to be the word, the general
sense will be much the same. So the Hebrew נ, נר, and נרֵל, and the Latin dorsum.

2 Our Author knew how to accommodate his reasoning to the class of
readers whom he was addressing, who were the classical scholars of his
day.—Homer's councils of the Gods gave the first outline perhaps of the
sketch given here: so Ovid—

Iac iter est superius ad magni tegula Totonantis,
Regaleoque donum; Dextra laevaque Deorum
Atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.
Plebs habitant diversa locis: a fronte potentes
Caricola, clarique suas posuere Penates.
Hic locus est; quem, si verbis audacia detur,
Haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia coeli.

Metam. i. 1. 170. seq.

The Stoics in like manner affirm, that the world is a sort of city,
consisting both of Gods and men: the Gods being the rulers, men the
subjects, &c. "οὐτω καὶ ού κόσμος, οἶνοιε τολίς ἠστίν ἐκ Θεῶν καὶ
αὐθρώπων συνεστῶσα, τῶν μὲν Θεῶν τήν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχῶνων, τῶν
δὲ αὐθρώπων ὑποτεταγμένων, κ.τ.λ. From the epitome of Arius
cap. xvii. Ed. Viger. p. 704. making the heavenly bodies, the sun,
moon, &c. a sort of ministry to the whole. A passage similar to this
part of the earth, (assigned) to those who walk upon it, is this broad space known to us all. Those (places) however which are beyond the heavens, are (exalted) above all mental apprehension, as are those also which are distinguished as inner apartments of the divine house of rule. But those (beings) who surround the King of all, and exult at the side of the Divine Word, are both enlightened and upheld by means of the rays which are drawn forth from Him, as from unfailing fountains of light; and are established in the fulness of light. (Thus) too all the enlightened, with the incorporeal assemblies of light, hold that rank of station which is beyond the heavens, and honour with the highest praises, (and) which are worthy of God, the God who is King of all. 

In the midst moreover, has He cast (spread) forth the vast heavens, the curtains (as it were) of the azure threshold, which exclude those who are without from the mansion of rule; while the keepers of the intermediate part perform (their) rounds in this, as being without the gate, with those who in the heavens are

is also to be found in the Oration of our Author, "de laudibus Constantini," cap. i. near the beginning. The most complete discussion on this subject is, perhaps, cap. vi. of Aristotle's Liber de mundo. See also Plato's heavenly earth. Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxxvii.

a This passage has been introduced into the Oratio de laud. Constant. cap. i. p. 499. C.D. And, as it is extraordinary, and not very clear, I give both the Syriac and Greek of it: [Gr. μέσον] ἐν μυρμ. οὐράνιον περιπέτασμα κυνάσων, τοῦ ἐκτός, τῶν ἐσω βασιλικῶν ὀικῶν διείργον ἀμφιλ δὲ τούτον ὡς ἐν βασιλείως προδύρωι περιπολούσι δασοῦσωτες, ἡλιος, καὶ σαλήμνη, κ.τ.λ. The Syr. [Gr. κυνάσων] here, is evidently the Gr. κυνάσων: and [Gr. δὲ τούτον ὡς] is a mere compound signifying door-curtain, Gr. περιπέτασμα, or καταπέτασμα. Matt. xxvii. 51. &c. The place is apparently an imitation of Job xxvi. 9. See my Translation and Notes, and the Greek of the LXX.
invented with light and holding lamps, as the sun and the moon, honouring Him who is beyond all, the King of all. And, at his intimation and word, these supply light by means of lamps which cannot be extinguished, to those whose lot it is to be in the place of darkness, and without the heavens. Thus are brought near to Him the powers of the air, which are invisible to bodily eyes, as also the animals and other earthly things (which are visible): so is man also the chief of them all, whose race was no stranger to that intelligent and rational Essence which is invisible, and who was created on the earth to render praise to the Godhead and rule of Him who is the Cause of all things. Like as on earth therefore, there is spread over the whole world but one, and that the same human nature; and, as many nations have arisen out of this, and the manner of life of every race, its fashions, modes, and governments, are different, not only of the barbarians and wild, but also of the peaceable, fashionable, and wise; and, (as) there are among these both slaves and freemen, poor and rich; those also who differ in colour, as the Scythians, and those whose lot it is to dwell without, in the west; the Hindoos also, at the rising of the sun, and the Ethiopians at its setting; Greeks, too, and others whose destiny it is to reside among princes; and, among all these again, some bear rule over portions of the nations, and others are wholly subject: with the great king of all moreover, some are considered as in the place of friends, some are elevated to the greatest honours, others are more especially ennobled for their virtuous deeds: some, again, fill the rank of slaves; and, others, bearing spears and shields, surround the sovereign: others again, are military officers in the cities, while others fill the situation of rule in these: others too, have met the fate of the

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1 Syr. ἰσακίαν ἱερωσμόν: not unlike Aristotle's (Lib. de mundo, cap. ii.)...τὸ ἀνώτατον θεόν ὀικητήριον, οὐρανοὶ ὑψώμαται, πλήρης δὲ ὅν σωμάτων θεῖον, ἀ ἔ ᾪ καλεὶν ἄστρα ἔωθαμεν."...

"Id quod in celissimo loco situm est, Coelum dictur, Dei domi-

cilium. Hoc cûm divinis corporibus plenum sit, quæ sidera nos ap-

tellare solemus."
vulgar; and others are considered as in the place of enemies and haters: still, the whole of these are men, and one is the common species of them all. Over them all too, is there one king, one only power, vested with his own authority which is all-supreme. And to this same, according to the law and edict of the state,—to him alone, the Father and Lawgiver,—is (the title of) great king ascribed: while He (the Word) descending from above, and running (as it were) throughout the whole of the governours and governed, subjects to the one yoke of rule every race (placed) under his hand; elevating some to the highest honour, and to others rendering that which is their due.¹

38. As it is with these things, (so) one is the generating, intelligent, and rational Essence which is over all. And well might it be said, that one is the kind (genus) even of these, and that they all are nothing more than brethren (derived) from one, as made of Him who is the Father of the Word of God.² There are then, multitudes of nations, and of kinds (of these); and there is a portion the more virtuous, and the contrary. The differences too of these, as to mind (opinion) are innumerable, as are the fashions, modes of life, constitutions, and the contrary; but not as to their natures, for the nature of them all is one, and the kind is one. It is of the variety of their wills, that they have found out many and different fashions and modes of life. Hence, are the companies of angels, of spirits, and of incorporeal and invisible powers; some of which are resplendent and glorious, as enlightened by the splendour of the Divine Word; others are dark, blacker than any Ethiopian, and

¹ Much to the same effect though not so full, Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 704. who compares the all-pervading power of Christ to that of a magnet acting upon a series of iron rings, and affecting at once both the least and the greatest.

² The Syriac is ambiguous here |διακοπὴς σεῖς |τὸτὸς |μέτοχος |οὐκός?, which may mean, either as given in the text, or, as being made by its Father, who is the Word of God: ascribing the creation of all, as is frequently the case in this work, to Christ. I think the former, however, more likely to be the true meaning.
destitute of all rational light. This kind is quite de-
serving of the middle place, as capable at once of
both the excellent and the base. But the King is one,
that only power which is God above all, both of those
who are in the heavens, and above the heavens. And
He it is who holds by the law and edict of sovereign
rule, the things that are in the air, on the earth, and
under the earth, and which are of all, and in all. This
law and edict is moreover one, (viz.) He who lives
in all, the Word of God, the minister, (lit. agent): not
as that dying (utterance) which is sent forth from the
mouth of mortals into the air; but is, as it has now been
made known to us (by the Gospel)—of things (in their
nature) possible, the Governour of all in all wisdom and
power. He (I say) who, as the Word of God, distributes
fully and in justice to all, the things which are most
suitable to them; and gives to each, and to every one
of them, the stations which are suitable: to those which
are near, (those) of happiness; but those of the con-
trary, to them who have fallen from virtue, as they
may have (severally) deserved. He at once gives to all—
like those who are on the earth,—to reside in different
localities; to some, to exult at the side of the heavenly
sovereignty; to others, to keep watch without; to others,
to dwell beyond (these), and at a distance: while all with
one mouth, and according to the doctrine and instruction
of each, celebrate the praise of the King and God of all:
—(all I say) who bear this law in their hearts and
in the mind of their nature, that they should confess
that One, who is the likeness of the image of sovereign
rule, who is the only (begotten) Word,—Him "who is
the Image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every crea-
ture,"—as the divine words mysteriously teach.

39. And to the honouring of Him are all, whether
the rulers or the ruled in every house and city, at once
devoted: not, with inanimate colours variously set forth
in pictures (or images), but within, on the hearts of their

1 To the same effect, our Author in his work against Marcellus,
Lib. 1. cap. i. p. 4. C. seq.
2 Col. i. 15.
intellectual faculties as upon intelligent tablets, is the worship of His Godhead inscribed. Thus do all those, who are subject to His power, tender their worship, irrespective of those vicious Demons, and wicked Spirits, and "Rulers of this world," who consider themselves as in the situation of enemies and haters; those who have assimilated themselves to the image of fraudulent rule⁵, and put forth various books in the place of others⁴; that is, innumerable false scriptures (ascribed) to that fearful name, and to that expressed name, which governs the Law⁵. But far superior to the Law is the name (which) they have surreptitiously assumed to themselves. Thus do they succeed in casting down to the earth among bodies, elements, and the portions of the world, the (whole) race of mortal men. Hence have men feared and served the creatures, more than the Creator of these⁶.

40. And again, they named (as gods) for themselves, these very powers, contenders and rebels against God, which in their perverseness so became gods; these (I say) which never existed (as such). And well may those be considered as enemies and haters, from whom the law of truth has commanded us to flee, and to take refuge in Him alone who is the Word, the Saviour of all;—Him, who has cast forth the seed which is of Himself, in order that it may produce, not only in the heavenly places, but also on the earth; and has assigned both to those that are in the heavens, and to those that are in the elements of

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⁴ Syr. lit. who have assimilated to themselves the Image of fraudulent rule. מַעֲבִירָא, מַעֲבִירָא, מַעֲבִירָא, מַעֲבִירָא, which is only a peculiar way of making the comparison: the Person meant is Satan, as opposed to Christ.

⁵ The Syriac is peculiar here, and stands thus: מַעֲבִירָא מַעֲבִירָא מַעֲבִירָא מַעֲבִירָא: a practice common to many of the early heretics.

⁶ Syr. מַעֲבִירָא מַעֲבִירָא מַעֲבִירָא מַעֲבִירָא may signify, that description of name which is contained in the Law: i.e. God. But, as מַעֲבִירָא is rarely taken in a passive sense, I have preferred the rendering given in the text. Comp. 1 Sam. ix. 17, as cited by Castell.

⁷ Alluding to Rom. i. 25.
the earth, one and the same portion of kind. So that the rational mind which is in man, (and) is of that incorporeal intelligent essence, and of the kind of the Divine Word which pervades all that has hitherto been generated, is nourished on earth by its meditations on Him, and previously trained for its transition (conversion) to virtue. Hence too, is it previously instructed and taught, to provide for its passing to the children of its own kind. Wholly therefore is this alone, of those that are on the earth, through its participation with the Divine Word, worthy of the name of rational. He has then, necessarily assigned a place on earth (to) the mind and rational soul; so that a small image of the great City of God, mentioned in the example a little while ago (given), has been set up on earth: nor is there in the whole empire of God, nor even a place on the earth, exempt from this lot. And it was right, that praise should be ascribed in every part of the universe to the Word, the common Father of all, by those who had been generated of Himself. Hence, even the element of earth is not exempt from being entrusted with this rational portion. Not only by those who are beyond the world, and in the heavens, and the rational (beings) that are in the air; but also by those that dwell on the earth, is that just praise sent up to the Maker and Father of all; which indeed the Divine Word teaches, when it thus commands every man to sing the praise which is due to God: “Praise ye God from the heavens; praise ye him in the heights. Praise him all ye his angels; praise him all ye his hosts. Praise him sun and moon; praise him all ye stars and light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens.” After the things which are upon the earth, he (the Sacred Writer) reasons thus: “Praise ye God from the earth (all)” other things. He then also (reasons upon) this rational family of man,—this (I say) which divides itself from every thing else into various companies and orders of rank,—in this manner:—“Praise him ye kings of the earth, and all

1 Cited from the exlviiith Psalm, with a few variations from the text of the Peschito.
41. With these (words) therefore, he leads over against and along with the companies that are in the heavens, those also that are on the earth, to the praise of the King of all. For to Him alone in truth, and to no other God,—(to) Him who is beyond all the heavens above,—do the companies that are above the curvatures of the heavens ascribe honour and praise. To Him (as) their Father do the hosts of angels and spirits, the offspring of the light which is intelligent, render the praises which are unutterable. To Him also the sun, the moon, and the stars which are in the circuits of distant worlds, and run their lengthened courses in the spaces of æther, and form a crown (as it were) to Him;—the invisible powers also, which wing their way in the free expanse of air,—proclaim the meed of praise and blessing which is (both) due and becoming.

42. How then, after (the detail of) these things could it be becoming, that the element of earth alone should be wanting in the provision which (prevails) in all? Or, that this nature which is generative of all these fruits,

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*Syr. ἐστὶν ἡ ἀθέρημα ὡς, lit. In the Stadia: i.e. places appointed for racing. The æther has been usually supposed to constitute that portion of the upper regions which approximates to that of the fixed stars: by some it has been thought to consist of fire, by others of a very subtle fluid. Aristotle’s opinion may perhaps, be taken here as the most authoritative. He says, then, (Lib. de Mundo, cap. ii.), “ὡς τὸν ἀστερόμενον ὡς τὸν καλότερον, αὐτὸν ὄλα πάντα, διὰ τὸ πρώτον ὡς τὸν πλείστον πνεῦμα οὕτως ἐπηλαμβάνεται δύναμις ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν τὸν κυκλοφοροῦντα πνεῦμα, οὕτως ἐπηλαμβάνεται τῶν τεσσάρων, αὑράτου τε καὶ θείου.” “Caeli porro siderumque substantiam appellamus ætherem: non quidem ideo quod ignitas flagret ipsa, ut aliquis censerunt, plurimum utique aberrantes circa potentiam illum maximæ ab igne natura abhorrentem: origine verò hujus vocabuli inde ducta, quod semper æther currit motu circumductili: cùm sit illud elementum à quatuor illis diversum: tum divinum, tum interitus expers.”
should stand alone, in withholding its meed of praise? Or, that the life which is (passed) on the earth, bearing every sort of fruit, should be barren as to (that of) the intelligent creature? Would it not rather appear that this would seem good to Him,—who is the fulness of all wisdom, the Maker of all,—that He should for His own sake, sow this locality of earth with beings intelligent and rational? and should, for the use of these, provide the rest of the creatures, as also that which is generative of fruits and flowers? And that He should here also join the praise of men, to that which is rendered by the companies of all (else), to His own Father? And this was so done in former times:—this, that man, who had been made in the image of God, honoured with hymns and songs The Word, his Father, together with the divine and rational assemblies, and with the several orders of angels. His mind had not then erred in the setting up of inanimate images under the phantasms of demoniacal deception, nor under the stories of error common to polytheism: for these things recently, and after a time, became known through the vain babblings of the poets. Those primitive chiefs of our race, who hitherto had not learned the arts of modelling, hewing, and carving, and had made no use of this extreme metal-working art of evil deeds, called upon the Maker of the whole universe and their Lord, in the simplicity of their souls, and in the mind of their (unsophisticated) nature: and Him alone did they confess, in their instruction which was mental, to be the Lord and God of all. And as these did, so did the chief of our nature (Adam), as also did the Hebrew race, which was in ancient times beloved of God, and received,

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1 Gen. i. 27, 1 Cor. xi. 7. The argument shewing that revealed religion is much more ancient than the vanities of idolatry is admirably prosecuted in the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. iv. Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. i. p. 302. A. seq.

2 Syr.  יָבָאָבָא. To the same effect Theodoret, Serm. on Providence, Tom. iv. p. 321.

3 Syr. יָבָאָבָא, lit. in the doctrine of their mind: which, as it is intended to be opposed to image worship, seems to me to imply doctrine mentally received and applied.
as a son from his father, the good inheritance of the observances of the fear of God. But these honoured nothing with purity of life, and with the observances of the fear of God, except the one God, the King who is above all, and His Word who is the Saviour of all. On this account, they were considered worthy of the revelation of the Word of God, of prophecy, and of the doctrines of righteousness.

43. Thus therefore, the Word of God, the Maker of all things, fills, with His seed of intelligent and rational being, all parts and places that are above the world, that are in the heavens, and on this element of earth. That seed then, which falls upon the earth, constituting the intelligent and rational plant, is itself the knowledge which belongs to man, (and) which is now contained in the multifarious stem and herbage (as it were) of an earthly and perishable body: many stars of the life which is mortal surrounding it. If then, an enlightened cultivation meet it, so that it be cleansed from the obstinacy of matter, and recognize the Sower, the Word, who is above, the heavens, and henceforth render praise to Him, meditating as a child on His primitive teaching, and in due time rendering the corn-ears of its superiority, the complete fruit of its rational nature; it shall as in the time of harvest lay down, by the death of the life which is mortal, those luxuriances of the stem that are without, together with the earthly and corruptible clothing of the body, which it shall have now well employed for the growth and perfection of the fruit. And happily shall it put off this in due time. The same too, as he becomes more excellent, and collects the powers of his superiority into the treasury of things that are good, is preserved (as) the perfect, that with the perfect he may be led on. To Him also, who is the Sower and the Cultivator of all, he renders the perfect fruit of that praise which is due to God. And, because he has in this life recognized Him alone as his Father, King, and Lord, and has, together with his relative and sister beings (already mentioned), confessed Him alone to be God, his Maker and Creator; He will,—that he also may (as) in the place of the society which is more excellent, exalt and honour Him with the
honour that is becoming and just,—not name any other thing
God, which it is not right should be called God, but
Him alone to whom all things give (a similar) testimony;
Him, whom all creation, visible and invisible,—even as
He alone is the efficient Cause of all,—names its God, and
whom it worships.

44. These things then being such, let us now again
approach our subject afresh, as already laid down. These
heavens then, and places in the heavens which are viewed
by the bodily senses; this earth also, and air, as well as
this whole constitution (of things) which is of them, (and)
which may be likened to a great city, differ in no respect
in their nature from those inanimate elements which are
in its portions, the earth, the waters, the air, and fire.
But it is not necessary, that the denizens of this great city
should be considered as of the same material; nor is it,
that we should affirm the seed of the rational soul, and
of the perishable body, to be one and the same. For the
mind, the reason, the rational soul, and the whole of the
nature which is intelligent, may accurately and well be
affirmed to be the seed of the Word of God, the Creator
of all. Nor were these any part of the earth, or of the
air; nor, of any essence cold or hot; but, of those
superior faculties, by which they were made worthy to
partake in things most excellent. Because things prior
in order, are the causes of those which succeed them. And
the first things were those generated of the Word:
after these, those that are irrational. After the primary
essences therefore, were those latter ones, which followed
(these as) causes. But these primitive ones,—the origin
of production,—exist (only) in intelligent souls; on whose
account it was, that the seed of passive bodies was also
prepared. For it was necessary, that a sufficient house
or residence should be prepared for these. Hence the
primary heavens appeared to be a place suitable to the
people of this city, who were both above it and in it;
and the curvatures\(^1\) within the heavens, for those inha-

\(^1\) This expression will be understood, when it is considered that the
ancients supposed the heavens to consist of sphere upon sphere, en-
circling each other, like the coats of an onion.
bitants who should be distinguished accordingly. But thou (reasonable soul), wouldest never designate as denizens of the city on earth, either the sensitive being of the fierce animals, or any kind of reptile refusing instruction; or indeed, any of all those that partake in the nature and name of irrational. For these are thy slaves, which have been subjected by the law of nature; and they necessarily render the service which is due to rational beings, as to their lords. For the agricultural ox places his neck willingly in the yoke, for the purposes of agriculture for man; the carrying ass too, confesses his own nature; the horse also, on which his lord rides, exults; and the hunting dog fondles on him who feeds him.

45. The flocks too, and herds, (and) again, all sorts of possession (in animals), are given to men; even the fierce beasts are (at his ready) service. These same too, we kill and reduce to subjection. We also take, by means of reason, the bird that flies in the heights. We also bring up those (beings) which are beneath in the depths of the sea, and (otherwise) within it. And nature plainly teaches, that all these things have been established for the sake of man. Man is therefore the progeny of the Divine Word; not for the sake of any other thing, but

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2 Syr. [Δεικτικη.]

3 "Shares with his lord the pleasure and the ride."—Porv.

This argument is similarly urged by Plutarch, (De Fortuna,) p. 98. Edit. 1620.) "καὶ νοῦς ὀρθῆ, καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα κυβάκα καὶ τυφλά...σωμα ἕκεα τῶν αἰσθήσεων, εἰ μὴ νοῦν μηδὲ λόγον ὁ ἄθροισος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲν δὴ διεβρεῖ τῇ βίᾳ τῶν θηρίων, οὐδὲ δὴ ὅπως ὁ νόμος αὐτῶν ἀντωνίμως περίεσμεν αὐτῶν, καὶ κρατοῦμεν, ἀλλ’ ὁ Προμηθεύς, τουτέστω ὁ λογισμὸς, αῖτιος.

"Ιππον δένιν τ’ ἐχεία, καὶ πάροιν γονάτε
Δόντα ἀντίδορα, καὶ πόνων ἐπιδέκτουρα.—κατ’ Ἀσχύλουν."

"Mens enim videt, mens audit, reliqua ceca sunt, et surda...ita prestare reliqui sensus non possent abaque mens esset et ratio, ut reliquis animalibus anteiret homo. Nunc quod potiores sumus, isque imperamus, non casu aut fortuito fit, sed Prometheus, id est rationis usus, hoc effect.

Fetus equorum, asinorumque, et homin genus,
Munera rependens, quae nostris laboribus
Subeunt,—ut est apud Ἀσχύλουm."
for that (only) of his Father, THE WORD; in order that he might see, and by his knowledge distinguish, all the wisdom of his Father, which (consists) in the workmanship visible throughout all creation; and that he should assimilate himself to this same, while hitherto youthful, and should in every thing emulate his Father, as to law, reason, knowledge, and wisdom; should live as taught, (that he is) the image of excellence; and should learn that, together with the companies that are in heaven, he should, as a prophet and priest, send up from the earth those praises which are due to the King of all, and to God who is the Cause of all.

46. In representations not unlike these therefore, does THE WORD, the instructor of all nature,—wondering at the various excellency of the nature that is in man,—cry out, and say in the divine praises, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little less than the "Angels: with honour and glory hast Thou clothed him, "and hast given him dominion6 over the work of thy "hands, and hast placed all beneath his feet: all flocks "and herds; even the wild beasts of the desert, and the "birds that are in the heavens, and the fishes of the sea, "which dwell in the paths of the sea."

47. It is this rational species alone, beloved of God, of those that are on earth, respecting which another prophet speaking of God, teaches, thus plainly (but) mysteriously, that in his essence he is in the image of God: "And "God said, Let us make man in our Image, according "to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the "fishes that are in the sea, and over the fowl of the "heavens, and over the beasts, and over all the earth, "and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the "earth." And to the word He also added the deed: "So "God made man," and said that He made him in the image of God. And again more particularly, He established (the fact) that the image was in the likeness of God, from

1 Ps. viii. 5. varying in some respects from the text of the Peschito.
2 MS. יִּשְׁמַעְתָּהוּ, a manifest error, for יִּשְׁמַעְתָּהוּ.
the Divine inbreathing, when He said, "And he breathed "into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became "a living soul." He also teaches, that He gave to him the more excellent authority and rule, in these words when saying, Let them have dominion over all that is on the earth, over the beasts, the fowls, the creeping things, (and) the animals. And, to all these words does that nature give (its) testimony, which has put every thing under his hand, and has subjected all (things) to this rational creature. But, if the Divine words can obtain no hearing with thee, still, I cannot think that thy mind is so entirely darkened, that thou canst not think within thyself, How it is, that bodies and bodily substances,—or, whatever other divine thing it is which moves the body,—should consist of this possible excellence,—this, I say,—that (such body) should know how to avail itself of a discriminating reason, as to what its own essence is?—this, that it should deliver instruction by memory?—this, that it should extend itself to the contemplation of all things? But, be thyself and ask, whether the nature of the body can understand the constitution of the world; the operations of the primary elements; the beginning, the end, the middle portion, enumeration, and succession of the seasons; the changes of times; the revolutions of the year; the appointed order of the stars; and (I know not) how many other things, which men have by the experiments of geometry, computation, and enumeration, pointed out. For these (results) are incorporeal, and the contemplation of them is (purely) rational: that any one should make them adjuncts of the bones, the flesh, or the blood, would be folly infinitely great. And, well might they be asked, who thus think of these things, since these five senses comprehend all the faculties of the body, Which of them is it that can teach man the contemplation of any doctrine? Is it the sight of the eyes? But this distinguishes between colours and forms only. If you say, The hearing; you (only) name the recipient of sounds acute and grave, but not of any rational perception. And again, in like manner, the taste is the sense discriminative of sweetness, or of food, as it might

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2 Gen. ii. 7.
be. The smell too, is the trier of scents, but not of doctrines. And again, this sense which is extended over the whole body, will touch (and discriminate) things cold and hot, hard and soft; but not virtue, nor (yet) that wisdom which is much more excellent. And, How is it with the irrational animals? Have they not eyes, ears, and nostrils? the sense of taste, and of touch? But nothing of these can be brought near to the efficiency of reason: because the doctrines, which philosophy alone can apprehend, are not of the body, nor of the sense that is irrational: they belong solely to that superiority which attends the rational soul; which is superior to the nature of the body, and which takes up its abode in mankind alone. If however, any one wish impudently to persist by way of reasoning, and affirm, That we possess nothing beyond these irrational animals; that like these¹ we are born, and are subject to corruption; because the one provision of us all, is of the earth: the passive nature of the body is the same; the sense is in nothing superior; the labour again, and rest is, in the same manner, one; as is the blood of us all, the corruption of the body, and (its) dissolution into the primitive elements. Hitherto however, you do not say, that any one of these can, like the rational animal, be brought near to the contemplation of things incorporeal; can bear about it any rational instruction, or lay up learning in its memory; can consider discourses about virtue and vice; and, as to philosophy, that it ever even entered its mind. But all these things I might omit, because all men do not possess them. I (only) ask your reason these things: Was there a city ever (yet) constructed by beings destitute of reason? Or, is there in these the mind of the Artificer, of the Builder, of the Weaver, or, of the Agriculturist? Or, has a ship ever been fitted up by them? Or, has the astonishing art of governing (such vessel) so much as even entered their minds? When, be-

¹ Syr. ֻסֵעֲקָא הָּדָּא. This variety also occasionally occurs in פדוקס, for פדוקס: which is rare, and is perhaps an imitation of the Arabic, وذلك, &c. in which the pronoun י, or כ is suffixed.
hold! the things which are bodily (only) are with them, far more excellent than with us: because, of all animals, man is the most defective, and, as the Poets sing, "The human race is infirm." Nor can we say how much he is inferior, in magnitude of body, to the Elephant; or, to be thought of, as to strength and abundance, with the Camel species. And, to many other animals must he cede the victory, both as to power, and swiftness of foot. What can they scent better than the tracing dogs, which are taught to course by the smell? or, be said to see better than any Antelope; which, because they see (well) are, in the Greek, named "the Seers"? And, is it necessary we should hence say, how much weaker the body of man naturally is, than that of the Bear, the Lion, the Panther, and of many other animals? or, how quickly or easily he is deceived and overcome by those that attack him? Nevertheless, this diminutive (creature) will, whenever he pleases, subdue any of those already mentioned; not by bodily or corporeal

* Syr. *ordeyyinapotat xap dnav (Chwv) Fvov."  
"cum sit infirnimum (animal) Natura."  

* The word, used here in the original work, was, no doubt Δορκάς: on which Bochart has the following note. Hieron. I. Lib. iii. cap. xxv. (p. 928). "Damir. توصيف الطب. جودة الصفر. (Our Syriac word is, *Capw describuntur acutissimi visus.* Unde illis inditum dorkāw Grecum nomen. Etymologus, Δορκάς παρά το δέρκω το βλέψι: διχεύρκει γαρ το χρων, και ευόμματον, &c. The same argument, generally, is urged by Plutarch, (De Fortuna, p. 98. D.) where Plato is cited as saying, that man alone is left by nature naked, unarmed, &c.—"γεμνός και άνυπόδης και άνυπόδετος και ἀστρωτος υπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπολέεσται."
strength, for (in this respect) he is greatly the inferior, and is insufficient to fill the stomach of even one Bear. But there is a certain nature within him, more excellent than the body, the power of the mind, and of the intelligent soul. And it is by the superiority of wisdom that he effects these astonishing things. By means of these (things) hast thou, as a dear child, been honoured of God. Why (so) despiest thou thy greatness as to think, that this thy whole is (mere) flesh? and likenest this body, with the divine and rational knowledge which is within thee, to these irrational beings, the whole of which is perishable? Will then, neither the irrational nature of the animals, nor this common name irrational, nor (yet) the openly apparent useful servitude, under which these have never sought excuse from the bearing of burdens or of labour, suffice to persuade thee, (that all is thus) because God has given to thee the dominion and sovereignty over them all?  

48. Man alone therefore, of those that are on the earth,—he who is in the image of God, carries on and introduces (his matters) wherever he pleases: at one time, he trains the animals that are suited to the chase; at another, he pastures the flocks that are adapted to this: at another, he avails himself of the tame animals for (his) service; reducing (their) fierce nature to peaceable subjection: at another, having so reduced them, he brings them into peaceable proximity with himself: at another, having brought them together by the multifarious means of reason, he confines them to the house. And not (this) alone, but he will also take into his hands the injurious reptiles, and play with them: and of those that breathe out death, and reject instruction, will he make his sport.

49. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is not to be persuaded to take up his residence in the caves that are in the deserts, or in the heights. He accordingly builds cities with walls, and adorns (these) with streets, palaces, mansions, and other edifices.

50. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, considers not of (his) provision after the unchangeable manner and

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¹ Matter, in some respects similar to this, will be found in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. v. p. 509. B. seq. and Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxviii. p. 556. seq.
usages of the irrational animals. For these, destitute (as they are) of knowledge, avail themselves of the aid of nature alone, and receive their provision from the stem, unprepared by agriculture, and uncleaned from the weed. He however, by his knowledge cleanses (this); thus too does he pulverize, fully season, and make it well to pass the fire. Of the wheat also he will, whenever he pleases, make bread. He is moreover, careful so to provide, that a healthy provision of food may be secured. And every profitable commodity, either of the vine, the olive, or of the fruit tree of every flavour, does he appropriate; and these does he alone apply to the sanative uses of the body.

51. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, has, by means of rule and reason, discovered that mode of life which is regular and orderly:—has become a leader of armies; has engaged in the public conflicts, and in the subsidiary arts: and these very many (things), pertaining to doctrine, has he, by his rational superiority, put forth.

52. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, preserving (in himself) the model of excellence, has determined the measure, the weights, the extents, and several sorts of justice. He too, distinguishes,—governing (all) by reason,—the things which should, and should not, be done: and (hence) he knows, how to give to every one, as it shall be right. The fishes however, the birds, and the animals, will devour one another: because no law (prevails) among them. But to men has (God) given justice, which is their supreme excellence, as says one of the poets, (and) according to my opinion, extremely well.

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*Syr. | |, lit. grass.

*There is a passage in Plutarch very nearly allied to this, who probably has in view the same poet (Pindar), it is as follows: "οἱ γαρ ἡ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἰατρεία, δίκη δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνη προσαγορευόμενη, πασῶν ἐστι τεχνῶν μεγίστη, πρὸς μυρίων ἑτέρως καὶ Πύθαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν, ἀρωστότεχνον ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν ἀρχωντα καὶ κύριον ἀπάντων θεού, ὥς ἢ ἀξίης ὅτα ὑμιαργήν, ἡ προσήκει, τὸ πότε, καὶ πῶς καὶ μέχρι πόσου κολαστέον ἐκαστον τῶν πονηρῶν, ὀρίζειν." "Medicinam
53. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, evincing within himself the image of the Word of God, erects on high a house of judgment; and, acting after the manner of God’s just Judge, duly determines (the award) of life and of death; apportioning life to some, and assigning death to others.

54. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will confide his life to the small section of a tree. He has also discovered the science of ship-building. He too will guide the ship on the back of the sea; will commit his person to the depths of the humid element, and beat back the death that stands at his side. He (alone) looks up to the heavens, and to that Governour of all, who binds together all distances, as to the safety of those who navigate (the seas).

55. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, has discovered the doctrines of astronomy: has, while moving below in the body, and clothed with the weight of mortality, ascended up in his mind on high; and, making the circuit of the sun, the moon, and the stars, foretells what shall come to pass, as he also does the eclipses of the moon, the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the changes of times.

"Medicinam enim animae, quæ Justitia cognominatur, omnium esse artium maximam, præter sexcentos alios etiam Pindarum testatur, principem et dominum omnium deum appellans Aristoteles, id est, artificem præstantissimum: quippe justitiae administratorem, quæ jus habet determinandi quando, quomodo, et quatenus quilibet malorum sit puniendus." It is not improbable, I think, that our author had this place in his eye when he wrote the above paragraph. Clemens Alexand. also cites the place in Pindar, Strom. Lib. v. p. 555. B. but in a different sense. Plutarch. de his qui sero, &c. lib. p. 550. A.

1 That is, considering Christ as appointed the final Judge of all, man here acts like him.

2 I. e. the section of a tree formed into a boat, as was much the case in former times. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 35. A.

3 The MS. has, בְּלַא יָדָן, the heavens, which is a manifest error for בָּלָם.

4 The reading ought I think, to be, בָּלָם יָדָן; that is, transposing יָדָן, and placing next to בָּלָם, and then considering the following matter as all belonging to the two closing terms בָּלָם יָדָן; and so I have translated it.
56. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is viewed (as) the assistant of nature; has discovered the means of healing; and has, by his understanding, applied (to this) the powers of roots, and of drugs, with their combination and mixture by weight and due proportion. He too has become skilful in the healing of infirm bodies, and the helps of the life of man.

57. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, not having arrived at the manner of life of the graminivorous (animals), has well applied (himself) to (the requirements of his own) nature. In the winter season he accordingly casts the seed into the earth; and, applying the sweat of his labour to agriculture, is repaid in the autumn with the fruits consequent upon his toil.

58. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, collects together, by (his) rational knowledge, the doctrines relating to all (things); the science and composition of music, as well as (that of) investigation by discussion. He also proceeds on to the manner of life, and to the fame attendant on philosophy; and (thus) he hastens forward the love of that superiority, which is vested within him: availing himself, not of the bodily sense, but of the faculty of knowledge, and of the stimulating power of reason.

59. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, bears about him, by means of his memory, the histories of things done in former times; converses with those who are (now) no more, as with those who are at hand: examines the opinions of the wise who have existed at any period; and from these, rather than from those who are his contemporaries, does he receive profit. And (thus) by the faculty of reason,—cognate with that of thought,—does he exist with those who have long ceased to be.

60. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, duly regulates the voice of the chant, by the divisions

\[\text{Syr. σισδοσ ἔλοχ, lit. the labour of his sweat, by an hypallage. See my Heb. Gram. Art. 224. 7.}\]

\[\text{Syr. ἡμέρας ἀνθρώπου. It should be observed, that our MS. never gives the fem. form as ἡμέρας, because, perhaps, the pronunciation is not affected by it.}\]
of the chord. He also has divided the primary letters (of the alphabet) by the grammatical art, and has discovered the powers and province of reason. He too, has determined the combination of verbs and of nouns, as well as the precepts of rhetoric and grammar. All these moreover, does he bring together, preserve in his memory, and bring forward, as stores filled with every sort of treasure. In one mind too, does he comprehend both the events and histories of former times; and these will he bring forth whenever he pleases, as a river from an unfailing source, and inundate (therewith) the hearing of all present.

61. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is, in his works, like unto God who is over all. Any thing which he pleases will he form into animals; even this inanimate matter will he change into the form, figure, and fashion, of every sort of creature. By means of this instructive nature, (and) the reasoning faculty, will he set about emulating (even) the Maker of all things; and man will make man, at one time in stone; at another, in wood; at another, in flowers of (many) colours; as well as in the forms that are impervious to change: and (indeed) every sort of animal and of plant, will he, by the same means, imitate: shewing forth fully, by his works, the power (vested within him) of the image of God.

62. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will imitate on the earth whereon he walks, the celestial sphere, and will engrave on the matter of brass the likeness of the very heavens, and on this will he impress a copy of the stars, both wandering and fixed. He will also appoint, by the modeller's art, the limits both of times and of seasons; and will surround the exterior (of his sphere) with the images of (various) animals. By the abundance of (his) knowledge moreover, and the means of (many) observations, will he imitate the heavenly sphere; and,—like God,—will allow the heavens whose revolutions

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1 Syr. יְהוָה יַעֲקֹב. The two last words are mere terms of grammar, as may be seen in Ameira. Gram. Syr. Romeæ, 1596. pp. 56, 251.
are above the earth, and with the universal whole,—
and whose revolving is an unceasing miracle,—to revolve
with the things that are on the earth, (in) the simili-
tude which is of earthly material. The angel of the
seasons too, will shout (as it were) with a loud voice,
and all, at once and in a moment, are in motion; the doors,
too, at the coming in of the seasons⁸, throw themselves
open (as it were) of their own accord, and the inanimate
images of the birds, placed round about it (the sphere),
speak out in chirpings⁹. The moon also which is on the
earth, runs its course with that in the heavens; and the
(mere) brass of itself, changes its fashions, after the manner
of the moon; shewing itself now dichotomized, now on
the wane, and now in its full light. Thus the images
of the seasons follow the analogy of those in nature, and
the human-made world contends with (that of) the work-
manship of the Word of God!

63. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, can,
by means of words not to be uttered, of prayers acceptable
to God, and by virtue of the fear of God, (evinced) both in
word and life, drive far away the invisible nature of con-
cealed demons⁴. But further, when he had even departed

* Syr. [Σα. lit. hours, a literal translation, in all probability, of the
Greek ἡμερα, signifying seasons.

* One would think from this, that the ancient Astrolabes were fur-
nished with an apparatus for the purpose of exhibiting animated na-
ture, while they presented the places and groups of the stars; not
unlike, perhaps, our modern Orreries, supposing them accompanied
by a sort of cuckoo-clock. Lactantius thus describes the sphere
siculus concavo ære similitudinem mundi ac figuram potuit machinari,
in quo its solem, ac lunam composit, ut inæquales motus et coele-
tibus similes, conversionibus singulis quasi diebus efficerent: et non
modo accessus solis, et recessus, vel incrementa, diminutionesque lunæ,
vel etiam stellarum, vel inerrantium vel vagarum, dispares cursus,
orbis ille dum vertitur exhiberet," &c. According to the Greeks the
sphere was invented by Anaximander: Diog. Laert. in the life of this
philosopher.

τε, καὶ τελεῖως ἁναχθήσονται ἀνθρωπίναις." "Quic...nee oculus,
nec alio quovis humano sensu attingi omnino possunt." Eusebius, per-
haps, first alludes here to the practice of Exorcism, as had recourse to in
from the right way, he could effect all this by a power, such as would, by songs and incantations, subject the kind of these which flies in the air; and, again, would seize, by means of force, and the appetencies restrictive of nature, those unembodied powers which fly over any part of the earth, just as they would the flying sparrows. He would lead on, or bind, (these), whenever he chose: and, sitting upon the images of fabricated gods, would shew by these his doings, that his own power was far superior to that of the fabricated deity of such.

64. Man alone shines of what kind the superiority of (his) intellectual and incorporeal being is, and establishes (the fact) that (this) his power is impervious either to subjugation or deterioration by calamity. For, he will prepare his body for the fire, the sword, the fierce beasts, (and) the depths of the sea; and he will approach every species of torment. He knows too, this his nature, that it is perishable and fleeting, transient and dissoluble. But that which resides within, is unyielding; and, that this is different from that which perishes, he proved who cried

the primitive Church: see Suiceri Thesaurus, sub voce. Εὐφορμίσσω.—
There was moreover, a very general belief that a sort of magic virtue consisted in the pronunciation of certain words. Origen (contra Cels. Lib. v. pp. 261—2) tells us that any name, or word, having effect in incantations, if changed or translated into any other language, immediately lost its whole magical efficacy. His instances are, The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: the names Israel, Adonai, Sabaoth, &c. Nor does he restrict these usages to the professors of the true religion. See also ib. p. 374, and Spencer's very curious note on pp. 17. C. 41: notes, p. 16—19, where we have every thing we can require on this subject.

¹ This is perhaps, an instance of hypallage, as occasionally met with in the Scriptures (see the note to §. 67 above.) So Rom. vii. 24. "τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου." Syr. [ם]ו[ת]ו[ת]ו. Here, the [ם]ו[ת]ו[ת]ו, by the desires of the bonds (the lusts) of nature. Our author probably means, (by hypallage) the mortifications to which persons of this sort usually submitted, just as it is the case with the devotees of Hindustan at this day; all of whom generally hold, that they have power over demoniacal agents. A belief however, in these things as expressed here, must be classed among those, which more enlightened times have very properly rejected. Our author might,
out, "Bruise, bruise the form?; but me thou wilt not bruise." And again another, proclaiming with freedom of speech: "Burn or roast the body, and be satisfied with me when thou hast drunk my blackened blood; but, before the stars descend to the earth, and the earth ascends to the heavens, I will present to thee no one "conciliating perturbed expression." One of the friends of God moreover, when suffering evils, put forth these words: "What shall separate me from the love of God? (shall) tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger, however, have intended this as a sort of argumentum ad hominem, it being religiously held by the heathen of his times, as may be seen Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. C. xxii. seq. Where (p. 173. D.) he tells us that in this case he used not the testimony of Christians, but of the heathen Philosophers themselves, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἡμῶν κατηγορεῖται ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀκριβῶτάτα τα ὀικεία μᾶλλον, ἢ ἡμῖν εἰς ὁστών. See ib. cap. xxiii. on the means used for expelling and opposing these Demons, from Porphyry. See also Sect. 12. Book ii. below.

* Syr. [ὡς] μάτιν. The last word should, perhaps, be written, [ὡς]. Castell giving [ὡς], pulchritudo. Al. Pulcher oculi nictus. i. q. Copticum ὅριςκ. The word occurs very rarely in the Syriac: and hence, probably, the mistake of the Copyist. This is, no doubt, the same with the relation given of Anaxarchus by Clem. Alexand. (p. 496. Ed. 1629.) and by Theodoret, Edit. Gaisford, p. 328, in these words: "Πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου βυθακον Ἀναξάρχου γὰρ ὦ πτίσσεις." Theodoret gives it thus: "Πτίσσε πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου βυθακον, Ἀναξάρχου [γὰρ] ὦ πτίσσεις." This being the case, the reading [ὡς], may be a corruption, for [ὡς]: or, if the general sense only was intended to be given, Eusebius himself might have omitted the proper name here. According to Celsus (Origen contra Cels. Lib. vii. p. 367,) Anaxarchus was thrown into a mortar, and, when beaten there, uttered these remarkable words. The tyrant who reduced him to this, was Aristotle of Cyprus (ib. p. 368.) Epictetus is here also celebrated for a similar act of fortitude. This account, moreover, of Anaxarchus will be found at length in Diogenes Laërtius, under his life.

* This will be found in Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. cap. vi. p. 242. C. thus,

Τοῦ μὲν πῦρ, ἰδοὺ δὲ φάσαγαν τέμνει,
Κάταπε οὖρκαι, ἐμφυληθητὶ μοῦ πῦρον
Κελάινον αἷμα. πρὸςθε γὰρ κάτω γραθὲ
ἐσθ’ ἀστρὰ, γῆ ὧ δ’ ἀνείπτεν τ’ αἰφνίδον,
Πρὸς ἐξ ἔρωτι σε θεώ’ ἀπανήθηκε λόγον.

See Viger's note on the place. A place not unlike this will be found in
or nakedness, or cold, or the sword?" I myself too have seen, in these times, some whose eyes were digged out; others, who were deprived of their legs by the cautery; and others who were crucified; their whole bodies hastening to dissolution, and their mortal nature subject to rebuke; while the conscious mind residing within them, attached to God, was immoveable, impervious to subjection, and unyielding to these hardships; clearly proving to those of sound minds, that their faculty of excellence was a thing altogether different from that which was perishable.

65. This alone, of the animals that are on the earth, partaking of the divine inbreathing, is worthy of the favour of the Deity. He too, will hold converse with the Angels of God, and will apprehend the foreknowledge of things to come to pass; at one time, by means of dreams; at another, when so invested by the power of God with the Spirit, that he will even enounce the prophecy of things future; and, by the manifestation of deeds such as these, he will confirm (the fact of) his fellowship with Deity.

66. This (animal) alone recognizes in every thing, something greater and more excellent than any that is visible;—Him who is invisible to the eyes, and imperceptible to the touch, as well as to every faculty of bodily sense; but is visible to the mind and understanding alone. Him does he, by His (special) teaching, and the learning of which his nature is capable, confess; and Him does he call God: to Him also does he render praise; and shews, by means of this (his) knowledge, his relationship with the Deity.

67. This (being) alone has arisen (to be) the spectator of the great works of the Word of God, and is

in Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. iv. p. 493. seq. with some others to the same effect.

1 Rom. viii. 35. differing considerably from the text of the Peschito and Philoxenian Versions.

2 See § 47, above.

3 Syr. MS. \_\_\_. Castell has \_\_\_\_ justitia, clementia, indulgentia. Our MS. perhaps has \_\_\_\_ erroneously.
fitted to worship his Father—Him (I say) who is higher than the heavens,—with the praises which are proper for the Deity; and to be assimilated to the company of the Angels in heaven. Because to him alone, of the animals that are on the earth, has this superiority been assigned. By means of this he recognizes, from the mind of his nature, Him who is the cause of every good; and is enjoined to render, as the return due to a Father, the praises of thanksgiving and blessing which are becoming.

68. The testimonies to all these things, does that word of the doctrine and erudition which is divine, confirm: (viz.) that of this undying nature, and equal of the citizens that are in heaven, is this (being) alone of those that are on the earth; this intelligent and rational essence (I say) which is in man: and, that he is the dear child of the Divine Word, the common Saviour of all; and that in his nature, he agrees both as to image and form with (this) his Father.

69. For if this rational animal,—this, who has become partaker in all this superiority; this, which alone of those that are on the earth, is in the image of God; this Brother of the divine hosts, and of the Angels, which are in heaven,—had been duly led by his nature, and had from ancient time adhered to the divine law; he would indeed have been freed from this earthly and corruptible (mode of) life, and would have continued in his conversation on earth, as in a state of migration. Had he first (of all) studied divine things (only), he would indeed have effected his departure hence to those things which belonged to him; and would have been registered (as) among those that were perfect, apart from this his state of defect, and of infantine constitution. Thus therefore has man, of necessity, put on a corruptible and dissoluble body, (and this) through the mercy of his Father, that calamity may not be his permanent lot, and that he may not be tied interminably to corruption. Soon therefore, shall this corruptible be

* MS. הַטָּבֹעַ, which, by an error of the press has been printed הַטָּבֹעַ.
dissolved, and shall receive a participation with those who are incorruptible. For, just as that which is conceived in the womb, puts on the clothing of its locality; and the infant to be born, when the period of its destined months has arrived, casts this off, and accordingly comes forth into the light, inhaled the purer air, and henceforward is considered as of the nature of man; so also is this perfectible species, (as) believed to be among men, (and as) opposed to the (still) superior one,—a mere infant, and as yet a fetus (only) conceived on earth,—clothed in this corruptible skin; which, by the mercy of the great gift of God, it is necessary it should cast off, in order that it should not be for ever harassed with these defective things, but should, in due time, go forth into the light, and pass on to the life, which is impervious to corruption. On this account, well have the companies of the wise, the attached to God, pressed (as) they have been by a participation in these corruptible bodies, desired their change for the better, and followed after their equals, the children of their city which is above, even as he was (circumstanced) who said in the divine word, "Wretched\(^1\) man that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death?" And again, "Even\(^2\) if we live in the body, still we labour not in the flesh." He adduces his reason too, and says, "For our labour (of culture) is in heaven; and we\(^4\) draw near to the city of the living God which is in heaven, and to the assembly of myriads of angels, and to the church of the firstborn who are written in heaven."—These are the words of a notable man, and of (all) those who love God.

70. If however, many are so foolish as to be attached to the lusts that are here, that they are to the present time but infants in intellect; What has this to do with right reason? For, that which is conceived in the womb, exults in this its usual locality, fears its departure from it, and lest it should be extracted from internal dark-

\(^1\) Rom. vii. 24, as in the Peschito.
\(^2\) 2 Cor. x. 3, differing considerably from the Peschito.
\(^3\) Phil. iii. 20, as before.
\(^4\) Heb. xii. 22, cited from memory, apparently.
ness, and weeps when it comes forth to the light. Still even these, did but those things which happen to their natural birth duly take place with them, would come forth from darkness to light, well and elegantly born. Thus would they, at the due time and season, be brought forth, (each) receive the natural air and breath, and bear about him the healthy vigour of man. Thus would (each) be delighted with the provisions of the breast, and of infancy; then be placed under the hands of a nurse, and be delivered over to instructors, teachers, and doctors, until he came forth a man complete. Thus too would he pass a virtuous and honourable life, great in wealth, in the abundance of possessions, in power, rule, and the other stages (of distinction), in the increase of (all) those things which result from a happy birth; of those which multiply by means of instruction, and of those other innumerable things, which conduce to the experience of a happy life.

71. But, if any unnatural contortion should happen to that which is conceived in the womb, so that it affect such an one at his coming forth in birth; What need can there be for my saying, that the infant was distorted within (the womb)? and refused to come forth to the light? and that it must suffer,—by the iron instruments prepared for parturition, which shall violently and painfully be placed upon it,—the revulsion which is also unnatural? Nor would it be worthy even of the one birth,—even of the life of man,—or of the things belonging to this: but, on the contrary, that it should go forth from darkness to darkness, and not only be deprived of the life of man, but also of the name.

72. As are these things, so is he who passes the life which is human on earth, differing in nothing from the irrational and ignorant infant, or, from that

* We have here an abrupt change from the plural to the singular; which I have marked by inserting the term each.

* Syr. סחנ, lit. carry the life of men: but, as and its derivatives often signify vigour, or the like, I have so translated it here. See my Heb. Lexicon, under sign. ii.
which is yet, but a foetus in the womb. Nor can he be compared with those bodies which are without, the Angels and Divine spirits. He is even (as) an ignorant child; and, because of the excess of his childishness, he exults in the clothing of the body which is about him; loves the womb his (place of concealment), and knows not the locality which surrounds him, where murder, darkness, and (all) the other species of mishap, feed, as it were, in the pastures of wickedness. One of the ancients says,—when shewing that the air, which is on the earth, is humid and unclear,—that "it consists of many compounds, (resulting) from the innumerable vapours which (arise) from the earth". One would think too that (man were such), although as an infant good. Nevertheless, if he pass the present life as it is becoming to his nature, and evince accordingly the conduct which is suitable to its law, "that he think not beyond the measure of his stature," nor spurn the nature which has borne him as a mother; nor again, remain ignorant of his Father, but recognize his Father who is in heaven, the common Saviour of all, and render to him the service of thanksgiving, because he has made him to partake in the things which are good;—be brought up in the instruction of righteousness, and previously study in his conversation which is on the earth, the life of heaven; well shall such an one, when he shall depart this mortal life, and shall put off the body, have the Angels of God for his obstetricators;—when he is to be born to the life to come, then shall both the good Powers receive him as the nurse, and the Divine assemblies teach him; that Word of God too, that teacher of the conversation which is in heaven, shall lead him on, as a dear child, to the completion of every thing that is good, and shall instruct him in the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven. And, when He shall have made him complete and wise, He shall give him up to His Father, the King of all: and shall clothe him, both in body and soul which are (now) incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description.

1 Several passages similar to this, though not identical with it, are to be found in Plutarch, and other writers.
So that henceforth, he shall be even for the common advantage of all. Such is the last state of such an one.—But he who exults against the course of his nature, participates in the perversion which is not good, and despises the earth, the mother that bore him; and again, impiously recognizes not the Word of God, the common Saviour of all, but subscribes to a multitude of fathers who have no existence, instead of that one who is; and calls those gods which never had any being, instead of that one who alone is true; and again, wholly plunges in pursuit of the things of this moist, humid and corruptible being, into the filthy and lawless lusts; and this not as the infant, involuntarily; but willingly, and of his free counsel, chooses to himself these vices, and so acts; his latter state shall clearly be but the counterpart of that pointed out by the example (above given). For no happy countenance, or smiling of good Angels, shall greet him; nor, when he goes forth into light, shall the Divine Powers receive him as fosterfathers. On the contrary, endeavouring in his extreme state to escape egress, and to hide himself within, in the concealment of the body and members:—when the dissolution of the body draws near, and he would assume the perversion which is out of nature;—(then) shall those who are appointed to this, forcibly attach themselves to him, and drag him forth. Then too, after his departure hence,—his miserable soul being reduced to sighing and lamentation,—shall he not have the light and life which is good, for his receptacle; but, on the contrary, darkness and the place of corruption. The judgment of God moreover, shall consign him (thus) impure and unclean, as filthy and abominable to the purification and punishment which is by fire: because he would not be instructed by the Word (or Reason), nor

* The views of some of the Fathers on this subject were extremely dark and perplexed, out of which evidently grew the Purgatory of the Roman Catholics. How far our author partook of this, I have not been able to ascertain. Origen tells us in his 24th Hom. on Luke, that, as John baptized with water, so shall Christ baptize in a river of fire all who shall pass to Paradise; but here, the baptism by water must first have taken place. In this case all must submit to this second purifying baptism. Again, near the end of his 8th book of explanations
adhere to the Divine law, when it was in his power to do so.

73. He therefore, who, in the example (above) was, as an infant conceived in the womb, in every thing so defective, and in every respect so destitute of power, that hitherto he could make no use either of the thoughts of his soul, or the senses of his body;—that mind, indeed, which is hitherto but (as) an infant in man;—may well be said, by way as it were, of experimental comparison with those incorporeal and Divine rational (beings) that are in heaven, to be altogether a child. Even, if (such) were the wisest of men, or even more perfect than those that are on the earth; still he would, when compared in himself, with his (future) perfect state, be nothing better than an infant. For, what his state of excellence shall be when he arrives at manhood, it will be easy thus to shew:—For if, when hitherto (as) an infant, and confined within this unyielding wall of earthly and corruptible being, he bears about him such a faculty of excellence, that he knows, not only the things that are on earth, and fabricates them by art, but also anticipates the life which is in heaven,

planations of the Epist. to the Romans, he says, that he who spurns the purifications of the Word of God, and of the Gospel-teaching, will reserve himself to the sad and penal purifications of the fire of hell: in conformity with the Scripture, "I will purify thee with fire even to purification." (Is. i. 25. Sept.) He goes on to tell us, that, how long this purifying by fire with sinners shall continue. He only, to whom the Father hath delivered all judgment, can know: evidently inclining to the notion that it is not eternal. This is however, according to him, one of those things which the Apostle considered as a mystery, and to be held as such by the faithful, secretly within themselves: and for this he cites "Mysterium Regis (ut ait Scriptura) celare bonum est." (Prov. xxxv. 21). But, who does not see that all this is a miserable perversion of Scripture? See Spencer’s Notes on Origen contra Cels. pp. 47—50: it. p. 77. The Bishop of Lincoln’s Eccl. Hist. illustrated from Ter. tullian, p. 342. seq. Camb. 1826. Out of this also grew the Mohammedan purgatory, styled الإضراف. Elaraf. They have also a Bason (pond), styled الوعش, out of which all the faithful are to drink before they enter Paradise. Our author however, does speak also of earthly plagues sent as purifiers. See Book ii. § 86, below: and so does Origen contra Cels. Lib. iv. p. 173, where Plato is cited as using similar phraseology.
and becomes like to God himself; makes too, whenever he pleases, likenesses of the things in the heavens, and of those on the earth;—can do all these things, just as those which have already been recounted\(^1\):—these (I say), when immersed (as he is) in all this refuse of the body and blood; What then, ought we to suppose he will do, when he shall have proceeded to the perfect measure of man's estate, and shall have been liberated from these injurious bonds of corruption?—these humid and wasting properties of the body? and is made a partaker of the life which is incorruptible, and of a body which is impervious to death? For, if this seed alone of the reasoning faculty be thus all-able and powerful on earth, when as yet it is incapable of rendering the full return (of fruit), but has even been cast forth into the moist locality of the refuse of a corruptible body; it shall henceforth be able (fully) to know, of what sort the return of perfect fruit of this seed shall be as (sown) in the soul, when it shall have been made to partake of an adequate culture; shall have been removed hence, and have been planted in a superior locality, in land good and fertile; where that heavenly Word, that Sower of all things, and Planter of every good thing, shall receive (back) his own seed, and shall, in the pastures of incorporeal and unembodied souls, as in the Paradise of them who love God, Himself water his own plant, shall nourish it to perfection, and make it arrive at the increase of goods innumerable.

74. You will perceive therefore, the greatness of the complete state of man's superiority, from his changes and increments here, if you will consider, that the infant just born is in no respect superior to the worm; that it cannot, after the manner of the irrational animal, even make use of the bodily senses. Nevertheless this defective, lame, infirm, and thoughtless being, will, when grown in his stature, arrive at all this change and variation in the course of time,—will receive all this superiority, power, and beauty both of body and soul,—so, that should those who begat him see him, they could not distinguish whether this

\(^1\) See § 62. seq. above.
were he, who was sown (by them) in the womb, and conceived in darkness:—whether this were he, who came forth out of (this) darkness, to be brought up with milk and the swaddling bands; this,—who is now the man, who in wisdom and knowledge contemplates the whole world;—this, who subjugates every thing that is on the earth. And should any one by comparison, as it were, of the Divine faculty and of the Angels, and of the child just now born, place the complete man in the midst; he would not find a perfect equality as to the child, with respect to the perfect man; and of the perfect man, with respect to the superior power; but, the inferiority of the person of the child to the man, to be much greater, than is the inferiority of the man to the faculty of the Angels. For, the human infant lately born, cannot be compared in its being even with those irrational animals, which may just now be brought forth. But he, who has come out the perfect man, and is contemplated as the friend of God, will henceforward become a partaker in the divine Spirit, and will hold converse with the Angels: will arrive at a love and attachment to the conversation which is in heaven, and will previously prepare himself by purity of life, and the fear of God,—not (placed) at any great distance of limit,—for an equality with the Angels, and will be made a partaker both of (their) life, and superiority: which the Divine Word also shewed, when it said, "What is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels: with honour and glory hast thou crowned him."

75. If then the child, when brought up to the (full) stature of his nature, and supplied with the provision and instruction proper for it, receives all this change and variety;—and no one can disbelieve (this) his change, on account of the openness of the experiment;—Why need we wonder, if even this perfectible mind which is in man, such as it is when still in child-

1 Ps. viii. 5, 6, differing slightly from the Peschito.
hood, with respect to its more complete and perfect growth, should, when it comes forth to the full growth of its stature, be in dignity as the Angels? We do see however, that the nature of man undergoes dissolution by death. But, What of this? Is it not that we are the more convinced by it, that the soul is immortal? For if, when immersed in a corruptible and mortal body, it evince all this force of superiority, which we have already shewn; How shall it not, when it shall have separated itself from its participation in corruption, and shall have laid down mortality as a bandage, then act in its own power, in a manner less impeded than it now does? Do you not perceive, that so long as it entertains an attachment to the body, it thence acts basely? But, if it refuse participation (with the body), it (then) subsists within itself. And hence, is its essence clearly known to be incorporeal. For, How can that which is opposed to the body, be of (its) nature? The thoughts too of the soul are healthy, so long as the bodily passions are infirm, but the same will be dark and obscure when the body labours under the lusts. Hence, so long as the soul is infatuated, its whole attachment will be to the body; and, when attached to the body, it will be shorn of its excellence. When however, it becomes strong in opposition to the body, and flies from the lustful passions, it (then) becomes wise; and, when it has become wise, it turns away its face from a participation in mortality, and forthwith gives up itself to the knowledge which is pure, and, in a small degree, withdraws itself from the stimulating nature of the body. When moreover, it is powerful with respect to the riches which are its own, it (then) happily becomes more abundantly enlightened, directed, and stirred up. Then too, will it partake in knowledge, wisdom, and every sort of excellence, when it has ceased to countenance the motions of the bodily passions. And, so long as it counts upon (this) ex-

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* Similar reasoning will be found in the Phaedo of Plato, Edit. Lond. p. 170; and in Plutarch de consolat. ad Apollonium. (p. 107. seq. Edit. 1620) beginning with, εἴγε μὲν ἀποδημίᾳ προσέωκεν ὁ θάνατος, οὐδ' οὐτως ἐστὶ κακῶν. μὴ πατε δὲ καὶ τούναστίου, ἀγαθόν, κ.ν.λ.
cellence, it deigns not to draw near with the eyes of the body; nor will it act by any other of its senses. When moreover, it (thus) vigorously shuts itself up, carries itself within, and withdraws to a distance from the things which affect the senses, and are visible; and (when) near only to the body, still turns with the eye of the soul to another quarter, and is itself united with itself; then again, will it avail itself of the mind that is enlightened, and of the recollection which is pure; and will put forth, and nourish for itself, the reason which is imperturbed: and (thus) will every reasoning power exert itself without controul. But, should any of the things which are hurtful suddenly happen to the body, so that a mote should injure the sight of the eyes¹; immediately would the sight of the soul be disturbed; and, should remissness be given to the body, and the soul partake in the drunkenness, gluttony, lusts, and the rest of its pleasures; (thus) reduced in itself to vice—the corruptible body too domineering over it like a wild and fierce beast, and itself remaining below (as it were) in the depths,—will be filled with error, folly, and every sort of infatuation. What necessity then is there, that we should fear death, which is (only) the determination of the freedom of the soul from the body²? And, for What (purpose) is the laying down of that which is faulty? Is it not for receiving the aid of that, which is more excellent? and, that we should confess the lives of those who loved God, then to be in truth, holy and happy, when nothing of an adverse nature shall controul them? If then, while this rational nature continues in this locality,—and resides in this vessel (as it were) on the earth, cloathed with a dense and earthly body, not unlike some earthen³ vessel,

¹ Alluding to Matt. vii. 3, 4, 5: and meaning apparently that, should light be impeded by any means from passing through the natural inlets to the soul, so far must the soul remain unenlightened, and in intellectual darkness.


³ "Μηδεὶς φοβεῖται θάνατον ἀπόλυτον πόροιν."
(and) wholly compressed within this its vesture,—it be such that it will mount on high in thought, will mortify the members of the body together with their lusts, by means of patience, and the restraint of the desires; will be hastened, and hastening on, to the life of those that are incorporeal; will separate and deliver itself at all times, by the precepts of wisdom from an admixture with that which is vile; and will ever delight itself beforehand (with the thoughts) that it shall soon submit to death:—if indeed (such) be, at any time, released from the bonds and agitation of wing (common to) the cares and anxieties that are here, and thus fly away in his departure, and change the place on earth, and meet with that which he loved:—how he will then be circumstanced, ask not. For, when he shall receive his body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption; his shall be a conversation which is equal to that of the Angels in heaven: in the semblance of light, and of the sun-beam, shall he be; and of the form, in which even the Angels of God live; and, as reason with probability holds, he shall partake at once in their superiority and immortality.

76. For, just as the form (assigned) to the seed which falls upon the earth, is given for many: the Word, which is called the seed, now secretly exerting itself within the same seed, but silently after the manner of a spark confined within some dense body;—and (as) this same seed, when it shall fall to the earth, and its dense clothing which encircles

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* Much to the same effect Plato, Phædo. Edit. Lond. p. 178. seq. So also Clemens Alexander. (Strom. Lib. v. p. 746).) "ο δὲ, καὶ μετ "ἀγγέλων ἔχεις, ὅτι ἂν ἔγνη καὶ ἱσάγησας, ώσκε ἐξω ποτὲ τῆς "ἀγίας φροιδᾶ γίνεται, κἂν μόνος εἶχες, τῶν τῶν ἁγίων χρῶν "ἀποκολοθίας ἔχει." "Quinetiam precatur cum Angelis, ut qui jam "sit etiam equalis Angeli, neque est unquam extra sanctam custodiam, "et licet ore solus, habet chorum Angelorum una assistentem."

* Syr. [Ἄριστος]. Castell, among other things, gives "Causa." But, as our Author considers Christ, or the Word, the efficient cause of this property in seeds, plants, and the like, as well as of the reason implanted in man; I have accordingly given the Word, in translating it, in order to preserve this notion. See also Book iv. §. 29. where this argument is again touched upon.
it from without shall dissolve through corruption;—then will it shew itself to be lively (vigorous), put in motion the power that is vested within it, and take of the material which is beneath it: then too will it begin to act, and assume its lively (energetic) nature: its old dense clothing, which is without, will it also cast off, and put on the new, which is greatly its superior;—

77. So also is the nature of the rational faculty, which is in man, (circumstanced), that it is now bound up in a corruptible body, and of its own power acts but feebly. But, should it be freed from the corruption which surrounds it, and receive (as a possession) the locality which is in heaven, and henceforth be sown and planted (as it were) in the society which (is far) beyond it, and be fitted for the clothing of heaven and of the Angels;—of what sort it shall be, when it shall partake of the life that is pure, and shall be freed from a participation in mortality, it is neither becoming in me, nor necessary for me, to say: for this will be obvious to all who can see, from the example (given). For the whole of the wheat (seed) is not subject to corruption: it is only the part that is without which perishes, when it falls to the earth: while that concealed word and living power which is within it, lives and remains; and the excellence which is of this is such, that it will give forth vigorous corn-ears. Of plants too, the same is the Word (invigorating cause), and so it is with every sort of seed. And, Shall man alone be wholly and in every thing subject to corruption, when released by death? And, Shall the clothing which is without, at once and together with that Word which resides within him, cede to corruption? And, as to the knowledge which is incorporeal,—that which partakes in all these powers; that, which on account of its superiority, is likened to God himself;—Shall it not be (considered) even as one of those seeds which fall to the earth? or rather greatly (their) superior? for it is not the beard, nor yet the blade, but those mature and fat corn-ears of his superiority, which he shall give forth. Then, when he shall be taken away

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1 It was one of the errors of Tatian, that he believed the soul partook of the matter of the body: Orat. contra Graecos, p. 169. B. seq. Edit.
from the corruption which is of the earth, and shall have been delivered as from bonds, and shall not imprudently have bartered the conversation which is in heaven, for that on the earth; and, when he shall be at the side of God; (then) shall he in truth render as the Angels do, the fruits which are acceptable to God: those (I say), the seed and power of which he possessed from ancient times in a mortal body, and contained as it were in an oven².

78. All these things having been said for the purpose of shewing, that the essence which is in man is intelligent and rational; let us now proceed in our discourse to those consequent upon them. Had man then, brought up as he is in the conversation that is on earth, (but) known his own greatness, and continued careful of the teaching which is of God; there could have no impediment happened to him, that when taken hence, he should not delight himself in a conversation like that of the Angels, and take part in the life which is in the kingdom of his Father who is in heaven. But, because it is not one man, nor two, nor is the multitude small;—on the contrary, it is the whole rational family on earth which has received the power to govern self—(and) because his nature, which has received the seed of the kingdom from the Divine Word the King, is free²; (nevertheless) he has not well availed himself of his power; but has, by means of the subsidiary arts, laboured in all vain glory,

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² Syr. [ΜΟΔΩ]. Ovens in the East are not unlike large stone jars, as may be seen in Mr. Taylor’s Fragments to his Edition of Calmet’s Dictionary, No. cix. Plate 38. fig. 5. Edit. 1833. The allusion, made to the spark of fire, in the last section, is perhaps intended to be kept up here, with the notion of a silent process going on, as in baking any thing in an oven.

after those other things, which impel men to the bodily desires, and are advantageous to life; has become skilful in agriculture, in the building of ships, in merchandise, and in the purchasing of possessions: nor (this) only, but he has also become great from every quarter, in the abundant increase of the wealth which puts forth no zeal against any kind of lust. All these things however, which conduces to the salvation of the soul, and to that life of righteousness which is well-pleasing to God; all these, (I say,) has he annihilated in his mind from their very roots; has disregarded his own excellency, and that of the race of his brethren who are in heaven, and has honoured, through the freedom of his will, those abominable bodily lusts, more than (this) his own greatness: of the righteousness of his Father who is in heaven, and of His praise, he has also been unmindful. These irrational itchings and delusions of childhood has he chosen: these which the fools of childhood usually do, who fly from the instruction and careful training of those who would enlarge their minds; extravagantly to honour the things which are sweet for the present, but which corrupt at once both the body and soul; and to hunt out for themselves the error and foolish knowledge of that voluptuousness, which is too vain to be conceived. All mankind being then, thus (circumstanced), the Increment of wickedness, that envious (being), the hater of every good, and deceiver as to every thing lovely, in conjunction with the wicked Demons, became their waylayer: this same, in his wicked zeal, prepared the nets, and snares, and riches,—the abundant means of every sort (of sin)—against the salvation of all; and so drove them down from above into the depths of evil, that none on earth could see, but transgressed the law of their nature: and (thus), the germ of wickedness, instead of the seed of excellence, sprung up within them; and he that was more peaceful, more wise, and more rational, than all that were on the earth, so fell into the last stage of brutality and irrationality, that one of those beloved of God

1 Syr. עָשָׂר, which is ambiguous, and might also mean, *has honoured out of his greatness*: i.e. by means of his greatness, wealth, influence, or the like.
wept over this overthrow of their fall, and cried out saying; "Man understood not his own honour; but was given up to be as the brute", and became assimilated to it."

79. On these accounts therefore, a mighty Saviour, greater than any son of man, was evidently needful to them. And such is He who anxiously undertook to provide for all, the Word of God: He who has, like a good and loving Father, shewn by deeds His providential care over the rational souls that are on the earth; and who hastened, in the mission of Himself, to the call, and for the healing, of those who were thus fallen and perishing.

* Ps. xlix. 21. according to the Peschito, except that we have הָדַק, instead of לֹא: but differing slightly from the Septuagint, as it also does from the sense of the Hebrew.

The End of the First Discussion (Book) of (Eusebius) of Caesarea.
BOOK II.

THE SECOND BOOK AGAINST THE PHILOSOPHERS.

1. The human race, O my friends, stood (thus) in need of God the Saviour: and God alone was the helper, who could give abundance to those who had suffered loss, and life to them who had become subject to death. The advent therefore of God, and the divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all;—of him who arose (as the sun) upon mankind was necessary, because all that was upon the earth, had, through the insanity (inculcating) a plurality of gods, and the envy and solicitation of demons, become corrupted to the last stage of vice, and (immersed) in the depth of ungodly error.

2. But again, that the cause of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all among men, might the better be known, let us first of all speak on the great fall of the human race, on their lawless wickedness and iniquity: and then let us pass on to the hidden mysteries of the doctrine of this divine Revelation.

3. For, it was not as some disease which (lay) on man, and was mighty as opposed to every other; but it was, that the evil ¹ Demon so led, and ruled over, the whole human race, like a pestilence that is mortal, (and) far surpassing every thing that is (generally) evil and hateful, that he drove him who was more peaceful than any other being, to the last stage of brutality; and him who was rational, to that of being the most irrational of all. Hence² it was that men, in the blindness of their souls, recognized not the God who is over

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¹ This, according to our author, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ix. is the person spoken of, Is. xiv. 12. That the king of Babylon is here primarily meant, there can be no doubt: but whether the "common enemy" of man is secondarily, may be matter of debate.

² We now come again to certain passages in the Orat. de laudd. Constantini, identical with some in this work. Cap. xiii. pp. 531, D. 532, &c. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x.
all; The Cause and Maker of all; The Reverend Name of
that nature of the Only (Begotten) which had no beginning, Him who was before all, The Word of God; The
Father of the essence which is intelligent and rational;
Him who rules both in heaven and earth; Him who is at
all times present to this world, and is in it, and is the (efficient) Cause of every good to all; That providential care;
That Saviour; That Upholder; That Giver of rain, and
Dispenser of light, and Prince of life; That Creator of this
whole (they recognised not, I say), but gave that Reverend
Name to the Sun, the Moon, the very Heavens, and the
stars; nor did they confine themselves to these—

4. But also, to matter warm and cold, wet and dry,
to the very waters, the earth, the air and fire;—things
which we perceive with our eyes, have neither soul nor
reason;—and to the rest of the (constituent) portions of the
world, they likewise gave the names of Neptune, Vulcan,
Jupiter, Juno, and of others, and honoured them with the
title of god: nor did they confine themselves to these,—

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{* It must, I think, be sufficiently certain from this place, that Eu-
sebius was no Arian. A passage, similarly strong, is to be found in his
Orat. de laud. Constantini, (cap. ii. p. mihi 501. A—D.) in these words:
"ε μέν γε τοῦ θεοῦ μονογενῆς λόγοι, τῷ αὐτῷ πατρὶ συμβασι-
λευν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τελευτήτων αἰώνων ἐκ ἀπειροῦ καὶ ἀληθευ-
τήτων αἰώνων.

"Et illre quidem unigenitus Dei Sermo, a seculis principio carentibus,
ad infinita usque et interminata secula regnat cum Patre." See above
Book i. § 4, 30: also iii. 19, 39: iv. 8: v. 51. and, above all, Theodoti
Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. capp. xi. xii. in the latter of which a Copy of the
Nicene Creed is given, as emanating from Eusebius, and this for
the specific purpose of shewing, that he was no Arian. See also his EcoI.
Hist. Lib. i. cap. ii. also the Introduction to this Work. See also, gene-
really, the two Works of our author against Marcellus. In Lib. ii.
Eccl. Theolog. cap. xiv. he speaks, indeed, of His having a beginning,
but this is with reference to his proceeding from the Father: in other
words, his being revealed to created rational existences.

{4} This argument is admirably prosecuted in the Prep. Evang. Lib.
nn. cap. xiii. p. 117. seq. as it is also in the "Greccarum affectionum
Curatio," by Theodoret, Sermo. i. seq.

{5} Syr. Κακοθρασύνη, Gr. Παθεία.

{6} Syr. μαλακία, Gr. "Ηφαίστος.

{7} Syr. ἦλιος, Gr. Ζεύς.

{8} Syr. Ἁρώ, Gr. "Ηρά.
5. But, they also made Gods of the earthy nature of the fruits of the earth, and of the provisions intended for the bodies of every kind (of animal, and named them) 1 Ceres, 2 Proserpine, 3 Bacchus: and, of other things allied to these, they made Idols: nor did they confine themselves to these. 4—

6. But, they hesitated not to call the cogitative faculty of their minds, and their reason, which is the interpreter of these, also Gods. Their faculty of thought they named 5 Minerva, and their speech 6 Mercury. The powers inventive of moral doctrines, they called 7 Memory, and the 8 Muses: nor did they confine themselves to these things,—

7. But, increasing in manifold impiety and the excess of wickedness, they made themselves Gods of their own passions; which it was becoming they should have put away, and have cured by the effort of pure reason:—of their lust, their baser infirmities and passions; of their grosser members also fitted for corrupt acts, and of the different parts of the body. And again 9, the appetency to the intemperate

1 Syr. [Δημητρα], Gr. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑ, Demeter, or Ceres. Diod. Sicul. Lib. i. xii. Γῆ μήτηρ, πάντων Δημήτρια πλούτοθείρα. See the Note, Ed. Wesseling.

2 Syr. [Κόρη], Gr. Κόρη, Proserpine, the daughter of Jupiter and Ceres. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. xiii. p. 119. D. et seq.

3 Syr. [Βακχος], Gr. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ, Bacchus. Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 531. D.

4 Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 531. D.

5 Syr. [Αθηνα], Gr. ΑΘΗΝΑ, Minerva. According to the Egyptians, the Air, and daughter of Jupiter. Diod. Sicul. Lib. i. cap. xii.

6 Syr. [ Hermes], Gr. ΉΡΜΗ, Mercury.

7 Syr. [Μνημοσύνη], Gr. ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ, Memory, “Monetam.”

8 Syr. [ΜΟΥΣΑΣ], Gr. ΜΟΥΣΑΣ, Muses. Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 532. A. seq. This subject is prosecuted rather more at length by Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Serm. iii. Tom. iv. p. 514. seq. where many of the expressions of our author are evidently copied. See also Clemens Alexan. Admonitio ad Gentes, p. 16. seq. Ed. 1629; and, ib. p. 19, he gives us the real history of these Muses.

9 The Gr. has, ἐνὶ τῇ, κ. τ. λ. which Valesius thinks should be καὶ ἐνὶ τῇ...ἀκράτειαν; which the Syriac supports.
lunts, they named Cupid, Priapus, Venus, and other things allied to these: nor did they confine themselves to these,—

8. But, they also prostrated themselves to that which was born of the human body, and to the life which is subject to death; they made men into Gods; and published of these, after undergoing a common mortality, that they were Gods and Demigods; imagining that the divine and immortal essence moved about the sides of graves, and among the monuments of the dead: nor did they confine themselves to these things,—

9. But, they also honoured with the Reverend name, every species of irrational animal, and noxious reptile! nor did they confine themselves to these,—

10 Syr. ἰός]. Gr. Ἑρως), Ἑρωτα, lit. Love: Cupid.
11 Syr. Πρίππος. Gr. Πρίαπος, Priapus.
12 Syr. Αφροδίτην. Gr. Ἀφροδίτην. Venus. See also, De laud. Constant. cap. vii. p. 513. B. where we have a similar recension of these Deities. Our passage, however, is found ib. cap. xiii. 532. A.
13 See also the Homilia Clementina Quinta. xxii. xxiii. seq.
14 It is not easy to say here, whether the Syriac MS. reads, διημέρισθεν, or διημερίσθεν. I suppose, the latter: according to Castell, signifying "saxetum," &c. which might have been put to signify, monumental stone, or the like. The Greek text, Orat. de laud. Constant. ib. has, "αὖμφη μνήματα καὶ τάφους." Athenagoras has some good remarks on these Deities. Legat. pro Christ. p. 73. D. and Theophilus ad Autolycum, Lib. init. it. Clemens Alexander. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 37. C. who says of them; "περὶ τοῦ τάφου καὶ τοῦ μνημείου καλιδοφύμενα." See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. vii. p. 334.
15 Cicero (de Natura Deorum iii. 15, 16) has admirably depicted this state of things: "Piacem Syri venerantur: omne sere genus bestiarum Egyptii consecraverunt. Jam vero in Grecia multos habent ex hominibus Deos; Alabandum Alabandi; Tenedii Tenem; Leucotheam, quae fuit Ino, et ejus Palemonem filium, cuncta Graecia; Herculem, Æsculapium, Tyndaridas; Romulum nostri, alienaque complures, quos, quasi novos et ascriptitos cives, in caelestis receptos putant...Hec igitur indocet. Quid vos philosophi? qui meliora?...Quare igitur plures adjungimus Deos? quanta autem est illorum multitudo?...singulas enim stellas numeras Deos; eosque aut belluarum nomine appellas, ut Capram, ut Nepam, ut Taurum, ut Dionem; aut rerum inanimatarum,
10. But, they also cut down trees, and hewed the rocks: the metals too of the earth, brass, iron, and other matter, they sought out, and formed into the appearances of women, forms of men, and into the likenesses of wild beasts, and of reptiles; and to these again they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,—

11. But, they also ministered, by means of libations and the fumes of sacrifices, to the evil demons which had insinuated themselves into these same images, which had been set up in the innermost recesses of darkness; and to them they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,—

12. But, they also drew over to themselves, by means of the ties of those who used abominable incantations, by

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ut Argo, ut Aram, ut Coronam. Sed, ut hæc concedantur, reliqua qui tandem non modo concedi, sed omnino intelligi possunt? Cum fruges, Cererem; vinum, Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis, utimur usitato: sed er quem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum credat esse?

1 Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B. See also Clemens Alexandr. Admonitio ad Gentes, p. 34. seq.


2 The Greek has (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. C.) instead of this: "καὶ τὸ θύσιν τιμᾶς περιτεθεῖσάν. Cultumque posthac ipse exhibuerunt."

3 So Tertullian, Eccles. Hist. of the second and third centuries, by the Bishop of Bristol, Cambridge, 1826, p. 216. An Image among Idolaters is nothing, until consecrated and a Deity supposed to reside within it. They are then considered as Temples. (Ἰεραί, Pocock. spec. Hist. Arab. pp. 91, 144, seq.) or Chapels of the Deity. From the following passage of Lactantius (Lib. ii. cap. xviii. p. 163,) it is obvious, that Images could not have had place in the Church:..."non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubique simulacrum est. Nam si religio ex divinis rebus est; divini autem nihil est, nisi in celestibus rebus; carent ergo religione simulacra, quia nihil potest esse celeste in ea re, quæ fit ex terra... Quicquid enim simulatur, id falsum sit necesse est: nec potest unquam verè nomen accipere, quod veritatem fuco et imitatione mentitur.

4 See sect. 63. Book 1.—Gr. (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.) "κατὰ δήπως," which, as Valesius shews, ib. notes, p. 255, is a term applied to magical usages. See this note. See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. cap. ix. p. 271. C.
songs and other forcible and lawless enchantments, those invisible Demons⁴ and Powers which fly in the air: and again, they availed themselves of these, as abettors of the error of the deities, which they had (so) fabricated. And thus did they set up mortal men, as the Gods of others. For the Greeks honoured Bacchus, Hercules, Æsculapius, Apollo, and other men, with the names of Gods and Demigods; while the Egyptians⁶ imagined of Horus, Isis, Osiris, and again of other men such as these, that they were Gods. Nor did their wise men, who are boasted of for their excessive wisdom, and the invention of Geometry, Astrology, and Arithmetic, know or understand how to weigh or to discriminate in their minds, between the distinguishing measure of the Divine power, and that of irrational mortal nature. On this account, they hesitated not to give the name of Gods, to every frightful image of the animals; to every sort of untamed beast, and reptile; and to the fiercest animals. The Phenicians too, named Ṣ Malkuthrudun,

⁴ Lactantius (Lib. ii. cap. xiv.) says of these, that they were originally Angels sent from Heaven to protect and govern men; but, falling into lust through the temptations of Satan, they at length became his ministers: which has evidently been taken from the Jews. See the Targums on Gen. vi. 2. He further tells us, that the Grammarians say they are so called, as being ἕλπυνες, i.e. knowing. Such is, I think the

Boot (א"ע, originally Boodhi, wise) of the East, to this day.—Hesiod also makes them the guardians of men, "φίλακτες βντῶν ἀνθρώπων." (Oper. et Dies. Lib. i. 122.) This opinion prevails still in the East: and it is affirmed, that whole regions are subjected to their control, as may be seen in the Dabistan, the Hakk olyakeen (حت الطبيعة), and many other Persic and Arabic works. Lactantius tells us, a little lower down, from Hermes Trismegistus, that piety, consisting in the knowledge of the true God, was sufficient to save men from their evil influence. Porphyry tells us (Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. x. p. 197. and Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford. p. 131.) that they are all evil Demons: their Chief being Sarapis, i.e. Pluto, or Hecate; and (Prep. Evang. ib.) much the same is said by Anebo the Egyptian.

⁶ See Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x.: ii. cap. i. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. i. x—xiii. Lactant. Lib. i. cap. vii—xxv. who prosecutes this argument at much length, and gives us even the philosophical Cicero daizing his own daughter!

⁷ Syr. �⊢iative, Gr. Μελίκαρβος, the Phenician Hercules according to Sanchoniathon, Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 38. In the Orat.
Ousurun, and other mortal men more contemptible than these, Gods; while the Arabians did the same to Dusarin, and Oubadon; the Gete (Goths), to Zalmacús in: the Cilicians, to Mopsus; the Thebans, to Amphiaraus. And with others, again, others — who differed in no respect from mortals, but were in truth men only — they also honoured with the name of Gods.

Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 532. it is written Μελαθαρων. The word has been greatly deformed by the Copyists in our text. See the note of Valesius to the above place, cap. xiii. p. (notes) 255.


2) Syr. Ἰοῦςαρων, Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 533, Διοῦςαρως: the Διοῦςαρως of the Greek and Latin writers, as noted by Bochart, and, after him, by Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 106, and which he thinks is the Arabic ذَرَا دُحِشَارَا, or Bacchus. See also the note of Valesius ad cap. xiii. Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 255.


4) Syr. Ὅβιος, Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 533, Διοῦςαρως: the Διοῦςαρως of the Greek and Latin writers, as noted by Bochart, and, after him, by Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 106, and which he thinks is the Arabic ذَرَا دُحِشَارَا, or Bacchus. See also the note of Valesius ad cap. xiii. Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 255, which is full and valuable.

5) Gr. Ζάλμαξις, or Zάμολκαξ. See Vossius de Idololatria, Lib. i. cap. xxxix. Herodot. iv. 94. and Photius. The Ζάλμαξις or Zαμολκαξ of the Gete. The Syriac does not support the conjecture (παιδες) of Valesius here. In these cases, the Syriac Translators seems to have taken the termination of the Greek accusative case.

6) Gr. Μάψχων. Ovid. Metam. viii. 350. termed Αμπυκίδης, as being the son of Αμπυκεύς. It. ib. xii. 456. 528. See also Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 533, Μάψχων, and the note of Valesius.

13. The whole of the Egyptians, therefore, at once with the Phenicians and the Greeks, (thus) availed themselves, contrary to humanity, of every mortal species, — even as the rising of the sun illuminates (all) the portions of the universe, — of the very elements, of the fruits7 which grow out of the earth, even of their own passions8; and again, even of the madness of demons, and (other) delusions; and before these, of mortal men9! Nor did they set up, during their lifetimes, the doctrine which is excellent; nor did they point out to men, the instruction which attends purity of life; nor did they shew forth the requirements of (true) philosophy, or discover the practices favourable to this: nor did they leave behind themselves any disciples of their superiority, or deliver either precepts or writings conducing to happiness of life10. On the contrary, they busied themselves with women, and the baser lusts; and, as it happened,—I know not by what error of the participation in the deeds of Demons, — they named (these) Gods and Demigods, and honoured (them) with sacrifices, and services (connected) with the error of enchanters! They also built Fanes and Temples (to these) both in the cities and villages: but Him who alone is beyond the universe, the Word of God in verity, the King of all, and Maker of all, they set at nought!

7 The Greek text, Orat. de laudd. Constant. is defective here, as Valesius has properly remarked, and as some of the MSS. have intimated by inserting the word "λειτερευτο" (p. 533. and 265 notes).
8 "Quod si ita est, Culi quoque parentes Dii habendi sunt, ΑEther, et Dies, corumque fratres et sorores, qui a genealogis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor, Dolor, Metus, Labor, Invidia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebrae, Miseria, Querela, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parce, Hesperides, Somnia; quos omnes Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt. Aut hæc monstra probanda sunt, aut prima illa tollenda." Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 17.
10 "Jam vero quid vos illa delectat explicatio fabularum, et endosatio nominum? exsectum a filio Coelum, vincetum itidem a filio Saturnum? &c. Cic. ib. iii. 24. From passages of this sort, occurring in the profane authors, it should seem, that the best informed of those times were growing weary of the follies of heathenism. Nevertheless they adhered to these errors, and even defended them: for which Lactanius, very properly castigates them, and Cicero in particular, Lib. ii. ii.
These same multiplied all this, in the madness and corruption of (their) mind, to such an extent, that they forthwith called any men, with whom they happened to meet, Gods; and immediately attached themselves to these same passions of mortals! And to these did they ascribe lawless adulteries, abominable deeds, and perverse lives and deaths. Nor did these things come from others, so that they could say these were their calumniators; but they themselves are the witnesses of these things, confessing the error, the sorrows, the deaths; and prior to these, the adulteries, the corruptions, of men (with men), and the rapes of women\(^1\). Nevertheless, they filled all their cities, villages, and (other) places, with the Fanes, Images, and Temples (of these)!

14. Nor\(^2\) was it this only, but also, from the speeches which they made about their Gods, they received every provision for the life which was lawless and base; and, in the first place, corrupted by every sort of abomination, at once both their souls and bodies. And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck; the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time; so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus\(^3\). Now indeed, this city\(^4\) alone

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\(^{1}\) Gr. "\(\gamma\nu\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\mu\mathrm{d}\nu\;\tau\varepsilon\;\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\iota\;\sigma\mu\alpha\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\nu\tau\varepsilon\epsilon\):" the stealing of women, which proved the cause of so many wars in ancient times. Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 533. A. B.

\(^{2}\) The Greek text of the Orat. de laud. Constant. leaves us here; but recurs to this passage, ib. p. 534. D.

\(^{3}\) The most famous instances of this sort was, perhaps, afforded by the Temple of Venus in Cyprus; to which people resorted from all quarters. A similar usage obtained among the Babylonians. Herodot. i. 199.

\(^{4}\) Syr. [\(\Delta\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\)], as if in the plural number: this, however, the context will not bear: but, as the double point (ribbi of the Syr. Gramm.) is occasionally used in this work where no plural number can be meant, I have thought it right to preserve it. This remark must suffice for all such instances.
remains in this sickly state of folly, by way of proof of these ancient vices; when, from ancient times, many thus suffered while the disease inflicted by Demons had more abundant hold.

15. Nor was it this only, but also, the very men who rejected the gods mentioned (above), preached up, by means of hymns, elegies, sacrifices, mysteries, books, and votive offerings to Idols, that Father and Leader of all the Gods, who was overcome by bodily lust, and fell in love with Ganymede; and, as it were in emulation of their Gods, they transgressed the bounds of nature, and remained in this excess, at a distance not to be described, or (received) as real into the hearing. They fearlessly abused each other, as the Divine declarations affirm: "Man with man working that which was shameful, and receiving in themselves the return of reward, which was due to their error."

16. Nor was it this alone, but they also subverted

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5 The well-known rape of Ganymede, son of Tros king of Phrygia. Ovid. Met. x. 155. shortly details the matter thus:

"Rex Superum Phrygii quondam Ganymedis amore Arsit: et inventum est aliquid, quod Jupiter esse, Quam quod erat, mallet." See also Lactantius de falsa Relig. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 34. Edit. 1698. "Illud vero summe impietatis ac sceleris, quod regium puerum rapuit ad stuprum" seq. See also Clemens Alexand., who recites several such cases. Ib. Theodoret. Grsec. affect. curat. Serm. iii. p. 520. seq. And Arnobius adversus Gentes, Lib. i. p. 165. seq. Edit. 1604.

6 Rom. i. 27. Our text differs so much from the Poschiò, as to warrant the assumption, that it was translated for the occasion. It stands thus: "[Text may be incomplete or illegible]... This place occurs in the Orat. de laud. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 535. A.

That our author has not overstated this matter, is evident from many ancient writers of the greatest respectability. The following is from Cicero, De Nat. Deorum. i. 16. "Exposui fere, non philosophorum judicia, sed delirantium somnia. Nec enim multo absurdo sunt ea, que Poétarum vocibus fusa, ipsa suavitate nocuerunt; qui et ira inflammatis et libidine furentes inducuerunt Deos, feceruntque, ut eorum bella, pugnas, proelia, vulnera, videremus; oedia præterea, aedis, discordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effusas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex immortali
the common mind of all, placing under an irrational Fate\(^1\), and natural necessity, the constitution and essence of every thing. They led too, the lives of beasts, even the life which was no life. Nor did they enquire into the essence of the soul, or think on the righteous judgments of God. The victory attendant on virtue, they never called to mind, nor again, the punishment due to a wicked life.

17. Nor was it this alone, but they also ran as herds into the midst of the theatres, old and young together; mothers with their sons and daughters; and, conformably with the doings (there), they contracted every base and intemperate disposition. Men and women too, being (thus) congregated together, became at once filled with intoxication\(^2\) (as it were) and lasciviousness! How then, could they do that which was good, when they stored not their hearing by listening to words that were pure, inculcating the fear of God? and applied not their eyes for the advantage of their souls? but (the hearing), to the instruction of sentiments that were base; and the sight, to the representation of every (sort) of lasciviousness? For, things such as these, were those which (were presented) to the sight; (and), on which whole multitudes so fixed their attention, that in them (was evinced) the maddened excitement of the stallion, the vile pleasure (felt) over those devoted by wild beasts; (the excite-

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\(^2\) Our author had, perhaps, the passage in Clemens Alexand. here in his eye. (Pedag. Lib. ii. cap. iv. init.) “άτεχνως γαρ, οἀς ἐμοὶ ἔσοι, θεάτρον μέθος το ̣ τοινώτων γίνεται συμπόσιον.” as if intoxication were considered as attending on the theatres.
ment) of grains of corn parched\(^3\) (by the fire); (or over) those killed in the lion-hunt; but not (any feeling) belonging to human beings! And again, the impudent laugh (set up) at the vilest things; the intense and foolish desire excited by the music; the lascivious shows personating women; and the loud uproar set up at the songs! For these, indeed, and such like things, were immense multitudes of the ignorant inhabitants brought together, with those who were their Princes, their Generals, and their Governoirs, and became saturated (as it were) with the corruptions which debase the soul\(^4\).

18. Nor was it this only, but they also built seminaries of the precepts of ungodliness both among the (country) people, and in the cities\(^5\). Instead of the precepts of righteousness, and those which were advantageous to the world; and, instead of the doctrine which was pure, and the love of God; they received into the memory,—through the impious babblings of the poets, in which there were

\(^3\) Syr. ἄνεα ἄνακτο; ἄνεα should perhaps, be the reading of the second word here. The meaning of our author probably is, that the excitement received at these exhibitions was not unlike that— together with the other things here mentioned,—witnessed in corn parched by a sharp fire: i.e. by having an unnatural stimulus applied, evinced an unnatural action. The whole place however, is obscure.


\(^5\) So Eph. iv. 18, 19. "Having the understanding darkened, being "alienated from the life of God...being past feeling, have given themselves "over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness." Plato seems to have held much the same opinion on these matters, see the place just pointed out. See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 39. seq.
corrupt recitations, and stories about their male and female deities,—passions filled with every thing shameful, as well as hard sufferings, differing in nothing from (those of) mortal nature; (I say), through the instruction and study of the lying writings of the Dramatists, both tragic and comic, these things, corrupting and injurious (as they were) of life, they first sowed in their own souls, and afterwards in those of the young. And accordingly, (through) the iniquity, which was the first and last of every other,—which was, at once and entirely, that of all men, of Princes and Subjects, of the Sovereigns of nations, of Lawgivers, of Armies, of the Inhabitants both of villages and cities, among both Greeks and Barbarians,—the praise which was due, and was suitable to Him alone who is King of all, they perversely gave to that which was adverse (to Him), and called the demons that had corrupted them, (their) Gods! They sang hymns moreover, to earthly and wicked spirits, to the inanimate elements, and to the sensible portions of the universe! And (thus), the companies of the rational animals which were on the earth, rendered not the praise of the officiating priest; nor, with their brethren who are in heaven, the holy Angels and Divine Spirits,—those who praise the King of all,—did they render praise, the praise (I say) which is proper for such: but, on the contrary, they sang, both in their feasts and festivals, that which was foreign to propriety, and was unsuitable, to those seducing Spirits which had led the world astray! To them too they gave the honour of worship; insomuch,

1 Such for example, as the labours of Hercules; and, in the present day, those of Buddha, Rama, &c. as abounding in the poetic fictions of the Buddhists, Hindoos, and others. Cicero was so much impressed with the absurdities put forth by the Philosophers, that he confesses, that although he is most willing to receive the truth, yet he doubts, whether it is at all to be found without much admixture of error. His words are, (De Natura Deorum, 1, 5.) "Non enim sumus ii, quibus nihil verum esse videtur, sed ii, qui omnibus veris falsa quaedam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in his nullis insit certa judicandi et assentiendi nota." Plato's opinions on those foolish and abominable stories may be seen in Gaisford's Edit. of Theodoret. Gr. affect. curst. p. 121 seq. Prep. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. vii.

2 Syr. א lf, which should, probably, be א lf.
that henceforth, the whole element of the earth, uniformly with all nations throughout the whole of creation, became nothing better than the vessel in the storm, whose entire and violent wreck in the extreme depths of perdition, is momentarily threatened!

19. Much therefore, on account of all these things, was God the Saviour and (only) helper, needed by mankind. Had some societies only been led to this state of error, the evil would indeed have been (but) small. But now, the Princes of cities, the Leaders of the nations, the Kings of countries, the Heads of territories, and the Honourable of the nations, had at once become fully, and completely, diseased in this same error of Demons, and of a plurality of Gods. And behold! again, even those,—who boasted themselves among the Greeks of (their) philosophy, and made the profession, that in them was knowledge superior to any that was in the many; were pompous in the streets, swelling with pride, and casting their mantles loosely about them; had wandered in the great and wide earth; had freely taken from other nations this magnificence of doctrine about things; from this place, geometry; from another quarter, arithmetic; and again from another place, music, the art of healing, and those other things, which have their being in rational experiment: for, these things, and others like them, they

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3 The Syriac term used here, (مهد.) I have not been able to find in any Syriac dictionary or writer. From the context it should signify something like the preceding, هدء, leaders, governors, or the like. If it is a compound however, it may have been formed of هء, parts, sorts, &c. and نم, which Castell renders, "pandus" 255 librarium, and cites Bar Bahlul as his authority. The Arab. نم signifies the same thing. And, as words signifying weight, as weight, gravity, grave, and the like, are often used to intimate respect: I have thought it likely, that something of this sort must be the sense here.

got together from every place:—these fell (nevertheless), into a deadly and ungodly state of mind! By the mere discovery of persuasive words moreover, some of these set it up,—as if they would make no experiments even after the truth,—that indivisible bodies (atoms), having no extent, or having projecting parts, and infinite, were, forsooth, the origin of all things! These same too, determined *Rest to be the extreme good: that which is, and


1 So Epicurus after Democritus, according to Plutarch (de Placit. Philosop. p. 677. See also their lives in Diog. Lærtius.) Atoms are, in our work, termed ἄτομα, bodies that cannot be cut: i.e. indivisible. So called, according to Plutarch, εἰρήται ἄτομοι, όντα ὡσιόν ἐλαχίστη, ἀλλ' ὡσιν οὐ δύναται τρηθῆναι i.e. It is termed atom, not because it is very small, but because it cannot be cut, or divided. The Syrian translator has availed himself of this, and adopted it accordingly. These atoms had, according to Democritus, figure and magnitude; to which Epicurus added weight; without which, as he thought, they could not gravitate. They were supposed too, to be various in form, round, oval, angular, hooked, &c. &c. (See Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos. p. 1263. Tom. ii.): which, I suppose, our author intimates when he says, "without extent, or, having projecting parts," &c. Syr. κύκλου ἄτομον ἄτομον, Matter similar to this will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. viii. And the whole passage from Plutarch, ib. Lib. xiv. cap. xiv. p. 749. A. seq. which see.

2 So also Numenius, Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxii. "Ἐνθα τού Αγαθοῦ ἡθη, διατριβαι τε καὶ ἀγλαία, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐν εἰρήνη, ἐν εὐμενείᾳ, κ. τ. λ. Plutarch ascribes the notion about Rest, to Archidamus, (Laconica Apophthegmata, p. 218. seq. Tom. ii. Edit. 1620) in these words: Καλὸν ἡμνήσια: i.e. Rest is good. Again, (ib. Com. repugnant Stoic. p. 1033), he speaks of this sentiment as praised by Hieronymus and Epicurus (see § 50 below), and blames the Philosophers for adopting it, while they recommended an active life. His words are: "ὡς Ἑπίκουρος ἡσυχίαν ἐκαίνει καὶ ἑρούμενος." And so Diogenes Lærtius in his life of Democritus: "τέλος δὲ εἶναι τὴν εὐθυμίαν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν τῇ ἰδιῷ, (οὐ ἐν ὑπόκοσταις εξεδίδωστο) ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑν ταλανταὶ καὶ αὐσταθώς ἡ ψυχή διάγει, ὑπὸ μυθενὸς ταρατ-
evidently (so), a greater corruption than all the (other) vices. For, What could be more worthy of honour than Rest, with those who laid it down, that there is in this something which exists, neither Providence, nor God, nor soul that is immortal, nor intelligent essence, nor θάνατος or God which is above all, nor (yet) beginning, nor end? and, that the things alone that are irrational and inanimate, which are indivisible and subtle bodies (atoms), and fall not, on account of their excessive smallness, under the (observation of the) senses;—that they should pre-determine these very things, which are inanimate, irrational, as being without beginning, ungenerated, and in their multitude infinite, and as having, from times not to be comprehended, been dispersed just as it has happened?—still, things being thus, have affirmed, that these were the cause of this universal order; and, that there was neither God, nor Providence, nor Reason which viewed, or which governed, the whole? But, even if there were, that He would not possess the being of any one thing; neither would He give it to others! And, as my judgment is, the "Rest" which was (so) lovely to them, and which they also attributed to God Himself,—just as the doings

τομέη φάβοιο, ἡ δεισιδαιμονίας, ἡ ἄλλον τινὸς πάθους. καλεῖ ὁ αὐτήν καὶ εὐεστώ, καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις όνόμασι." "Finem vero esse rectum, quietumque animi statum, quum εὐθυμίᾳ vocat, qui, ut quidam obliquè interpretantur, non idem sit quod voluptas, verum secundum quam animus magna tranquillitate constantiâque beátus est, dum nullo metu, nullâ superstitione, aut alia quavis perturbatione agitatur. Eodem vero et Eὐεστῶ appellat, a bonitate constanti, multisque nominibus aliis." It should seem also, that he wrote two books on this subject, one entitled, "De sedatione Animi," and the other, "Euenio." See ib. This probably was the origin of the Epicurean tenet, of Pleasure being the chief good. See also Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. i. p. 1177. seq. it. 1299; where we are told, that the pleasure of rest was the Epicurean tenet: that of motion, the Cyrenaic: and, that Epicurus has been greatly wronged, by having been thought a sensualist.

* Which is but an echo of (Diog. Laërt. life of Epicurus), "οὐτε αὐτῷ πράγματα ἐχεῖ, οὐτε ἀλλῷ παρέχει." Syr. σὺ τὸ ὤνειδὲ τὸ ἐπὶ ὅπερ ὁ πόλεμος.

4 And so the Hindoos of the present day. Lactantius enters fully, and eloquently on this subject, Lib. i. cap. ii. de falsa religione.
of those were who arose as Philosophers of the school of Epicurus and Democritus, and as was the whole traditionary (doctrine) of those amongst the Greeks,—was that of (this) life. And, being thus eminent, they approached the multitudes; at one time, walking to the temples with the inhabitants (generally); at another, shewing themselves to be those who feared the Gods; because of the fear of punishment (otherwise to be expected) from the law¹. But such were these, who contended for Rest (as the extreme good).

20. Others too, fixed the limits of Providence as far off as the moon²; the company of those too, who were of the school of Aristotle, excluded it from every other portion of the world: which same also, determined the extreme good to be, neither Virtue, nor Philosophy, unless indeed, it happened to be attended by wealth of possession³, abundance of gold and of silver, Family, and and the glory which takes with the many! And, What could hinder such from boasting themselves in these things? —men, who had shut up, as with bolts and doors at the distance of the moon, the Providence which is over all? or, that they should affirm, that the intelligent and

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¹ Such, according to Plutarch, was Euripides the tragic Poet; not daring openly to profess his notions, through fear of the Areopagus. De Placit. Philos. p. 880. Vol. ii.


³ Plato, as cited by Laërtius, (Lib. iii. segm. 78) makes health, strength, the integrity of the senses, wealth, family, glory, &c. necessary to happiness; but he does not exclude virtue. So also Aristotle, according to Tatian. Orat. contra Graecos. init.
rational soul⁴ which is in man, is mortal; and, that it is nothing, but even as the body, or as its colour, or its form? They usually term it moreover, Entelechia⁵. Nor did they, by any means, place in apposition with the chief good, either the life of Philosophy, or the superiority of rule: on the contrary, they lapsed into the things of accident, riches, greatness, and family: (affirming), that with these existed the superiority that was worthy of reason; and that, without these things, it was nothing⁶! Nor had the wise man any thing superior, unless he were also rich: nor had he, who was careful about purity of life, any thing good about him, unless he were a person of family! nor, would justice itself, or the complete

⁴ The opinions of the Ancients on the soul, are given at length in Aristotle’s work, “De anima,” Lib. i. cap. ii.


beauty of virtue in the person of any one, be sufficient for the life of happiness, unless he happened to have a complete symmetry of bodily limbs! These men then, considered these things as being apart, in a place (removed) from the things pertaining to men, (and) higher than the moon: that a Godhead existed; but affirmed, that the providence of God looked not to the things on earth. Nor did they recognize the common Saviour of all, the Word of God, the Preserver of all things; but drew near for the purpose of reverencing those Deities, that were in certain places, and in the cities: professing themselves to be wise in some things, with those who knew them; but performing others in their deeds. In their writings and common conversation, they made the oaths of their Gods: but, in their minds, no such thing existed. On the contrary, they submitted to this for the sake of the applause of the many. So that hence these same were Demons, rather than men, (and) to be despised by every sort of sound Philosophy.

21. Others also, besides these who boasted themselves (as being) the best of Philosophers, dared with ungodly


2 Again, speaking of the Demonology of Aristotle, he says (ib. p. 831.) "Quibus (i.e. demonibus) an preces et sacrificia offerenda sint...cantus non explicuit; verisimile tamen, Aristotelem ea inter istas fabulas, ad populum deliniendum...ex cogitatas, retulisse." Athenagoras charges him with believing, that the one God consisted both of soul and body; and that this body was ethereal, or consisted of the Ether. Legat. pro. Christ. p. 54.
mouth to affirm, that God is a body; and, that His nature differs in no respect from fire. And this is the extreme error of the Stoics⁸, who say of this sensible world, that it is God: and (so) set up a doctrine, which is impious and all-corrupting. For (they affirm), that the operative Cause, and the passiveness⁴ of matter, are of one and the same essence; and, that the maker and the made, are both bodies: and also, that the King of all, God who is above all, differs in nothing from sensible fire; but, that he mixes Himself up at once, with every thing,—just as fire does in (its) progress,—at the appointed times. But⁸ great is the

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⁴ Syr. ἄνοσία, which Castell renders by, "cura, sedulitas." The context here requires however, that this word take its sense immediately from the root ἄνοσία, "passus est;" and, that it mean passiveness, possibility, or passivity. Upon looking into Bar Bahlul, I find that he translates it by the Arabic بالثأ, which is just what our context requires. I wonder how Castell could have made this mistake. The doctrine here had in view, is thus stated by Aristocles (Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xiv.) "Στοιχεῖον εἶναι φασι τῶν ὀντῶν τὸ πῦρ, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος, τούτον ὡς ἀρχαῖ υλή καὶ Θεόν, ὡς Πλάτων. ἀλλ' οὔτοι ἀμφοτέρα σώματα φασι εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν, καὶ τὸ πάσχον, ἐκεῖνον πρῶτον ποίον ἀντίον ἀσώματον εἶναι λέγοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τινα εἰμαρμένου καὶ ἐφημενον χρόνου, ἐκπυρώθη τὸν σώματα κόσμουν, εἰτ' αὐθεν πάλιν διακοσμεῖσθαι." κ.τ.λ. They say that fire is an element of things,—just as Heraclitus did—and that of this (element) the originators were Matter and God,—as Plato had.—But these say, that both are bodies, both the doing and the suffering: while he affirmed, that the first was the active and unembodied cause. They also say, that, after certain defined and fatally appointed periods, the whole world shall be burned, and again be set in beautiful order, &c.—It is added, (ib.) that this fire contains within it, as seed, the properties and causes of all things, past, present, and future. See also, ib. capp. xv. xvi.

⁸ The Syriac has here, ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܒܝillac, which is rather obscure: the latter phrase evidently means, in times destined for this conflagration.
sin (to affirm), that God is subject to change; and again, to combustion! This therefore, is the doctrine of the Stoic Philosophers, that all being, even the whole world, shall in time be mixed up with God¹ in fire: and, (that) the whole shall effect a change, as in seed; and, that out of this, universal order shall again be produced, just as it was at the first²: and that all these are Gods, as are all the portions of the world; and, because the whole consists of all its parts, the entire universe itself wholly constitutes the Deity³! These same again affirm, that this intelligent and reasonable soul which is in man, is corruptible, just as it is corporeal. What then, could hinder such from daring to speak against God, the King of all? or again, from determining, that these souls (consist) of matter, and body? and, that they are nothing else but the dense smoke, and fumes of bodies⁴? and again, that after the close of life, they

¹ So Porphyry, (as cited ib. cap. xvi.) God, they say, is a sort of intelligent fire, which will consume, and pervade all things, &c. which he condemns as utter folly. See also Spencer's note on Origen contra Cels. Lib. i. p. 6. lin. 62.

² Syr. صمصم, must here mean, from eternity: as this was the opinion of the Stoics. The same sentiment is given, Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xiv. p. 817. A: xx. C. D.

³ So Arius Didymus (as cited Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xv.) "Оλον δὲ τὸν κόσμον σύν τούτῳ ξανατόροπον: Θεών τούτων δὲ ἐνα μόνον εἶναι φασι πεπερασμένον, καὶ ξών, καὶ αἴδων, καὶ Θεών. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ πάντα περιέχεσθαι τὰ σώματα, κενοὶ δὲ μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἐν αὐτῷ...κόσμον αἴδων εἶναι καὶ Θεών. They term the whole world, with its parts, God. This, they say, is one absolute, living, and eternal being, and God: that, in this all bodies are contained, and that no void (vacuum) exists in him...that the world is eternal, and is God,—He goes on to say, that with respect to order, &c. it is begotten, and, as to the infinite periods of time through which it has passed, or is to pass, it is subject to change; and may be considered as a sort of mansion for Gods and men: or as a city of which the Gods are the governors; men the governed.

⁴ Cleanthes affirmed that Zeno, with Heraclitus and others, placed the nature of the soul in sense, or vapour. Κλέανθης μὲν...φησιν ὅτι Ζήνων ἡ νεφελὴ λέγει αἰσθησιν, ἢ ἀναθυμίαν, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος. And again, Souls arise as vapour from things humid. καὶ ἦ να τῶν ἐναθυμίους τῶν γέρων ἀναθυμίαν. Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xx. D. See the whole of the article, with the refutation from Longinus, ib. cap. xxii.
shall continue, during the times destined for them? and (this) not of all, but only of the souls of the Philosophers? and, that at last, with the general conflagration, these also shall burn together with God, and the whole universe? and, that at the same time, the souls of the wicked and of the just shall be dissolved; the things also of the just, together with those of the atheists, shall be fused, as it were, by one and the same fire? and again, that the worlds shall be reborn from this consumption of universal fire, differing in nothing, but in every thing, similar to the former; so that again, as from a beginning⁶, these (worlds) shall in those be reproduced; as shall this same traditionary (life). Modes of life again, such as shall in all respects be similar, and not differing: the same fashions too, customs, regulations, and passions, shall exist within these. In the same manner also, the same sorrows, honours, recreations, oppressions, shall subsist among these, and happen to the same individuals. So that Helen⁷, and the calamities of Ilium, (Troy) may again be expected: and again,

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⁶ The soul, they say, is both generative and perishable; but is not dissolved with the body, but remains of itself for some time: but the souls of the studious will endure till the general conflagration; while those of the ignorant will endure only for a certain period of time. "Τὴν δὲ ἐν λόγῳ τε καὶ φθοράς τῆς δύναμις· οὔκ εὖθυν δὲ τῶν σώματος ἀπελλαγέων φθείρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένει τῶν χρόνων καθ' ἐαυτὴν. τὴν μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων, μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀφόνων, πρὸς ποτὲν τίνας χρόνον." Ib. cap. xx. p. 822. B.C. It is added, that the souls of the ignorant, as well as those of the irrational animals, will perish with their bodies. The xxii. Chapter, ib. contains a long and valuable article on these matters from Plotinus.—See also Theod. Græc. affect. Curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 196. seq.

⁷ There can be no doubt, I think, that this notion, about an universal conflagration, was originally taken from the Bible, and misapplied both by heathens and believers. The first passage occurs in Deut. xxxii. 22–24.; the last, 2 Peter iii. 7, which, with all their parallels, cannot by any legitimate interpretation extend to any thing beyond the fall of Jerusalem, and of heathen Rome. In like manner, we have a sort of Millennium and of Antichrist, common to both Mohammedans and Christians, and misapplied by both.

Anytsus¹, and Melitus, and the deadly poison of Socrates: again too, the contentions of the Philosophers themselves: the same divisions on the same subjects; and, at last again, shall the whole be consumed by fire; and again, after it has been burnt, again shall it be restored anew: and again shall consist of the same reducible materials². And indeed these, adhered thus violently to their error!

22. The descendants however, of the Philosophers, who were named the “primitive (students of) Physics”³, (and) who preceded all (others), laid the origin of all upon the inanimate Elements, and recognized neither God, nor Providence, nor Creator, nor Maker of any thing; but vainly, emptily and falsely, arrogated to themselves the name and show of Philosophers: some of them affirming the earth, and dry substance, to be the origin of all; others the ocean⁴, the Parent of all; for thus they named the humid substance and waters: others, fire⁵; others, the

¹ Syr. Ἀληθος ὁ Μελίτως. Anytsus and Melitus. Two persons who were particularly unfriendly to Socrates, and at length brought about his condemnation. See Plato’s Apology for Socrates, and Diogenes Laërtius n. 38: Tatian. Orat. contra Graecos, near the beginning; and Origen contra Cels. Lib. iv. p. 208. seq.

² On this general conflagration, see the Prep. Evang. ib. capp. xviii. xix. p. 820. In the former, Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, are said to have been the most ancient teachers of this doctrine.

³ Syr. Ἀληθος ὁ Μελίτως. Among these Thales the Milesian, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Leucippos, Heraclitus, Epicurus, and others. The person, who according to Brucker was peculiarly styled “Physicus,” was Strato of Lampseca, the successor of Theophrastus in the Lyceum. (Vol. i. p. 845. See ib. p. 458. seq.)

⁴ Syr. Ἀληθος ὁ Μελίτως. So Thales, Brucker, &c. ib. p. 455. seq. So the Brahmins of India of the present, and former times. Which is probably nothing more than the Chaos of the Bible. According to Brucker however, it is very doubtful whether Thales was atheistic, grounding this on the requirements of the emanation system. He got his philosophy in Egypt, according to Plutarch; but see the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xiv. the various opinions of this subject, as cited from Plutarch, and followed by the comment of our author.

⁵ This was the opinion of Heraclitus, and Hippasus, who added, that as fire was the origin of all, so should it be the destruction. Anaximander too, according to Plutarch (de Placit. Philos.) affirmed that God was a globe of fire.
air; and others, a compound of these. They also introduced many male, as they likewise did, female Deities. Marriage too, and the bringing forth of children, they perverted by natural metaphors, and the specious diction of the fictitious stories of the Poets, to the adorning of (this their) vain glory. So that these also, fell down again, as it were by perverseness, from the heights above, upon the material elements and sensible portions of the universe!

23. Others however, exclusive of these, determined the reverse of all those mentioned;—that there was nothing divine in (all) this which exists; neither God that was over all; nor the (Deities) which were in certain places, nor that superior name, nor the imposition of (plastic) hand upon matter, were things really existing: so that they proceeded to the greatest extent of impiety.

24. Plato alone, of all the Greeks, (as) it seems to me, adhered more eminently to (the true) Philosophy; and held correctly, respecting that good Being who is the First, and Cause of all; and became truly wise, respecting the Second (Cause), who is the Creator of all.

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* This was the opinion of Anaximenes, while Archelaus made both the air and infinity the origin of all things: Anaximander, infinity only. Pythagoras—the prince of Philosophers—number, and its proportions.

* Empedocles held, that the Elements of all were fire, air, earth, and water; while the Principles were, Friendship and Discord: the one uniting all things; the other disovering them. For a more particular account of these Philosophers, see Brucker, Tom. ii. Pars. ii. Lib. ii. cap. i. seq.

* In the abominations practised in most of their mysteries, as of Venus, the Eleusinian, &c. of the Phallus in Egypt, of the Fascinus of the Vestals, and of the Lingam of the Hindoos even at this day; many of which obtained among the Gnostics, and do now among the Druzes on Mount Libanus. See also Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Serm. i. p. 482.

* These were termed Atheists by the philosophers generally. See Vossius de Idololatria... Lib. i. c. 3...Brucker, Tom. i. Index Atheus. Lactan. De falsa relig. Lib. i. cap. ii. &c.

* To our author’s fondness of this philosophy, of First and Second Cause, and to the particularity with which he followed it up, may perhaps be ascribed all the bad names bestowed on him, both by the ancients and moderns. When arguing with the philosophers of his day, he would, naturally enough, seize upon those things which they appeared to hold in common with himself; and might thence be tempted also to adopt
25. He also established (it) justly and well, that the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and wholly and at once, the whole world, were made by the God of all.1

adopt their illustrations, to an extent which would prove unfavourable to himself in the end,—a mistake more frequently committed, perhaps, than most men are aware. In his Preparatio Evangelica he has I think, given good proof of this. In Book vii. ch. xi. and ib. Book xi. ch. xiii. he has shewn, that the Hebrews held, in common with Plato, the doctrine of One only supreme God. Again, Book vii. cap. xii. he gives us what he styles the Theology of the Hebrews on the Second Cause, the second Essence, the Divine power, the first subsistence, THE WORD (λόγος), the Wisdom, and the Power, of God. He then gives (cap. xiii.) the opinions of Philo Judeus on this subject, which are extremely curious; and then (cap. xiv.) those of Aristobulus on the same. Again (Book xi. ch. xiv.) we have Plato (ch. xv.), Philo, and (ch. xvi.) Plato again, and (ch. xvii.) Plotinus on Plato, (ch. xviii.) Numenius on Plato, and (ch. xix.) Ame-lius reasoning after St John, on the same subject. All of which, our author affirms, is in strict accordance with the mind of the sacred writers. And, I have no doubt, this is to a certain extent true: and, that these views originated in one common source, viz. the Sacred Scriptures. But then, several passages cited by Eusebius, have obviously been misunderstood by him, e.g. Job xxviii. 20; Ps. xxxii. 6, &c. Others have no authority, viz. Wisd. vi. 24: vii. 22: viii. 1. which are apocryphal. And again, in following out these views, (ib. Book vii. ch. xv. p. 325), he has unhappily adopted comparisons, which have brought upon him the charge of Arianism: although he has, perhaps, said nothing more than many of our own divines have, in the trite comparison, which makes the body of the Sun to represent the Father, the light issuing therefrom the Son, and the warmth the Holy Ghost. This subject will, however, be resumed in our Introduction, and entered into more particularly. This doctrine, of a Second Cause, is also to be found in Clemens. Alex. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 706. B.

1. Cicero, nevertheless, accuses him (as our author does) of the greatest inconsistency in these matters, e.g. De Nat. Deor. Lib. i. 13. 20. Ed. 1830. p. 318. "Jam de Platonis inconstantiae longum est diere....quod vero sine corpore ullo Deum vult esse, ut Graeci dicantr avdizvov.....Idem et in Timaeo dicit, et in Legibus, et Mundum Deum esse, et Celum, et Astra, et Terram, et animos, et eos quos majorum institutis acceptumus: quae et per se sunt falsa perspicuæ, et inter seve vehementer pugnantia." Of this Maker of the world, Cicero likewise takes notice; and, as it was not unlikely,—circumstanced as he was,—ridicules. ib. cap. ix. 18. "Audite....non futile commenticiasque sententias, non opificem edificatoremque mundi, Platonis de Timaeo Deum: nec anum fatidicum Stoicorum Πρωνωανθ. &c. For a full and accurate account of Plato, his Philosophy, Writings, &c., the reader is referred to Brucker. Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. i. Index, with the authors cited.
26. He also affirmed of the essence of the soul, that it is incorporeal and foreign to corruption. He was also cognizant of the intelligent Essences; and confessed, that the mind which is over all, (and) which we call THE WORD of God, is King of all. To the same he gave the Rule over all, after the manner of a shipmaster, who well and duly provides for all: Him he also shewed was Governour. This man alone, of all the Greeks, confessed—just as we do,—of THE WORD of God the Creator of the world. But, he is at hand, and we may hear (this) from himself, when discoursing of God thus:—

27. "Let us render honour, neither to that (heavenly body) which is of the year, nor to that of the month. Nor let us cut off to these indeed, any portion: neither the time in which it proceeds in its orbit, and completes the visible world, which THE WORD of God has set in order. Of all who are in it, he who is happy will have wondered

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* This passage occurs in the Prep. Lib. xi. cap. xvi. and there said to be taken from the Epimenides of Plato. But no dialogue bearing that title is now to be found among the writings of Plato, as Viger has remarked in his notes. (Prep. Evang. p. 51. notes.) It occurs, however, in the Epinomis, § 9. (p. 39. Ed. Lond. 1826.) And there runs thus: "καὶ τιμᾶς ἀποδίδωμεν μὴ τῷ μὲν ἔναντίῳ, τῷ δὲ μηνί, τούτῳ δὲ μῇ τῷ πνεύματι τάσσωμεν μὴ τῇ τίνα χρόνῳ, ἐν ὃ διεξέρχεται τὸν αὐτὸν πόλον, ἐναποτελέων κόσμων ὅ ἐτάξει λόγος ὁ πάντων θεότατος ὄρατον, ὅν ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων πράτον μὲν ἐθαύμασεν, ἔτειτα δὲ ἐρώτα ἔρχεται (εὐσεβ.) τοῦ καταμοθέου ὅπόσα θυητὴ φύσει δυνατά. The Latin translator (as given in this edition) has..."quem ratio omnium divinissima visibilem statuit." The accuracy of which I greatly doubt. ἐτάξει, I think, cannot fairly be rendered here by "statuit:" if so "visiblem statuit," gives an erroneous sense, if not an unmeaning one. The text of Eusebius omits the word ὄρατον: which the Syriac translator has, however, preserved; and, as it appears to me, has properly applied. The Syr. has here, סק, which is perhaps, defective: the Greek requiring, סק. The place is cited (as Viger also tells us) by Cyril. Alexan. Lib. viii. against Julian, (Edit. Spanh. p. 271. 2.) and by Theodore, Græcar. affect. Edit. 1642. Tom. iv. p. 499. Edit. Gaisford, p. 89. See also the note to the Lond. Edit. of Plato, as above.
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(at Him), and afterwards acquired such love, as to investigate (Him) as far as mortal nature is able.

28. This man moreover, now calls the Divine Word, the Father, the Lord of all, and also Governor of all, in the very same words, and names Him just as we do; expressing himself thus:

29. "This Epistle, all you who consist of three should read, particularly in society: but, if not, between

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"Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πάντας ὑμᾶς τρεῖς ἄνευν άναγνώσάς: χρη, μᾶλλον μὲν άθρόοις, εὰ δὲ μή, κατὰ δύο κοινὴν κατὰ δύον μὲν ἐς οἶνον τ' ἑστι πλεοστάσις, καὶ χρησθαι συνθήκη καὶ νόμῳ κυρίῳ, δ᾽ ἐστι δίκαιον, ἐπομνύσας σπουδὴ τε ἄµα μὴ ἀνάφησε καὶ τῇ τῆς σπουδῆς ἀδελφή παθείς, καὶ τὸν τῶν πάντων θεόν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ τε ἄντων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων, τού τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ αὐτίων πατέρα κύριον ἐπομνύσατο, δν, ἀν ἄντως φιλοσοφήμεν, εἰσόμεθα πάντες, σαφῶς εἰς δύναμιν ἀνθρώ̂πων εὐδαιμονῶν." Euseb. here reads, παθείς, for παθείς : and ἐαν ὀρθῶς, for ἀν ὀρθῶς: so the Syr. ἀν ὀρθῶς, ὀρθῶς. He also has ποιμάντας for ἐπομνύσατο, a mere error of the press. Cyrill omits ἐστιν, after οἶνον τε: but has νόμῳ κυρίῳ τούτῳ: it. καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς...παθείς: it. καὶ τῶν πάντων Θεοῦ: it omits ἐπομνύσας, after κύριον: it. ἐαν ὀρθῶς, with Euseb. and ends with εἰσόμεθα. Theodoret commences at ἐπομνύσατο: reads παθείς with Euseb. and Cyrill: it. καὶ τῶν πάντων θεῶν. It. ἀν ὀρθῶς, with Euseb. Cyrill, and the Syr. It. φιλοσοφήτε ἐισέσθε: and here his extract ends. See also Viger’s notes to Prep. Evang. p. 51. The Syr. has ἀρκετῷ, ye be considering, where there can be no doubt, ἀρκετῷ, ye use, avail yourselves of, is the true reading, which will correspond exactly with the Gr. χρησθαι: allowing duly for the idioms of both these languages. (it): it also reads, καὶ νόμῳ, καὶ κυρίῳ τούτῳ, which Viger condemns; "καὶ δύο κοινῆ, and κατὰ δύον μὲν, he suspects, but without any good reason; all of which the Syriac supports. It should be observed, that our Syrian Translator has in no case here used the Greek κύριον in the sense of “ratus,” unless, indeed, ἐστιν was used in that sense: but of this we have no evidence.
two in common, as each may be able. As often as ye shall be able, avail yourselves of compact (together), and of the Law; and, by that Lord, who is justice (itself) swear ye, at once with care;—not without wisdom,—and with erudition the sister of care; and, by that Governour of all, of the things that are, and of those that shall be; and, by the Father of the Governour and of the (efficient) Cause, the Lord, swear ye:—Him, whom, if we are truly Philosophers, we shall all clearly know, as our power (may be, being) of those who are happy men."

30. This (philosopher) also taught, that there was a just Judgment of God, and that He would render to every man as he should deserve: he very divinely shewed too, that the extreme good was this, that (men) be like to the Godhead; be attached, and made (as it were) twin brothers, to virtue. Nevertheless, he also fell justly, (and as it was) likely, more than they all under reprehension. Why? Because he knew God as He was; but honoured Him not as God. He concealed the truth too, and put forth falsehood to the many. To those whom he loved, he spoke openly and well, as a Philosopher, of the Father and Creator of this whole. But, with the inhabitants of Athens, he conducted himself as no Philosopher; and went down to the Piraeus to Socrates, at his word, to pray to the Goddess, and, at once, to complete the festival of Bendis, together with all the inhabitants. And again,

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8 The passage here imitated is cited by Laërtius, Plato. Lib. iii. Segm. 78. "Τέλος μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὰς θεῖς, τὴν νόμον, αὐτὰρες μὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἐυδαιμονίαν. This latter part is taken, very freely, by the Syriac Translator, who gives [40:3Δοδοπήναση].

8 Syr. (בֶּנְדִידָא). The Bendidia ἐστὶν of the Athenians, called also Bendidea, and Béνδεια. In the Lexicon to the Timeus of Plato, Bendis is said to be the same with Artemis (Diana), a Thracian word: and, that Bendidia signifies the feast of Diana, with the Thracians. "Βάνδεια. η 'Ἀρτέμις Θηρακίας φωτίς καὶ Βενδίδια, 'Αρτέμιδος ἐστὶν παρα 'Αρτέμιν." The term occurs in Plato's Polit. (Lond. Edit. p. 326. Tom. vii.—Steph. p. 354.) Eusebius had in view, perhaps, the following passage of Origen against Celsus, (vit. p. 277.) when he wrote this: viz. "Ἀλλ' οἱ τοιοῦτα περὶ τού πρώτου ἁγίου γραφήν τε καταβαίνουσιν εἰς Πειραιά, προσευχὸντες ὡς θείς τῇ 'Αρτέμιδι καὶ
he himself said of his master, that, when the end of his life drew near, he commanded them to sacrifice a cock! Nor did the best of Philosophers blush;—nor was it concealed:—that, the Father of his philosophy commanded them to propitiate the Deity, by means of fabricated earthly matter, and a little blood;—the body of a dead bird! And again, he called those (Deities) that were honoured in the cities, Demons: and this he did well. But, he further confessed, that these same were, and that they were formerly known as being, mortal men. And (here) he spoke the truth. Nevertheless, he advised that (men) should worship these same as Gods! And, because he submitted himself, with the multitudes, to the error of these, he may well have been memorialized as (implicated) in their pretences, because he concealed the word of truth under the show of Philosophy, and attached himself to

καὶ ὁφομένῳ τὴν τῶν Βενδιδείων ἐπιτελουμένην ποιήμας." But they, who wrote such things about the supreme good, go down to the Piræus to pray to the Goddess Diana, and to see the celebration of the feast of Bendis. I adopt the reading of Hemsterhusius, which receives no small degree of authority from this place of Eusebius. The place of Plato, is probably that on which the Scholiast has thus remarked: (London Edit. Tom. ix. p. 89.) Σωκράτης, ἐν πειραίᾳ ὁμογενεσὶ τῆς τῶν Βενδιδείων ἔρημή ἑνεκα καὶ ποιητή, διελεκτρίᾳ περὶ πολιτείας. κ.τ.λ. The allusion here is to the Polit. i. p. 253. Lond. Edit. It stands thus: κατεύθην χάθεν εἰς Πειραία μετὰ Γλαύκηνος τοῦ Ἀριστείου προσφέρωντος τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἄμα τῆς ἐρήμης κ.τ.λ. See the notes here. On which the Scholiast (Tom. ix. p. 67. seq.) gives some further particulars stating, that this feast was common both to the Athenians and Thracians, and was celebrated at the Piræus on the 19th day of the month Thargelion. The Syriac .SDK is an error perhaps of some Copyist, for .SDK. It is however, a fact, as remarked long ago by Kirsch, (Pref. ad Pentat. Syr. Lips. 1787), that the Syrians avoid as much as possible the concurrence of two Dolaths: " duplex ante νο μεν " says Kirsch, (ib. p. xi.); " quam ob rem sequens in ‹ mutatur, e.g. ℜης, Ἰτ., " so ib. ره for ℜης.

1 In the Phaedo of Plato, §. 155. Lond. Edit. Vol. v. p. 409, see the notes. It. Lactantius, iii. 20, " de falsa sapientia." See also Spencer's note on Origen (contra Cels. Lib. vi. p. 277. notes. p. 74.), where we are told, that this is to be taken figuratively.

2 Syr. ܣܝܪܝܐ ܐܬܘ ܓ���� ܣܠ."
falsehood. Hear therefore, the things that he has said in the Timeæus:

31. "To speak of the other Demons, and to know their power, is too great for us. We assert however, to those who have said before us, that they were the sons of the gods, even as they have affirmed: and they well knew their own fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the gods, when behold, they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs. But, as they affirmed, that they narrated respecting those who were their own (fathers); (so) we, adhering to the law, believe. Thus therefore, as these a generation respecting these gods, (so) let it be; and be affirmed, that the Ocean and

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3 Syr. ἠμὴν. An error, for ἠμὴν, i.e. in the Timeæus: the passage is noted below.

4 The passage is accordingly, found in the Timeæus, and stands thus: "Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων είπειν καὶ γνῶσιν τῆς γένεσιν μείζων ἦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς, πειστέων δὲ τοῖς εἰρήκωσιν ἐμπροσθεν, ἐγκύων μὲν θεῶν οὕσιν, ὡς ἐφασαν, σαφῶς δὲ ποίνοι γε αὐτῶν προγόνους εἰδόσιν. ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παιδίν ἀπιστεῖν, καὶ περὶ ἄνω τε εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαῖων ἀποδείξεως λέγοντας, ἀλλ’ ὡς οἰκεία φάσκουσιν ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομενους τῷ νόμῳ πιστεύειν. οὕτως οὖν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον ἦμων ἡ γένεσιν περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐχέτω καὶ λεγόμεθα. Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ἡκεανὸς τε καὶ Τηθὸν ἐγενέσθην, τούτων δὲ φόρμαν Κρόνος τε καὶ Ῥάεα καὶ δόσι μετὰ τούτων, ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Τέας ζεύς Ἡρα τε καὶ πάντες δεσμος ἵστεν πάντας αδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τε τούτων ἄλλον ἐγκύων." (London Edit. 1826. Vol. vii. p. 277.) The Syr. Translator seems to have read τῆν δύναμιν, instead of τῆν γένεσιν.

"That they were," etc. Syr. ἠμὴν οὐκ ἕκισεν η ἔγενεσιν: might have been intended to mean, "Since they were," etc. the Syriac being ambiguous here. I have given however, the more usual and obvious force of the Syriac. It. ἐκείνους ἡ γένεσιν, omitting ἠμῶν: which is perhaps correctly omitted. It. καὶ δοσι μετὰ τούτων, he also omits, if it is not an omission by some copyist. It. for καὶ πάντες, καὶ ἄλλοις. Theod. has a few unimportant various readings; but ends his extract at τῷ νόμῳ πιστεύειν. The same is the case with the extract as given by Cyrill.

5 So also Cicero (Natura Deorum, Lib. iii. § 6.)..."Majoribus autem nostris etiam nulla reddita ratione, credere." And again, as cited by Lectantius: "non esse ulla vulgo disputanda, ne susceptoribus publice religiones disputatio talis extinguat." Lib. ii. cap. ii.

6 The Syriac proper names are thus written, Ἡκεανός; Ἡρα Λῆ.
Tethys were the sons of the Earth and the Heavens; and of these same, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea (Ops): and of Saturn and Rhea, Jupiter and Juno: and those others, whom we know were all of them brothers of those mentioned: and others again, the children of these."

32. You (now) view the very Philosopher—who is from above', and of the exemplars that are above the world, and of the intelligent essences which are incorporeal,—beneath on the earth and on the ocean, immersed as it were in the depths of error²! He has moreover, introduced a generation of the gods,—him who could himself alone, say with a mind, the voice of which was more elevated than that of man,—

"What² is that which always is, but that it might

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² Syr. Ἱδεῖς. The "Idées" of Plato are perhaps alluded to here. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxiii. xv. xiii. xliv. it. Lib. xii. xix. p. 593. B.

² This passage, which has been rendered insuperably obscure by its interpreters, stands thus in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. ix. [Τι το
exist, has no being? And it is this same which is apprehended
by knowledge together with reason, and exists in all time
according to itself. But, that which is to be considered by
the sense that is irrational, and was, and is corruptible;
that it might fully exist, it never had even being."

34. This selfsame Combatant therefore, now honours
this identical (something,)—this which was, and is corrupt-
able, but never fully existed, on account of its elemental and
dissolvable character,—with the name of gods! And again
the very same, (virtually) comprehending the expositors of
this story of the gods, says of them, that it was neither
from probabilities nor from strong proofs, that they spoke and
put forth the error of these Deities. And, having accused
them in this manner, he afterwards says, "We give our assent
to them, and approve;" when, behold! they had said nothing
truly! Besides, when he called them the sons of the gods,

δὲ ἕλ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον; καὶ τὸ γινόμενον μὲν ἕλ, δὲν δὲ
οὐδέποτε; τὸ μὲν δὴ, νοῤῥεῖ μετὰ λόγου περιληπτοῦ, ἕλ κατὰ τὰ
αὐτὰ δὲν; τὸ δὲ αἰσθάνεται ἀλόγω δοξαστοῦ, γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύ-
μενον, ὅτε δὲ οὐδέποτε δὲν. It is repeated, ib. cap. x. with a few un-
important variations. The former is evidently said of God, as being
a spirit, self-existing and eternal; the latter, of matter, as continually
existing, yet subject to change, and having no existence in itself. Euse-
bius thinks that this passage, is an imitation of the Ἰσίν ὅς ἂν Ἰσίν
of Exod. iii. 14. I am ἤς who exists (permanently and of self.) Justin
 Martyr too, cites it with a similar application. Paren. ad Graec. p. mihl.
p. 72. The Syriac does not contain that part which I have placed between
brackets in the Greek. Athenagoras supplies a good comment on the
terms here used, (Legat. Christ. p. 63.) and on the very same passage
of Plato. His words are, "εἰ γὰρ γεγόνασιν, οὐκ δεῦτε, ὥς οἱ περὶ
αὐτῶν θεολογούντες λέγουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν. ἡ γὰρ ἄγενητον τὴν, καὶ ἕστω
ἀδιόν ἡ γενήτω, φθαρτῶν ἐστιν." "Si geniti sunt, nec erant antea (ut
aunt qui inter illos res divinas explicant) non sunt. Res enim omnis,
aut ingentia, aut genita est: hæc corruptibilis, illa eterna." On the
place itself he says: "perc novitων καὶ αἰσθητοῦ διαλεγόμενος ὁ Πλά-
των, τὸ μὲν ἕλ δὲν, τὸ νοῦτο, ἄγενητον εἶναι διδάσκει· τὸ δὲ οὐκ
δὲν, τὸ αἰσθητοῦ γενήτων." "Disserit autem (Plato) de intelligibili
et sensibili: et ens sempiternum, quod intellectu solo percipitur, ingle-
nitum esse docet: sensibile contrà, genitum et non ens." So also Theo-
philus ad Autolycum, Lib. ii. near the beginning.
he clearly knew, that he was introducing their fathers who were, like all (other) men, subject to mortality! And again, he memorializes mortal gods, and mortal sons, who were like to their fathers, and who plainly said that they knew their own fathers. Nor does he conceal himself when he says, “It is impossible therefore, that we should not believe the sons of Gods;” still, he immediately accuses them, that they had advanced neither probabilities, nor strong proofs, and adds, “We approve of them, as saying that they narrated respecting their own” (fathers.) He says not—and (this) fully and carefully,—that they narrated; but, as “they said that they narrated;” and, we “assent to them as saying, that they were the sons of the gods.” And, Whence had he learned this, that he should affirm just as they had said? For (says he) they said this: It was not I. That is; Still to them, when speaking of themselves, and unable to establish (the assertion) respecting themselves, either by probabilities or strong proofs, we nevertheless give our credence! He says too after this: “Thus therefore, as these affirmed the generation of the gods, (so) let it be;” necessarily, says he, just as these say! Not indeed as my opinion is, but as theirs (was,) let these things be affirmed!

35. You perceive therefore, that he advises it as proper, that we should adhere to error! And, For what cause does he set this up? Not because of any other thing, except the Law: that is, because of the death that was suspended on the Law! And this he openly acknowledges when he says, “We, adhering to the Law, believe.” The fear then of man, and of the Law, dismissed from the Philosophers, that Fear, and Law, which (were) of the truth! Where then, are those excellent and wise things,

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1 This argument is also touched upon by Cyrill of Alexandria in his work against Julian. (Edit. Spanh. p. 284.) The Syriac here speaks in the first person, as is usual with Oriental writers: thus, مس الك [اممر ومک] [میسر ومک] [میسر ومک]. For not as my opinion, but as theirs: i.e. Plato here makes the statement, not as resting on his authority, but on theirs. See also Vossius de Orig. et prog. idololatriae, Lib. i. cap. xii. p. 181. and the Prep. Evang. Lib. xii. cap. i.
which the same elegant tongue,—(and) wholly for the sake of which,—said in astonishing language, and thus magnificently?—

36. "For² there is neither law, nor any one ordinance superior to erudition; nor is it just, that the mind be subservient or subjected to any thing: it is, on the contrary, Prince of all, if indeed it be free in its nature." This same too, is he who said, that "Wheresoever² a man places himself, thinking it to be best, there he ought, as I think, to remain, (even) in the storm; making no account of any thing, neither of death, nor of any other thing, before things hateful." He also said afterwards; "For this, that one should fear death, O men, would be nothing else, but that we should suppose him to be wise when he is not so."

37. How then can you, O Philosopher! be moved by death after these expressions? or, draw near to

² Theodoret (Grec. affect. curat. Serm. v. p. 547: Gaisford's Edit. p. 207. seq.) gives the opinion of Plato very much as it is here stated, but he does not cite this place. I have to thank Mr Professor Scholfield for pointing it out to me: otherwise I fear the work must have gone to press without it. It will be found in the London Edit. Tom. viii. p. 446. Bekk. p. 162. Legg. ix. as follows. "Επιστήμης γὰρ οὐκ ἀδιακόρεται ρώματι οὐδὲ τάξις υδάτων, οὐδὲ θέμα, ἐστὶν νομισμάτων, οὐδὲ διά τὴν ἐνοχήν, οὐδὲ δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα ἀρχαῖα εἶναι, εάν περ ἀληθινὸς ἔλευθερός τε καὶ φύσις." Our translator does not seem to have read ἀληθινὸς... τε, in his copy.

² This appears to be the passage cited from the Apology of Socrates, in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xxi. cap. x. (Edit. Viger. p. 680. B.) thus:—"Οὐ δὲ ἐν τοῖς άυτοῖς τάξεως, ἡγεσίας, διάκρισιν, εννοεῖ οὐκ ἐν τῷ γὰρ τοῖς βάπτισμά τοι δεδωκάν, ἦ ἄδικος οὐκέτα εἴπερ ἐπάνω τόποις, ἦ δὲ έκεῖνος ἡγεσίας, πρὸ τοῦ αἰεχροῦς."  

² This is also taken from the Apology of Socrates, and occurs, Prep. Evang. ib. D. as spoken by Socrates: "καὶ δεδωκεν βάπτισμα, καὶ οἴομεν τῷ σοφῷ εἶναι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ γὰρ τῷ βάπτισμα δεδωκάν, ὡς ἀδικος οὐκέτα εἴπερ ἐστιν, ἦ δὲ έκεῖνος ἡγεσίας, μη δενας ταῦτα." A similar sentiment is found in the Crito, (Euseb. ib. cap. vi. p. 651.) "Ταῦτα μὲν δεν εἶναι τῶν δοξών προσεχέον τοι νομίμω, ταῦτα δὲ, οὐκ ἦ πρίν με διάν ἀποθεσάμενον, καλώς ἐλέγητο." (Crito. Ed. Lond. Tom. ii. p. 386.) From p. 651 to p. 691. Ib. Prep. Evang. much matter is cited to shew, that Plato received many of his notions from Holy Writ.
honour mortal Gods, on account of the Law? And, How can you dignify these, as sons of the Gods, in order that we might approve, and give (our) assent to them? In your own words you both reproach, and chastise1 (them), as having said nothing soundly, or by way of proof, respecting (these) their own Fathers. How then, having thus accused them, can you now advise men to approve of them? But, of these their Fathers, let us make inquiry:—

38. Of the Earth, you say2, and the Heavens, the Ocean and Tethys were the progeny: and again, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea. And so after all these, Jupiter and Juno! Jupiter, after the Earth and Heavens! Jupiter, after Saturn! and Rhea, after the whole of these! What say you, O Combatant?—Where is the great Jupiter, who drove the flying chariot in the Heavens? Or, Is not that a sentiment of thine, over which every body cries out and wonders, when thou thus sayest:—

39. "The same great Jupiter therefore, drove and guided the flying chariot in the heavens, and to the same adhered the hosts (both) of the Gods and of the Demons"?

40. But, I know not whence Jupiter is to be viewed, after these (viz.) the Earth, the Sea, the Ocean, Rhea, and

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1 Syr. Δι [Δι], which ought, probably, to be Δι Νεκτορο

2 Syr. מז, i. q. Heb. מונ, as Michaelis thinks, and perhaps, correctly.

Justin Martyr (Paren. ad Greecos. p. 27.) thus introduces a part of this passage:..."ομοιωμενον ο μεγαλοφωνος Πλατων μετα πολλης παρασιες βοσ βεγι, ο μεν δη μεγας εν ουρανος Ζεων πτηνον άρμα έλαυνων"...which, he says, is copied, from the Cherubim of Scripture. This passage, occurring amongst the most fanciful and silly matter of any in Plato, and honoured probably more frequently by citation than any other, is to be found in the Phaedrus (Edit. Lond. 1826.) Vol. 1. p. 78, where it stands thus: "ο μεν δη μεγας ηγεμον εν ουρανος Ζεων, έλαυνων πτηνον άρμα, πρωτος πορευεται, διακομευν πινατα και επι- μελοιωμενος τι δ' έπεται στρατα θεων τε και δαιμονων." See the notes here. It has been cited by Clemens Alexand. Cohort. ad Gentea. et Strom. v. 586. Sylb. (T. ii. p. 709. Potter) Stob. Serm. v. p. 67. v. 32. Spanheim. ad Julian. Orat. i. p. 119. and Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. p. 69, &c.
Saturn, mortals! or How, according to this sentiment of thine, we can give our assent to that of those who said before us, that “the sons of the Gods, just as they affirmed; as they clearly knew their own Fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the Gods, when, behold! they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs.” And he adds; “Thus therefore just as they affirmed a generation, respecting these Gods (so) let it be, and be affirmed.” After this he makes a long story, which is that of the generation of the Gods, (as) related by the Poets*. And, upon this He assures us and says, that from Saturn and Rhea were Jupiter and Juno, and all those whom we know; and the brothers of these, are they all said to be; and others again, who were the children of these.

§1. Do you observe then, how this man goes on stating,—stating too not things that are not difficult, but impious, and those which are directly opposed to his own Philosophy? For this is he who in the Republics*, drives

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* Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. favours us with several citations from the Poets, &c. to this effect, Serm. i. p. 476. seq.

* This is followed out (in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. xlix.) by citations from the tenth Book of Plato’s Republic, where we are told, among other things, that neither Homer nor any of the Poets ever arrived at the truth: “οὐκοῦν τιθῶν ἀπὸ Ὁμηροῦ ἄβιθανοι, πᾶντας τῶν ποιητικῶν μυθῶν εἰδώλων ἀρτῆρις εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, περὶ ἐν ποιουσί τῆς ἐν ἀληθείας οὐκ ἀπεσθαν.” But, it is in the second Book that he more largely and particularly proscribes them, as cited by Eusebius (Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. iii. p. 641. seq. Edit. Viger.) One passage or two, in illustration of our text, must suffice here: “Οὐκ Ἡσιοδότες τε, εἰςοιν, καὶ Ὁμηρος ἡμῖν ἐλεγέτην, καὶ Ἄλλοι Ποιηταὶ. οὕτω γὰρ ποι ὑμῖν ἤθενες τοῖς ἄνθρωποις συντίθεντες, ἐλεγόν τε καὶ λόγους. Those, I said, whom Hesiod, Homer, and the other Poets told us of: for these, putting together lying fables for men, did, and do, relate these. (Rep. ii. Edit. Lond. p. 376. Tom. vi.) A little lower down, he forbids the introduction of such tales to his Republic thus: “καὶ γὰρ, ἢδος ἡμῖν, οὕτω γε οἱ λόγοι χαλεποί καὶ ὅν λεκτέοι γε ἔρημον, ἢ Αδείμαντε, εὖ τῇ ἤμετέρᾳ πόλει.” (Edit. Lond. ib. p. 378.) For indeed, says he, these are difficult words; nor, adds he are they to be spoken, O Adeimantus, in our city.—Such teaching, he goes on to say, is injurious both to God and man: and here he speaks—reasonably enough—of God, as the author of all good: and of youth,
away contemptuously (and) entirely from his commonwealth, those whom he here calls the sons of the Gods!—those ancients (I say) who spoke of the Divinity of these; Homer himself, Hesiod, and prior to these, Orpheus! But now, the same Philosopher advises, that we give credence to these; calling them the sons of the Gods! He supplicates too,—subsequently to the earth and the heavens, and to that humid substance which he names the Ocean, (implicated) in generation and corruption!—that Father of all, both of men and Gods; and Juno, with those others succeeding them, who—as he affirms—are said to be their brothers; and confesses, that they are the sons of those who are of the Earth, and of the Ocean: and he afterwards advises, that we should worship these as Gods! Where then is that multitude of intellectual Essences? And, Where that incorporeal Form which is beyond the world? or, that Divine story about the nature that has neither colour nor form? And, if indeed every soul be immortal, Why dost thou subject to mortal beings, those that are immortal? And, to the bodies of Demons, that which is Incorporeal? The intelligent and rational Essence too, to those that are of sense, and subject to corruption? It seems right to me therefore, to consider this man more reprehensible than (all) the rest; since an attachment, on account of the kindred character of his doctrines, drew me to him. For, as it appears to me, this man alone of all the Greeks, attached himself to the outward portals of the truth, and shewed, in many (of his) sentiments, a relationship with us. Nevertheless, such cannot be honoured by the truth; because he is, as it appears to me, more reprehensible by it than all youth, as but too easily corrupted by such tales as those of wars, intrigues, adulteries, &c. of the Gods, all are. The same argument is prosecuted much at length by Theodoret, (Græc. affect. curat. Serm. ii. p. 496. seq. Tom. iv.)

1 The same too, and in nearly the same words, is given by Theodoret. (Ib. pp. 475, 490. seq. and 512. seq.)

* Much interesting matter to this effect cited from Plato, will be found, Prep. Evang. Lib. xxi. cap. i. seq. See also Viger's notes. The place alluded to here, is in the Phædrus, Lond. Edit. Vol. i. p. 82. See the notes: cited also by Origen contra Cels. Lib. vi. p. 288. Edit. Spencer.
others. For he—whose (main) desire was to live, while those things which attached themselves to his doctrine (virtually) effected his condemnation to death; and, while his opinion was that, (these) were no Gods;—he did nevertheless submit himself (to them), as if he recognized no other life, but that only which was present.

42. The Peripatetics too, so attached themselves to a belief, similar to that of the Originator of this Philosophy, that they supposed the soul which is in man to be mortal; and affirmed, that its form and body, was (what they termed) the Entelechia. For the sake of the present life,—which alone they acknowledged,—they submitted to the many. They believed too, that those were never Gods, which were (made) such by the law of the commonwealth: they submitted themselves (nevertheless to these) through the fear of death, and of the punishment of the Law.

43. The Stoics again, who taught that all was body, and that this sensible world alone was God, and that the (constituent) portions of this were Gods, persuaded themselves to do the things—although these might be odious,—which were conformable to these their precepts! And, because they called the (constituent) portions of the world Gods, and worshipped the earthy substance, How could

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8 These were the followers of Aristotle. See sect. 20 above, also Bruckeri, Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. i. p. 78, seq. Syr. מַעֲלֵיהַ הָלָהּ.

4 Syr. מַעֲלֵיהַ הָלָהּ. This word occurs in none of the Dictionaries, but, as it is evidently derived from the root מַעְלֶה, and is apparently the participle of the Paelo form, where it signifies inceptit, there can be little doubt, that Originator, or the like, is its signification.

5 This section is in the Syriac extremely elliptical. See also sect. 20, below.

6 Syr. מַעֲלֵיהַ הָלָהּ. The Republic or commonwealth under which they lived, as it appears to me.

they escape severe reprehension? These too, as they determined that the Elements were the origin of all things, worshipped the Elements accordingly.

44. He however (i.e. Plato) determined, as by divine revelation, what that is "which exists in all time, but which could not be (of itself);" and what that is "which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and (is) in all time according to itself". He also said, in what way it exists; stating openly, well, and wisely, (and) in plain terms, the true account of the Deity, as (its) nature is, in these words: "God therefore, according to our former discourse, holds the beginning, middle, and end, of this all which exists: and, proceeding according to nature, He rightly disposes (it). And to Him does justice ever adhere, awarding punishment to those who swerve from the Divine Law." But, How came he to swerve from the Divine Law, and to think defectively of the justice which is over all? and to put forth for us, these laws of mortal men? this Philosopher too,—this (I say), who could send the soul above the curvature of the heavens,—to fear Death? Besides, I cannot think that this same man held soundly of

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1 Sect. 33, above.
3 Theodoret also brings this charge against Plato, Græc. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 138.
the immortality of the soul, because he made the notion of the vulgar his own. For, it was not (according to this) that the souls of men only were immortal; but also, (those) of dogs, hedgehogs, ants, horses, asses, and of the rest of the irrational animals; and, that (these) differed in nothing, as to their essence, from the souls of the Philosophers! He (also) affirmed after the Egyptian manner⁴, that these same effected a change into every sort of body; those of men being transfusible into the beastly nature. On these accounts, he is as worthy of reprobation in this case, as in that in which he gave his approval⁵, but lied on the other side! And, although this was (such) an astonishing man, that he could apprehend the Maker and Creator of this whole; nevertheless, as he put not forth the word of righteousness, he is particularly deserving of the reprehension of every man: because “he knew God⁶, but honoured Him not as God; but worshipped and served the creature, exclusive of the Creator.” He also named those Gods, and worshipped them (as such), which were (supposed to be) fixed in visible bodies; the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, confessing at once, and at the same time, that they were made, were perishable, and compounded in their nature of fire, earth, and at the same time, of the rest of the elements! And these same he worshipped, he honoured, and called them Gods! And then again, he afterwards...

⁴ Allusion is, perhaps, here made to a passage in the Timæus, (Edit, Lond. Tom. vii. p. 280 seq.)... “σφαλείς δὲ τούτων εἰς γνωσίας φύσιν ἐν τῇ δεύτερᾳ γενέσει μεταβαλοί· μὴ παυόμενος δὲ ἐν τούτωι ἑν τῇ κακίας, τρόπων δὲν κακίστῳ, κατὰ τὴν ὀμοιότητα τῆς τοῦ τρόπου γενέσεως εἰς τὰ τοιαύτην ἀεὶ μεταβαλοί θάρειον φύσις κ. τ. λ.”

“Contra vero agentes cogi in ortu secundo, sexu mutato, fieri multum, et qui ne tum quidem finem peccandi faciet, qua tenus depravetur, easterus in brutorum naturam suis moribus similem permutari.”

Which is a full recognition of the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. xvi. where the same question is discussed.

⁵ Sect. 31, above.

⁶ Passages, it. Lib. xiii. cap. xviii. to the same effect will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. capp. xxxi, xxxii. seq. from the Timæus, &c. The Scripture cited is, Rom. i. 21, 25, but is rather accommodated here, than exactly quoted.
confessed that these very same (Deities) were both dissoluble, and subject to corruption! But we may hear him,—as the thing said is at hand,—saying in the Timaeus:—

45. "Gods" of the Gods, of whom I am the Creator: every thing therefore, that has been bound together, is dissoluble; hence, because you came into being, in order to exist, you are not immortal: neither (are you) wholly indissoluble." And again (speaking) on their being, whence this is, and how to be determined, he says:

"What fire is to air; such the air is to the water; and the water to the earth: out of which He bound up and established the visible and sensible heavens. And, by means of these things, and out of them, which are thus and

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1 Considerable extracts to this effect are given from the Epinomis, the Timaeus, and the Tenth book of the Laws of Plato, in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. xviii.

2 This passage has been cited by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. vi. p. 281.) also by Eusebius, Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxxii. p. 559.—It. Lib. xiii. cap. xviii. p. 703. seq.—where it stands thus: "Θεοί Θεων, ὅποι ἐγείρησαν, πατήρ τε ἔργων, δέ ἐν ἐμοῖ γενόμενα, ἐδώκεν ἔμοι γε θέλοντον" ἐπάγει λόγων ἐξής. "Τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ δεθεῖ πᾶν, λυτώσω τὸ γε μὴν καλὼς ἁρμοσθῇ καὶ ἔχων εὖ, λυκῆς ἐθέλεις, κακοῦ. διὸ καὶ ἐπειπέρ γεγένησθε, ἄθανατοι μὲν οὖν ἐστε, οὐδὲ ἄλλοι τὸ πάμ-παν." "Hec vos qui Deorum satu orti estis attendite: Quorum operum ego parent, effectorque sum, que per me facta, non sunt dissolutes me invito. Subdit quamquam omne colligatum, solvi potes. Sed hand quamquam boni est, ratione vincum velle dissolvere. Sed quoniam orti estis, immortales vos quidem esse et indissolubiles non potestis." It is also cited by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christianis, p. 54. Edit. 1024.

The place is found, Edit. Lond. Tom. vii. p. 277. seq. See the notes there given. The Syr. has [ᾼΣ], [ς, God of the Gods; but, as the mark of the plural number (Ribbui) is very often omitted in the MS. I have felt no difficulty in translating the passage here, as if it had been inserted. It exhibits the place moreover, with some omissions. But this might have been intended by Eusebius himself.


4 This is a suspected reading, and perhaps had no existence in the Greek text. See the notes, and var. readings here.
the number of which is four, the body of the world came into being." After this he says: "And, as to the existence of time, in order that time might be, the Sun, the Moon, and the five other Stars, which have the title of wandering (planetary), came into existence; (and this) for its determination, preservation, and calculation. So God made each one of these bodies, and placed them (each) in (its) course." And again, he says of the heavens, how they existed in all time; there being no beginning of the essence (of these) not even one: or being, of what sort this was in its primitive commencement. He then turns his discourse to his soul, and says, "it became existent, is visible, is subject to sense, and has a body: and, that all such things are thus subject to sense, and, that those which are subject to sense, are apprehended by thought, and (so) perceived to be existences."

46. Was it not therefore, lapsing far from soundness of mind, that he, who spoke so orderly and well of these things, should call them Gods? that he should confess also, that they were made out of the perishable and corporeal matter of fire, water, air, and earth? and affirm that they were subject to dissolution, and in their nature corruptible? and, again, should name these selfsame beings Gods to be honoured? For, What participation can that Name and Honour have, which is the Cause of

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4 Ib. p. 271. "πρὸς χρόνου γένεσιν, ἵνα γεννηθῇ χρόνος, ἑλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ πάντες άλλα άστρα, ἑκάστην ἄχων πλανήτα, εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ φυλάκην ἄρημον χρόνου γέγονε. σώματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστων ποιήσαε ὁ θεός ἑθηκεν εἰς τάς περιφοράς."

5 Tim. Ed. Lond. p. 254. "ο ὄντι, τὰς οὐρανοῖς καὶ κόσμον... γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχων αὐθεμίαν, κ. τ. λ. is perhaps the place referred to.

6 Of which this is, probably, the place in the original, (Edit. Lond. ib. p. 254.)..."ορατον γὰρ ἀπτόν τε ἐστι καὶ κάμα ἔχων, πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαύτα, αἰσθητά, τὰ δὲ αἰσθητά, δοξὴ περιλήπτα μετὰ αἰσθητῶν, γινομένα καὶ γεννητα ἔφανη."

7 In the tenth Book of the Laws, not far from the beginning, Plato speaks very much as our author does; while he seems disposed to excuse the wanderings of antiquity as to these things. To no one, perhaps, can the words of Ovid be more properly applied; "Vide meliora proboque, deteriora sequor."
all things, with bodies that are subject to sense, and to dissolution? Or, What sort of companionship of the Word, inseparable from Him who is in all time, but cannot be\(^1\), (i.e. as we are, subject to corruption), with that which always was, but never had an existence (of its own), so that he should call these Deities God? For, if He is truly God, He who exists in all time, but has not that he might be (as we are); so far as He existed not thus, He was no God. But if he be God, who was at all times, but never existed (of himself): whatever he might otherwise be, he is no God. And, What sentiment can be more impious than this? For, the two things are opposed in their natures;—this, which is apprehended by reason and knowledge; and that, which is to be considered by irrational sense:—this too, which is capable of action: and that, which is passive. How (I ask) can such opposites deserve one (and the same) name? For, this would be, as though a man should wonder at the science of the architect, but should attach the honour (due to him) to the work that was by him; and (so) invert the order (of things)! And, should any one name the ship, the shipmaster\(^2\); or the coachman\(^3\), the chariot with its horses; so likewise, would he act most foolishly, who should dare to name the Creation of God, Gods; when behold! it had not escaped him,—but he had openly confessed,—that they were bound up in the bands of God the Creator of all, and (affirmed, that they) were constituted out of the inanimate elements, fire, water, air, and earth! Nevertheless even this man thus (taught)!

47. But, What necessity can there now be, that I should bring to light, how the wise men collected themselves together in ranks, as it were, sectioned themselves off, separated, and mightily armed themselves against one another, just as in battle array, and met

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1 That is, came into being such as ours is. See sect. 33, above.

2 ἐξερμίτης, Gr. κυβερνήτης.

3 Syr. ἄρματος, Gr. ἅρματος. This argument is ably urged also by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. p. mihi 68, seq.
with shields, spears, and hosts,—as one⁴ of the Poets says, “Behold the abundance of the uproar thickened—of the destroying and the perishing?”—for Plato termed their warfare with one another, the conflict of Giants when he thus spoke,—

48. “And behold! the conflict between them might be assimilated to that of Giants, because of the contention they had with one another about matter.”

49. Nevertheless, Plato himself said these things either against the Philosophers who were before him, or against those who were his contemporaries: and, that these also,—(as) he also afterwards cries out,—were those who took up arms against him, the evidence is clear. For Aristotle⁶, who arranged himself against Plato, went off with his whole school from his doctrines.

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⁴ The Syr. has ἑαν ἀλληλοιοις, applying the Ἐπιθύμιοι in an unusual manner. Examples however, of this sort occur in other places of this work, and even in the works of Ephrem Syrus as printed at Rome. Connection with a context implying plurality is, apparently the cause of this here, and perhaps elsewhere. Syr. ἑαν ἀλληλοιοις, occurs in no Syriac book to which I have access. It seems however, to have been preserved by the Rabbins, (Buxtorf. Lexicon. Chald. &c. col. 1561.) in alηλοιοις ἐν αὐτοῖς. “Observat faciem firmamenti.” The word however signifies, the growing dense, thickening, or the like; and is cognate with ἀλληλοιοις, “condensatus est” &c. The passage here translated is, I think, the one given, Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. vi. from the Iliad. Δ, 449. “Ἐπιθύμιοι ἀλληλοιοις, πολὺς δ’ ὀφειλας ὀφειλει, ἀλληλοιοις, καὶ ἀλληλοιοις.” “Densa aut opepe: vastus fragor undique surgit,” “... dum perimunt, perentique simul.” In this part of the Prep. Evang. this subject is discussed much at length from Numenius the Pythagorean. Ib. cap. iv. seq. we have Plato against the Philosophers who preceded him.


⁶ Syr. ἡμισετὴν.
Others again, the Juniors' afterwards arose, who attacked the philosophical notions of Aristotle; and, on the other hand, animadverted on the Stoics. Others, the Sceptics, put forth Pyrrho and the reserve: and, at once, ridiculed every body! For, they all fully equipped themselves for a mighty war of soul against one another: and (this) by means of words, fell moreover, but little short of arming themselves, fighting, and attacking one another, with spears and shields! Where it was any thing but right, they divided: but, where it was necessary they should contend with all their power,—I know not how it was,—they agreed; and particularly in the error of a multiplicity of Gods! They agreed (I say) in that, which before all men, and more than all men, they knew was a non-entity! That is to say, the Epicureans, (agreeing) with the Stoics: the followers of Aristotle, with those of Plato: the professors of Physics, with the Sceptics; (these) one and all, together with their wives, their daughters, and the ignorant crowd, going to the Temples, and presenting themselves for the purpose of worshipping with (their) vows, as Gods, the inanimate Idols, (formed)

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1 Probably the followers of the New Academy. See Brucker. Tom. i. p. 756. seq.
2 Σκέπτικοι. Gr. Σκέπτικοι.
4 Εφεκτικοί. Gr. ἐφοχη. This is the term from which the 'Εφεκτικοί, Ephectites took their name: it is thus given in the Greek by Suidas: “Εφεκτικοί δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἔφησιν πάθους, λέγω δὴ τὴν ἐποχήν.” This place in Suidas is, cited from Laërtius, Lib. ix. seq. 70, who gives, λέγω δὲ, for the λέγω δή of Suidas. (Edit. Wetst.) The term (ἐφοχη) also occurs Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. iv. p. 512. A.
5 Theodoret. Grec. affect. curat. Edit. Gaisford, p. 209. seq. urges this argument much at length. But see “Ioannis Luzacii de Theodoret. judicium,” ib. p. 17, seq., who has shewn, that Theodoret copied Eusebius, in very many instances, without acknowledging the source from which he drew.
in the likeness of men: and these they honoured with libations, fumes, blood, and the sacrifices of irrational animals: shewing by this means,—and in this one thing only did they relax their enmity towards one another,—that they all studiously gave their assent to this their error. And (again), when the truth was laid open to them, they opposed it! For it was right, that where their knowledge was correct, there should they have shewn their character to be firm: that they should have contended and warred for the truth; and, had it been necessary, they should have even died for it: (and) should have received it readily in the love (thereof), as men boasting themselves that they were Philosophers. These same persons were therefore, friendly to one another in this, that they brought themselves together for the sake of falsehood: and, about those things, on which it was unbecoming they should contend,—because of the hidden and unknown properties of these,—they contended as if it had been for the truth; readily too was their contention carried on about shadows, while they attacked and reproached one another, with innumerable wounding expressions. But, What need can there be, that (I should record) the contentions of the Philosophers against one another, their controversial expressions, and the common warfare which they set up, and in which they fell; since they availed themselves of human wisdom (only), and of the reasoning of the mortal mind?: God the Teacher not having presented himself to them?

Our author seems here to allude to sentiments uttered by the leaders of the Sceptics. Suidas tells us (sub. voce πυμάνειον) that Archilocus said, ἡτοῖς ἀνθρώποις νοῦς γίνεται θεωτοῦ, ὁκοίην ζῶν θεωτοῦ ἕμερην άγε. "Talis est mens mortalium, qualem ipsi diem Jupiter dederit." And Euripides, τι δήτα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βρωτοὺς φρονεῖν λέγουσιν: σοῦ γάρ ἐξηρτήθεσα δρώμεν τε τοιαδήδ, ἀ δή τυχανεὶς θέλειμ; "Quid mentis miseris alium mortalibus inesse? Nam pendentius a nutu tuo, et agimus omnia, que vis." I give this as I find it in Suidas (Edit. 1705.) where the editor proposes certain emendations. If the reader will turn to Laërtius (Edit. Wetsten, 1692, p. 585.) and to the notes of Menagius and Kühnius, on these places, he will find much said on these readings. The place of Euripides is found in the Supplices.
50. How was it then?—How, that those who contended about these things, had no God; when, behold! there was a multitude of Deities among them?—since that of Delphos\(^1\), and that of Lebadia\(^2\), was (each) a Diviner?—that of Colophon\(^3\) gave responses?—that of Miletus\(^4\) was also a Diviner?—and another was crying out from another quarter? Nevertheless, not even one of these could so teach these wise men, that they could apprehend the truth! All of them too worshipped these, as did their Fathers; and all the Greeks confessed, that they were gods: yet, they were not the more assisted in the discovery of the doctrines which are divine; when, behold! there was nothing hindering them from being forthwith (so) instructed in the truth, (or) from availing themselves of the Gods, who were on the earth and at hand, as (their) Teachers. Nor should they have injured, and reviled one another; but, should have ceased from dispute, and have enquired of the Gods about the matters of contention; and so have learned the truth, as it were from Physicians, and (thence) have received advantage. And first, it was

\(^{1}\) Delphos, Gr. οἱ Δελφοί. In Phocis, and said to be in the midst of all Greece, and of the earth as its navel, stood this celebrated city and Oracle, near the springs of Castalia.

\(^{2}\) Lebadia, Gr. λεβαδία, and λεβάδεια, was near Phocis in Boeotia: it was famous for the Temple of Jupiter Trophonius, which it contained. Syr. Ṣ̣̣. To the same effect Origen contra Cels. Lib. iii. p. 131. seq.

\(^{3}\) Colophon, Gr. ᾦ κολαφών. Famous for the Clarian Apollo, who gave responses there. Syr. Ṣ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣. A city of Ionia.

\(^{4}\) Miletus, Gr. Μίλητος, an ancient and large city of Ionia, where there was a Temple of the Didymean Apollo, which was burnt down by Xerxes. Ib. cap. iii. Syr. Ṣ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣�
the duty of the school of Epicurus to have learned not to be godless, and not to have subjected themselves to "Rest" as the chief good; nor so to have infatuated themselves with ridiculous (notions), as to ascribe to subtile and indivisible bodies the power of making the universe; but to have persuaded themselves from the Gods, when (so) taught of the things respecting them. It was also the duty of the school of Aristotle,—who saw with their own eyes the Temples, Fanes, and Idols (that were) on earth: not one (only) but myriads (of these), in every city and place,—to have examined them as to their power: and, from the fact, no more to have confined their discussions about Providence, either to the (regions) above the heavens, or even to (those) above the moon; but, to have persuaded themselves, that there were Gods also on the earth, and that they exercised a providential care over the men among whom they resided. And, as it was in their power to learn from these same their own (Deities), they should no more have contended with those that were arrayed against them, as to whether the soul was mortal, or immortal. They should therefore, have asked the God who was at hand, and (so) have received, as from the Gods, the true decision (of this question). Thus also, (it was the duty) of the Stoics; and thus too, of the Platonists: thus also, of the Sceptics who are termed Pyrrhonists: and thus also, of those who were in former times styled the Philosophers of Physics, that they should not have desisted from inquiry as to the truth, nor have supposed, as those do who play at chess, that every thing coming into their mind was truth. They should, on the contrary, have asked the Gods who were residing among them about every thing that was unknown: but not even one of the Wise Men has done this, nor did it even

1 See Sect. 19, above.
2 Ib. Atoms. See also Theophilus ad Autolyicum. Lib. iii. p. mihi 144 seq. where we have some admirable remarks on this subject.
3 See Sect. 20, above: Note.
4 Syr. We have, sect. 49, "οἴνος τῶ. The has here taken place of the ἰ. The contrary occasionally takes place in proper names, in the Syriac, see sect. 30, above: Note.
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enter his mind! Was it then, that they were godless, and evil-minded towards the Gods, that (the task) was unwelcome to them, and (that) they acted thus? But, thus were they all at once godless; and the Philosophers appear to have been particularly so, and much more wicked than those who were unintellectual: those (I say), who made it no unwelcome task to enquire of the Gods about the taking of wives; the taking of a journey; blindness, or the infirmity of the body:—these too, were readily heard: and to those, who so sought did (the Gods), not invidiously, give their divinations. But, behold! it was any thing but becoming in the wise, to have enquired of those Gods who were among them, and to whom they rendered worship and honour, respecting their bodies (only); but not about the healing of their souls. And, as not even one of these marvellous Philosophers did this; it remains, that we assure ourselves of one of two things; (viz.) Either, that these men were no Philosophers; or, that those (Deities) were no Gods. For if, when (these) were really Gods, they set them at nought; they were no Philosophers, but were fools and ignorant men: but, if they had in truth made any approach to the love of wisdom, and abounded in knowledge more than the many; it is clear that they would, with pure conscience, have laughed at the folly of the many; and it is likely (they did so).

51. But, if those who have been mentioned, were really Gods; Why was it, that the conversation which is on earth, happened to be that of their lives? Was it for the common advantage of all? If indeed this was the case; Why did they not give up those (their) vain stories, and preach to all men the things, that would aid in the acquirement of virtue? And, Why did they not give themselves to the enacting of laws for man, corrective of the common conduct? and (to the performance) of deeds, pointing out the life of virtue to all? And, Why was not their care more particularly exerted for healing the passions of the soul, than (the sufferings) of the body?—rather to deliver those who fled to them, from foolishness and ignorance, than from the loss of possessions, when they saw that men desired wisdom; that they were labouring night and day
for the discovery of the truth; and were seeking (both) by labour and contention, for a decision as to the reverence due to these same Gods? And again, (these) went in among the Diviners, and offered sacrifices just as their Fathers had done; and honoured those (Gods) with the honours which they had by custom retained. Why then, did they not receive these with terms of affection? praise them for their labours? and, so delivering them from the contention which they had with one another, give them such aid from their labours, that they should become truly wise in God, and be (real) Philosophers?—and (thus) teach them the science of that true Philosophy, which is free from falsehood? But, as they did not this, they made it plain to every man's perception, that they were no Gods: and, that those who boasted that they were Philosophers, were unworthy of that name! For, had they been truly wise, they never could have supposed that these were Gods: inasmuch as they had afforded to them nothing worthy of Deity, nor had it in their power to teach those, who were anxiously careful about the knowledge respecting them, the things pertaining to Deity.

52. Thus these (Philosophers) became in (appearance) what they (really) were not: besides, they presented themselves to the many, and called those Gods, which they knew more accurately than all (other) men, were no such things! What sort of name these deserve, it is not necessary for me further to say, except, that those who made their locks to flow down, frequented the Temples together with

1 The construction of the Syriac here is rare and remarkable: it stands thus: [ος ομοίωσα] ἵνα ὑπῆρεν μιᾷ ὑστερώσει. Lit. And those then, what it was not, thus was their being. Which will serve to illustrate the unusual combination [ος ομοίωσα], that often occurs in this work: where it will be seen, that [ος] is used impersonally.

2 This place seems obscure to me. The Syriac has [οισιν] μιᾷ οἵοις οὐκ ὄντων—Diog. Laërt. life of Antisthenes. "Διός ἀνθρώπων τὸν Ἀπαντήθος, καὶ ποιμήνα καθεῖσθαι, καὶ βελτιῶσαι καὶ πέπλον χρῆσθαι."—The Philosophers dressed both their hair and beard, so Plutarch cited by Stephens (Thessaur. Grec. sub voce Τρίβων.) "Ἀν δὲ θηρεύῃ φιλολογον καὶ φιλολογεῖ νέον, αὐθεν ἐν βιβλίοις ἐστὶ, καὶ πώγων νοσημας καθεῖσθαι.
tavern-keepers, with men the refuse (of society), and harlots! And, Did these wise men (then) ask of the Gods the things advantageous to the Philosophers? There is no one who will say this of them!—nor, in like manner, how it was, that no instructing Deity presented himself to afford the erudition which would aid them. But (the things asked) were,—as the Diviners (themselves) say,—the commodities and helps of life generally; the discovery of a slave, if one had happened to run away; of a broken vessel; the purchasing of an estate; merchandise; the taking of a wife; or, other things similar to these. About these it was,

καθεῖται, καὶ πριβίμορφοια τὸ σχῆμα." It is added, "Soldant enim, Philosophi barbam ad pedes usque promittere et palatum gestare." This passage seems to be quite in the spirit of that given by our author. There is another passage in Plutarch, which speaks of nourishing the hair as commendable: (Life of Lysander, 1st. par.) speaking of the image of Lysander as, "εὐ μάλα κομφάντος ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιώ, καὶ πάγωνα καθείρενον γενναίον," well adorning the hair, after the ancient manner, and sending down a noble beard. It is added, as a saying of Lycurgus, that hair made the good still more becoming; the vicious, more frightful. "η κόμη τοις μεῖν καλοῖς, εὐπρεπεστέρους ὀράσθαι ποιεῖ, τοῖς δὲ αἰγκροῖς, φοβερωτέρους." Theodoret (Serm. i. de Providence, p. 321. Tom. iv.) speaks thus of the beard and hair of the Philosophers, together with the white robe, (τρίβων.) "Η δὲ ἐν τρίβων λευκῷ, καὶ πώγων μακρῒ, καὶ κόμη κεφαλῆς τὴν φιλοσοφιὰν ὀριζομένη." κ. τ. λ. Hence we see too, that the τρίβων was white. It was probably woollen, and the same as that worn by the Sooths Philosophers of the East; and so called because made of wool (صورف) صورف. It should seem from a passage in Diog. Laërt. that it was the moral Philosophers only, who wore their hair long and flowing. In vita Carnead...εὖ τοῖς ἡθικοῖς μάλλον, ὅθεν καὶ ἔκομα καὶ ἐπρεπήν ὀρναχα..."ethico se magis devovit. Quocirca et cessariem, et ungues nutricebat.

1 Lactantius (Lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 105.) has some admirable remarks on this subject; as, "Falsum vero intelligere, est quidem sapientiae, sed humane: ultra hunc gradum procedi ad hominem non potest, nisi doceatur a Deo...nota Ciceronis vox est: utinam tam facile vera invenire possem, quam falsas convincere."

2 So Plutarch, who was probably copied here: (de defect. Opera. p. mihi 413. Tom. ii.)...κατατυπωμένοιν αἰγκρῶν καὶ ὀθένων ἐρωτημάτων, α τῷ θεῷ προβάλλοντιν οἱ μὲν ὀν σοφοῖστοι διάπιπτον λαμπρύντες, οἱ δὲ περὶ βεβαιῶν ἡ κληρονομιών, ἡ γάμων παραιμώμων
that their admiration and reverence were called forth to their Gods; (and this) in the little blood of a cock, the immolation of a ram or of a bull; the (offering of) cups and bowls, or of a little wheat flower, or of purchased crowns! And, Had they any truth—teaching Deity, as to the things (comporting) with virtue, or to those which respected the healing of the soul? No, not (even) one! On this account, these Philosophers appear to me, to have laboured insolently in (their) warfare against one another, greatly to have aggravated their mutual differences, and to have departed (willingly) from the real knowledge of God: and accordingly, one might hear from them in words, of the Gods, the sons of the Gods, of Demigods, and of good Demons: but in deeds, every thing was adverse: and in opposing, they boasted themselves of opposition! Just as if one should be willing to point out the sun, with the luminaries that are in the heavens; but be unwilling to lift up his eyes to Him who is above (these): should cast down both his hands and soul to the earth, and seek among the clay and mud, the Powers that are in the heavens! In this manner therefore, had the whole race of men persuaded themselves, together with their Philosophers, and Kings,—through an estrangement of the intellect, and the error of wicked Demons,—that the rational and Divine Essence which is above the heavens, and beyond the universe, existed in place, below, among material bodies, and subject to the passions of both mortals, and immortals! And, since this entire estrangement of mind had infected the whole human race, Have we not soundly affirmed that God the Saviour, a Divine Revelation, and a common Helper of all, was required for this our state of life?

53. And again, all had been led to such a state of insanity, that they even sacrificed their friends to those who were thought to be Gods: nor did they spare their own nature; on the contrary, they put to death, through

\[\text{\textit{dieptw}n\textit{teto.}}\]  "Oppletum obscenis et impis questionibus, quas deo pronunt: ali cum tanaquam sophistam tentantes; ali de thesauris, hereditatibus, incestive nuptiis sententiam scintantes."

* Here again we have the Greek text, as preserved in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 533. C.
the madness and bondage of their minds, even their only children\(^1\), and the friends of their children! And, What madness can be greater than this, that (men) should sacrifice human beings, and pollute all their cities and houses with their own blood? And, behold! Do not all the Greeks bear testimony to these same things? And, Is not the whole of their histories filled with the records of them?\(^2\)

54. For, the Phœnicians annually sacrificed (some of) their friends, and their only children to Saturn\(^3\)! To the same again, was a man also sacrificed in Rhodes on the sixth of the month Conun (March)\(^4\)! This same custom too

\(^1\) This clause is wanting in the Greek.
\(^2\) See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 27. seq. Edit. 1629. This argument is urged, Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 4. and the Gr. text found as cited above.
\(^3\) This appears to be taken from Philo Byblus (Sanchoniathon,) as preserved in the Prep. Evang. cap. x. p. 40. and Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 156, in these words: "Ἐδοκήν ὑπὸ τῶν πολισσων, ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κυδώνων, ἀντὶ τῆς πάντως φθορᾶς, τὸ ἡγαμενὸν τῶν τέκνων τούτων κρατοῦσας ἡ πόλεως ἡ ἔθνος εἰς σφαγὴν ἐπιπλῆκτον λύτρον τοῦτο τῆς συμφορᾶς δαίμων. κατεσφάγησαν τις τοὶ διδόμενοι μυστικῶς.

We are then told, that Israel, who reigned in Phœnicio, and was there only another name for Saturn, had so sacrificed his son Jeud (Ieouδ); which in the Phœnician language meant "only son," (μονογενοῦς). This is apparently told as being the origin of their custom. We may observe however, that the name Israel is evidently taken from the Hebrew Bible, as is the name Jeud (Juda); for Israel certainly had such son. There is a blunder however, in the application; for, it was Abraham who laid his son on the altar for sacrifice; and that son's name was Isaac, not Jeud. There is, moreover, another blunder here, for Jahid (ἡήδ, Syr. مَحَمَّد) must have signified only one; or μονογενῆς, in the Phœnician.

\(^4\) This is found in the Gr. as above cited, but defectively, and has been taken from Porphyry, Prep. Evang. p.155. B. where it stands thus: "Ἐδοκην γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ρώπῃ μὴν μεταγενητην, ἐκτὸς ἰσταμένου ἄνθρωπος τῷ κρόσῳ. οὐ δὲ ἐπιτικεύαν ἐδοκεῖ ἐπεξελήθη ἐνα γὰρ τῆς ἐνα γὰρ τῶν ἐν δικαιομενον κατακρίθησιν, μέχρι τῶν κρατιδίων συνειόν ἐντάσει δε τῆς ἐφεσίας, προαγάγοντες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔδοξε τοῦκ. ἅπτερον τοὺς Ἀρσιφβουλίς ἔδοξε, οὖν ποτὲ ἐφαντάσθη ἔφατον. Part of this is also found in Cyrill. Alexandr. against Julian. p.128. seq. Edit. Span. It will be observed, that the Syriac translator has taken ἔδοξε in the sense of image, and Ἀρσιφβουλίς as a proper name, i.e. Diana.
greatly obtained, and was thus changed: They kept one of those, who had been publicly condemned to death, until the feast of Saturn; and, when the feast arrived, they brought the man out beyond the gate, over against the Image of Aristobule (Diana): they then gave him wine, and put him to death.

55. In the (place) also which is now called Salamis, but formerly Coronaea, was a man sacrificed in the month named among the Cypriots Aphrodisis, to Argaula the daughter of Cecrops and daughter-in-law of Argaulis! And this custom continued to the time of Diomedes; and was (then) so changed, that they sacrificed the man to Diomedes! And in one (and the same) inclosure was the Temple of Minerva, of Argaula, and of Diomedes. He then, who was to be sacrificed, was accordingly—when his equals in age had led him three times round the altar,—stricken on the stomach with a lance by the priest. He was then wholly burnt on a fire that had been got together. This law however, Diphilus—who was king of Cyprus in the times of Seleucus the Theologian,—abrogated: He also changed this custom for that of sacrificing a bull.

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5 Syr. אֲבֻלָּא, imitating the form of the Greek case in Σαλαμίν. It is worth remarking here, that Porphyry,—from whom this passage is taken (Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. pp. 155, 162.)—says, this place was formerly named Coronea, Koivaeia: which appears to me, generally to have escaped the Geographers. This was the Salamis of Cyprus, as the context shews.

6 Our March.

7 Syr. בָּרְשָׁי. Argaula. It is usual with the Syrians thus to vary foreign words, as noted above. See Par. 30, note.

8 Syr. אֲבֻלָּא, as before, and in imitation of the Greek case, 'Αγραυλίδων. Here the Translator has taken the term Νυμφη, in the theological sense of daughter-in-law, Syr. אֲבֻלָּא. In which, I think, he is wrong. See also Vossius de Idololatria, Lib. i. cap. xi.

9 Syr. בָּרְשָׁי, lit. the children of his stature: i.e. of similar age. This seems to me to be a hypercritical imitation of the Greek ἐφισσαυ, of Porphyry.

10 Syr. בָּרְשָׁי, Diphilus: which is, no doubt, the error of some Scribe.

11 Syr. אֲבֻלָּא הָּאֶרֶטֶּשׁ, The Seleucus
56. The law too, whereby men were sacrificed in Heliopolis (a city) of Egypt, was abrogated by Amosis, as Manetho attests in what he wrote about primitive justice.\footnote{This is an exact translation of the passage preserved in Eusebius (Prep. Evang. ib.), so much so, that the very order, ellipses, &c. of the Greek are followed. Gr. Μανέθων. Syr. מנהון. "Ἡλίων πώλει τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος." Syr. מנהון. מנהון מנהון מנהון. —This Amosis was, according to some, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. x. pp. 490, 493, &c.}

57. Men were also sacrificed to Juno, and were chosen just as immaculate calves were sought after, and were slain! There were three moreover, sacrificed in one day! But Amosis commanded that equivalents of wax, resembling these, should be substituted for them.\footnote{This too is found in Porphyry, the Prep. Evang. ib. and Viger’s notes, ib. p. 11. It. Orat. de laud. Constant. ib.}

58. They also sacrificed a man to the Omadian Bacchus in Chios,\footnote{Syr. מנהון מנהון מנהון מנהון. for מנהון מנהון מנהון מנהון, or מנהון מנהון מנהון מנהון, &c. The Greek (Prep. Evang. ib.) having, τῷ ψίματι Διονύσῳ. Ὀμάδιος here, according to the lexicographers, is, i.q. ψίματις. crude-devouring, and is a title of Bacchus. Plutarch moreover, uses this word (Themistocles, p. mihi 118.) when he tells us, that Themistocles offered up three captives, at the suggestion of Euphrantides the Prophet, to his Deity: i.e. ψίματις Διονύσῳ.} when they had torn him (to pieces)! and also in Tenedos, as Euelpis the Carystian\footnote{Syr. מנהון מנהון מנהון. See also the note of Viger, ib. p. 11. In Cyril. Alexan. against Julian} affirms!
59. The Lacedemonians also, as Apollodorus affirms, sacrificed a man to Mars! The Phoenicians too, in their greater calamities, whether wars, pestilences, or famines, sacrificed one of their friends, who was selected (for this purpose), to Saturn. The history too of the Phoenicians—composed by Sanchoniatho in the language of the Phoenicians, and (which) Philo Biblius translated into the Greek, in Eight Books—is full of this, (viz.) as to those who were (so) sacrificed.

60. Ister also says, in (the) collection of select sacrifices, that the Curetes formerly sacrificed boys! And Pallas, who collected abundantly on the mysteries of

(p. mihi 129.) this passage also occurs, but there the term μεσίας does not appear. In all other respects the quotation is identical. It is defective in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.

7 Syr. [မွာတင်း].
8 Syr. Μοισοςοκοκοκο. 9 Syr. Ἐμι. Gr. "Ἀρετή. See Viger’s note.
11 Syr. Οδκσ, in two words (for Οडκοδκοδκοδκ, perhaps). The latter of which appears, in the M.S., to have been first written ΙΔκ, and afterwards corrected. It is not improbable that, as the ζ nun is scarcely audible in the Syriac, it might here have been omitted, as it often happens in proper names.
12 Syr. [ဗိုလ်တွင်း].
13 Syr. [ဗိုလ်တွင်း]. Gr. "Ιστρος. A disciple and interpreter of Callimachus, and an author of many works both in verse and prose. See Viger’s note (p. 11.).
14 The passage appears to me ambiguous in the Syriac. I have therefore, translated it accordingly. The original Greek however, evidently means a book so entitled: e.g. ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν κρατικῶν θυσιῶν. It should be observed too, that the term "select" (Syr. [မြဘို]) standing in the place of the Gr. κρατικῶν, must be an error from some copyist.
15 Syr. [မြဘို]. Gr. Κοριτας.
16 The Greek has, τῦ Κρῶν. It is probable I think, that these Curetes were originally derived from Palestine, and from the Philistines. See Bochart’s Canaan. Lib. i. cap. xiv. Universal Hist. Vol. viii. B. ii. c. i. p. 219. Edit. 1747.
17 Syr. [မြဘို].
18 Syr. [မြဘို], apparently for the Greek ἄριστα.
Mithra¹, affirms, that the sacrifices of men entirely ceased every where, in the days of Hadrian the Emperor².

61. A Virgin was also annually sacrificed to Minerva³, in Laodicea⁴ of Syria; but now a hart is.

62. The Carthaginians⁵ also, who were of Libya⁶, made the same sacrifice; which Iphicrates⁷ caused to cease. The Dumatians⁸ too, of Arabia, sacrificed a boy annually: him they buried beneath the altar, and this they used as an Idol!

63. Philarchus too has left it on record, that all the Greeks commonly sacrificed men, before they went out to battle⁹!

64. But I omit the Thracians and Scythians¹⁰; and also the Athenians¹¹, who put to death the daughter of

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¹ Syr. μηθήσασθήσασθα. See a very curious note on these mysteries. Origen contra Cels. p. 8. line 44. Spencer's notes, p. 11.

² Syr. Ιησοῦς ἠμῶν. It is worthy of remark, that the Oracles became silent, and also that the Miracles of the Christian Church ceased about this time.—Wanting in Orat. de laudd. Constant.


⁴ This is a continuation of the same place, from Porphyry, Prep. Evang. ib. Syr. Αἰνήν. Gr. Λαοδίκεια.

⁵ Syr. Αἴνην. Gr. Καρχηδόνιοι.

⁶ Syr. Αἴνην. Gr. Λιβύη.

⁷ Syr. Ιούτα. Gr. Ἰουκράτης. It is not very certain who this was: some attribute this to Gelo, a prince of Syracuse. See Viger's notes, ib. p. 12.

⁸ Syr. Ιούτα. Gr. Δοσμάτιοι. See Viger's notes. Perhaps the Arabian Donat irl Jandal, Arab. ديمة الجندل. The latter word is, probably a modern adjunct, given by way of distinction. This place (See Pocock. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 95. Ed. White) was famous for the worship of an idol named Wadd (وحدة), our Woden, or the Indian Bhuddha. The sacrifice of the Boy was that of Isaac, as were evidently the human sacrifices of Phoenicia, noticed above. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 534. A. but defectively.

⁹ This is also continued from the same place, (Prep. Evang. p. 156.) Syr. Αἰνήν. Gr. Φίλαρχος. Orat. de laudd. ib. the name omitted.

¹⁰ Syr. Αἴνην. Gr. Θράκας καὶ Σκύθας.

¹¹ Syr. Αἴνην. Gr. Αθηνᾶ.
Erectheus and Praxithia. But, Whom has it escaped, that even to this time, a man is sacrificed in the Great City (Megalopolis) at the feast of Jupiter Latiaris? For even up to this time, it was not only to Jupiter in Arcadia, nor to Saturn in Carthage, that they all commonly sacrifice men; but, through the remembrance of the law, they shed their own blood upon the altars every year! The most select Philosophers also attest, that things were thus: for Diodorus who abridged the Bibliotheca has affirmed, that the Libyans publicly sacrificed two hundred of the sons of the nobles to Saturn! Nor did they add to the sacrifices, fewer than three hundred others! He

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12 Syr. Ερεχθεύς καὶ Πραξίθεας. Gr. Eρεχθεύς καὶ Πραξίθεας. According to tradition, Erectheus had two sons and two daughters, all of whom were sacrificed for the good of the State. De laudd. ib., but in some respects differently.

13 Syr. Ἐρεχθεύς καὶ Πραξίθεας. Gr. κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν. Written variously, ἕ μεγάλῃ πόλις, or Μεγαλόπολις. It was a city of Arcadia, formed out of many inconsiderable neighbouring places, soon after the battle of Leuctra, under the auspices of Epaminondas. See Cellarius Geog. Antiq. sub voce.—Orat. de laudd. ib., omits much here.

14 Syr. Ἐρεχθεύς, erroneously, no doubt, for either Ἑρεχθεύς, Λυκαίος, or供热 noted in the Greek being τοῖς Λυκαίοις. And Λυκαίος was a title of the Arcadian Jupiter. The feast of Jupiter must therefore, I think, be meant, and not the luperca in Rome, which the translations given of the Greek seem to intimate.

15 Syr. Ἐρεχθεύς καὶ Πραξίθεας. Gr. Ἐρεχθεύς καὶ Πραξίθεας. The difference is scarcely worth noticing.

16 The citation from Porphyry ends here. The words immediately following are those of Eusebius.

17 Syr. Ἐρεχθεύς καὶ Πραξίθεας. Gr. ὁ Διόσκουρος. This passage is also given in the Prep. Evang. but much more at length, (pp. 158—161.) and is taken from the Bibliotheca of Diodorus Siculus (Lib. xx. cap. xiv.).

18 Syr. Ερεχθεύς καὶ Πραξίθεας, meaning Carthaginians.

19 This passage is obscure in the Syriac: it stands thus, "ιακεσιών μὲν τῶν εἰπαντατίτων παιδών προκρίνετε θεόσας ἐνδομαζος ἄλλοι ἐν διαβολαῖς ὑπὲρ ἐκοινὼς ἔαντων ἦσαν, αὐξ ἐρατούς ὑπὲρ τρικοσίων. My impression is, that <missing>, ought to be substituted for <missing>. The place will
too, who wrote the history of the Romans, whose name is Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) has said, that Jupiter and Apollo required upon a time, human sacrifices from those in Italy who were called the Aborigines. These however, had sacrificed to the Gods that select part (Tithes) both of their fruits and flowers, which was required of them. But, as they had offered no human sacrifices, they fell into every sort of calamity. Nor did they obtain any relief from these evils, until they had decimated themselves! Thus therefore, having selected a tithe of the

will then read, They added to these not fewer than, &c., placing § before §. Lactantius (De falsa religione Lib. i. cap. xxi.) refers to this in these words: "Pescennius Festus in Libris historiarum per satiram refert, Carthaginienses Saturno humanas hostias solitos immolare, et cum victi essent ab Agathocle rege Siculorum; iratum sibi deum putavisse; itaque, ut diligentius piaculum solventer, ducentos nobilium filios immolasse." He gives some other instances too, which may be added to the above: viz. "Apud Cyprios (See Sect. 56, above) humanam hostiam Jovi Teurcos immolavit: idque sacrificium posteres tradidit: quod est nuper Hadriano imperante sublatum." Ib. cap. xx.—"Erat lex apud Tauros...ut Dianae hospites immolarentur: et id sacrificium multis temporibus celebratum est." (See Sect. 53, 54, above.) Ib.—"Ne Latini quidem hujus immanitatis expertes fuerunt, siquidem Latialis Juppiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano."—"Non minoris insanis judicandae sunt publica illa sacra, quorum alia sunt matris deum, in quibus homines suis ipse virilibus liant;...aliam Virtutis, quam eandem Bellonam vocant, in quibus ipse sacerdotes, non alieno, sed suo crure sacrificant," &c. which is probably the case noticed above (Note 16.) by Eusebius, and is identical with that of the priests of Baal, mentioned in 1 Kings xviii. 28. To this horrid list of vices, Theophilus ad Autolycon, (Lib. iii. p. 143. seq.) adds several others too disgusting to be mentioned, and yet many of them recommended by some of the most famous Philosophers! See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad gentes. p. 22. seq. which is cited here in the Prep. Evang. p. 157. Similar practices prevailed among the Druids of Gaul and Great Britain as Cesar intimates, as also among the Nomades of Tartary.

1 The account of this is cited at length in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 168. seq. as taken from Lib. i. of the work of Halicarnassensis: it occurs also Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 834. B. with certain variations. This circumstance is said to have happened to the Pelasgi in Italy, and to have been the cause of their migrating into distant countries. We are told, ib. p. 159. B. that Myrsilus the Lesbian relates much the same things as having happened to the Tyrrhenians. The author tells us moreover, that these offerings were made to Jupiter,
men, and sacrificed them to Jupiter and Apollo, they became the cause of (their) country’s ruin! And, so far had this entire corruption of soul destroyed human life, that no other hope of salvation could be prescribed, except that which was from God the Saviour: this alone, and no other, was wanting to the race that is mortal.

65. And thus, in these (distresses) of soul were all men, in every place: nor, was it enough for them, after these things, to act basely; but they were also harassed by innumerable other incurable calamities from without, in every place and city. For, all nations at once, throughout the whole creation, Barbarians and Greeks, were so inflamed by means of the maddening deeds of Demons,—

Apollo, and the Cabiri: "Ἐνὶ Δίῳ, καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῷ Καμήπου:" and, that this decimation of men (young men, it should seem) was called for by the Oracle, and enforced by the magistrates,—notwithstanding the migrations which hence took place,—until Hercules put an end to it, by commanding that images of men, dressed up as for the sacrifice, should be annually thrown into the Tibur. (Edit. Steph. 1546. p. 16.) It should seem, from accounts now before the public, that human sacrifices still prevail in the East to some extent. In the district of Ganjam in Hindustan, a tribe of natives called Khoomds annually sacrifice a human victim, in order to secure good crops. The Chieftains, it is said, of the different districts, take it by turns to offer this sacrifice annually: at other times, the offering is made to avert, or remove, some evil. These Chieftains then, have a child, sometimes children, purchased, or taken, in their marauding expeditions in the low country, to bring up for this express purpose: the more full grown and perfect, the better. This victim is put to death by the blow of an axe: the blood is sprinkled on the Idol, which is the image of a Peacock,—carved in wood,—with three heads. The body is then divided into as many parts as there are districts, and again into as many small pieces as there are families, who bury each his portion either in his house, or about his fields. It is stated in a Paper in "the Journal of the Asiatic Society," No. xiii. p. 136, that "this horrid custom... is in a fair way of being entirely rooted out by the vigorous measures of Lord Elphinstone." The writer of the same paper, tells us of mounds in Southern India, which he thinks are composed of the ashes of sacrificial victims. His words are (ib. p. 136.)—"I must admit, though reluctantly, the remains of some of them being the remains of great sacrificial holocausts performed by the Rishis of old in their solitudes, since the ancient annals of the country abound in allusions both to bestial and human sacrifices... on a fearful scale of magnitude." He alludes (ib.) to the Druidical sacrifices made formerly in our own land.
were so stirred up by the grievous and calamitous disease (of these), that neither intercourse nor agreement existed among men,—that so far,—and farther,—was the great body of (our) common nature forcibly urged on, that, in every corner of the earth in which men lived, they were, both from their usages and laws, in a state of warfare with one another. Nor was it this only, but they were also so fierce in the commotions and wars, in which they opposed each other, that, always and throughout their whole lives, they so engaged themselves that no one who desired (this), could take a voyage for the purpose of merchandize to any place, unless he (first) armed himself as for war. In the villages and fields too, the Agriculturists put on swords, and furnished themselves with an excess of equipment, over and above that of the implements necessary for the cultivation of the earth. Men considered it (also) a virtue to rob, and steal from, their neighbours¹: and, to our affirmation do all the writings, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, give testimony. The Books also, which are among the Jews, teach (us), that, from times prior to Augustus and Tiberius⁵,—in whose days our Saviour appeared,—there were in the world, in every city and village, kings and Toparchs fully (established) from the earliest times.

66. The Jews therefore, immediately after the egress from Egypt by Moses, when they had come into Palestine, expelled the Kings, thirty² in number, from their cities. Those however, who were not extirpated, remained and availed themselves of their population, local residences, and

¹ As indeed the marauding tribes of Turcomans, Tartars, Bedouins, and others in the East still do.—Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. D. but with certain discrepancies.

² This is said also in the Preparatio Evangelica, (Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 10. D.) and is there advanced with reference to the Roman Empire being consolidated under Augustus, and thence enjoying—under one comprehensive government—a peace, unknown to it before. So also here, Book iii. Sect. 1. seq. and Book v. Sect. 52.

² The Kings enumerated in Joshua xii. 24. are in the Heb. Bible thirty-one, in the Sept. Greek twenty-nine, in number. Our author thought it sufficient, perhaps, to give the round number thirty.
kings: those (I say), who resided in Gaza, Ashkelon, Joppa, and Azotus, again rebelled among themselves. Scythopolis4 too, and the cities about it, were accordingly so governed, that hence it happened, that their study was in contention and wars with their neighbours. And also, when in Jerusalem the wonderful Temple was built, (and) which Solomon erected, What necessity can there be for saying, how many subsequent wars (happened) and dealt vengeance even on the Jews, on account of their dissimulation in the worship of their God; and on which account, they became divided from each other? They also arose against themselves, and availed themselves of (the aid of) various Kings and enemies; some of whom took the metropolis formerly called Samaria, but now Sabastia5; others again, resided in Jerusalem, and were always engaged in wars with their own people, and these with them6.

67. Not unlike these too, did those suffer who resided in Arabia: for, among these also, there was a multitude of local Princes7. The same also was the case with the Syrians, who were in subjection to their (many) kings. The Phoenicians again, so guarded their territories, that no one could mix himself with them, or pass through them: while they were continually desolating the lands of those who resided on their borders, and were constantly engaged in the reduction of cities, and in making captives of one another. Nor was it this only, but also the


6 This paragraph was probably in the mind of Theodoret, when he wrote the passage, (Serm. x. de Oraculis, p. 633. Tom. iv.) commencing at line 10 from the bottom. Our author here refers to the wars of the Canaanites with one another, and with the Jews, as related generally by Josephus—This place is not without its obscurity.

whole of Libya and of Egypt, subjected themselves to all these Princes and Kings, as if they had been Gods! They had too, thousands of different Gods, both in the villages and cities, as they also had of kings, who enacted laws adverse to them, and were the inventors of every form of Deity. These were they, from whom many places in Egypt received their names, as well as laws; which they still retain. These Deities moreover, and Laws, so affected those who were subject to them, that they made them at once, both enemies and haters to those who were in their neighbourhood; and that hence, they gave up the whole period of their lives to contention! And they were as much excited against one another, as if they had employed the many princes of the vilest Demons! Hence also, the error of a multiplicity of Gods\(^1\) began and obtained dominion,—like some evil and destructive disease of soul,—over the rest of the countries of the heathen! The Egyptians were moreover, (occupied) more than all other men in the worship of the Gods; and more able were they than all others, scientifically to honour them. But, that such fruits were the recompence of their worship, Do not thou (now) enquire. For, the causes of peace and mutual agreement, now so visible to the eyes, had no existence in former times; on the contrary, every thing opposed to these. On this account they were, during the whole period of their lives, harassed with wars and contentions against one another; and (hence), they filled their lands with their own blood, and with the slaughter of themselves; these very Deities apportioning to them, as a recompence for their worship, these and similar doings!

68. If however, these things are not known to all; yet Who, of those that are fond of reading of the affairs of the Greeks, can be ignorant of them?—of the war (for

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\(^1\) This seems to assign the origin of Idolatry to Egypt: the plains of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2. seq. comp. Rev. xvii. 5.) seem to me to lay a better claim to this. Egypt may, indeed, have adorned it much with its science: but so did Babylon. (See Is. xlvii. 12, 13. it. ib. xiv. 12—14. with the Commentators on these places.) Greece perhaps got much of its Idolatry from Egypt, while the East was more particularly supplied with this from Babylon. See also Vossius de Idololatria, passim.
example) of the Peloponnesians 8 and Athenians 3, of which Thucydides 4 is the writer?—how Greeks warred with Greeks?—how they subdued the Potideans 9?—how they trampled on the Thebans 8 and Plataians?—how the Thracians 8 and Macedonians 8 at one time assisted the Athenians, and at another became their enemies?—how the Athenians reduced Corinth 10, and desolated the country of the Epirotes 11 and Træzenii 12?—how they wasted the Lacedemonians; and these again, suffered in like manner from the Lacedemonians when they invaded Attica 13, and depopulated the country of the Athenians? At another time, the Olynthians 14 made war on the Athenians; and these again, on others: and these, on their neighbours! Every species of warfare moreover, abounded among them: fights in ships (by sea), fights by land, and fights with cavalry! All these innumerable things did the Gods,—as one may affirm,—fully bring to pass at that time among the Greeks! Nor was it (this) only, but they were also conversant among men; they were honoured, and they were served: not as is now the case; but,—as (all) affirm,—as their fathers worshipped those ancient (Deities), and gave themselves up to them, so as to be their friends and to converse with them, as being Gods (present) with them, and residing with them on the earth. And in many things, both by divinations and revelations, did these assist them. Nevertheless, the fruits of honouring these Gods were these; wars, contentions, desolations, and captivities!

69. But, if you wish to investigate things more ancient than these, contemplate with your mind who was in
Delphos, and held his seat (there) in the presence of the Greeks. I speak of the Pythian; of him who was preached to all the Greeks, and who proclaimed to the Lydian (Cresus),—but was infirm when he did so,—\textsuperscript{1} "I know the number of the sand, and the measure of the sea: the deaf I understand, and the dumb I hear." He therefore, sent to this same (as) a reward for this song, the bricks of gold of two talents (weight), the phials of gold, and bowls in like manner\textsuperscript{2}. Nevertheless, Cresus was, with this his declaration, all infirmity: nor did this Deity in any way help those descendants of his house, so that they might live happily and soberly. On the contrary, Pisistratus\textsuperscript{3} became embittered against the Athenians, while this Pythian\textsuperscript{4} was seer among the Greeks, and the rest of the Gods had dominion over them, and were even partakers in (their) wars! The people of Argus\textsuperscript{5} accordingly, fought against the Corinthians\textsuperscript{6}; the Lacedemonians, against the Træzenians\textsuperscript{7}; the Locrians\textsuperscript{8} again, waged war with the other Greeks, and the Corcyreans\textsuperscript{9} with others. Messena\textsuperscript{10} too, was taken four times by the Lacedemonians; and the Arcadians\textsuperscript{11} were also reduced! The walls of the Orchomenians\textsuperscript{12} were also

\textsuperscript{1} This is taken from Herodotus, Lib. i. c. xlvii. who gives it thus:

"Ωδα δ' εγὼ φόρμην γ' ἀριθμον, καὶ μέτρα θηλάσσως,
"Καὶ καφών εὐνίχι, καὶ οἱ φωτεύοντο ἄνωθεν."

To which three other lines are added. See the notes in the best editions here. The passage is alluded to, and commented upon, by Ænomaus in the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. xx. p. 210. seq. It is cited ib. p. 230. B. with a few variations, (see Viger's notes in each place,) as it also is in Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 63.

\textsuperscript{2} The particulars here referred to, will be found in Herodotus, l. c. et seq. On these Oracles, generally, see the Index to the Prep. Evang. (sub voce "Oracula," Viger's Edit.) Theodoret, Serm. ix. Grec. affect. curtisio, &c.

\textsuperscript{3} Herodot. Lib. i. lxix. lxiv. Syr. οὑλοςαρμενατον.

\textsuperscript{4} ἄραματον. \textsuperscript{5} ξεινεσσατον. \textsuperscript{6} ιδεύματον.

\textsuperscript{7} ἑκάστῳ. \textsuperscript{8} ζησυκτεον. \textsuperscript{9} οὐκοόρον.

\textsuperscript{10} θωρουμενος. \textsuperscript{11} οὐτοις.

\textsuperscript{12} Syr. [οὐλοςαρμενατον]. The Orchomenians. But I can find no account of this in the histories. An argument not unlike this is urged at length by Cicero (de Nat. Deor. iii. 32—33. seq.), where Pisistratus is also adduced as an instance either of weakness or wickedness in the Gods.
rased to the foundations, and the Athenians overcame the people of Ægina; and again, the Megarians, the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians, the Athenians; the Athenians, the Boeotians; and the Lucrians, the people of Phocis! These things therefore, (did) all the Greeks to the Greeks; the Gods nevertheless, sitting at the side of Jupiter while all these came to pass! The Clarion Pythius; that of Dodona, which was in Epirus, did—since they were Demons filled with fumes,—very gladly receive the sacrifices which were of Demons, both the sacrificial bestial hecatombs of bulls, and those human sacrifices, which were of their own friends! And, while they were inflamed with this vile delirium and love of war, and were (even) rabid against one another; these Grecian Gods,—behold! when with them; these friends, (I say) and provident beings, these lovers and guardians of the Greeks,—restrained them not! But, if we must speak truly, these were the friends of war; these the haters of mankind; these the contenders with God! For, they were the cause of all these things, because they delighted in the slaughter of mankind. And when they had it not in their power to delight in war, they forthwith did so in human sacrifices, and in the libations of human blood, with which they glutted themselves in every city!

70. One of two things is, therefore (the case): Either, they were nothing; and it was grievous error that had then so taken hold of mankind, as to induce them to honour inanimate images as Gods, and vainly, emptily, and by a sort of madness, to sacrifice their own friends

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13 Syr. ἀλλὰ ἰσχύειν ἐκ τῆς ἀδιανόητης. 14 οὐκ ἔλθῃ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀδιανόητης. 15 οὐκ ἔλθῃ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀδιανόητης. 16 οὐκ ἔλθῃ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀδιανόητης.

17 This name is greatly deformed in the Syriac, where we have it thus: 18 ἐκ τῆς ἀδιανόητης, for, in Epirus: for it was in Epirus that this Oracle stood.

19 Syr. by a paraphrase, ἔλθῃ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀδιανόητης, lit. These sacrifices of a hundred bulls.

20 Reasoning similar to this will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. xxvi. p. 220. seq. And, generally, this question is fully considered, ib. Lib. iv. cap. i. seq.
(to them): or, if they were possessed of power, it is likely that this would be fully effective, either of good, or of evil. Now, if they were in their nature beneficent Deities, remaining too on the earth, and occupying the middle part of the cities; they would not have evinced this sufficiently, unless for the advantage and safety of those among whom they lived. But, if they were wicked Demons, they would be engaged in every thing opposed to goodness. What then, can constitute a surer proof as to these things, than the fruits which (grew) out of their government; for, "from its fruits is the tree known."

71. It is time therefore, that we enquire whether the wars and contentions—not of enemies, nor yet of Barbarians who arose against the Greeks, but of the Greeks themselves, who subscribed to the Gods of their fathers, and were infuriated against one another;—were these fruits: the Gods too being within (their cities), and nearer than the (very) gates, and daily honoured by their citizens. What (then) did they give, worthy of this worship, to those who so worshipped them? Was it, first of all, peace? that they might live a life of ease and comfort?—and thence, laws that were efficient, and preservative of every thing good? If indeed, the things just now said were of this sort; there is no necessity we should doubt of the existence of good governours. But, if the extreme of evils had taken hold of the whole family of the Greeks:—the Gods being more numerous than the inhabitants: nor was it, that they were honoured in every city only, but also in every house:—and, (if) when they were (so) honoured, they supplied nothing more to those who honoured them, than the slaughter of wars, the desolation of villages, the rising of cities, captivity, and spoil; the Greeks being inflamed against the Greeks by these things:—What can there be wanting to our knowing, and (thence) affirming, one of the two things supposed (above)? For, either these Gods could do nothing, because they were nothing: and thus, were far from being the cause of the evils: or, they possessed some

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1 Matt. xii. 33. The reading here, as elsewhere, differs slightly from the Peschito.
power, and were the cause of these: or, that they permitted these things to be so: or, that they themselves did them. If then, they were the doers of these evils, it would thus seem, that they should be styled the *Princes of evil.* But if, when these evils were done by others, they connived (at them), they were again, the betayers of their Friends: they were not (their) helpers: but (their) deceivers; and were therefore, vicious.

72. For, if they were no Gods, and in their nature by no means superior to ourselves, but, were otherwise men who had realized sincerity through their excellency and wisdom; Would they not have interposed themselves, and have relieved their Friends from contention? — either persuading them by reason, or, saving them by power, and severing them to a distance from each other? counselling them also in the things which were becoming? — when acting (I say only) as good men; and, as being their Friends, relieving them from their (mutual) enmity, and bringing them together for peace?

73. How then; — for good men would have done this, had they happened (to be circumstanced as just mentioned): — did the Gods (act), being present with the Greeks and conversant among them, and honoured by all? Did they neglect their Friends, giving them up to bloodshed, desolation, and mutual slaughter? and, Why? Because they were unable to help them? or, being able, were unwilling? For if, when able, they were unwilling; it was no office of helpers which they performed for those who honoured them, but of enemies and deceivers! For those, who can deliver from calamities, but do it not, are in nothing better than enemies. But if, when willing, they were unable; they merited desertion on account of their weakness. And, if they were thus circumstanced, the reputation of their being Gods was superfluous: nor did men truly ascribe to these the title of helpers; inasmuch as they did not help them to salvation, because of the weakness of their own nature.

74. But, if they advance a superintending fate*, such

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* Clemens
as to take hold of every thing, and even of the Gods themselves, and (affirm), that this was the cause of the wars, and of every thing which came to pass among men; this will overthrow the whole course of our life, as it will make every thing that is (virtuous) among us, vain; and a doctrine false\(^1\) and vicious will, instead of this, make its ingress among us. And thus also, will the purposes of the Gods themselves be rendered vain, since they can do nothing but that which has been fated. The things, which this makes it necessary should happen, (shall happen) even when the Gods will (them) not! And thus again, will the anxiety of those who reverence these Gods become vain and empty, since they render honour to beings who can effect nothing.

75. But in this were these astonishing (Deities) caught, that they had not the power to help against the evils of mankind; that they were openly seen delighting in base and abominable stories about their own divinity, and in the wicked and unlawful sacrifices of men. From these things therefore, it becomes us to judge of these same Gods, as doing such things among the men of those times; because, as their nature was attached to evils and to wars, they were convicted by their own deeds.

76. But now in our times, every anxiety about the Beings just mentioned has suddenly lost its power; and the things belonging to this ancient disease have been cut off: every city, region, and locality, among the heathen, now remaining in the profoundest peace! The whole of Asia, Europe, Lyibia, and Egypt, which were formerly not better than a ship in a storm, on which the violent winds and tempests had fastened from every quarter, and had thus far,—and still farther by the northern blast,—contributed to her immersion; are now so righted by the happy guidance of the helm of peace, in a serenity that is peaceful and a calm that is resplendent, that they subscribe to the One Ship-governour of all things. Such are all things now,

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\(^1\) Syr. \(\underline{\text{πρ}}\), for \(\underline{\text{πρ}}\), beyond all doubt.
since he that was in Delphos has been desolated; since that Pythian, (I say) has been extinguished, and since the recollection of the rest of the Gods has been wholly withheld from the hearing of mankind. Nor have such things as that necessity of fate, or (those) war-loving Demons, agitated the cities. For, since the doctrine of our Saviour has obtained throughout the whole creation of man, in every city, village, and place; and again, since no race of Demons, but He alone who is the King of all, God, and that Creator of the whole world, the Word of God, has been made known and honoured by all men, Barbarians and Greeks; every word about fate has been rendered unavailing: every war-making necessity too has been removed far away: the Divine peace-making Word is hymned throughout the whole earth: the race of man is reconciled to God its Father; and peace and love have been restored to all nations! The things, which pertained to the Gods, are now no more done;—nor are those which set up the system of warfare (that men carried on) against one another, when those (their) ancient temples occupied the highest positions throughout the whole earth,—(now that these) have fallen under the extremity of desolation, and all those Gods, which formerly uttered their cry in every place, have either from shame or fear, been reduced to silence: every city too, nation, and region, have by means of the right hand of love, been made at once to enjoy peace, and are delighting them-

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2 According to Plutarch,—who lived in the times of Trajan, and wrote a very valuable work on the falling of the Oracles (De defectu Oraculorum),—excepting Lebadia in Boeotia alone, the Oracles had every where become silent, and their fanes ruined. His words are: (Prop. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 206.)..."οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τοίς ἀλλ' ἡ θεοπάθεια τῶν θεῶν τινῶν εἶναι ἠττηθέν ἞τοι, ὅτι οἱ θεοπάθειαι τῶν θεῶν τίνων ἄλλης ἡμῖν σιγή, ταὐταὶ δὲ παντελῆς ἱερατεία κατέσινεν." This is followed (ib.) by an account from the same author, of the general decay of demoniacal influence, which, according to him, commenced in the times of Tiberius Caesar:—the very time,—as Eusebius proceeds to remark—when our Lord cast them out, and declared that he saw Satan fall from heaven like lightning. He tells us too, (ib. p. 164. D.) that human sacrifices, which had every where prevailed, entirely ceased in the times of Hadrian,—when the Christian religion had become generally known—as noticed above.
selves under one government in the deepest established order and agreement. In what manner of life all, both among the Greeks and the Barbarians, existed formerly, when they honoured the Gods far more than their own friends, there is now no need we should shew at length, having shortly laid these things open already, except (to say) that these ancient things are, as such, matters of record.

77. But, Why should any one say that these are things of recent occurrence? since, as far back as (the death) of Alexander of Macedon, not long before the manifestation of our Saviour, many governments arose. For Arridæus, the brother of Alexander, received the Kingdom of Macedon: of those that were in Europe, Antipater took possession; Ptolemy, of Egypt and Alexandria; Seleucus became Governor of Phœnicia and Cælo-Syria: Philotos, of Cilicia; Antigonus, of Asia; Casander, of Caria; Leonatus, of the Hellespont; Eumenes, of Paphlagonia; and Lysimachus, of those parts that bordered upon Thrace. From this time these, with those who had received their governments, poured forth as rivers against one another in war. For, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, marched fifteen times out of Egypt. Seleucus too, met Ptolemy King of the Macedonians, and was killed. Perdiccas also, entered Egypt with an army. Ptolemy took Cyprus, and Demetrius seized upon Syria. Another too, went forth to another place, and, with the violence usually attendant on robbery, seized upon those who resided on his borders.

78. Thus therefore, during this same time, were things brought to pass one after another in every quarter of the world. When the worship of many Gods prevailed, there was neither peace nor agreement; while mutual enmity abounded. Sacred places, Fanes, and Temples too, were abundantly appropriated to these in every city. With

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1 Syr. ἔνθει, for ἔνθεοι. This is, no doubt, the Arridæus, Ἀρρίδαιος of Diodorus Siculus: who, as he says, was the son of Philip, now received the name of Philip, and was made king. His words are:... εὐθὺς δὲ βασιλέα κατέστησαν τὸν ψιλεδών υἱὸν Ἀρρίδαιον, καὶ ἑτέρων νομασαν ψιλεδών. (Bibl. Tom. viii. p.) The authors, therefore, of the Universal History are wrong when they say, that this man was the Son of Roxana, and named Alexander.
many votive offerings were these temples adorned. Much talk too was engaged in respecting these Gods, by the kings of those times, as was also by the people, the inhabitants of villages, and of every (other) place; so that they honoured with images and altars these (Deities) of their fathers, in their houses, their very treasuries, and inner chambers. Nevertheless, when thus circumstanced, they were no better than demoniacs whose souls had been perverted by madness, (and) that during their whole lives, they polluted themselves with the blood of their own countrymen! And truly demoniacal were they in their wars with one another, and in their pertinacity in the reduction of cities: the demons, the leaders astray of the world, being their helpers in these matters!

79. Those to who were thought to be Gods, who gave out divinations, and foreknowledge (of things to come) to their worshippers, were not so discerning as to foreknow, or to foretell, their own destruction: which happened to them all, at the manifestation of our Saviour among mankind! This too is a mighty proof of their inferiority, as it is a well grounded reproach on the divinations which were formerly published among all the Greeks. Nor did any one of the Diviners indeed, foretell that manifestation of our Saviour, which (has taken place) among men; nor yet, the

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* To the same effect, the Oratio de laudd. Constant. cap. ix. p. 517. C. seq.

* Eusebius does, nevertheless, give a passage from Porphyry, (Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 204.; see also p. 238.) in which Apollo is made to speak of their failing. The context, however, in this case is sufficient to shew, that this revelation was not put forth until the thing foretold had come to pass. This is followed (ib.) by a quotation, noticed above (par. 76.), from Plutarch, on the general failing of the Oracles. See Viger's notes on both.

* Yet it is certain that very many intimations of "the coming of the Just One" had got abroad among the heathen; and, of this, the Preparatio Evangelica of Eusebius presents many striking examples. Libb. ix. x. &c. see also the Oratio Constantini ad Sanctor. cet. cap. xviii. seq. These however, did not originate with the Oracles.—All this was indeed, foretold by Isaiah (chap. xvii. 7. &c.) according to Theodoret. Edit. Gaisford, p. 395, and fulfilled in the times of Constantine. See ib. p. 412. seq. where he more than intimates that all had been fulfilled, just as our author has done in many places.
new doctrine which has been given by Him to all the nations. Neither did that Pythian (Apollo), nor any other of the great Demons, foreknow his own destruction; nor did he prophesy respecting Him who was to come (to be) the destroyer and uprooter of them all; nor yet, did he foresee respecting all those of the nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who should leave the error of a plurality of Gods, and acknowledge the God who is over all.

80. What Diviner\(^1\) then, or Enchanter? What Demi-god\(^2\), Demon, or God, has foreshewn by divination, that these their beauties should be extinguished, when He should be manifested, who was to be a new thing\(^3\) in the life of man, and (is) the "knowledge\(^4\) of God" who is above and over all, and whose worship has now been communicated to all nations? Who is he (I ask), that has prophesied of the destruction of their Temples, and of their own utter ruin? and, Who,—supposing of these Images of gold and silver which are every where, whose fusion was by fire, and whose change as to appearance was quite useless, were supremely serviceable to man;—that, as (these) their Gods were (but) molten, they should, by way of contempt and derision, be afflictively cut to pieces? Which (I ask) of the Gods has ever put (this) on record? And, How was it with their supporters, that they lent no aid to their Temples, when these were rased to the ground by men? And, How were those circumstance who, in former times were engaged in creating wars, that in their own calamities they should look with complacency on their uprooters, who were in the profoundest peace? But, the

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2 Syr. [ὁ ἁλθον], Gr. ἤνιδεν.
3 This is, perhaps, an allusion to Jer. xxxi. 22, where the Syriac Peschito text has, The Lord createth a new thing in the earth, [אשnu חס פסק] סמע וּכד שנְא וּכד שנְא. Our Syriac has, [כד שָׁעַד וּכד שנְא וּכד שנְא].
4 Alluding, perhaps, to 2 Cor. iv. 6.: or, it may be, to the term Wisdom of God, 1 Cor. i. 24., so frequently given to Christ in this work.
5 Cicero adduces the tyrant of Sicily, when he had robbed the fane of Proserpine at Locris, and was sailing homeward with a prosperous gale, saying these words: "Videtis, amici, quam bona a Diis immortalibus navigatio sacrilegis datur?" A similar thing is said of Gelo, and the Olympian Jupiter (ib. Nat. Deor. iii. 34.), and also of Αesculapius, &c.
wonder of the matter is this, that, when their Temples were subjected to destruction, a peace, administering increase to every excellency and good, had taken firm hold on the life of men: every thing happening to the contrary, when the Gods were in peace! For, during their prosperity, wars, conflicts, commotions, and the reducing of cities,—as shewn in history, and as we have already said,—(prevailed) among men: but, in their desolation, an entire peace with every good thing without drawback. Whence it must be evident to every one capable of reflection, that these were no Gods, as it also must, that they were not good Demons, but on the contrary, vicious ones. Those must also have been destroyers, whose prosperity was the cause of calamities to mankind, and whose ruin led the way to the bringing in of every good to all. But, how (all was) formerly in commotion among the Greeks, and how the nations throughout the whole earth were agitated, we now know, as to a few things:

81. And hence we may perceive why appointments, the character of which was varying, subverted the lives of all. For the Egyptians had a law, allowing them to take their own sisters as wives: the Persians, to hold shameful and sinful converse with their own mothers: others, to

Lactantius too,—a contemporary of our author,—makes some pithy remarks on this subject. Lib. ii. cap. iv. p. mihi 108. seq. as also does Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 34.—If it be said that, neither does revealed religion put forth vindictive powers, on occasions of insult offered by unbelievers, the answer is this: Revealed religion did put forth miraculous powers vindicating its own authority, when it was necessary it should do so. To do so on every occasion, would answer no good end. Unrevelled religion never has, and never could, when it wanted it most, do this. This is the true distinction: and it is an adequate one.

a Syr. γίνεται ή, lit. abeque invidia. The phrase, however, is often used to imply, without drawback, freely, or the like: no one English expression or phrase exactly resembling it.

7 Most of the statements made here, will also be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iv. pp. 11, 48, 275—279, &c. See also Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 535. A. B. which will enable us to ascertain the intention of our author here, where he is occasionally obscure. This first is cited from Diodorus Siculus (Prep. Evang. p. 48. D.) in these words: . . . "нομοθετήσας δὲ τοὺς 'Αιγυπτίους γαμεῖν ἀδελφαίς."

8 Ib. p. 11. it. 275. C. where we are told, that the Persian laws allowed
pollute their own daughters in unlawful wedlock\(^1\); and of these, the extent was such, that ("the natural use of") the woman was interdicted. The wickedness too, of the Philosophers themselves, as also the intercourse with men which is out of nature, had reduced all the Greeks to insanity\(^2\). Besides there were some, by whom it was thought right to conceal (their own while living) in the earth in Sepulchres\(^3\); and by others, to deliver (these) to the flames! Others however, gave up these things as impious\(^4\), and exposed their dead

allowed marriage with sisters, daughters, and mothers, on the authority of Bardesanes. See p. 279. ib.

\(^1\) As just cited from Bardesanes. And, in his days, many of these things were practised in Media, Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia, as carried thither by the Magi.

\(^2\) See Viger's note (ib. p. 25. "παρά Πέρσας.") Bardesanes too, (ib. p. 276. D.) charges the Philosophers of Greece with this detestable crime)... "παρ' Ελλησι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἐρμίδους ἔχοντες, οἱ ψένονται." (Ib. p. 277.) This is said to have been practised under the sanction of the laws in Gaul. That Socrates, the most virtuous of all the Philosophers, was addicted to this practice, many ancient authors of respectability may be adduced to shew: and Theodoret with others asserts, that it was recommended by Plato in his Republic. See Theod. Grec. affect. curat. Germ. x. p. mihi 618. D. Tom. iv. Viger is certainly mistaken when he imagines that the Zeruasus of Theodoret, means Plato; it being self evident, as I think, that the Persian Zerdusht, (زرعشت) or Gr. Zoroaster, must have been intended. Notes to the Prep. Evang. p. 25. seq. where it may be seen, that Autolycus accuses both the Epicureans and the Stoics of the same crime. Cesarious imputes the same to the Chaldeans and Babylonians, (ib.) See also the Prep. Evang. (p. 11.) and Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 472. seq. It may be doubted perhaps, whether some of these charges can be substantiated. See Luzacii de Theodoreto judicium, prefixed to Dr Gaisford's work.—These abominations are again touched upon, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 161, and Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 248. seq.

\(^3\) These particulars seem to be resumed more specifically near the end of this section. Our text has ἡμίνημον here, for ἡμῖνημον I presume. I have, therefore, translated it by in sepulchres: alluding, perhaps, to the sacrificing, and otherwise destroying, of children.

\(^4\) So, in the Prep. Evang. (p. 11. C.)... "κυσι καὶ οἰνωνίας τοῦ κρείσιον νεκροῦ προτίδειν τοὺς πάλαι τοῦτο πράτατονται." (See also Plutarch, Tom. ii. p. 499.) So also Bardesanes, who attributes this to the Medes, &c. (ib. p. 277.) "Οἱ Μίδοι πάντες τοῖς μετὰ σκούπας πρεσβούνοι κυσι, τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐτί ἐμπνέοντες παραβαλλοντι." Theodoret says,
(only) to the dogs and birds of prey. Others murdered those who came to them as guests⁸! Others too, feasted themselves on human flesh⁹! And again, there were those who, when their friends were in the agonies (of death), sacrificed them and feasted on them, before they expired⁷! Others, who were approaching old age, they threw from rocks⁸! Others they gave up to strangulation⁹! Others¹⁰ they threw

on the same subject:...“οὐκ ἢτι δ ὡτε ἀρκανο, οὕτε Κάστιοι τῶν κόσμων τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐκτρέφουσι σώματοι.” (p. 615. see also p. 614.) See also Cicero. Tusc. Quest. Lib. 1. cap. xlv. ⁸ So Bardeanes. (Prep. Evang. p. 275. B.) “φυλή τοις Ινδῶν, οὕτως τῶν ἐμπίπτοντες ἐξόνου οὔρεώντες, καὶ τούτως θώρυνες ἐπεθίουν.” See also Viger’s Note, (p. 25.) where much interesting matter, to this effect, is collected together. it. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 835. B. ⁹ This is applied to the Scythians, generally, in the Prep. Evang. (p. 11.) in these words:...“μὴ δ’ ἀνθρωπόβοροι Σκύθαι διὰ τῶν καὶ μέχρις αὐτῶν ἐθύμηται τῶν χριστῶν λόγων.” Bardeanes affirms that there is also a people in India, who indulge in cannibalism, (ib. p. 278. D.) “καὶ εἰν μὴ χάρα τῶν Ινδῶν εἰναὶ ἀνθρωπόφαγοι Ινδοὶ.” ⁷ This seems to be applied to the Derbices of Persia, (Prep. Evang. ib. p. 11.) and the Massagetes...“Μασσαγέται καὶ Δέρβικες ἀδιαμέτρως ἤγειρθαν τῶν οἰκείων τῶν αὐτοματως τελευτησαντες, δια καὶ βδάσαντες κατέθουν, καὶ εἰστικότα τῶν φιλτάτων τῶν παρακαμάσαντας.” This is repeated, in the main, by Theodoret. (Grec. affect. curat. Serm. ix. p. 615.) ⁸ This, according to Euseb. (l.c.) and Theodoret, (l.c.) was done by the Tibareni. Theod. “καὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ τοὺς πρεσβύτατοι κατὰ κρημνῶν βαθυτάτων εἰσίκοτες ο洣εῖν.” ⁹ Mention is made of this (Prep. Evang. ib.) in these words, “μὴ αὖχως τοὺς γαγγαρακοτας, ὡσπερ ἡ πρότεροι, ἐπιβάλλων.” “Nec senio jam confectis, ut antes, laqueos injiciunt.” Lit. Nor, as formerly, do they cast over the aged with a snare (noose, &c.) A practice, perhaps, not unlike that of the Persian hunters and warriors, who threw a sort of noose,—called the كمند, Camand,—over the head of the animal they wished to take. The Syriac term used here is, حَمَصَانَا sharbatkatha, which seems to me to be a corruption of the Arabic شَبَيكًا, meaning a net. Bar Bahlul, I see, makes it i.q. كَسْمَانَا, strangulation of the neck, and كَمَة, snare: and the Arab. كُمْ: so far, therefore, it is, i.q. the Gr. αὐχώς. I wonder therefore, that Castell should so very imperfectly have explained this word. ¹⁰ So the Hyrcanians and Bactrians (Prep. Evang. pp. 11, 12, and Theodoret as above.)
to the dogs, while still living; and others, while dying. Others they buried with these (alive)! while others put the living to death on the funeral pile; those (I say), whom those (now) dead had loved.

82. Thus therefore, had the whole human race been led on to the last stage of brutality, so that he, who was (once) rational, became the most irrational of all. Nor was there any other (being), of those that were on the earth, more vicious than man; who had been (so) led into every vile affection, and had (so) corrupted his mind with every species of wickedness, that he readily forsook even the reflection which belonged to his nature, and did nothing well, either of the things pertaining to the soul, the body, or of those, which were external to him; but, he every where became subject to vice upon vice!—For, the lives of men are divided among the things which are of the soul, of the body, and of those which are external (to both). But, the error of the Demons had (now) so possessed in every form, and had so corrupted, the lives of men, that the things of the soul were at war with them, through the madness of the Demon-worship which had (so) seized upon them, and through their foolishness and blindness as to the truth,—about which (truth) even the family of Philosophers was in a state of agitation. And, as to the things of the body, (they consisted) in the human sacrifices which (prevailed) throughout the whole earth; and again, in the base, lawless, and corrupt practices, which were foreign to nature. The things too, which were external (to both, consisted) in this,

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2. This, according to Theodoret, (Grec. affect. curat. p. 615.) was done by the Syriacs: "Σκότας τοὺς τετελευτησάς συμμαθητάτως ζών. τοὺς οὖν ἕγατες ἐκείνοις." So Ibn Batuta tells us (Travels, p. 230.) that he saw, at the funeral of the Emperor of China, six favourite Mamluks, and four female slaves all buried alive with him! See also Prep. Evang. (ib. p. 166. C.)
3. So the Indians, as Bardesanes tells us, burned the wives, together with the dead body of the husband, on the funeral pile (Prep. Evang. p. 277. D.), just as it is the practice still in Hindustan. See also Plutarch, Tract. Ei αὐτόρηση κ. τ. λ. Tom. ii. p. 1. ὑπ. 490. See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 254. seq. as given by Celsus himself.
that in the cities, localities, and nations, all were, at one
time, divided into parties; at another,—when they were
brought together,—they contended against each other, by
means of the desolations and reductions of cities, in which
they mutually laboured⁴. And, the length of the day
would be insufficient for me, were I to relate all the things
pertaining to this ancient disease, which had (so) seized
upon the whole race of man. And, on this account more
particularly, was God the Saviour necessary to this our
(mortal) life, as to those who had been cast down to the
last extremity of evil: nor was there any other cure or aid
(for this), except by means of the glorious and divine
manifestation (of Christ).

83. What, then, was it right that The Word⁵, the
Father of rational beings, the Saviour of all, the Guardian,
the providential Care, the Shepherd of the rational flock which
is on the earth, should, after (the occurrence of) these things,
do, in order to raise to great honour the rational and
intelligent Essence which is in man, (and) which had (so)
fallen into the vast depths of evil? And that he, who had
with his own hands (so) dragged upon himself the cause
of his ruin, might see (and know Him as) his friend? Would⁶
it have been well, that (even) a man should pass
over the safety of his friends, and un pityingly neglect them
when thus perishing, who had the highest claim to his
providential care? No Captain indeed, would ever be termed
wise, who should give up his ship with its crew to go down,
having by him that which (would secure) the safety of
those who sailed with him, but not applying it. Nor was
there ever a General so merciless, as to give up, unavenged,
the soldiers of his army to their enemies. Nor is there any
good Shepherd, who un feelingly neglects the (single) sheep

⁴ Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 535. C.
⁵ Syr. [Διός, kωστο] | Διος πατερ. Where it will be seen,
as in other instances, that the notion of reason, contained in the Greek
λόγος, is implied in the Syriac [Διος].
⁶ Syr. [τοιον ποταμο], lit. may see him, his recogniser, or familiar.
⁷ This argument will also be found Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. C. xvii.
p. 514. C. D.
that has strayed from his flock; but, he leaves those that are not lost and in a secure place, and undergoes every thing for the discovery of that which has strayed; and, should it be necessary, he will even engage with the wild beasts\(^1\) (in its defence). The providential care, however, of The Word, the Saviour,—of Him who has provided every thing for (His) rational creatures,—was not put forth (merely) for a flock that is irrational. For, it is man (only) of the creatures that are on the earth, who is (thus) beloved of God; and it is man also, to whom He has, as a Father, given up every kind of irrational animal in subjection. It is to man too, to whom He has assigned the navigation of the seas; and for whom He has adorned the earth with every sort of plant. To him He has subjected both the (various) kinds of beings that swim in the unseen depths, and of the birds that fly in the heights. It is man moreover, to whom He has granted the faculty of knowledge for receiving every sort of learning. To him likewise, has He made plain the observation of things in the heavens, the (annual) courses of the sun, the (monthly) changes of the moon, and the progress of the stars both planetary and fixed\(^2\).

84. How then, after (the occurrence) of these things, could it have been becoming, that the fatherly anxiety and providential care which is over all,—which had (so) rightly exerted its care for those other things of the body, and of this sensible world,—should be so crippled as to become inactive, as it respected the healing of the rational Essence vested in man? It had afforded every sort of provision for man, every sort of remedy, and (means) of health, for the body, growth also, strength, beauty, riches, delights, and the increase of possession for (his) convenience. And, Would He put forth not so much as one effort of care, that they might become acquainted\(^3\) with the things which are

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1 Alluding perhaps to the case of David. 1 Sam. xvii. 34—36.
3 Syr. אֶפֶּה, which, if it is not to be taken here in the sense of Ethpehal, which is certainly unusual,—ought perhaps to be written אֶפֶּה, in that form: for, it seems to me quite impossible here, to attach the usual sense of Aphkel to it. The place does not occur, un-
most excellent in them, with their own souls, and the Essence which is intelligent? But thus, it is likely one would rather blame the imbecility (or) carelessness, not of the sheep wandering from the flock, but of the shepherd: and again, not the infirm of soul, or those calamitously circumstanced; but the contempt or imbecility of the physician, if he gave not every sort of medicine for the healing and aid of those, who (so) needed (it). Every necessity would therefore call upon Him, who is the Guardian and Saviour of all, for the healing of his (rational) flock.

85. It is likely therefore, that the compassionate Word of God would, as a good Shepherd, Saviour, and Guardian, when His rational flock on earth was (thus) implicated in the greatest evils, deign openly to make a Divine manifestation of Himself; since, behold! He had never allowed even a period to pass, in which He did not fully exert His providential care, for the supply of every good thing to those who were in need. At every period therefore, in all ages of the world, He both looked, and engaged Himself, upon the things belonging to the earth; and gave freely in times of necessity, of the things which were (laid up) with Him: and so without upbraiding, evinced He the promptness of His providential care towards all men, that He even afforded instruction to those among mankind who were worthy (of this), by revelations of Angels, and by raising up holy Ministers of God: by Prophecy also, and familiar intercourse, He preached the Godhead of His Father, and the life that was most excellent, to those who were capable of being taught in the mysteries of the worship of God: at that period, too, he gave the instruction which was from Himself to our Fathers, as to those who were still infants, and inexperienced in evil.

86. Because then (men) had, by a perversion which


4 Syr. an error of the Copyist, for

was not good (growing) out of their liberty, and from the will of their minds, set themselves up, and (hence) had fallen from the life that is excellent into (many) evils; it is likely, that the same Word of God, would again,—as the Physician of souls,—by adequate aids succour those who suffered this malady, and bring back by bitter medicines, those who had not benefited by these His gifts. On these grievous diseases of vice therefore, He took vengeance by pestilences, famines, wars, conflagrations, and inundations (of waters); and thus turned back to Himself, those who stood in need of these things. At one time He purged the entire life of all, by destructions of waters: at another, He punished the wicked by excessive rains in (certain) places, by strokes of the lightning, by burnings, or by withholding the (necessary) rains. And again, in the abundance of His mercy, He made certain by these same deeds, both (his) rebukes and teachings against the errors of Demons. The Temples too, of those who were thought to be Gods, and (their) Fanes, together with the images and Gods themselves, did He desolate by destructive strokes of lightning; and thus He put to shame those follies. Nor was it (this) only, but He taught them to distinguish by their own reason, that these never were Gods, and, that it was not in their power even to help themselves: and also, that they were neither of the household of God the King of all, nor friends of Him, who (thus) waged war against them. For, How could He who is the cause of every good thing, give up to destruction by fire, the Temples which (men) had built to His own honour; unless (indeed) He did this for a reproof of their error? For, if it was His will that the Demons which resided in these should be honoured, Why did He destroy their Temples together with their images? By means of the arrows which were sent from above from God, He drove far away from their eminences those who resided in these (Temples), and fully preached, in this way (and) by these doings, in the hearing of all men, crying out (as it were), Cease ye from the error of Demons, and (from affirming) that there are many

Gods; and acknowledge that Lord of heaven and earth and of the whole universe, who is God (indeed): that Saviour, that Nourisher, that Preserver;—Him, who, (as) they may see with their own eyes, has openly shewn His providential care over them; at one time, in the supply of seasonable rains, of fruits borne of all (that springs) out of the earth, of wealth, and of comforts, unsparingly: at another, by the chastisements sent from God, and by the modes of discipline which were from Himself, has He brought back as with a bridle, those who were insensible of the good things, with which He had furnished them. Nor was it (this) only, but He also so cured the error of those who supposed these to be Gods, by a continuance of the lightnings and conflagrations which (came) upon them, that the Temples of the Gods were even burnt, together with those who had fabricated Gods for themselves, by ambushments of men: plainly exhibiting to those who could see, the rebuke which was due to the error of these. Nevertheless, when these worshippers of the Gods witnessed these early (occurrences), they entertained no greater a disposition towards the correction of their impiety!

87. And again also, when they believed in these Gods, who had (virtually) confessed by their divinations, that they could effect nothing beyond what had been fated;—for Fate is the cause of all (in this acceptation);—they understood not, nor did they consider, that, as (this) Fate took hold both of themselves and of the Gods, vain must be (every) trust put in these, as they could neither help, nor injure mankind in any thing. And, Only so?—If it were right to honour Fate, as the cause of every thing; still this, as being a necessity impervious to change, could have no power even over itself! But, He has put forth the knowledge of Himself,—in order that (men) might know Him to be Lord of this (fate), and also of every (other) thing;—at one time, by the supply of every sort of good thing; at another, by chastising the error of a plurality of Gods in thunderings and in

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* See Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. capp. i—iii. p. 236; where cap. iii. we have a poem from Porphyry on the conflagrations of the Temples. See also ib. Lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 134. D.
lightnings. And it has accordingly been made matter of history, that the Temple of Delphos,—of that Pythian (Apollo) who was (so much) preached of formerly,—underwent upon one occasion (an entire) conflagration; but these, remaining in their error, raised it up a second time; and God the second time destroyed it! They renewed it also a third time; and He again, expelled entirely from its place, not the Temple, but the Demon that resided within its chamber, by his Divine manifestation! so that now, this is no more a house of divination; nor does he, who formerly led the Greeks astray, (any more) practise there.

88. The Temple of Diana too at Ephesus, came to (its) destruction three several times. On one occasion, the Amazons burnt it; on another, Herododus (Herostratus), one of the inhabitants of Ephesus; and lastly, on another, (it was ruined) by God who is over all. So that now, after the manifestation of our Saviour, nothing more

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1 Syr. ἔστιν ἡ ἱερατικὴ ἁρμονία, which I take to be much the same with the "ἴδε ἀλίσας βεβονδόνυον," of Eusebius, Prep. Evang. (p. 134. D.) This (Simson's Chron. p. 640) happened A. M. 3457; his words are, "A Pisistratidis incensum prodidit Philechorus apud Pindari Scholiastem ad Od. 7. Pyth. Non multo post ab Alcmeonidias instauratum."

2 Syr. ἀντίκειται. It has been affirmed by some, (Simson. Chron. A. M. 3498,) that the Amazons first built this Temple; others deny this, and state that one Cresus, with Ephesus the son of Caÿter, built it: while Strabo makes Chersiphron its first builder. I have met with no account, however, of it having been destroyed by the Amazons.

3 Syr. ἄναρχοι. Strabo, however, Lib. xiv. p. 440, tells us, that it was Herostratus, Ἡρόστατος, who, to secure fame to himself, burnt it the second time. See also Valerius Maximus, Lib. viii. cap. xiv. Extern. 5. This was the Temple in which the image that fell down from Jupiter (Acts xix. 36.) was said to be preserved: which image, according to Pliny, was made of ebony by one Canitia. (Lib. xix. cap. iv.) So the authors of the Universal History, and, after them apparently Rees's Encyclopedia, Art. Diana. But, I can find no such thing in Pliny, nor any statuary of the name of Canitia. The words of Pliny are (Lib. xvi. 79), "De ipso simulacro Deæ ambigitur: ceteri ex eboe esse tradunt. Mucianus ter consul, ex his qui proxime viso scripsere, vitigineum, et nunquam mutatum septies restituto templo."
is visible even there, except the great (and) signal mark of the victory of (its) overthrow.

89. They have recorded moreover, that the Temple of Juno in Argus was destroyed on one occasion by fire⁴; as was also that in Abas⁵, in like manner, when the Thebans made an incursion and burnt it, and with it five hundred men!

90. It is also said, that on one occasion, lightning struck the statue of Jupiter⁶ in Olympia.

91. The Roman histories likewise inform us, that the Temple of Vesta⁷ which is in Rome, and which is called

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⁴ So Thucydides, Lib. iv. 133; not unlike this too, Pausanias Descript. Gr. Lib. vii. cap. v. This happened (Simson's Chronicon. p. 769.) A. M. 3562—which see.

⁵ Syr. Ἀκαλόυτος. This Temple was, according to Herodotus, very rich, and more ancient than that of Delphos, and was burnt by the Medes in conjunction with the Thessalians, Lib. viii. 33. Eusebius, however, speaks of an invasion and burning by the Thebans (Syr. Ἀκαλόυτος), which was, perhaps, on another occasion. See also Pausanias, Grec. Descript. Lib. x. cap. xxxv. This happened A. M. 3668. (Sims. Chron. p. 905.)

⁶ This was, according to Strabo, (Lib. viii. p. mihi 244.) one of the finest works of Phidias. It was made of ivory, in a sitting posture, and so large, that if standing the Temple could not have contained it, its height would have been so great. See also Pausanias, Lib. i. cap. xviii. This Temple was once destroyed by an inundation of the sea. Pausan. Lib. iii. cap. ix. I can find no account of the destruction of this statue by lightning. See Prep. Evang. p. 135. A.

⁷ Syr. Ὀλυμποσία. An account of this is found in Herodian, as happening in the times of Commodus, (Lib. i. 14.) He first tells us, that the Temple of Peace suffered by lightning after many prodigies had appeared in the heavens, with pestilences, &c. on the earth. His words are: "Μεγίστων δὲ δεσμῶν καὶ τῶν παρόντων καιρῶν ἐλξασθε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον οἰωνίσματι καὶ φάολοι συμβόλων χρωμένους πάντας ἐτύραξαν. οὕτε γάρ ὄμβρου προφήτας, οὕτε νεφών ἀθροισθένων, σεισμοῦ δὲ οἶλον προγεωμένον γῆς, οὕτε σκήπτων νύκτωρ κατεφλεξότων, οὕτε καὶ πυρός ποθὲν ἐκ τοῦ σεισμοῦ διαρρέοντος, πᾶν τὸ τῆς Ἐμίσσης τέμενος καταφλεξότως, μεγίστων καὶ καλλίστων γενόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐργῶν, πλουσιότατον δὲ τὴν πάντων ἱερῶν ...οὕτε καὶ τῆς Ἐσσίας τοῦ νεώ καταφλεξότως ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, ὑμνοθέν ὑψηγὸς τὸ τῆς Παλλαδος ἁγάλμα (ὁ σέβοναι τε καὶ κρύπνοντος)
the Pantheon\(^1\),—(all) the Gods being assembled together there, as it should seem,—was again, destroyed by lightning.

92. And again, on one occasion, lightning fell from heaven on that which is called by them the Capitol, and destroyed that house of every Temple\(^2\).

\[\text{τον Ἐρμήων κομισθέν ἀπὸ Τροιάς (ὡς λόγος).}\] "Maximum autem nefas cum in presens dolorum attulit, tum in futurum pessimou sanguino universos conturrut. Nam cum neque imbres ulli neque nubes, tantumque exiguis terre motus antecessisset, seu nocturni causis fulmos, sive igni aliquo in ipso terrarum motu velut extrito, totum de improviso Pacis templum consumptum incendio est: quod unum sollicitum opus cunctorum tota urbe maximum fuit atque pulcherrimum: idem templorum omnium opulentissimum...inter quae etiam Vesta templum, sic ut Palladium quoque conspiceretur: quod inprimis colunt atque in arcano habent Romani, Troja (ut perhibent) avectum." See also Xiphilinus near the end of Commodus. The Temple of Fortune at Rome is said, by Zosimus, to have been burnt in like manner. (Lib. ii. Constantinus et Licinius.) The Temple of Vesta was also burnt in the first Punic war. See Dion. Halicarn. Lib. ii. p. 94. Edit. 1546, where this Palladium is also spoken of. See also Clemens. Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 30—35. seq. and Pausan. Lib. v.

\(^1\) Syr. \(στατικοῦ\), i.e. of every god; which, I suppose, is an imitation of Pantheum (Πανθεον). Xiphilinus tells us in his Epitome of Dion, that in the times of Titus, the Temples of Serapis and Isis; the Septa; the Temple of Neptune; the Baths of Agrippa; the Pantheon; the Diribitorium; the Theatre of Balbus; the Scenes of Pompey; the houses of Octavius, with the books; the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with the adjoining Temples, were all destroyed by fire, which the Historian thinks were Divine, rather than human, occurrences. (Edit. Syllburg. Ed. 1890. p. 327.) See also Prep. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 134. D. seq. It. Simsoni de Sibyl. Vaticin. disquis. col. 1712.

\(^2\) I have been willing here to keep as closely as I could to the Syriac, which has, \(στατικοῦ\). This happened in the times of Domitian, of which Suetonius (Lib. xi. cap. xv.) gives the following account. "Continuus octo mensibus tot fulgura facta nuntiataque sunt, ut exclamaverit (i.e. Domitianus) Feriat jam quem volat. Tectum de ccelo Capitolium, templumque Flavii gentis; item domus Palatina et cubiculum ipsius; atque etiam è basi statue triumphalis titulus exccusus vi procellae in monumentum proximum decidit." &c. We are told in the next chapter, that on consulting a German soothsayer concerning this lightning, he was told that it portended a change of things. Which harmonizes well with the general expectations of those times. The soothsayer, however, appears to have lost his life,
93. With all these modes of discipline therefore, has the Providence which is over all, the Word of God, put to shame from all time, those who worshipped Demons. Nor was it (this) only, but He also taught them, from ancient times by doctrines worthy of God, that they should worship His Father. He has likewise, cast forth (as seed) among mortal men, the doctrines conducive to life; divine laws, and precepts of righteousness, as herbs (productive) of things that are good, and as medicines for the salvation of reasonable souls. Thus (did He) in ancient times with the Hebrews through Prophets, men who partook of the Divine Spirit. And again, from a long extended antiquity, through other Friends of God: and again afterwards, through those who were vested with the Divinity, did He call those who had been cast off to death, to (the means of) recovery. He also sowed (as it were) in the souls of men, the rudiments of the Divine laws;—of various kinds of instructions; of doctrines of every kind; of predictions, and of prophecies of things to come; as also the love of that life (which is devoted) to the worship of God. Hence poured forth as from a fountain, even in every part of the creation, the seed, (and thence) the rational observances (of life): and hence, laws and lawgivers were seen among all the nations; and the name of virtue and of philosophy became known among men. (Now) came into being the love of things most excellent; and, the desire to discover the truth was in such active operation with the many, that the error of their forefathers came into utter contempt, and, with the intelligent, those things which belonged to the worship and love of God, into repute. The truth too had been wanting; and great had been the differences respecting this with the many, as had the contentions and divisions of those, who disputed about doctrines. And thus did these things shew, that the Providence (exerted) over mankind, was from

on account of this answer. Comp. Tacit. Hist. Lib. iv. 64, and Simson, Chron. Cathol. pars. vii. p. 1674. The Capitol was also burnt in the year before Christ, 80, together with the Chapel and Sybilline books. Simson, Chron. a. m. 3923.

3 In like manner in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 535. C.
all time great, (and) evincing the care for every man, which was both suitable and sufficient.

94. Because then, great would be the change for the better in every one, upon human life’s becoming tranquillized, and the common conduct (of all) being changed from its former wildness to something approaching to benignity; it is likely, that the common Saviour of all, the compassionate Word of God, would more particularly, and the more readily, make his Divine manifestation at a time that would be (most) suitable. He accordingly came in by the mission of himself, and shewed forth to men,—who could by no other means arrive at the knowledge of the truth, by the instrumentality of a human vessel,—the God of truth. The God of truth did then, through the divine operations and astonishing miracles which were evident to all, shew forth the doctrine of heavenly teaching which respected His Kingdom; in order that by these, He might henceforth,—even as He had formerly afforded aid by means of the things already mentioned,—instruct the whole human race in the doctrine which is heavenly. It was impossible indeed, in ancient times, to make those who had been driven to the last stage of vice, pure by words (only), inviting (them) to the perfect knowledge of God, and to the better life of purity and of righteousness. On this account, just as Physicians prescribe their remedies to those who are sick and debilitated by pains and sufferings, not the healthy food proper for the robust, but things that give uneasiness and pain; and, should it be

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1 To the same effect Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 79... "ἀντετελεῖ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης γέγονεν, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ, εὐτρεπώντος (τοῦ Θεοῦ) τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη, ὡς ὑπὸ ἐνα γένηται τῶν Ῥωμαίων Βασιλέας καὶ μη, διὰ τὸ προφάσει τῶν πολλῶν βασιλείων ἀμύκτων τῶν ἔθνων πρὸς ἄλληλα, χαλεπώτερως γένηται τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοῦ Ιησοῦ τὸ ποιήσας ὅπερ προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ὁ Ιησοῦς," κ.τ.λ. "Exorta est enim in diebus ejus justitia, et multitudo pacis facta est max ex quo natus est, præparante Deo gentes ad ejus doctrinam, ut omnes parent uni Romanorum regi, nēue, propter multitudinem regnorum interruptis gentium commerciis, difficilium fieret Jesu Apostolis illud mandatum ipsius," &c.
necessary, do not excuse themselves from applying cat-
teries and bitter draughts, to coerce the disease:—not
the aliments proper for the healthy, but those suitable to
the sick: but, when they have become convalescent,
they will henceforth allow them to partake of wholesome
and strengthening food:—

95. So likewise the common Saviour of all, as the
Shepherd and Physician of His rational flocks on earth,
taught those—who had previous to His last divine mani-
festation entered into the many follies of a plurality of
Gods, and had been maddened by the evils and fierceness
attending (this) corruption of mind,—by bitter punishments,
by pestilences, famines, and the continuance of wars against
each other. And again, by excessive rains, by the with-
holding of the rains, and by calamitous strokes of lightning,
did He annihilate these instances of obstinacy: besides, He
afforded opportunity to the worshippers of the Demons
to see, by the vengeance taken in the strokes of lightning
sent upon the Idols, the reproach due to the error of a
plurality of Gods.

96. He again as a good Father, thus also afforded
instruction to the foolish; for He imparted to them un-
grudgingly, the gifts which were from Himself, in the
provision of every good and rich thing: rains in their
seasons; the production of fruits; the changes of the
seasons; and the carrying forward of animal life. The ra-
tional means also of all kinds of art; the seeds of these,
and the (due) consideration of them, He cast forth into the
souls of men. Again also He sowed (as it were), by means
of the Prophets who are preached of among the Hebrews,
the rudiments of the Divine precepts; the instruction
pertaining to the fear of God; the entrance, the stages,
and principal things, attending the Divine laws; such (I
say) as were suitable to the men of those times. He
again from his providential care, (and) by means of many
others, also gave the aid which was convenient for men
as then (existing).

97. Because therefore, the life of man had hencefor-
ward undergone a change, by means of these things, to
a state of peacefulness and rest, and was prepared to re-
ceive the perfect doctrine relating to God; well again, did
the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) Word of God, the King of all, shew forth at a time that was suitable, and by these same operations, the Divine manifestation of Himself. But, as these things have been largely set forth already, it is (now) time we should proceed to those that (should) follow them.

_The End of the Second Book of (Eusebius) of Caesarea._
BOOK III.

THE THIRD BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CESAREA.

1. Because then, human life had undergone a change, through the things already mentioned, to a state henceforth of peace and rest, and had been prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God; well again, did the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) Word of God, the King of all, shew forth the divine revelation of Himself by very deeds, and at the time which was suitable. For, immediately and at once, when He appeared in the world, those things which appertained to the ancient service of Demons, were undone by the overthrow as it were, of (some ruinous) war-engine; tidings announcing good things were preached to all nations, and God who is over all, the Propitiator of the children of men, was announced. The whole error of a plurality of Gods was also overthrown, and all the operations of demons were forthwith cast aside. Men again were no more sacrificed; nor were the slaughterings of human beings, which from former times had ruined the world, (persevered in). Nor again, were there multitudes of Rulers, Princes, Tyrants, and Governours of

1 See also Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 10. seq. recurred to again, Book v. par. 52.
2 This is obscure in the Syriac, and stands thus: [אומד בַּדַּבָּר] [Martin, Chaldee], is perhaps here for the Greek μυχανών; although [מַלְאַךְ הַשֵּׁמֶשׁ] is given by Castell for this word: which, however, is put for the plural μυχανῶν, and ought to have had the mark of the plural form (-πος) placed over it. It is marvellous that neither Castell nor Michaelis (his Editor) saw this! See 1 Maccab. vi. 20; not 3 Maccab. vi. 20, as Michaelis has given. Once for all, this Lexicon by Michaelis is, perhaps, the most incorrectly printed book that ever was published.
3 Syr. [אַלְמָה], by mistake, perhaps, for [אַלְמָה], Rulers being sometimes styled Fathers. See my Heb. Lexicon under נ. iii.
the people. Nor again, existed those things, on account of which wars, and the reduction of cities, had been set on foot in every city and place: on the contrary, one God was preached to all men: the one empire too of the Romans had extended itself over all: and the peaceless and uncompromising enmity, which had so long been the portion of the nations, came to an entire end. And, as the knowledge of the one God, and of one just and righteous conduct resulting therefrom, was, by the teaching of our Saviour, delivered to all men; so also one king, at one and the same time, was established over the whole Roman empire, and a profound peace prevailed in every thing. At once too, and at one period, as it were at the intimation of the one God, two singular advantages sprung up among mankind; the Instruction that was in righteousness, and the Empire of the Romans. For formerly, this error of the Demons had grievously enslaved the nations: and, as the whole had been divided into many (parts), some taking Syria by way of portion; others bearing rule in Asia; others, in Macedonia; others cutting up and seizing upon Egypt; others, in like manner, upon the country of Arabia: the race of the Jews again, had possession of Palestine. And, in every village, city, and place, they were, as from madness (and) like marauders and demoniacs in reality, careful (only) about warfare and contention one against another;—of which enough has already been said.

2. But (now), two great Powers sprung fully up, as (it were) out of one stream; and they gave peace to all, and brought all together to a state of friendship: (namely) the Roman Empire, which, from that time, appeared (as) one kingdom; and, the Power of the Saviour of all, whose

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1 Syr. [λειτουργεῖν ἐν περιπηκτήσει]. Castell and Michaelis seem to have had no very distinct notion of the sense of the latter word here. Our Author constantly uses it in the sense of people or inhabitant, generally. See Book ii. par. 65, near the end.

2 Alluding to what had been said above, about the successors of Alexander, Book ii. sect. 77. Matter nearly allied to that in this paragraph, will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 178. seq. also, in the Demonstratio Evangelica, Lib. iii. near the end, and above, Book ii. sect. 66.
aid was at once extended to, and established with, every one. For, the divine superiority of our Saviour swept away the authority of the many Demons, and many Gods; so that the one kingdom of God was preached to all men Greeks and Barbarians, and to those who (resided) in the extremities of the earth. The Roman Empire too,—since those had been previously uprooted who had been the cause of the rule of many—soon subjugated all (others), and quickly brought together into one state of accordance and agreement, the whole race of (man). And, behold! it henceforth brought together such a multitude of nations, as soon to take possession (of all), even to the extremities of the earth; the teaching\(^3\) of our Saviour having, by the divine power, already prepared all parties, and established (all) in a state of equanimity. And this is indeed a great miracle to those, who set their minds on the love of truth, and are unwilling to be envious against that which is good. For at once, was the error of evil Demons put out of sight; and, at the same time, did the enmity and contention of the nations, which had always existed, lose its power: and again, at the same time, was the one God and the one knowledge of Him, preached to all men through the teaching of our Saviour: at the same time too, was the empire of the Romans\(^4\) established among men; and, at once, was the (state of) the whole race of man changed to (that) of peace; and all, professing a common brotherhood, betook themselves to the instructing of their own nature. Forthwith too, they became born, as it were, of one (common) Father, and as the children of the one God; of one Mother too, righteousness and truth; and so received they one another with the salutation of peace, that henceforward the whole creation was nothing less than as one household, and as a race governed by one law. It was (now) practicable too, that any desiring to send, for the purposes of merchandise, and to proceed, whithersoever he pleased, to do this with the greatest facility. Those of the West could come without

\(^2\) Alluding to the judgments, &c. spoken of above. Book II. par. 86.
danger to the East: and again, those who were here (in the East) could proceed thither as to the house of their own fathers, according to the words of ancient prophecy, and of many other burdens of the Prophets, which we have not now leisure to mention, excepting these respecting our Saviour, the Word of God, which proclaimed thus: “He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the extremities of the earth;” and again, “In his days shall righteousness spring forth, and abundance of peace.” and again, “They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into reaping hooks, and nation shall not lift up the sword against nation; nor shall they learn war.”

3. These things were foretold in the language of the Hebrews, (and) have been published a very long time ago: they are now in our times witnessed in their operation, confirming the testimonies of those ancient declarations. If then, thou desire other proofs of the excellency of the truth, (shewing) that it is not of mortal nature, but is the word of God in truth; and (that) the “power of God,” the Saviour, has been revealed in the world, not by words (only), but by deeds; accept thou of them.

1 Syr. מִבְלָא r, lit. without storm, or tempest, metaphorically, as the context manifestly requires.

2 Syr. מַחַלָא, וַתְּנַחֵם. The former of these words is not to be found in the Dictionaries: but, as the root is מַחַל, I have had no hesitation in translating it, as equivalent to the Hebrew, מַחַל, and as signifying “burdens.”

3 Ps. Lxxiii. 8, according to the Peschito.

4 Ib. ver. 7.

5 Both these places are cited by Origen, Philocalia, cap. i. p. 4. Edit. Spencer.

6 Is. ii. 4. according to the Peschito, except that for מַחַל, we have here מַחַל, which means much the same thing: and מַחַל is omitted. A large number of predictions to this effect will be found collected in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. capp. i. ii.—I will remark here, that, from the manner in which sentiments, similar to those occurring in this work, are given elsewhere by our author, this was probably his first production.

7 So Lactantius, who was contemporary with our author: “Atqui impieeta esse impiere quotidie illorum” (Prophetarum sc.) “vaticinias videmus.” De falsa religione, Lib. i. cap. iv.
Open the eyes of thy understanding, unbar the doors of thy mind; and let thy soul be wholly collected within thee. Consider and ask thyself, as if thou wert interrogated by another, and thus investigate the nature of the things (to be brought before thee).

4. Who, of those that ever existed, is the mortal man, King, Philosopher, Lawgiver, or Prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, who bore all this pre-eminence,—not after his death, but while he was still alive, and drew breath;—and could effect so much, that he should be preached throughout the whole earth? and, that his name should fill the hearing, and tongues of every people upon the face of the whole earth? But this, no man has done excepting our Saviour alone, who said to his disciples by word, and fulfilled it by deed: “Go and teach all nations.” He said (also) to them,—what He had foretold and previously revealed,—that it was necessary His Gospel should be preached throughout the whole creation, for a testimony to all nations. And, with the word, He brought the deed also to pass: for, immediately,—and not at a great distance of time,—the whole creation was filled with His words!

5. Now, What can he have to say on this matter, who dares to oppose the truth; since the testimony which is by means of the sight, is better than that which is by any sort of words? But, if thou give up this first (sort of proof), betake (thyself) to the latter: and now consider with thyself,—

6. What mortal nature has ever appeared, which appointed like Him, by word only and not in writing, laws that were just and pure, and sent these same forth by the hands of His disciples, from one extremity of the creation to another? and, Who so opened out His doctrines throughout the whole earth, that immediately and day by day, the instructions which it was becoming should be delivered by Him, were sufficiently preached in the hearing of all men, Barbarians at once, and Greeks? But, if thou seek, thou shalt find no other: for this is a work, resulting from the power of the Saviour of us all, alone.—Nor will this per-

\* Matt. xxviii. 19.  
\* Ib. xxiv. 14.
suade him who is not to be persuaded. Let the same then say to us, for we are willing to learn—

7. Who, of those who have been praised for the wisdom of their observances, has ever so delivered the barbarous and brutal of barbarous nations, by his merciful laws, that those who became (His) disciples among the Scythians, feast (now) no more on human beings? nor, among the Persians, take their own mothers (as wives)? others too cast not their dead to the dogs⁸? nor do others deliver up those that are aged for strangulation? nor are other brutal and beastly things allied to these, done with others⁹? But these are only small proofs of the revelation of the Godhead of the Saviour of us all. Look now also at others, and consider with thyself:—

8. What mortal man, of all the Princes at once, and Kings, and Armies, and Companies, and Inhabitants, and Nations, ever existed during all these periods, who added this also (to his exploits), that even those who were thought to be Gods by the many, should wage war with Him,—and who at all times did wage war with Him;—but, that He shewed his pre-eminence so far to exceed that of man, that day after day there was exultation, and (that) His doctrine took effect throughout the whole world?

9. And, Who is that other (person) who, since the life of man was set up, ever sought to constitute a people after his own name;—a thing never yet heard of:—and this, not in a corner, or obscurely in some part of the earth, but in the whole earth under the sun; (and) did so settle by the power of the rule of his Godhead, and so complete his wish, that he delivered the knowledge of the one God who is beyond the heavens, the King of the whole world, together with his fear, to all men.on the face of the whole earth, to the nations both Barbarian and Greek?

10. Who ever set about to teach, and, after he had so engaged himself, brought, as in this marked instance, the matter to its right effect? and forthwith, through his

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¹ The Syriac is remarkable here; it stands thus: غَضَبَ ﺃُوٍ ﺪِلَٰچَٰ. كَبَرَ ﻫَاصِبٌ ﺑَدَلَٰکَت.
² Alluding to what was said above. Book II. par. 81.
own efforts, so made known his undertaking, that by the love of God, he closed rather the mouths than the doors of all; and proclaimed God who is over all? He commanded moreover, that all nations should truly acknowledge Him alone? And, because he willed that which was acceptable to God, He deigned to give His aid and assistance to him, who was his own ambassador? The doctrines therefore, accompanying this preaching, were delivered; they were also received into the hearing of all men, and they were by deeds confirmed!—How they were, see thou, and consider;—

11. What other person ever arose (as the sun) with his rational light to the souls of men, and so prepared them to laugh at the error of the Demons of their forefathers, that they no more attached the divine name to wood, stone, and matter that is inanimate?

12. What other, excepting our Saviour, persuaded the Egyptians,—more attached as they were to the fear of Demons than any other people, and from whom came the error of a multiplicity of Gods to the Greeks,—that henceforth they should be no more (so) infatuated, and no more give that venerable name to beasts, reptiles, noxious and irrational animals; but should acknowledge that one God alone who is above all, and contend for his righteousness in every sort of death?

13. And Who invisibly, and by the powerful means and force of his doctrine which was everywhere preached, drove out as evil beasts, from among his own human flock, that injurious and destructive family of Demons, which from ancient time had ruled the whole race of man; and, by means of the exciting power of Idols, had put forth innumerable errors among them, so that these Demons should no more give out their divinations at the springs and fountains? Nor again, should any earthly spirits', leading the world astray, implicate mankind in error? The fountain therefore, that was in Castalia became silent, as

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did the other which was in Colophon: other fountains of divinations also became silent; the Pythian, the Clarian, the Nemean; that in Delphos, and Miletus; that in Colophon, and in Lebadia, of which (last) so much was boasted from ancient times. To the doctrine of Christ did they all accede. Where are (now) Amphilocus and Mopsus? There is not a man in (either) place! Where are Amphiaraus and Ἀκσελαπίος? Where is that (Image) of Ammon, and (which was) in the Desert of Libya? All these Gods have crept under the earth, being alarmed at the name of our Saviour! not unlike those their Princes who could not, when He went about among men, bear the rays of his Godhead, but grievously complained, crying

1 So Clemens Alexandrinus, as cited, Prep. Evang. Lib. n. cap. iii. p. 61 D. "Σεσίγηται γονιν καὶ ἡ κασταλίας πηγή, καὶ κολοφώνιος ἄλη πηγή, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἁμαίνεται τεῦχε ποτά μανικαῖα κάματα." k. τ. l. And, a little lower down. "Διηνιστεὶ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μανικης, μᾶλλον δὲ μανικῆς τὰ ἁρπηστα χρηστήρια, τῶν Κλάριον, τῶν Πίθιον, τῶν Δισβαία, τῶν Ἀμφαρέων, τῶν Ἄπικλω, τῶν Ἀμφίλοχων." k. τ. l. See the notes here to Viger’s Edition, p. 3. See also Theodoret (Græc. affect. curat. Serm. x. p. 629. Tom. iv.), who goes much more at length into this subject, and mentions a greater number of these Oracles. Ib. p. 624, he cites a passage from Plutarch (De defectu Oraculorum) which affirms that Demons, ministers of the Gods, not the Gods themselves, presided in these places; but disallows the bold assertion of Empedocles, that they were evil and injurious to men. See the rest of this Tract. See also Prep. Evang. Lib. v. i. cap. i.

2 See Prep. Evang. Lib. v. i. p. 180. A. where similar matter will be found.

4 Alluding evidently to Is. ii. 18—22.

4 Prep. Evang. Lib. v. i. p. 179. C..."εἰς πώγας φωτός δικην ἐξελαμβάνειν ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἤθεου καὶ ἐναγγελικὴ δύναμις." The Syriac speaks here much stronger on the divinity of our Lord. His words are, ܐܕܩܡܐ ܒܐܝܠܐ...ܫܠܝܚܐ ܒܐܝܠܐ ܐܢܝܝܐ ܒܐܝܠܐ, which is rendered sufficiently literal above. These Demons were considered as constituting various classes among the Greeks: the first residing in the Stars: the second consisting of those who had benefited mankind by their labours, and were termed Heroes, as Hercules, the Tyndarides, Bacchus, &c.; the third consisted of those fabulous beings which had, under the garb of philosophy, been deified by the Poets. The fourth contained, Venus, Mercury, &c. The fifth contained those said to be famous for art, as Vulcan, Mars, &c. To these they added a sixth and seventh,
out, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus" (thou) "Son of God," and saying, "Art thou come before the time to torment me? We know thee who thou art, that thou art the Holy One of God." The Egyptian Demons therefore, when hearing that the doctrine of our Saviour was preached in the whole of their land, confessed that they themselves were nothing! They gave up accordingly the places subject to their customs to be destroyed, together with (their) Fanes and Images, and betook themselves to flight and departure; driven away as they were by the Divine power. The divinations too of every place were destroyed; and the Christ of God alone, and the one only God who was preached by him to all men, became the object of divine worship.

14. What other (person) moreover, has, like this our Saviour, given such power to those who have, in purity and sincerity, arrived at the life of excellence and of wisdom which has been delivered by Him, that they should by calling on Him, and by means of pure prayers offered up through Him to Almighty God, cast out that superabundance of evil Demons from the human body?

15. What other too, except Him alone, has granted to those who draw near to Him, that they should perform the rational and unbloody services which are (offered) by means of prayer, and the secret (use of) the Divine

who took at one time the forms of Gods, at another, those of Ghosts (manium). These all again, were divided into two classes, the one consisting of good, the other of evil Demons. Prep. Evang. Lib. v. iii. p. 182. seq. It is added, from the authority of Plutarch that, from this last sort, all the Grecian oracles were given out. See also, ib. Lib. iii. cap. v. p. 141. Of all these,—according to our author, Demonst. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. viii. p. 167. D. seq.—Satan is the chief head and prince: and the rest generally fallen spirits.

3 Matth. viii. 29; Mark i. 24; Luke iv. 34. Our passage, however, agrees with neither of the places exactly. It was most likely, quoted by memory only. See also Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 179. D. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 163. D.

6 Ib. Prep. Evang. Lib. v. i. p. 180. A. The whole subject of Demonology is discussed at great length in the Prep. Evang. to which I must refer the reader, as he will there find almost everything necessary to be known on this subject, given from the best authorities among the Greeks themselves.
announcements? and, on which account He has appointed, throughout the whole creation of man, altars without fire, services worthy of God, the setting apart of Churches, and, that intellectual and rational sacrifices should, by means of rites becoming the Deity, be put forth to that one God alone, who is the King of all nations?

16. Who moreover, tacitly, and by means of His invisible power, has abolished those sacrifices which were completed with blood, impurity, smoke, and fire?—those abominable shrines also for the slaughter of men; and so provided, that human sacrifices should no more be offered, and these things be no more done?—that the writings of the Greeks also should attest, that it was not from ancient times, but (only) after the divine teaching of our Saviour, in the times of Hadrian1, that human sacrifices ceased throughout the whole earth?

17. Since then, all these are clear proofs confirming the divine power of the Saviour of us all, Who is he whose soul (partakes) so much of iron, as not to give his testimony to the truth? and to confess His divine and living (active) power? For it is of the living, and not of the dead, that these deeds are. For the visual perception of something distant is, they say, (the effect) of some thing (really) visible.

1 Syr. ἡμέρας. This is also found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvii. p. 164. C.—"οὐ πρώτον τε παύλαν τῶν τοσούτων γενεσθαι τῷ βίῳ κακῶς, ἢ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καταλάμβαναι δίδασκαλίας; ὅτι δὲ μέχρι τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνων διαμείναι ταῦτα λελύθαι ἐξ ἐκείνου παρέστησιν ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος." k.τ.λ. See also ib. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 179. C. D.—Ib. Porphyry is (p. 181.) cited, as bearing witness to this fact, thus: "Νυνὶ δὲ βοηθήσουσιν, εἰ τοσοῦτον ἐτῶν κατείληφε τὴν τολμήν ἡ νόσος, Ἀσκητικῷ μὲν ἑρμηνεύει καὶ τῶν ἀλλών θεῶν μικρὲς οὕσης. Ἡσυχῶ γὰρ τιμώμενο, οὐδεμίας τις θεῶν ἐπιμορίας ἁβελείας ἑτεροτος." Ib. p. 156. B, as taken from Porphyry's Second Book on Abstinence, cited from Pallas on the Mysteries of Mithra. The words of Pallas however, are, "τὰς αἰνομοθυσίας σχεδὸν τὰ παρὰ πάσι... ἐφ 'Αδριανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκρατόρος." Whence Vaesius argues, (notes to Laud. Const. p. 258. D.) that Eusebius has rather overstated the matter; assuming that this had every where been done, when, at that very time human sacrifices were offered up at Rome.
18. The Race therefore which contended with God, disturbed the life of man, and introduced, led on, and could effect much, has suddenly, lately, and but a short time ago—because driven out from among men,—been cast to the earth, as an object deserving of the utmost contempt, breathless, motionless, speechless, and again, bereft both of utterance and of remembrance!

19. This mortal nature therefore, and again that which has no proper existence, is (as) nothing. And that which is (as) nothing, is likewise inoperative. But, (as to) Him who acts at all times, and is every moment operative, and is more potent than any living creature, How can He be supposed to have no proper existence, although not visible to the bodily eyes? But, discrimination is not by the senses; nor do we try the terms of art, the perception of doctrines, nor yet the mind of man, by the bodily senses: much less can man ever see with the eyes the person, or the power, of God. Nevertheless, these things may be known from the effects of their (several) operations. On this account, it is our duty to inform ourselves respecting the unseen power of the Saviour of us all, to prove His works, and to distinguish, whether we ought to confess that the things which have hitherto been done by Him, are of one living; or, whether we are to affirm, that they are of some one, who had no proper existence; or, whether this same thing be foolish, and the question respecting it inconsistent. For, he who has no proper existence in all his parts, has, it is clear, no proper existence at all, and is unable either to act, or to effect any thing. Such is the nature which is dead; while that opposed to it is living. But, it is now time we should investigate those works of our Saviour which appertain to our days, and to take a

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* Syr. ||דכָּבֹד לָנָה | דכָּבֹד. Of the last of these words no trace is found in the Dictionaries: but, as it is derived from the same root with the first, I have supposed it to have been added for the purpose of giving emphasis, and have so translated it. Orat. de laudd. Const. p. 544. D.

* It is evident I think, from this mode of arguing, that Eusebius did mean to assert, the Divine and self-existing nature of Christ. See, too, the manner in which he argues against Plato, above. Book 11. par. 33, 34, seq. with the notes. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 545. A.
view of the living (effective) works of the living God. For the living works of God are life indeed. Learn (then), what those things are about which thou enquirest, and Him (at the same time), who lives in His works.

20. Some of the contenders with God did, but a little while ago, rebelliously, forcibly, and with a mighty hand, so raise to the foundation and overthrow His houses of prayer, that the churches disappeared: by every means too, they made war with Him who is invisible to the eyes, attacking and reproaching (Him) with innumerable injurious expressions. But He, while unseen, secretly avenged Himself of them. And they again (felt this), not by one intimation from God (only). They (I say) who, but a short time before, were delighting themselves and happy;—they who were worshipped by all men, as if they had been Gods, and who, during the revolutions of many years, gloriously administered the affairs of their rule: for before they made war with Him, they had the most perfect peace and friendship (with all); but when they became changed, and dared to contend with God, and arranged their Deities before them in battle array against Him who is our (God), in order that (these) might be their strength;—(then), forthwith—in one moment—and at the intimation of God, and through the power of Him with whom they had contended, did all they who had been thus daring, suffer punishment, so that they gave in to Him on whom they had made war, turned their backs (in flight), and confessed His Godhead! They allowed also, and persuaded, that (men) should boldly do the reverse of those things which were from ancient time. He therefore quickly

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1] B.
2] Syr. [syriac text]
3] Syr. [syriac text]: which does not occur in Dictionaries; but, as the root is [syriac text], there can be little doubt as to its meaning. Gr. προσωποκον και προσακιστός.
4] Syr. [syriac text]. The idiom is rather Latin than Syriac: i.e. "omnes dederunt." The Gr. has, δίκαιος ντείχον.
5] We have nothing here corresponding to the Gr. ὀλοσχερῶς ἵππεα.
established throughout the whole earth the signal mark of victory, and adorned it, as from the first, with Temples which were pure, and distinguished (set apart) as for the prayers of the whole creation; so that He consecrated holy and dedicated places, in every village, city, place, and even in the deserts of the Barbarians, to the One God (and) King of all;—to Him who is the Lord of all;—that He might hence dignify the things (so) set apart, with the name of Him who was their Lord. Nor was it of man, that (this) happy appellation fell to their lot; but it was of Him who is Lord of all, that hence they were each dignified with the name of "the House of the Lord". Let any one who wishes then, stand forth in the midst and learn, who it was that, after all this subversion and destruction, raised up on high from the earth, buildings such as these throughout the whole creation; and who it was, that vouchsafed to afford to these things, of which every hope had been cut off, a renovation far better than they formerly had! Nor was the great miracle of the Word, which renewed these, delayed until after the death of those who contended with God\(^\text{6}\), but (took place) during their stay in the world. Those very persons (I say) who raised (the churches), did by their words and writings preach the new birth\(^\text{8}\), which directly opposed their own (former) doings: and this they did, not

\(^{6}\) So also Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. i. p. 179. B.

\(^{7}\) Syr. ἐξ αὐτοῦ, lit. He made worthy of the name of the House of Lordship. Gr. "κυριακῶν ἐξευετού ἐκεῖ ἐκαθήλων." Orat. de laud. Constant. cap. xvii. p. 546. A. The above affords a curious instance of our Translator's attempt to be literal, as it does of the poverty of the Syriac language for discussions such as this.

\(^{8}\) The Syriac has, מֵאָלָה, which is, no doubt, the error of some copyist, who seems to have misunderstood the intention of the prep. מֵאָלָה here. The Greek, however, (de laud. Const. p. 546. A.) has..."οὔτε μετὰ τὴν θεομάχον ἐκεῖνόν τελευτήσῃ." "Non post mortem illorum Dei hostium," &c.

\(^{9}\) The Syriac has here, מֵאָלָה מִשֹּׁלֵם, lit. new birth: but the Greek "παλινφθιαν," recantation. The Syriac probably had מֵאָלָה מִשֹּׁלֵם, which, the copyist not understanding, changed to the more usual word in the text.
when enjoying rest, so that any one should imagine that it was of the friendship of men; but when driven forth by the stroke of God.

21. He then, even after all these storms of persecution, did, by means of sharp calamities and His divine teaching, so enlighten and set up throughout the whole creation, men of zealous of the life of wisdom, multitudes both of men and of ministering women, and of congregations of virgins, that they (all) were (thus) established throughout the whole of their lives in perfect holiness.

22. Who moreover persuaded women, multitudes of children, and of men, voluntarily to suffer the privation of food and of wine for many days? to sleep on the earth? to have recourse to a hard and robust discipline, coupled with chastity? and made them exchange the food of the body, for those spiritual and rational provisions of the soul,—the one for the other,—which are obtained by the divine reading?

23. And, Who taught men, barbarian and rustic, as well as women, children, and innumerable multitudes of heathen slaves, to despise death? to be persuaded that their souls were immortal? that the eye of justice was open, viewing the deeds of all men, just and unjust? and to hope for the judgment of God?—That it was, on account of these things, their duty to be careful as to the life of righteousness and temperance? And, that if they were

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1 Our text here does not favour the conjecture of Valesius. (Notes, p. 259.)

2 This section commences in the Greek with τίς. Instead of σοι, therefore, we ought probably to have αὐδηκά.

Syr. ἐλπίσατε, which occurs not in the Dictionaries. The Gr. has ἐλπίσατε. The root, therefore is ἐλπίσατε.

4 So also the emendation of Valesius, ib. B.


5 Gr. καὶ δίκης ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπάρχειν ἐφορον. The Syr. should be read, | |, not, | |. The eye of justice. Laudd. Const. p. 546. and Valesius, notes, p. 269, proposes δίκης ὀφθαλμῶν, which our Syriac countenances.
not so, they could not otherwise be brought under that yoke of righteousness, which hitherto had been brought into operation by Him alone whom we call God?

24. But, let us dismiss these things, and let us otherwise approach him whose mind is (as) the rock; and let us interrogate him thus, with the questions (growing) out of these things (following):—O bring thou forth the word of reason, not from a heart implicated in error\(^7\), but advancing (this) as the fruit of the intelligent and rational soul; and, having meditated much, say between thyself and thy soul,—

25. What other, of those preached of from ancient times, ever did like Him who is called God by us, become known, established, and declared, by the enunciations from above of the Prophets many ages ago, among those ancient friends of God, the Hebrew family?—those (I say), who also previously delivered in writing, in the divine scriptures, the place of His manifestation, the time of His advent, the manner of His life, His power, His words, and His deeds?

26. Or, Who so suddenly\(^8\) appeared as an executor of vengeance against those who dared to oppose Him, that, upon the Jews acting (thus) impiously, He forthwith dealt out punishment by means of His unseen power on their whole nation? and overthrew to the foundations, both their place and rule?—For He at once levelled to the ground, both their Temple, and their sacred (things)!

27. And Who, like this our Saviour, has clearly foretold the things that respected the impious (Jews), and respecting the Church which was established by Himself throughout the whole creation, and in the very things themselves? and has shewn their confirmation in their effects?—who said of the impious (Jews), “Behold, your house is left desolate”; nor shall stone remain upon

\(^7\) Syr. [מַדְאָה], which occurs in no Dictionary; but, as the root does, its sense is obvious. The Greek however, has ηλαθλεο. Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 546. D.

\(^8\) Gr. αιρετώς ταχύτερος. Valesius proposes ὁμως ταχύτερος, which our Syr. [תאֵמְחִית], supports. Ib. p. 547. A.

stone in this place, which shall not be thrown down."
And of His Church He said; "Upon this rock I build
my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail
against it."

28. And this also, that He should change men poor
and rustic, from the occupation of fishing, to that of rule?
and, that He should make these into Lawgivers, and
Teachers, of the whole creation of man? How is it to be
imagined by thee, that He then (so) made the promise by
word, and brought it to pass in deed, that He made them
"Fishers of men?" He gave them moreover, all this
excellency and power, that they should compose and com-
plete Books; and, that they should give such confirmation
to these, that they should be received throughout the whole
creation, in the languages of both the Greeks and Bar-
barians? and, that in all nations they should be taught, and
believed, as containing the written words of God?

29. And, How does it appear to thee, that He should
foretell what was about to take place? and should pre-
viously testify to His Disciples, that, because they should
give their testimony to Him, they should come before
Kings and Governours: and that they should be punished,
and undergo grievous torments?—

30. And this also, that He should so prepare them,
that they should voluntarily suffer? and, that they should

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1 Matth. xxiv. 2; Mark xiii. 2: Luke xxii. 6. differing in several re-
spects from the Peschito: thus, מ"עוכו וס"הד מ"עוכד מ'דנ ל שדנ מ"עוכד
ל'לע מ'לע מ'לע. Quoted, perhaps, in the first instance from memory:
and, in the second, translated from the Greek so written. Several pro-
phesics on the coming of our Lord, the labours of the Apostles, and the
fall of Jerusalem, will be found in Origen's Philocalis, cap. i. Edit.
Spencer, and more fully in the Demonstr. Evang. of our author.

2 Matt. xvi. 18. The latter member reads thus: Syr. מ"עוכו
ל"עוכד מ"עוכד ל"עוכד מ"עוכד מ"עוכד מ"עוכד מ"עוכד.
Differing from the Peschito in the term מ"עוכד only. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 547. A.

3 There is another member here in the Greek. (Laudd. Const. ib. B.)

4 Matt. x. 18: Mark xiii. 9: Luke xxii. 12. The passage however,
does not appear to be a literal citation, but only a general mention of
the thing in question. Laudd. Constant. p. 547. C.
so firmly arm their souls with the armour of righteousness as with adamant, that they should be seen (engaged) in conflict against those who opposed them;—How does not this surpass all description?

31. Nor was it only, that He impressed on the souls of those who (immediately) followed Him such power, that when, having done nothing worthy of death, they willingly underwent every species of punishment and torment, for the sake of the righteousness of that God who is over all; but also, on those who received (it) from them; and so again, on those who came afterwards; and on those even to this present, and (who live) in our own times;—How does this not transcend every sort of miracle?

32. Besides, Which of the kings ever remained prosperous in his rule, throughout all this length of time? And, Who is he, who so conquered after his own death, and established the mark of victory over his enemies, that he subdued every region, place, and city, both of the Greeks and Barbarians? and beat down, by the hidden and invisible power of (his own) right hand, that which opposed him?

33. But, the chief of all the things that have been mentioned, is that peace which was, by His power, supplied to the whole earth; of which we have already said what was proper. And, What mouth of the calumniator would not (the consideration) close, that love and concord so ran together with His doctrine in (effective) operation, into all nations? and, that the peace which took place among the nations throughout all the world, and the word, which was sown (as seed) by Him among all nations, had formerly been so foretold by the Prophets of God? But a (whole) day would be too short, were I to attempt to collect and shew within it, the open proofs of the divine power of the Word of God, the Saviour of all, which have been put forth up to this time. So that there never was a man at any time, no not among the Greeks, who has shewn forth such transcendent and divine power as He has, who has been preached to every man, and is the Saviour of all, and the

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4 Ib. Laudd. Constant. D. where the Greek is more full.
5 Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.
only (begotten) Word of God who is above all. But, Why do I say “of men?” when behold! no such nature as His has appeared upon earth, even of those who have been named Gods by all nations? If (not so), let him who wishes shew (this): let every existing Philosopher too come forward and tell us, What God or Hero has at any period, or ever, been heard of, who delivered the doctrine of eternal life, and of the kingdom of heaven,—a thing not of recent occurrence,—to mankind, as this our Saviour (has done)? who has caused innumerable multitudes, throughout the whole creation, to be instructed in His own doctrines of wisdom? and has persuaded them to follow after the life which is heavenly, and to despise that which is of time (only); and to hope for the heavenly mansions, which are kept for the souls that love God?

34. What 1 God or Hero 2 is it, that has ever so fully arisen (like the sun) and given light from the East even to the West by the bright rays of his doctrine, that, immediately and with the swiftness as it were of the course of the Sun, all the nations of the earth (thence) rendered to the one God, one and the same service?

35. What 3 God or Hero is it, who ever contended with all the gods and heroes both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and laid down a law, that not one of them should be thought a God? and, having so legislated, persuaded (men of this)? and who, when they all afterwards waged war against Him, being one and the same, overthrew every power opposed to Him; and shewed that He was superior to all, both gods and heroes, that ever existed, so as to be called throughout the whole creation of man, and by all people, the only (begotten) Word of God?

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1 Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 548. C.

2 The Greek has, “η καὶ ἡμώς ἄνθρωπος,” which the Latin translator gives, “sive heros, sive homo.” The Syriac is more correct, [ος ουδεις ἄνθρωπος]. Christophorson, according to Valesius, (notes, p. 260,) expunged the latter word, “non male;” but suggests, that η καὶ ἄνθρωπος, “vel certe,” μὴ τιγγε ἄνθρωπος, might have been the true reading. According to the Syriac, Christophorson was right: and, in this case, Valesius wrong.

3 Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. C.
36. What God or Hero was it, who ever delivered to all nations dwelling on the great element of the whole earth,—to those on the land, and on the sea,—that they should make a feast in holiness, both of the body and the soul, on the day of every week which is called among the Greeks the Sun’s day? And, that they should assemble themselves together, not that their bodies should hear—but their souls—that it was by means of the divine teaching, they should live?

37. What God or Hero was it who, when they so made war with him, set up, as our (Saviour) has done, such a mark of victory in opposition to his enemies? For they ceased not to contend both with His doctrine, and His people, from first to last: while He, being invisible, secretly overthrew them, and advanced His own, together

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5 Gr. τὴν κυριακὴν χρηματιζον πέμεραν. Lat. “Dominicum diem.” The Syriac is more literal. Ib. “καὶ αὕτα σώματα πιαίνει.” Valesius, “Non dubito quin Eusebius scripsit, καὶ οὐ τα σώματα πιαίνει.” The Syriac differs here, in adding יִזְרְפִּים, “in holiness.” In other respects the conjecture of Valesius is confirmed by it. On the general observance of the seventh day (or Sunday). See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. xii. p. 667, from Aristobulus; and ib. cap. xiii. p. 677, from Clemens Alexandrinus. See also my Sermon on the Sabbath, Ed. 2. London, 1834, Duncan. Whence it should seem, that this must have been the Patriarchal, and consequently the day of the primeval sabbath. (Gen. ii. 2, 3.) The sabbath of the Jews was a totally different thing. That was to recur yearly, after the day of preparation: i.e. on the 16th day of the month Abib. (Comp. Exod. xii. 6, with Mark xvi. 42.) It could not have recurred, therefore every seventh day: that was impossible. The Jews do however, observe every seventh day. They have therefore, lost the sabbath of Moses entirely. While the Christians actually keep the primitive sabbath, with the additional sanctions of the Resurrection of our Lord, and of the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost. See also my Heb. Lexicon, under בְּנַחַם.

6 Orat. de laudd. Const. ib. D.

7 Gr. “σωτήρ.” The Syr. has omitted the equivalent, לְכָּל, which however I have deemed it right to introduce; as the sense requires it.

8 So the Gr. ἔτι ἀρχή καὶ εἰς τέλος, although the Latin does not express this.
with the houses of God, to great glory! But, why should we wish to circumscribe\(^1\) by words, the divine powers of the Saviour of us all, which exceed all description? When behold! should we remain silent, the things themselves would cry out to those, whose souls have ears?

38. This\(^2\) is strange indeed, and something not to be imagined; at any period too, it must be a singular thing (which) He brought to this world of mankind, and, that the only Son of God should in truth, ever have appeared to those that are on the earth;—and that the whole race of man should through Him, receive one who should in his own (human) nature, so introduce him to the righteousness which is true\(^3\), that henceforth there should be set up throughout the whole creation of man, places for instruction in the Divine enunciations and teaching; and that men, barbarous and fierce, should so change their minds to peacefulness, that the rational disposition of their souls should receive of His virtue; and, by His means, acknowledge their Father who is in heaven\(^4\), with the Saviour of all, the only (begotten)

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\(^1\) Gr. "φαντασίαν εἰς σωτηρίαν." Syr. [латинская транскрипция]. And certainly φαντασίαν seems as unnecessary, as it is unlikely to have been used by Eusebius.

\(^2\) Orat. de laud. Constant. ib. p. 549. A.

\(^3\) This whole section is extremely obscure in the Syriac, and is, probably, in a corrupt state. It begins thus, [латинская транскрипция]. The Greek will be found in the Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 549. A. which however, is anything but pure in this place: (see the notes of Valesius, p. 260,) and it accompanies us no further here than this sentence. I would emend the Syriac thus: for [латинская транскрипция], read, [латинская транскрипция]; for [латинская транскрипция], read, [латинская транскрипция]; for [латинская транскрипция], read, [латинская транскрипция]. Our Translator, it should be observed, often omits the particles, very much to the obscurity of his Syriac; and occasionally, he is both defective and redundant in the use of the pronoun ?.

\(^4\) Syr. [латинская транскрипция], for [латинская транскрипция], by an error of the press.
WORD OF GOD, the King of all; and that to Him, and through Him who is the Cause of every good thing, they should so render the praises that are due, and the blessings and thanksgivings which are right, that henceforth the righteous praises and thanksgivings, which are suitable to the companies of the Angels that are in heaven, should also be put up, day and night, by the inhabitants of this element of earth!

39. These acts, therefore,—pertaining to salvation, and advantageous to the world, and to the Divine Manifestation of the WORD OF GOD among men, as well as innumerable others like them, on account of which he came into the world of men—He performed not in His usual manner, that is, incorporeally; for, He had acted throughout the whole world secretly, and, by these his works, shewed both to them who are in the heavens, and to them who are on the earth, His innumerable operations. But recently, (he has done this) in a manner foreign to His own custom. For He has, by means of a mortal vessel,—not unlike the king, who (acts) through an Interpreter,—openly declared His edicts and methods of government among men; in order that He might evince His providential care for mortals, by that which was like to themselves, (and) that they might find life. But, as it has been seen that not one, but many were the causes, why the Saviour of all made His Divine manifestation among men; it becomes necessary, that we should also say in a few words, in their order, why He availed himself of this human vessel, and came for the purpose of ruling among men. How then, could the Divine, concealed, invisible, and untangible, Essence,—that unembodied and incorporeal mind, the WORD OF GOD,—otherwise exhibit himself to men immersed in the depths of evils, and the corporeal substances (of nature), seeking God upon earth, but otherwise not finding Him;—or, being unwilling to search after the Maker and Creator of the whole creation;
—if not by means of (some) human compound, and in some form known to ourselves, and, as it were by an Inter-

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5 Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 536. A. gives also the following matter.
6 Orat. de laudd. Constant. lb. B.
preter? For otherwise, How could the eyes of the body look upon the incorporeal nature of God? And, How could mortal nature discover Him who is concealed, (and) invisible, whom they knew not from the multitude of His works? On this account therefore, He required a mortal vessel, a help which would comport with the conversation (had) among men; because, this would be agreeable to them; for they say, "Every thing loves its like." For, just as some great king might stand much in need of an Interpreter, who could enounce his words to the inhabitants of both countries and cities, whose understanding (of languages) was diverse; so also did the Word of God,—who was about to be for the healing of souls,—that He should exhibit himself in a body, and upon the earth. He would want a Mediator, not unlike an Interpreter, and a bodily compound. And this would be some human instrument, by means of which He could make known to men, what those concealed (properties) of the Godhead were. Nor was it (this) alone, but also that He, the compassionate Word of God, should exhibit Himself to those who delighted in the sense of things seen, and were seeking God by means of inanimate Images, and carved Idols; and imagining, through (mere) material bodies, that there was a God; but, from the infirmity and deficiency of their minds were giving to men, mortal in their nature, the name of Gods. On this account, He prepared for himself a Temple more holy than all; a bodily vessel, and sensible habitation, for the rational Power; an Image pure, and in everything excellent, and more honourable than the whole of inanimate images. For that which was of inanimate

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1 This adage, "διανοον ὑμῶν πάλιν," will be found in the, "Adagiorum D. Erasmi...Epitome. Amst. 1649. p. 480. Syr. صخِّصْ عصْمُكَ وَصَخِّصْ عصْمُكَ. The Persians have a very neatly expressed adage to this effect, in these words;

هم جنس با هم جنس كند يرواژ کبوتر با کبوتر بار باز
Which may thus be paraphrased,—

Kind to his kind with pleasure hies,
And hawk with hawk, pigeon with pigeon flies.

2 Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 836. C.
matter, and in the form of an Image of brass, iron, gold, ivory, stone, or wood, was fabricated by the hands of artificers of (mere) matter, altogether for the residence of Demons, and to administer to the error of fools. But the Divine Image, variously adorned by the wisdom of the Divine Power, partook of life and of the Essence which is intelligent: the Image, filled with every excellence,—the Divine Image, the habitation of the Word of God, and the holy temple of the holy God,—was prepared by the power of the Holy Ghost, in order that He, who resided therein, might become known among mortal men by means of one who was their equal, as it were by an Interpreter; but who should not fall after the manner of their passions, nor be bound in the body, as the manner is with the soul of man: nor yet, when appearing small (in reputation), should undergo any change on that account as to his Godhead. For⁵, as the rays of the sun’s light suffer nothing from their filling every thing, nor when they permeate the unclean bodies of mortals; so, in a far higher degree, the Power which is incorporeal, the Word of God, suffers nothing in its own Essence, neither is it mutilated, nor is it ever diminished, when, incorporeal as it is, it permeates that which is corporeal. In the same manner therefore, the Saviour of all presented himself to every man (as) the helper and Saviour, by means of the human vessel which He put forth, just as the musician⁶ (does), who is willing to shew his skill by means of his lyre. History too among the Greeks teaches (us), that Orpheus moved by his song every sort of animal, and pacified their angry feelings by means of a hollow instrument, the strings of which he struck. This is moreover sung in the assemblies of the Greeks; and it is believed, that an inanimate lyre soothed both the animals and trees, and so changed even the oaks that they became imitators of music. This (personage)
therefore, filled with all wisdom and all prudence, the Word of God, put forth every sort of healing for the souls of men which had been reduced to all kinds of evil. He took into His hands the instrument of the musician, the work of His own wisdom: this He struck with His hand, (producing) songs and sweet strains to rational man, not to animals that are irrational; and healed, by the medicines of His heavenly teaching, every kind of the fierce, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, as well as the rude and beastlike passions of the soul; and did, as a skilful physician, shew by the aid of one of their equals, and who was like to themselves,—to the souls which were implicated in disease, and seeking God among bodies and substances which were elemental,—God in man! Nor again, was He less careful as to the body, than He was as to the soul. For He provided, that the things which He did by means of the Body, should be apparent to men’s bodily eyes; (that is) that they should see astonishing miracles, signs, and (other) divine powers. And again, He preached to the hearing of the body, these doctrines through a bodily tongue. All these things therefore, He delivered by means of the Body which he bore,—as it were by an Interpreter,—to those who otherwise could not,—except only in this way,—be made sensible of His Godhead. These things too, were (thus) administered by the will of His Father: He still remaining with His Father, as He was before, immaterial, incorporeal, (and) unchanged as to His (eternal) Essence. Nor did he suffer corruption from His

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1 Syr. read [Δοκει] ἔλαχιστα, errat.
2 Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B.
3 Syr. ὅπου ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθινή. Both the sense and the construction require that the reading should be, ὅπου ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθινή, which the construction seems to me abundantly to confirm. The Greek Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 537. B. does not verbally agree with our text.
(former) nature; nor was He confined by the bonds of the body; nor was He here, only such as His human vessel was; nor was He restrained from being in other places of (this) whole: on the contrary, even then, when He conversed among men, did He fill all things: was with His Father and was in Him; and then also, He fully and providentially took care of all things, whether in heaven, or on the earth. Nor was He ever, as we are, withholden from being near to every thing; nor was He hindered from acting, after His own divine manner. On the contrary, the things that were of Himself He gave to man; but, those which were of man, He took aot. Of His divine power too, He provided for mortals; while from His participation with the mortal, He received nothing. Neither was He who was incorporeal, polluted when born in the body. Nor again, did He who was impervious to passion, suffer in His (eternal) Essence, even when mortal nature had been assigned to Him. For, neither does he who strikes the lyre become in any thing subject to suffering, although the instrument should be broken, or the strings be cut: in like manner too, we do not say when punishment is inflicted on the person of a wise man, that the wisdom of the wise man, or the soul which is in his body, is either cut off, or consumed. So, much less is it right we should affirm, that the Power of the Divine Word can receive any thing like loss from the sufferings of the body. Nor, does any thing forbid our affirming that,—since, in our example, the rays of the Sun sent down from heaven to earth, permeated the clay, mire, and every sort of impurity,—the light was therefore in no respect polluted, although these things received light from its splendour. For the light did not (thus) become clay, nor did the Sun become polluted, by its commixture with (such) body; because these things are not foreign in their nature to bodies.

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9 So the Gr. φαινεν ἐν εἰκόνεσθε, although the Latin has, "quiequam merito discernit."
But He, who is immaterial and incorporeal, the Word of God, who is both the life, and intelligent light, impels, by the divine power which is incorporeal, every thing He approaches, both to live and to remain in this rational light. In like manner also, the body to which this is near becomes sanctified; and quickly does He enlighten it: all diseases too, pains and sufferings, pass away (from it); and that which was defective is supplied from (His) fulness. On this account He gave up His whole life, at one time exhibiting His image under sufferings like those common to ourselves; at another, revealing himself, God the Word, in great and astonishing works and acts, as God. And, when He foretold something by His prophetic words which should come to pass, He likewise exhibited Him who was invisible to the many, the Word of God, by works, and by astonishing deeds; by signs, wonders, and extraordinary powers (put forth): and again, instructing the souls of men by the divine doctrines, He prepared them to draw near to the heavenly city which is above, and to hasten to those their fellow-citizens there, as to their own brothers and equals: also, to know their Father who is in heaven, and the excellency of their kind, which is of the Essence that is intellectual and rational: teaching them also, that they should no more err, but henceforth so live in all purity and holiness, so (I say), that they might make their departure hence to that place easy, and without hindrance; and, that they should be prepared to receive forthwith, with the companies of the holy Angels, everlasting life with God the King of all, and the light which cannot be described, and the kingdom of heaven.

40. Thus therefore, the only (begotten) Word of God, who availed Himself of a human instrument, and set up His own Interpreter, administered every thing for the healing of men by the will of His Father; still remaining immaterial and incorporeal, just as He formerly was, with His Father. By means of a man also, He shewed forth

2 The Greek text, (Laud. Const. p. 538. C.) leaves us here, but joins us again, sect. 45, below.
God to man, through mighty acts and wonderful works. In the divine Power and in true Wisdom, He scattered His doctrine (as seed); and taught these things, with others allied to them. Nor became He inferior, from what He did: nor, (as so) doing, became He the less dignified from what He taught and delivered.—The doctrines of life and words of light, He laid not down in any book of paper, nor in the perishing skins of animals; but He inscribed on the very souls of His disciples, as upon intellectual tablets, the doctrines respecting the kingdom of God. In the whole of His instructions on heavenly things, hidden enuncements, and which had never before been heard, were delivered. It was also by means of these things, that He taught that the souls which were on the earth, were beloved of God; delivered the memorial of the life that is with God the Father, in heaven; and also, stirred (men) up to cry in prayer and to say, "Our Father who art in heaven," and, that they should be cognizant of their family which is above. If then, thou art desirous of being a partaker in the contemplation of these things, there is no feeling of jealousy hindering thy approach to the hearing of the Scriptures of His Disciples, and to the knowing of His record in all its parts, both as to His deeds and words; so that thou mayest in truth, view God, and the Word of God; and see, how He existed by means of an Interpreter with men, in the example of (His) sufferings; how He, who was immortal, conversed with mortals; how the Image (of God), which is incorporeal, became vested with the nature which is human: and, how the Image of God, which was in Him, moved (Him): how He sent forth enuncements, and made public the Divine teaching; and (how) the Saviour of all, healed every sort of disease and infirmity: and, how ready He was, in whom there was no sin, to good works; and, how those things which eyes had

4 Syr. נָּשָׁל | נָּשָׁל כֹּלָה דָּבָעָה, lit. that his image, God who (was) within Him: which, probably, ought to be written, נָּשָׁל כֹּלָה, alluding to Heb. i. 3. "the express image of his person." It is however, no uncommon thing with our Translator to be both defective and redundant in the use of this particle (?), as remarked above.
not seen, and which had not entered into the hearing of
men, He delivered in mighty deeds; and thus made His
Disciples to approach the very summit of excellency with God;
made them wise through the power which cannot be describ-
ed, and constituted them true preachers of His Godhead.
Thus again He healed those, whose souls were corrupted
by every sort of sin; at one time, inflicting the sufferings
(which were) helpful and right; at another, delivering a
view of the mystery and doctrine of His Godhead to those
who were able to receive it. And, What need is there we
should say, how easily and well, and with (what) just rebuke,
He received those who were enemies to the truth: at once
healing and instructing even these, by the open enounce-
ment of His words? and, how meekly he presented His
person to all as a helper, and as long suffering and pas-
sive? as a Physician also, not of souls only, but also of
bodies? On this account, the name of Jesus was previously
imposed on our Saviour;—which is a Hebrew word, de-
signating Jesus as the Physician of all. Now, the (pro-
priety of the) imposition of the name designating healing
on Jesus, He evinced by the works (which He did); for
He instructed the souls of men by the Heavenly do-
ctrine, while he healed the Body of all sufferings, pains, and
infirmities, by the power of the healing Word. At one
time, He cleansed the leprous in body: at another, He
cast out by (His) command the Demons that (possessed)
men: and, again at another, He freely healed those who
had been reduced by disease! At one time also, to him—
whose body was debilitated, and all his limbs powerless,—

1 Alluding to the chastisements mentioned above, as inflicted on the
heathen.

plainly intimating, that the meaning of the Heb. יִּזְדָּحال, should be pre-
served in it.

3 Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. X. pp. 164, D. 165. A. This is more
correctly stated thus: “καθὼς δὲ ψυχὴν ἐμπαθῶν τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπαγ-
γίλεται, σωτηρ καὶ λατρεύει εἰκότως ἃν λέγοιτο.” “Quatenus vero ani-
marum ægrotantium medeland poplicetur merítò Salvator ac Medicus
dicitur.” See also ib. B.C.

4 Matt. viii. 2, 3; xi. 5. Luke vii. 22; xvii. 22.

5 Matt. ix. 32; xii. 22; xvii. 18, &c.
He said by word only, "Arise, take up thy bed, and walk"; and this (man) did what He commanded! And again at another time, He gave the perception of light to the Blind! And thus again, at another, a woman, who had been afflicted with an issue of blood, and had during the revolution of many years been reduced by her complaint, seeing that great companies were round about Him, and not allowing her to kneel and pray that she might be healed of her complaint, thought, that if she could but touch the border of His garment, (she should be healed); she accordingly pressed in, and touched the border of his garment; and at once, she was both healed of the evil, and immediately became healthy; bearing (away with her) a mighty proof of the power of the Word of God! Another man also, the servant of a king, because his child was grievously afflicted, fell down before Him, and He forthwith took and healed him! There was another again, the chief of a synagogue of the Jews, whose daughter (He restored); but this was after she was dead! And, What need can there be, that we should tell how another arose by the power of the Saviour of all, who had been dead four days, hearing only the voice of the all life-giving Word which called him? Or, how He made His paths upon the sea as upon dry land, causing His Vessel to traverse the back of the waters? Or, how when His Disciples were sailing and the storm was against them, He rebuked the sea, the storm, and the winds; gave the commandment by word; and they were instantly silent, so that they were wrought upon, as by the voice of their Lord? (How) He so filled and satisfied five thousand men, when there was with them a company of many women and children, with five loaves, that they took up an entire remainder which would suffice to fill twelve baskets! To Whom is not this astonishing? and Does it (not) likewise challenge the inquiry which relates to his unseen power?

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6 Matt. ix. 6, &c. 7 Ib. ver. 27; xi. 5; xx. 30, &c.
10 Mark v. 22.—35. seq. &c. 11 John xi. 1. seq.
14 Matt. xiv. 10. seq. ib. xvi. 9, &c.
41. Let any one therefore who will, take up the true faith, together with the open proof of the revelation of our Saviour’s Divinity, from many other great miracles; and particularly from this,—if he will also consider,—that He foreknew by the divine power what should come to pass, and openly foretold the great change to His better (doctrine) which should take place among men throughout the world; and also predicted, that He himself would be the doer of this: and from these very deeds, let such place faith in (this) His promise. Many other great and evident proofs of His Godhead moreover, (afforded) in many things similar to these, will any one, carefully enquiring, find from His predictions with their fulfilment: which we ourselves shall also examine in this work at the proper time. But, that which we now have before our eyes,—that our discourse may not lengthen itself greatly out, so as to detain thee upon all His mighty works—is the death, which (His) Interpreter,—the clothing of the Word of God, and the Image that was openly revealed,—underwent, and which (event) every one acknowledges.

42. This His death therefore, which has been made public, was (so) accompanied by the miracle, that it was unlike that of the rest of mankind. For it was not, that He perished by disease, by strangulation, or by fire; or was, even on the cross itself, cut off by the sword, as a mark of victory, in the manner of others who are evil-doers; nor yet, did he suffer less than any one of those whom they usually put to death; for He suffered a death of violence: but He himself alone, by his own will, delivered up His Vessel to those (his) accusers; and forthwith He raised Himself from the earth;—

43. For said (the Evangelist,) "He cried out greatly, and gave up His Spirit to His Father": and (so) effected a release from His soul, and made His departure from the body. On this account, He had previously delivered this same His death to his disciples, when teaching (them) and saying; "No man taketh my life from me;" and, "I have power to lay it down:" and again, "I have power

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1 Matt. xxvii. 50, &c.
to take it up²: and again, "I am the good shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me; and I lay down my life for my sheep³." The cause of His death too, He establishes in a few words, when saying, that, "Unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it remaineth alone; but, if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit⁴."

**44.** Having then, delivered representations of this sort respecting⁵ His own death, He effected the release from his soul⁶, and made (His) departure from the body. After this, His body was taken up by his acquaintances, and was consigned to (its) due interment. Again on the third day, He resumed that (being) from which He had before, by the exertion of His own will, departed. And again, He shewed to his Disciples the selfsame person, both in body and substance, just as it formerly was:— to them (I say) with whom He conversed a little, and with whom He remained a short time. He was then taken up whither He was before: and, before their eyes, did He make his departure and ascension to heaven, in order that they, to whom He had delivered (His) pledge as to deeds, might be made the Teachers of the fear of God who is above, to all nations.

**45.** Now⁷, What can be wanting after these things, except that we should state the cause of this, which was the chief of all? I (now) speak of the close of His life, which has been spoken of by all; of the manner of His passion, and of the great miracle of His resurrection after

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² John x. 18. ³ Ib. ver. 14, 15. ⁴ Ib. xii. 24.
⁵ We have, I think, here a Greek idiom which has contributed to make our Syriac rather obscure. σαρκινος ἐνεκύρους, I suspect, is a literal translation of the Greek πρῶτος τῶν δαφνατον αὐτῶν; where πρῶτος has the sense of respecting, concerning, or the like. A similar instance occurs, Book ii. 6. 21, above, where we have ἐκτὸς ἀνεργείας, lit. from above, evidently in the sense of anew, afresh; from the Greek ἀνεργείας, in all probability.
⁶ Syr. στυας, which might mean His person; but, as it is here, as also above, opposed to τὸ σώματος, the body, I thought best to render it by his soul in each case.
⁷ Orat. de laud. Constant. cap. xv. p. 538. C.
death. After viewing these things then, let us now come again to our proofs; and let us confirm these same by open testimonies. He availed Himself therefore, of a mortal Vessel,—for the reasons already given,—as of an Image becoming the Deity; and this He both put forth into life, and by means of this, as some great king by means of an interpreter, He performed every thing that was worthy of the Divine Power.

46. For, if He had done otherwise,—after His dealings among men,—so as not to have been seen, and had suddenly taken flight, and secretly stolen away His Interpreter; or had, in escaping, been careful to convey away His Image from death; or again, had led on that mortal (being) by means of His person, to corruption and perishing; He would have seemed to the many (but) as a spectre.

47. Nor could He have done any thing, which it was right He should do, as being the Life, the Word and the Power of God; having given up His Interpreter to corruption and ruin.

48. Nor, could those things which He did against the Demons, (or) in His contention with death, have been worthy of completion.

49. Nor could it have been known, where He remained.

50. Nor could it have been believed by those, to whom He had not delivered (it);—nor had it been seen,—that His nature was superior to death.

51. Nor, could He have delivered mortality from its own (mortal) nature.

52. Nor, could He have persuaded His disciples to despise death.

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1 Syr. μαθητής, Gr. "τούτων τεκμήριον," which I cite, merely to shew our Translator’s extreme care to be literal.

2 Ib. D.

3 Ib. p. 580. D.

4 Gr. "τέλον ηξιοντο." Syr. ἡξιοντο, the Latin, incorrectly, "suissent terminata."

5 Ib. D.

6 Ib. p. 580. A.

7 Ib. where the Greek has a large addition.
53. Nor, could He have established a hope of the life that is with God after death, with those who drew near for (the reception of) His doctrine.

54. Nor, could He have fulfilled the promises of His own words; nor have given to the prophecies, which went before respecting Him, a due fulfilment.

55. Nor, could He have overcome in the last conflict of all, which was opposed to the death that exists in all these things. For it was above all things right, that this mortal vessel should, after it had completed the service which it rendered to the Word of God, obtain to itself an end worthy of God, (and that this) be through this same ordinance of death. For, there were two things resting upon (this) consummation; (viz.) either, that He should deliver up (His vessel) to entire corruption and destruction, and (so) make His whole conflict, and egress from this world, matter of shame; or, that He should afford proof, that this same was superior to death; and (so), by the divine power, make immortal that which was mortal. The first however, was incompatible with the promise. For, it is not the property of fire, to be cold; nor, of light, that it be dark: neither is it of life, that it should die; nor, of the Word of God, that He should act with impropriety. For, What cause could He have, who promised life to others, for being unmindful of His own vessel when subject to corruption—for delivering up His Image to destruction, and for surrendering the Interpreter of His own Godhead, to the corruption of death—for Him to do so, who had

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8 The Syr. reads ἐπαγγελία, which doubtless ought to be ἐπαγγελία, the Greek having τῆς ἐπαγγελίας.
9 Ib. Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 539. A. B.
10 Syr. ἔτη καὶ ἀντὶ ὁ ἄνατος σιγεῖναι. Gr. "ταύτῃ τοῦ καὶ ἀντὶ ὁ θάνατος σιγεῖναι." Lat. "ideo, inquam, illius more hoc modo dispensata est"—by no means exact.
11 The note of Valesius here, (ib. p. 589. B. notes, p. 257,) is hypercritical: for, however the text might be worded, it is certain, that one only of the two things mentioned, could be meant.
12 Syr. ἐπαγγελία, for ἐπαγγελία, without doubt: the Greek having, τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, as in sect. 58, above.
previously promised to those, who should take refuge\(^1\) in Him, the life which is impervious death? This (one) then, of two things was necessary:—this, I say, that He should shew him (His Interpreter) to be superior to death. And, How was it, that it was necessary He should do this? Secretly, and by stealth? or, openly before all men, and manifestly? But, if this fact had taken place covertly and secretly; it would then have remained unknown, and unprofitable to man. But, as it was preached (to all), and heard of by all; it afforded to all, the advantage which (grew) out of the miracle. Well therefore,—because it was necessary He should shew His vessel to be superior to death,—did He also do this, not secretly, but before the eyes of (all) men. He escaped not from death; for this would have been pusillanimous\(^3\), and it would have been thought that He was inferior to death. But, by this contention with Death as with a contemporary, He established the immortality of that which was mortal; and, this last conflict which was for the salvation of all, secured (for all) the life which is immortal. For\(^4\) this was done, in the first place, against the Demons, for the destruction of the error of a multitude of Gods, when He began to be known among men. It also appeared particularly necessary to Him, that, as He was to make His circuits among the flocks of men, He should immediately, (and) in the presence of all, drive out the enemies and haters of mankind,—as being the princes of wickedness, and like to cruel and fierce beasts, those (I say),—who had, from former times and falsely, been esteemed Gods. He therefore,

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\(^1\) Syr. 

\(^2\) Syr. 

\(^3\) Syr. 

\(^4\) Wanting the Greek, ib.
THE WORD OF GOD, immediately led out His Vessel into the land of these enemies and haters,—that (land I say), which the words of mystery style "The Desert," as (being) destitute of every good thing; and there "forty days, and as many nights," He wrought and performed those things of which no mortal knew, and which the eyes of man did not see. The testimonies however of prophecy teach, that to these things the declarations of the prophetic Scriptures agree, where it is written, that "Jesus was led of the Holy Ghost into the desert, that he might be tempted of Satan. And He was there forty days and forty nights, and was with the wild beasts." And, What are these but the

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a The various methods had recourse to for the purpose of explaining this portion of scripture, may be seen in Kuinoël's commentary on Matt. iv. 1. Poole's Synopsis, ib. on the parallel places. The comment given by Eusebius here is, certainly, a bold one. It is nevertheless, as I think, very much superior to that preferred by Kuinoël; viz. that the Devil here represents the high Priest of the Jews, who sent out his emissaries to Christ for the purpose of securing his influence, if possible, in favour of their policy. See the commentators on Matt. iv. with its parallel places. As I do not see any necessity here for departing from the simple and obvious declarations of the Evangelists, I will only remark, that our Lord seems to have been led to this, for the express purpose of being tempted, or tried, by Satan, "περασθῆναι ἑαυτῷ τοῦ Δαμασκάνου," says St Matthew. Comp. Mark i. 13, Luke iv. 2. And, as Demonical influence is repeatedly and positively taught in the New Testament, I do not see why this should be doubted. It is certain moreover, that this Demonical influence was restrained by our Lord, and that these Demons knew Him. See Matt. viii. 26—32; xii. 22—29; xvii. 18—21. Mark i. 23—26, 34, &c. with their parallels. He also gave power to His disciples over these unclean spirits, Matt. x. 1. Luke ix. 1: and over all the power of the enemy, ib. x. 19. Ib. ver. 18, He speaks of Satan falling from heaven. Again, these spirits could not have been ignorant of the birth of Christ, as announced by the Angels and others, Luke ii. 9—15. Ib. ver. 25. seq. comp. ib. xxi. 14—22. From all which it must appear, that these were real beings, at once intelligent and potent; and that our Lord actually restrained, and otherwise overcame, them. The temptation in the desert was therefore probably intended, among other things, to shew them that the Redeemer was now come, and that Jesus was that very person. Eusebius is therefore, in the main, right; although it does not appear necessary to have recourse to all the figures which he has introduced.

b Matt. iv. 2, with the omission of "fasted."

7 Mark i. 13.
princes of the Demons, whom the Holy Ghost has said are,—and has named by way of figure,—"Serpents," "Adders," "Lions," and "Dragons," on account of the similitude to the viciousness of each of these: (saying) "Thou shalt tread on the serpent and adder, and shalt trample on the lion and the dragon." The other things also which were done in the desert, this declaration intimates, saying thus in the person of the Vessel which He bore, "His truth shall gird thee (as) a weapon: neither shalt thou be afraid of the fear of the night, nor of the arrow that fliteth by day; nor of the thing that walketh in darkness: nor of the wind that bloweth at noon. Thousands shall fall at thy side, and tens of thousands at thy right hand: but they shall not touch thee."

56. These things have been said in parables and mystically, on the conflict which (took place) in the desert between the Vessel of salvation, and the invisible spirits. During all these nights therefore, and days in like number, He contended with the whole race (of Demons) that was beneath the air. Nor was it tardily that the Word of God drove these out, nor, that He pursued the whole congregation of the enemy; nor, that (He did this) as God in his abstract and unembodied power, but, by means of the body which He took. Because the whole race of man had, from ancient times, been subjected to these as to Gods: on this account therefore, principally, He subjected all the families of the Demons to this (His Vessel). For it was right, that He should make him who had been conquered, and iniquitously subdued to his enemies, not only (man's) Deliverer, but also the Conqueror of his enemies; and that He (The Word) should shew,

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1 Ps. xci. 13, as in the Peschito. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. ix. p. 437. seq.
2 Ps. xci. ver. 4, seq. With the Peschito, except that for לָּשֵׁב, it has לָשֵׁב; and for כֶּלֶם, which is probably the error of some copyist, —it has כֶּלֶם; for כֶּלֶם, ver. 6, our MS. gives כֶּלֶם: which strikes me as a good interpretation of כֶּלֶם here. The Syriac Translator of the Psalms seems to have read, instead of כֶּלֶם, as in our copies now, כֶּלֶם; probably in the sense of thing, or matter.
that His Friend, whom He had made in His own Image and similitude, was, on account of his participation in the Word, superior to the Demons who were formerly thought to be Gods; just as it is written in the words of mystery (the Scriptures).

57. Because then, the Saviour of us all had completed the conflict which was opposed to these (spirits), He went up thence, clothed (as it were) with victory, entered upon the life common to men, and delivered their souls: having relieved them from the bonds of the Demons; and, having revealed to His Disciples those other secret things,—as well as these which he performed in opposition to the enemies that are unseen,—He thus spoke, and He established (it), "Be of good courage, I have overcome the world." The manner too of His victory, He taught by those things which He said to His Disciples in parables (viz.): "No man can enter the house of a strong man and spoil his goods, unless he first bind the strong man; and then he shall spoil his house." He therefore bound the strong man, and drove out the whole race of Demons. And forthwith, He (so) wrought on the souls of those who were His, that He freed them from the bitter state, slavery, and error, of a multiplicity of Gods. This His first conflict however against the Demons, was completed at the outset of His manifestation among men. But the last (His crucifixion), was the commencement of His sovereignty over Death.

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* See 1 Cor. xv. 21. "For, since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead:" comp. Rom. v. 15—20. See also Theodore's Dialogue iii, entitled ἀπαθής, "impatibilis," (Deus sc.) Tom. iv. p. 116. seq. where (p. 134.) treating of the assumed human nature, ("τῆς ληφθείσης...φύσεως," he thus beautifully speaks, "ἐκεῖνος ταύτη τὰ κατὰ τὸν Λόγον παρεξῆται ταύτης γὰρ ἡ δικαίωσις, ταύτης ἡ πάλιν, ταύτης ἡ νίκη, ταύτης τὰ πάθη, ταύτης ὁ βάναυσος, ταύτης ἡ ἀνάστασις, ταύτης κοινωνίας τῆς φύσεως, ταύτης συμβασιλεύουσιν οἱ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς πολιτείας προμελετήσαντες,"... "quia secundum hanc comparavit Adamum cum Christo (sc. Apostolus). Hujus enim est justificatio, hujus lacta, hujus victoria, hujus passiones, hujus mors, hujus resurrectio, hujus sumus nature participes, cum hac regnavunt qui se ad convenientem illi regno vitæ rationem prepararint."

* John xvi. 33.  
  ** See Matt. xii. 29. Mark iii. 27.
For it was right that He,—who was superior to (that which was) no God, and to the error of Demons, and, had been attached to God the Word,—should receive the honour compatible with this His deed (viz.) the victory over Death. For the Demons, which had assembled together against Him, with their Head, and with the spirits residing above the earth in the air, (and) invisible to mortal eyes, turned their backs (in flight) in His first conflict (with them); directing their view to the second, and waiting for His last egress, and departure by death, from the world, which they expected would be like that of other men. For, they had no notion that the mortal nature could ever exist, which should be superior to death; or, that Death was (not) the common king of all those, who had once experienced the birth of mortals. They thought too, that this was, of all evils, that which no man could either avoid, or evade. But, immediately after the signal mark of His first victory over the Demons, He engaged also in conflict with Death. And, just as one wishing to shew that some vessel was incombustible and its nature superior to fire, could in no other way establish this astonishing fact, except by placing the one which he held in his hand in the fire, and then taking it out of the fire, safe and sound; so also the Word of God, the life-giver of all, willing to make it known that the mortal Vessel, of which He had availed Himself for the redemption of man, was superior to death, and, to shew that He made it to participate in His own life, conducted the matter both well and virtuously as it was most convenient. He left the body for a short time, and consigned mortality to death, for the rebuke of its (sinful) nature; and again,

1 The Greek of the Orat. de laudd. Constant. again joins us here, cap. xv. p. 539. D.
3 Gr. "εἰς ἔλεγχον τὴν οἰκείαν φύσεων." Lat. trans. "ut ejus natura hoc indicio probaretur." Our translator gives, ομολογίαν: taking ἔλεγχον in its most obvious sense, and, as I think, in that which Eusebius intended: not for the purpose of implying, that the nature of Christ deserved this rebuke, but that mortality did, for the sins of which He engaged to suffer. The note of Valesius on "Christ's leaving the body for a short time,"—intimating that this required a benignant interpretation, because, as he says, He never left it even for
He soon raised up the same from death, for the purpose of proving that the Divine power, which was by Him,—that eternal life, (I say) which was preached by Him,—was superior to every kind of death.

58. This therefore was the first cause. The second was, to shew that the Divine power resided in the human body. Because men had formerly made gods for themselves of those who were men mortal in reality, had been overcome by death, (and) in whom the last common extremity had been witnessed; and had named those heroes and gods, who had been taken away by death; on this account therefore, He happily shewed Himself; and for this cause, the same compassionate Word of God exhibited to men, the nature which was superior to death, and brought in mortality—after its dissolution—to a second life. He also afforded to all, the means of viewing the signal victory of life immortal over mortality; and taught (them) by (His) death to confess Him alone to be the God of truth, who had (so) bound the crown of victory over death, about His own head.

59. The third cause of (His) death was, the redemption that is (taught) in hidden (mystical) terms, which are these in effect: He was the sacrifice which was consigned to death, for the souls of the whole race (of man): the sacrifice (I say) which was slain for the whole flock of man—

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a moment, but only allowed it to be destitute of the companionship of the soul a little while,—seems to me marvellously hypercritical. For, if it was allowed to be thus bereaved, we can perhaps hardly suppose that the Godhead accompanied it in the grave. What this benignant interpretation might be, I confess I am at a loss to imagine.

4 Ib. p. 540. C.


6 Syr. [ 된ח, (with ribbui) as if designating the plural number. This mark is, however, occasionally used as a mark of quotation; and it is probable it was so applied here by our Translator, as also in the next line; while in the following it is omitted. I did not deem it right, when printing the Syriac text, to alter these marks.

7 Our MS. has here [ 된ח, for [ 된ח, no doubt, the Greek having ἀγέλης, ib. The same mistake has been made a little lower down,
kind: the sacrifice turning (men) back from the error of Demons. The sacrifice therefore,—the great offering, and that which was superior to all (other) sacrifices,—was the Body of our Saviour which was sacrificed as a Lamb, for the whole race of mankind: and it came up for the souls of all the nations that had been held in the impiety of their forefathers, the error of the Demons. And thence, the whole impure and unholy power of Demons was destroyed; this whole vain and earthly system of error, was instantly dissolved and ruined by a superior power! He therefore who was, from among men, the sacrifice of Redemption,—the bodily Vessel of the Word of God,—was sacrificed for the flock of all mankind. And this is He, who was, by the accusation of men, delivered up as a sacrifice to death; of whom the Divine words exclaim, speaking at one time thus: “Behold! The Lamb of God: behold! He (it is) who taketh away the sins of the world.” And at another, thus previously enunciating: “As a Lamb He was led to the slaughter; and, as a sheep before the shearer, He was silent.” And the same (Divine word) teaches the cause, saying: “Truly He underwent our sufferings, and bore our pains; but we considered Him bruised and stricken of God, and humiliated. He was slain because of our sins, and was humbled because of our iniquity. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes we are healed. All we have strayed like sheep, and (each) man has turned to his part; and the Lord has made to meet in him the sins of us all.” This bodily vessel therefore of the Word where the same term occurs. The reason of this, and of similar changes of ɔ to ɔ, and ɔ to ɔ, and particularly in proper names, I suspect to be a pronunciation in some respects similar, given to these letters in the mouth of a native Syrian.

1 Syr. [δοσιμάθεια], Gr. ἀνωτρόπων. Lat. Trans. “prostigavit.” Inferior to the Syriac.

2 Syr. ɔ̣, came up, as an offering here, apparently.

3 John i. 29, cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. cap. x. p. 37. A.

4 Is. xliii. 7.

5 Ib. ver. 4—7. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B. C.

of God, was, for these reasons, sacrificed. But He, the
great High Priest who officiates as Priest to God, the
King of all, and Lord of all, is another distinct from the
sacrifice, (viz.) the Word of God, the Power of God,
and the Wisdom of God: He too, after no long time,
raised mortality from death, making him (so raised) by
participation, the beginning of the redemption of us all,
and of that immortal life which is with God. Him too,
(thus) vested with the mark of victory over death, and
the deeds of the Demons; of those human sacrifices which
had been delivered down from ancient times, did He con-
stitute the Destroyer, for the sake of all mankind. Hence
also was the name of Messiah (Christ) given to Him;
which, among the Hebrews, attaches7 in like manner to the
chief priest. He therefore received the two names: the
name of Jesus, implying the sacrifice of salvation; and
that of High Priest, the Word of God, who officiates as
Priest for us all:—the custom of the Hebrews intimating
(this) of the Messiah (Christ.)

60. After the things which have been said, the latter
was the great cause of (His) death, viz. the Redemption
spoken of8: because, it was necessary to the disciples that

7 Syr. לֶאֶש, which, I think, must be an error, for לֶש. I have,
therefore, translated it accordingly by attaches. In the Hebrew,
the signification of Messiah, מָשִׁיחַ, is anointed. The priests, kings, and
others, were so styled, because consecrated to their offices by the
anointing of oil, as our Lord was by an extraordinary portion of the
Spirit. (See Is. lxvi.) Christ in the Greek signifies the same thing. See

8 Our author seems, in this article, to have had strongly impressed
on his mind the distinction made by the Apostle, when he speaks of
Christ in his human character only; e.g. "Since by man came death,
by man came also the resurrection of the dead." 1 Cor. xv. 21. So ib.
ver. 47. "The first man is of the earth...the second man is the Lord,"
&c. So 1 Tim. ii. 5. "The man Christ Jesus:"..."who gave himself a
ransom," &c. Again, Heb. viii. 3; x. 12. "This man," speaking of
Christ as a Priest, comp. ib. iii. 3; vii. 4, 24, &c. and of His Body; ib.
x. 5, 10. The Apostle however, makes no such distinction in his names:
for was it necessary he should. This distinction in Eusebius is, never-
theless, valuable.—Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 541. C. where the
Greek leaves us; but has the following matter, ib. p. 540. A. B. seq. See
also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 164. D.
they should see, with their own eyes, the life which was after death, He (thus) openly taught them to place their hope in this second birth. And, because He also encouraged them to be strong in the yoke of righteousness, He well delivered this, in order that they might, with their own eyes, see it. For it was necessary for these, who were about to be brought to the life of righteousness, that, first of all, they should receive this most necessary doctrine by means of open view; and much more, for those who were soon to preach it throughout the whole creation, and to cause the knowledge of God, (so) given by them, to arise (as the sun) in all nations, (and) among all men. It was necessary, that these men should receive the strongest persuasion of the life which is after death, so that they might accept fearlessly, and unmoved in their minds by death, the conflict against the error of many gods. For, if they had not been taught to despise death, neither would they have ever been prepared to approach afflictions. On this account, He the more particularly armed them against the power of death. Nor was it by precepts and words (only), that He delivered to them this doctrine: nor, in persuasive terms or similitudes, that He composed (his discourses) as men do, on the immortality of the soul; but He shewed them in the deed itself, the signal mark of the victory (obtained) over death.

61. For death had been, from ancient times, fearful to all men as the destroyer of our mortal race; its power being considered the undoing of the whole nature of man, both soul and body. Nor was there ever a man, who could relieve human nature from this fearful being. All were pierced,

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1 Syr. έν·ακτιναὶ σωμάτων, which is, most likely, the error of some copyist, for έν·ακτιναὶ θανάτου. The Greek too has, (Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 540. B.) “τὸν κατὰ τῶν θεῶν τῆς πολιοθείου πλάνης ἀγώνα προθέμενος ανέδεικνυτο.”

2 Syr. έμανθα. A word occurring in no Syriac Dictionary. We have however, in the Chaldee, נָבִים, “infigere verum, ad verum carnes afferere.” Buxtorf. Lex. Chald. Talm. &c. col. 2490: also Arab. “אָבְרָמָה, optavit in verum carnet aseandam:” so that we need not doubt as to its general sense.
(as it were,) small and great, Princes and Subjects, Kings at once and People, as well as the Inhabitants and Societies of all nations and families, by the fear of death. Nor had mankind any solace for this evil, either in word, or form, or manner of life, opinion of the wise, writing of the Ancients, prophecy of the Prophets, or revelation of Angels. He was superior to all, supreme over all, and victorious over all! Death, like an inflated boaster,—who had subjected to himself the whole mortal race,—was conversant with every species of iniquity, both the impurities of blood-shedding, and the deeds which were unrighteous; with the error also of every sort of vile (and) ungodly impiety. For, of all these things he was the Cause; and, as if there were again no existence after death, the many did in their conduct the things which deserved death, and as if unsubdued by (the fear of) any impending punishment. On account of this dissoluteness (resulting) from death, they lived a life which (in reality) was no life: they entertained not God in their thoughts, nor the righteous judgment of God: nor did they cherish the remembrance of the rational Essence of their own souls. They were conversant (only) with the one hard Ruler, Death; and were reconciled to the corruption resulting from this, which was the undoing of their whole soul. On this account it was, that they gave the name of Pluto, the god of riches,—to Death: and Death became their god! And not he alone, but also those precious things which were in his presence, and contributed to a life of lust, became their Gods! The very lust of the body therefore, became to them a God! the common aliments, a God! the seed which fell into the earth, a God! the pleasant blossoms of this, a God! the flowers of the apples, a God! the pleasure that was in drunkenness, a God! the love of the body, a God! and the very lust of these things! Hence, the mysteries of Demeter and of Proserpine: as also the rape of the Maid to Hell; and again, her return. Hence the feasts of Dionysus (Bacchus)—and of Hercules—who was overcome as by some great god by drunkenness! Hence the mysteries of the adultery of Mars and Venus! Hence the

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* Syr. χάμαρ. See Book ii. sect. 4. seq.

* Book ii. sect. 15.
madness of Jupiter after women, and his love of Ganymede! the rambling stories about Gods lovers of lust, and attached to the vilest affections! And of all these, was Death the
(originating) Cause: for they believed Death to be the end
and conclusion of all, the dissolution and corruption both of
bodies and souls; and that there was no other life, except
this of the body, and which is corporeal:—living a life
worse than that of the whole irrational nature of beasts!
On these accounts, it became the desire of the universal
King, the Word of God, at the intimation of His merciful
Father, and for the purpose of affording help to these,
to hasten,—as a king great in mercy,—and to undertake
the reprehension of Death, by means of human nature;
being as He was, the Life, the Word, and the Power
of God. Nor was it but that help should be obtained, that
He caused that fearful being among men to be reproved:
on this account, He, who was incorporeal,—availing Himself
of human armoury, and of a mortal body,—by means of
mortality overcame mortality. Hence His primary mys-
tery, that of His Body, was instituted; and hence, the signal
mark of the victory of the Cross; hence too, the commemo-
ration of the life which is eternal and immortal, He named1
His remembrance. Of the armoury which is mortal, He
availed Himself, and exhibited that greatest of miracles to
all men, the mark of victory of eternal life, which He
established in opposition to Death. For, He gave up mort-
tality to be food for the beasts; and He himself was forth-
with affixed to the cross of crucifixion, in order that to all
might become known the nature of mortality. Nor was that
which was done concealed by any means; neither from men,

1 Syr. ἱππός, to be read doubtless, ἱππός, for the reason assigned
above. Sect. 59, note. See also sect. 71, with the notes.
2 Allusion seems here to be made to Ps. lxxiv. 14, in which we are
told, that God brake the heads of the Leviathan, and gave him to be meat
to the people inhabiting the wilderness. (Gr. Ἀληθικός), taking the Le-
viathan as representing the evil principle which had corrupted mort-
tality. Comp. Is. xxxii. 1, and see my notes on Job xxii. 1. Our author
probably means, that He gave up His body to men, &c. who might be
termed beasts, because of the fierceness of their nature. Comp. Ps. xxxii.
12, 13, 16, 21.
nor from Demons, nor from the Powers which are superior. 
For it was necessary, that all should take an accurate view 
of mortality, as in a great theatre,
when He (thux) testified 
of the nature of His (human) person; and afterwards (see) 
Death coming in like a fierce beast: and (also see), why it was 
that it slew Him: and (that) then, the Power of life 
came in after Death, and again established for all the 
edominy which is over Death, when he had thus made that 
which was mortal, immortal. The Power therefore, which 
had taken hold of him, (viz.) the Word of God, left the 
Body for a short time; and it was suspended for a short 
space on the Cross, and became a corpse. But the Word, 
which gives life to all, became not a corpse. He therefore 
(thux) attested the mortal nature of his Person. This corpse 
too, of which Death had (so) taken possession, was now 
borne by men; and—being worthy of the usual care—was 
afterwards consigned, according to the laws of men, to 
burial. The grave itself was a cave which had recently 
been hewn out; a cave that had now been cut out in a 
rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other 
body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a 
wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is 
a-stonishing to see even this rock, standing out erect and 
alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it; 
lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame 
Death should have been obscured. The Corpse was there- 
fore laid there, the Vessel of the living Word; and a great 
stone held (the entrance of) the cave. And much did 
Death exult in this, as if, behold! he had (now) taken even 
this (Personage) under his power, together with those whom 
he had ever (so taken). But, when the period of three days 
had not yet passed, the same life shewed itself, after the 
rebuke which was sufficient against Death. For, if He had

* So Paul, Col. ii. 15. "And having spoiled principalities and powers, 
He made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it" (His 
cross).

† I.e. to prove that he really died. This was, no doubt, intended 
to have its force against the Docetæ, who held that it was a phantom 
only of Christ which had been affixed to the cross, and appeared 
to die, (which the Mohammedans, after these, still hold)—and thus 
virtually denying a vital point in the faith of a Christian.
risen earlier (and) immediately, He would not then have been believed to have been dead. But, since He was (thus) in reality raised, He had also in reality died; and had, for a time, been in reality subject to Death; then also did the all-life-giving Word of God evince the hope that is laid up for all men, by means of the second birth of this selfsame mortal (body)!

69. What things then came to pass after these, as to their being (actually) performed, it is not my intention henceforward to be thy teacher. Those who saw them will be the witnesses best fitted for the truth (in this respect); those (I say) who, from having seen the acts themselves, did, both by their blood and persons, attest their faith in Him: and who, by the power of Him, to whom they gave their testimony, filled the whole creation with the righteousness which was preached by them. Those therefore, who were spectators of the things then done, and who saw with their own eyes the Second Birth which became theirs¹, have delivered (this) by their own testimonies. It was not indeed, that the things done had been heard of by them, as far as word or enunciation (went); but, they had been seen, and accurately felt by those who testified respecting them: and on this account, these same, who had by open vision and in reality apprehended (these things), and had received the signal mark of victory over Death, learned well to be daring against Death; and taught this same thing to their Disciples, (viz.) that they had received from their Saviour, the truth pertaining to life immortal. And thus also, was the whole mortal race thence refreshed (as freed) from the fear of Death: because he, who had formerly been terrific, had suffered rebuke in the presence of all; and the life which was after death, had (now) received certain credibility; not from the artificial enunciations of Sophists, nor from the discovery of persuasive words; but, by the deeds which came forth to light. Nor again, did (men) as formerly tremble at death, but they laughed much and greatly in the hour of this fearful being; so much so

¹ Syr. [25] παίδευσιν, lit. which apprehended them: alluding perhaps, to Philip. iii. 12, where the text of the Peschito uses this word in the same way.
that they even followed after death, on account of (their)
desire of that immortal life, which should succeed it.

63. Hence indeed, originated the care of mankind
for the life which is holy and pure, and the diligence to
attain to every (sort of) excellency: the (constant) recol-
lection of God, and of the many enunciations respecting
the righteousness of truth, and of the turning away from
vice and ungodliness. Nor was it this only, but also the
ture notion of the life which is after death, was stirred
up among all men, and (so was) the right and true state of
mind, respecting the righteous judgment of God, the King
of all. On this account did the whole race of man,—which
had (now) been changed to a state of virtue by means of
enunciations not to be described,—henceforward spit in
the faces of the Idols, trample under foot the unjust laws
of the Demons, and laugh at the ancient traditionary system
of error of their forefathers.

64. Henceforward therefore, men became so instructed
in the heavenly doctrine, and the enunciations respecting
the knowledge of God, that they no more reverentially
viewed this visible creation with the bodily eyes; nor, when
looking upwards and seeing the Sun, Moon, and Stars,
did they address their veneration to them: but they acknow-
ledged Him who is beyond these;—Him who is secret
and invisible,—Him who is the Creator of all, and the
Maker of every thing: even as they had been taught to
fear Him alone.

65. Nor did he, who had been instructed in the new
doctrine, again imagine as formerly, that this nature of the
body, which is fleeting and corruptible, inanimate (in
itself,) and irrational;—nor, that the primitive elements,
Earth, Water, Air, and Fire,—were Gods; since he had
also been taught, that the superiority of his own soul greatly
excelled these.

66. Nor is he as formerly, a slave to his own lusts;
nor is he overcome by the baser desires: for he was then
vanquished, and could not overcome: (nor\textsuperscript{a}) can he, who has

\textsuperscript{a} Our text has an error of the press here, viz. \(\text{o}x\), for \(\text{o}x\).

\textsuperscript{b} I think it highly probable that the Syriac negative, \(\text{b}\) has in
this place been lost, by the mistake of some copyist.
been commanded to be careful to root up the sin (of idolatry) from his mind and soul, together with every evil desire and folly, again fabricate Gods to himself, or, even dare to look upon a woman lustfully.

67. Nor will he again as formerly, venerate the Interpreter\(^1\) of his own soul, or dare to call it a God: nor will he name his own mind Minerva\(^2\); nor indeed, any of those other things, which are in like manner but for an hour; but Him alone who is beyond all, the Word of God, the Artificer of all, the Wisdom of the God of All, will he recognize and bless, as his Saviour.

68. Nor again as in former times, does he,—who has subscribed to the one who alone is superior to Death; to the Conqueror, who has possessed himself of the signal mark of Victory over the power of Death; to his Saviour;—give the names and appellations of Heroes and Gods, to mortals who left this world in shame, and surrendered their lives to the dominion of Death.

69. Nor again as in former times, will he reverence inanimate Idols. Nor will he honour the nature which is irrational, and of Beasts, through that fear\(^3\) of Demons which is out of nature. But, he will laugh at the error of his forefathers, and will turn his face from their manner (of life), which was destitute both of the knowledge of God, and of the contemplation\(^4\) (of this).

70. Nor will he again as in former times, express terror at the images of evil Demons, nor at the vain and erroneous phantasms of earthly spirits:—he (I say) who

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\(^1\) Applying this term, as on several occasions, with reference to the human nature of Christ.

\(^2\) Syr. [唇][唇], the Greek Ἀθηνή, Minerva, alluding, no doubt, to the practices of the heathen, who made, both of the bodies and mental faculties of men, Gods. See Book II. Par. 5, &c.

\(^3\) Syr. [唇唇], which should, from the ribbui or mark of the plural number, be considered as a plural according to the doctrine of the common Grammars: but the construction forbids this. The ribbui here,—as in other instances,—only shewing that the general sense implies a plurality.

\(^4\) Syr. lit. The sight, view. [唇唇唇], alluding perhaps, to the blindness so often said, in the scriptures, to attach itself to the heathen.
is constrained by the prevailing power of the one Word. the King of all, has been taught to undo through Him, the whole race of the accusers of men, and (so) to abolish and expel, both from souls and bodies, these (causes of) injuries.

71. Nor will he as formerly, again pollute himself with libations, fumes, blood, and sacrifices; nor yet with the sacrifices of irrational animals: much less will he delight himself with the slaughter of men, and with human sacrifices. He has been taught, that God stands in need of nothing.—Nor will he delight in bodily matter, nor in the fumes of earthly sacrifices; but only in the enlightened mind, in purity of soul, and in holiness of life; in the sacrifices also which are without smoke and blood: those which are in the words of the mysteries: those (I say) which the Saviour of all has appointed to be delivered throughout the whole creation of man, for a remembrance of Himself.

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* Syr. [ظروف نور، lit. nor with blood, and with sacrifices.
* As this place is extremely important on the question of the Eucharist, I shall give the Syriac, which runs thus: [ظروف نور، lit. nor with blood, and with sacrifices. Nothing can be more certain, I think, than that the bodily and bloody sacrifice of the Mass of the Romanists could not have been intended here. On the opinions of the Syrian Fathers respecting this mystery, see my Visitation Sermon, (Cambridge, 1839,) with the notes. It is my intention, Deo volente, to publish a more detailed account of the opinions of the Syrian Fathers on this subject, as soon as I can; and for this, I have collected considerable materials. I will now give a sentence or two from the celebrated Bar Salibi,—a great favourite with the Romanists,—on John vi. 63. "It is the spirit that quickeneth," &c. This Father says, [ظروف نور، i.e. It is necessary that the words said by me should be spiritually received, so that you may inherit eternal life. But, if you receive them bodily, you shall not be profited. For, bodily is, that a man doubt and say, How can He have descended
72. Nor again will he, who has been taught by the words of his Saviour, to “mortify his members that are on the earth,” dare, as formerly, to give the title of gods to the aliments of the body, and to drunkenness; nor yet to the lusts and passions.

73. Nor again will he,—who has subscribed to the only One who is above all, the life-giving Word of God, who is his Saviour, and the Conqueror of Death,—be afraid of the solution of his soul, from the body which (now) accompanies it. Nor will he call Death, God.

74. With all these instructions of righteousness therefore, will he be armed who has been taught in the new doctrine. Nor will he, in opposition to the truth, give in descended from heaven, when we think him to be the son of Joseph? and, How can this man give his body?—Good Dr Wiseman however, the indefatigable propugner of the Roman Catholic doctrines, has no doubt, that the Jews were right in giving the interpretation which this Father reprobrates! and also, that Bar Salibi was an upholder of his own opinions! (See my Sermon, pp. 69, 100, 136—6.) Eusebius himself has, moreover, given his view of the nature of the Eucharist, in his Demonstratio Evangelica, (Lib. i. x. 39. A.) in the following words: speaking of the xi. Psalm, he says, “ώς ἀν μέγα μυστήριον ἐν κεφαλῇ βιβλίῳ τῇ προφητικῇ φωνῇ προανακεφωμένῳ. τούτον ἐπι τοῦ θύματος τῆς μνήμης ἐπὶ προτέχες ἐκτελεῖ διὰ συμβολῶν, τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος κατὰ θεομοῦ τῆς κατὰ διαθήκης παρελθόντος,” κ.τ.λ. Much the same is said a little higher up (ib. p. 37.) on Is. liiii. Again, (ib. p. 30.) he terms these sacrifices, “τὰς ἁσματὰς, καὶ νοερὰς θυσίας.” See the rest of this Book to the end, where he admirably shews, that it was this sort of sacrifice which was constantly foretold under the Old Testament. So also Origen contra Cels. Lib. vili. p. 416, “ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν εὐχαριστίας, ἡριων εὐχαριστία καλοῦμενος.” But the most remarkable passage to this effect occurs in Theodoret. Dialog. ii. “Inconfusus.” Tom. iv. p. 85. B. “οὐκε γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἑσταται φύσεως. μενεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχῆματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὀπταὶ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀπαὶ, ὀια καὶ πρότερον ἤν.” κ.τ.λ. “Neque enim symbola mystica post sanctificationem recedunt a sua natura. Manent enim in priore substantia, et figura, et forma, et visibile tantaque possunt, sicut et prians.” See my Visitation Sermon, notes, p. 155, and the opinions of the Syrian Fathers, ib. p. 136, seq.

1 Col. iii. 5. Differing slightly from the Peschito.
to those who dare to contend with God; but will stand up, in the mind (so) confirmed, against fire and sword; will bear up in the presence of fierce beasts, of the depths of the sea, and of every other terror of death. Those too, who in their natures are (mere) children and women, will sport with that death which was formerly (so) grievous, and the hearing about which was (so) dreadful. Barbarians at once and Greeks, who have received the powerful persuasion respecting the life which is immortal, by means of the resurrection of our Saviour, do follow after the life of that better wisdom, the fear of God, the signal mark of their victory over death, and of the eternal life which follows, having subscribed to their Saviour.

75. *Hence it is, that this rational race of man,—since it has been its lot to reside on the earth,—this same (I say) acts henceforth according to its nature; being taught to live in the remembrance of God, in the fulness of every good, and in accordance with the prediction of the prophets, who, many years ago (inspired) from above, thus previously preached: "All the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and be turned to the Lord their God; and before Him shall worship all the families of the nations: because the kingdom is the Lord's, and He is Governor over the Gentiles*.

76. Hence, places of instruction have been established throughout the whole creation of man; so that the words of God, the doctrine of purity of life and of the fear of God, are preached in the hearing of all nations.

77. Hence, in every city and place, congregations (assembled) from among all, ascribe, in songs of victory, honour to the all-life-giving Word of God.

78. Hence, the hymns which are suitable to the assemblies of Angels in heaven, even the race of mankind tenders to God the King of all. And henceforth,—together

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* The Syriac is obscure here. I trust however, I have succeeded in giving its meaning.

* Ps. xxii. 27, 28. Differing from the Peschito only in the addition of コン, their God. Cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. i. v. p. 46. Where our author has, and in the following Book, collected a very large number of Prophecies on the coming of our Lord.
with those spirits, the intelligent and unembodied powers that are with God who is above all; those also, whose lot it is to reside below on this element of earth, as also the rational souls of the just,—do, by means of the body, as by an instrument of music, send forth the hymns which are becoming, and the blessings which are due, to their one Saviour, the cause of every good. And that, which never (before) existed, the fruit which is due to God the universal King, is now daily rendered (to Him) throughout the whole creation of man, by every race as by one general agreement, and at the same befitting hours and seasons 1.

79. Those genealogies of the Demons, and stories about the Gods, which are now superannuated, perished when (so) consigned to oblivion. But, the word of Christ is renewed, and in (vigorous) youth with all. Now are the Divine Laws and Lessons preached throughout the whole earth, and they succeed in purifying all men. The instruction too, of the fear of God in truth, has filled all places, both of the Barbarians and the Greeks. Now do those of foreign, as well as those of many languages, send forth in one manner of life, and with one consent, the ascriptions of blessing which are becoming, to the Creator of all:—one enunciation, the same Law, and one mystery 2, suitable to God: and to this same conduct do they adhere. Now has there been established, throughout the whole creation, one combination of souls, and one accordance of doctrine. And hence, at one moment of time do those whose lot it is to reside together in the east, along with those at the setting of the Sun, glorify, by means of the same doctrines, the One God who is beyond all, the Lord of the whole world. Nor do they subscribe to any other, except only to the Christ of God, who is the cause of their happiness. Those also, who have possession of the northern parts, together with those who are in the south, at once call Him The Saviour. And, so do they honour God in the same (forms of) words, that no difference will

1 That is, on the same stated days and at the same hours of prayer.
2 Syr. |\(\gamma\)], i.e. Sacrament of the Eucharist.
again soon be made—although it might be imagined as
to speech,—between the Barbarian and the Greek; nor,
that the Greek be a person to be distinguished from the
Barbarian; for with God "there is neither Barbarian
nor Greek." For every one fearing God, is (here) a wise
man. And now Egyptians, Syrians, Seythians, Italians,
Moors, Persians, and Hindoos, all and at once, have be-
become wise by the doctrines of Christ. In these things
too are they all, at once made wise, and (so) instructed, as
to be intrepid against Death; to despise the things of this
life, and to put forth the one good hope, which is in
the promise of the word of our Saviour. But they also
learn, that they shall receive that life of the soul which
is immortal, and which has henceforth been promised to
them as a deposit, in the habitation of the circle of the
heavens, and in the kingdom of God. This promise, their
Saviour confirmed by deeds in His conflict with Death;
by which He proved to his Disciples, that Death which
had (hitherto) been so fearful to all men, was nothing.
The life moreover, which had been promised by Him, He
established by open view to their very eyes; so that they
should even see it; and made this His Image (body), by
its resurrection, the commencement of our hope,—of the
imperishable life of our bodies, of the soul as being im-
mortal, and of our greatness as like to that of the Angels.

80. The deeds therefore, pertaining to Redemption
and affording aid to the world, as to the Revelation of
the Word of God among men, are these. If however,
any one require a greater abundance, so as to be supplied
with many other proofs of the Divine power (in this re-
spect), personal leisure will be requisite, for the exami-
nation of the things which have been written respect-
ing Him. Of these I will select a few from the writings

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3 Allied to this, Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. i. near the beginning.
4 Col. iii. 11.
5 The Syr. has _MUTN. One would expect rather to find Medians
(UADR) here. Still, the reading might be correct, as the Maupoi
were an ancient people inhabiting a part of Colchis. See Bochart,
of His Disciples,—which he previously preached as predicting the things which should be done by Him,—in proof of his Godhead: and will so lay before those, who do not acknowledge the conclusiveness of my former statements, this as the last (and greatest).

The End of the Third Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea.
BOOK IV.

THE FOURTH BOOK (OF EUSEBIUS) OF CESAREA.

1. It is desirable then, that we should hear from the common Saviour of all himself, who, speaking with men after the manner of a good Parent, became as a child, and gave (his) answers, as the nature of mortals was able to hear, by means of the vessel which he assumed, as through an Interpreter. For, when he made his Divine manifestation among men, he gave many other proofs of the power of his Godhead, by means of deeds which any one who chooses may collect, from the Books (that have been written) about Him. Nor will that again, be a trifling conviction as to His truth, which takes its stand on the words which he uttered, and which it is necessary we should bring forward against those, who do not readily give credence to his astonishing Divine performances. Even in those other things which have been preached respecting Him,—which (consist) in the power of His words,—there is no small proof afforded to those who possess mind. For, as on many occasions, we know those whom we have never seen with our eyes, and whose words only we have heard; and distinguish the speaker by what we hear, whether he be Greek,—as the case may be,—or Roman, or even Egyptian; or, whether in age old, or young; or, whether the strain be that of man, or woman; or, the enunciation that of the wise and rational, or, on the contrary, of the foolish or ignorant; so also, although we might not have happened to see with our eyes those Divine acts which the WORD OF GOD performed, when He made His conversation on earth; still, from the teaching of His words, the enunciation of which was foreign, and surpassing general apprehension;—also, from the foreknowledge of things to come to pass which he predicted;—and, from the things which he promised he would do in after times;—as well as from the issue of the things (so) predicted, the ful-
filment of which is now before our eyes, (and) brought about by his power;—there must result no mean proof, as to those (declarations) which bear testimony to His Godhead. For, the miracles which were performed by Him may be divided into (two) periods; that, in which the conversations He made on earth are commemorated, and that which succeeded, and extends to our times. Those great acts then, which he formerly did when he was with the men who happened to exist at that time, it was in their power openly to view; but to us, these were unseen; and they are laid down, (as) having been unseen. And thus again also, the things which have been fulfilled in our times,—in the order in which His words foretold them, and are even to this present witnessed by us in the very facts,—could not, to those of the times in which they were foretold, have yet been known as to their results; and they were, no doubt, considered by them, who believed not, as impossible. It is nevertheless likely that even then, those whose character was that of sound judgment,—although not witnessing the results of the predictions,—did still believe in them, on account of His other acts. For, Is it likely that they who saw with their eyes the evident powers of God, the miracles and astonishing acts and deeds which eclipsed all mortal nature, believed only the things which were then seen, but, (as) confirmed by these of his foreknowledge, did not (as) readily also believe those which were afterwards to come to pass?—So that again, it is right that we should, from those miracles which we ourselves have seen, also give our credence to the things which were then witnessed by his Disciples. For, the very things which were delivered in the hearing only of (our) predecessors, are (now) visible to our own eyes: and, they are sufficient for those whose judgment is incorrupt, as proofs setting a seal on the things which have been recorded. And these are the things which then existed not; nor had they yet been set up; nor had they so much as ever entered into the minds of men: but they were foretold by Him, from His divine foreknowledge of the future; and, in after times, they have been fulfilled, and are in (these) our times seen by us, even to this very day.—Of these, our means of knowledge are at hand.
2. A certain man, illustrious from (his) service to the rule and power of the Romans, was in a state of suspense, because his favourite boy had become paralytic in his limbs, and was laid (up) in his house; who, when he saw that our Saviour shewed forth such powers upon others,—healing the sick, and curing every pain and infirmity,—he perceived in his own mind, that this miracle was not of man. He approached Him accordingly as God;—not looking to the vessel of the Body which was visible, and by means of which He carried on His discourses with men, but to that God who was unseen; to Him, who by means of a mortal being, made known these His excellent doings;—he fell down and worshipped Him, praying and striving (with Him), that He would afford to him for his boy the aid which is from God. And, when our Saviour said to him, "I will come and heal him," the Chiliarch answered Him,—for he had been considered worthy of this rule among the Romans;—and said to him, "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but, speak the word only, and the child shall be healed. For, I am a man in authority, and there are soldiers under my hands; and I say to this, Go; and he goeth: and, to another, Come; and he cometh: and, to my servant I say, Do such a thing: and he doeth it." Hear therefore what our Saviour did upon this request, not from me, but from the Writer himself,—teaching (us) thus—in the very words: "But, when Jesus heard it, He wondered, and said to those who

1 Syr. σιαν, lit. his child: but, as this is probably a translation of the Greek παιδί, which signifies boy, and thence either child or servant-boy, I have thought it best to render it by the English, boy, which is equally indefinite with the Greek.

2 Alluding, perhaps, to Gen. xxxii. 25—28, comp. with Hos. xii. 4.

3 This and the following recital are taken, in the main, from Matt. viii. 5. seq. with the addition of "beloved," (Syr. يهود) from the parallel passage in Luke vii. 2. It differs considerably from the Peshitto, and is probably the rendering of our Syriac Translator, with the words of the Peshitto, however, in his memory. The greatest variety consists in this, that our text has here, Chiliarch (Syr. قديد) Captain of a thousand, instead of Centurion of the Greek and Syriac Scriptures. I have accordingly given Chiliarch in my translation. This reading is certainly extraordinary.
followed Him, Not even in Israel have I found such faith as this. And I say unto you, that many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall go out into outer darkness.” And, after these words, He thus spoke to the Chiliarch: “Go: as thou hast believed, shall it be unto thee. And his boy was healed from that hour.” And, when the Chiliarch returned to his house, in that very hour he found his boy well.

3. With so much power therefore, did the word of our Saviour go forth, and shewed so much virtue, and so replete was it with power and with so much mercy, and with such ease were the good aids (it afforded given), that He readily promised He would come. And such indeed was the miracle which accompanied the act, that it is impossible to conceive of it as we ought. For this, that He said to the Chiliarch no more than, “As thou hast believed, so shall it be unto thee,” and, with the word, gave health to his son. How effectually does it shew, that it was God who spoke in mortal voice! But, should any one be persuaded of this with difficulty, on account of the greatness of the miracle; still, such cannot fairly be excused as to His prediction, in which a powerful argument will be afforded in favour of the deed, if any one will consider that at this period, the Roman who drew near to our Saviour, was one (only), namely, the Chiliarch, who made a greater and better profession of Him, than (did the whole) Jewish people; and, that our Saviour prophesied that instead of one, those, who should like this man draw near to Him, should be many; and, that these should be of those residing in the East, and in the West:—those (I say), who, by means of the

1. From this it should seem that σπέρμα, ought to be understood in the sense of own his child.

2. I have not thought it necessary here to follow the verbiage of the Syriac, which gives, 干事 干事 干事 干事 干事 干事. Of those who reside at the risings of the day, and in quarters of the East, and at the settings of the Sun. I add this merely for the sake of the Student of the Syriac.
knowledge of Him, and of the confession (made) of Him, should be considered worthy of honour with God, equal to that of the Hebrew Fathers:—even of him who is preached of as being the Father of their Fathers, Abraham, who went forth from among his idolatrous forefathers, and changed his manner of life; and, leaving the error of many Gods, recognized the one God who is over all. He also foretold, that like to this (man), and to his sons Isaac and Jacob, there should be myriads of men throughout the whole creation; and particularly of those who resided both in the East, and the West. To these things He added,—and this (constitutes) the greatness of the prediction,—that these very Jews, the descendants of these Friends of God, who make their boast of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, should, on account of their resistance to Him, and their want of belief in Him,—as if cut off from the light of knowledge,—go forth into outer darkness: and, because of their extreme ignorance and foolishness, (be consigned to) an entire dismemberment from the light of salvation. Thus He predicted.—It is now right we should consider the fulfilment of these things, and receive from the testimony of our eyes how these very Jews, who boasted of their descent from the family of those called the Friends of God, have been cast out, not only from the kingdom of God, but also from their own metropolis, the most excellent place of rule, in which the law appointed that their noblest service should be performed! and (how) those who were formerly free, and the virtuous children of these Fathers, have become slaves; and, being mixed with foreign nations,—a thing unlawful with them,—wander about in lands not their own, and are not permitted to view, even from a distance, the land of their own religious worship! Being moreover, deprived of those princes and kings, who were vested with

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2 Syr. ἡ λύγιος ἡ ἀνωτέρωσις, which, perhaps, ought to be, ἡ λύγιος ἡ ἀνωτέρωσις, lit. the light of the Saviour; but, if ἡ λύγιος be an adjective, then saving light will be the meaning. Without further authority however, this point must remain undetermined:—which will not affect the general reader.
rule by traditionary right, they now remain in subjection to those who have rased their temple to the ground, and have subdued their whole nation! Nor is there, as formerly, either prophet or revelation; nor is there help, or act of God. Of all these things, not one existed from ancient times; it was (only) after our Saviour had turned away His face from them that these came upon them, according to His predictions; and such are the things respecting the Jews.

4. Instead then, of that one Chiliarch who drew near to our Saviour at that period, a number of men exceeding description has, from all nations, drawn near to Him, not of Chiliarchs only, but also of the mass of the Roman armies; so that even myriads of princes and governours bearing rule among the nations, and in the (various) regions; and also of others, much more honourable and exalted than these,—those who are great, and glory in the royal apartments,—have like the Chiliarch approached the Christ of God; and have, by means of his doctrine, acknowledged the God of those Friends of the Deity, who (formerly) arose among the Hebrews; and they have accordingly, been considered worthy of a return from God the supreme King, equal to that afforded to these. If indeed any one will consider, what numbers of Christians and of churches, and of vast congregations, are said to be in the country of the Persians and of the Hindoos, residing in the East; and, how there are with these, through the words of our Saviour, women, virgins desiring, and men coming over to, holiness, and to the provisions which are for the life of philosophy and of purity, and how numerous the confessors are, who live among these:—

5. Also, how those very persons who confess Him who has arisen from the seed of Abraham, and that He is the Christ of God; and have become, by means of the new birth which is in Him, the children of Abraham; and have (thus) set their seal to the prophetic Word of our Saviour: and this also, that, in like manner, in the western parts of the world, the whole of Spain and Gaul \(^1\), in the countries of the

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1 Syr. [šn̂m l̓m], lit. Spaniards and Gauls.
Moors and Africans, in the (Islands of the) Ocean itself, and in Britain, men subscribe to Christ, and even acknowledge the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: upon Him also they call in their prayers, and are looked upon (as) partakers with these same (Fathers) in the worship of God:—If (I say), any one will therefore take these things into his consideration, he will then understand what the power of the prophetic word (was) that declared and said, "Many shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven." These things therefore, He said, and foretold to the Chiliarch: and, on many other occasions, things not unlike these to the Jewish Doctors. And in this manner He spoke: "When ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves going out. And they shall come from the East, and from the West, and from the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God." Of these things an open confirmation is afforded by the fact, of all nations having been converted to the God who is over all. These, He therefore said to them, respecting the conversion of all nations to God, who is over all.

6. Thou wilt learn moreover, from the writings of His Disciples,—that it was by their means He was about soon to call in the nations—which are to this effect: "When Jesus passed over a part of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting nets into the sea:—for they were fishers. —He said to them, Follow me; and I will make you fishers of men. And they, in the same hour, left their nets and followed him. And, when he departed thence, He saw two brethren, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, in the ship with Zebedee their Father, and He called them; and they, in the same hour, left the ship and

\[\text{It is commonly assumed by the Roman Catholics, that Christianity was unknown in Britain until Austin the Monk introduced it at the command of Gregory the Great. With how much truth this is done the reader will see, when he finds that the Fathers generally asserted the contrary. See the "Lux Evangelica" of Fabricius, and Stillingsfleet’s "Origines Ecclesiae Britannicae."}\]

\*\*\[\text{Matt. viii. 11. \quad \text{Luke xiii. 28, 29. \quad \text{Matt. iv. 18.}}\]
their Father, and followed Him.” Another writer too has left it on record, that He spoke to Simon on two occasions, a prediction similar to this: “When a great multitude was standing over against Jesus,” He (this writer) has said, that “He went up into one of the ships, which was Simon’s; and, when He had sat down in it, He interpreted to the multitude.” But, after the teaching which was sufficient,—because it was suitable that He should add some Divine work to His words, for the advantage of those who were looking on,—He commanded Simon to “cast forth his net for a draught: and he said to Him, We have toiled the whole night, and have found nothing; nevertheless at thy word, I will cast out the net.” And, what He had been commanded, he did. And, when he had taken a great number of fishes, their nets were breaking,—because they were heavy with the many fishes,—and they called to those who were in the ship at their side, to help them. And thus, when they had drawn up the fishes, they filled both their ships, insomuch that they were pressed to sinking; and, upon these things, Simon was astonished and wondered, confessing that he was not worthy, that our Saviour should come near him. But, when He had thus shewn him a representation of what

1 As an extract from the Greek original of this place has been preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna (Lambecii xxii. Nesseli ixxi.) and which has been kindly communicated to me by its learned Librarian Dr Kopitar, through the intervention of the Right Honourable Lord Napier, I shall here give it. I give Dr Kopitar’s whole transcript. “Exscriptum e Codice Theol. greco. Vindob. fol. 246. v. ad Luc. v. 6. de reti rupto: Εὐσεβίου εὐαγγελικ θεωρά:—rubro colore. Παρακελέσαντι μὲν τῷ πέτρῳ ὁ Κ. χαλάσαι εἰς ἄγραν τὰ δίκτυα, ὁ δὲ τὸ προστεταγμένον ἑπόει, ὡς δὲ συνέκλησαν πλῆθος ἰχθύων πολὺ. καὶ διερρήγματα τὰ δίκτυα τῷ πλήθει βαροῦμενα, προσκαλοῦντο μὲν εἰς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ γειτνιαττῷ πλοῖοι, εἰτ’ ἀνέλκυσαν τοὺς ἰχθύες, πληροῦντο ἄμφω τὰ σκάφη, ὡς κῦδανεν αὐτὰ βυθισθῆναι ἐφ’ ὅκ αὐτὸ πέτρου ἀποθανάσας ἐξεπλάγη. ἀνάξιον τε ἐναυῶν τῆς στροφεὶ (? ἐπιβᾶσεις ὠμολογεῖ:—see. rub. ἔρημος θεολογ.:” Another extract, with which I was favoured through the same channel, will be found in Book v. sect. 38.

2 The Greek Orat. de laud. Constant. extract extends to this place.
was about to take place, He also gave its explanation (thus): "and Jesus said to him, Fear not; Thou shalt henceforth be a fisher of men unto life." It was to Galileans,—men unaccustomed with any thing beyond the Syriac language, and this mean profession and necessity of fishing, by which they were driven,—that our Saviour well promised, that He would "make them fishers of men," and preachers of His doctrine. And, He made them (such). Nor did He belie His promise; but He shewed forth the "Power of God," the Doer of a thing, which eclipsed every human excellence! For, had He brought near to Him the Intellectual and the Wise, the Rich, and Illustrious, among the Jews; and had made use of these (as) the Teachers of His words; it would indeed have been likely, that men would have supposed this matter to have been brought about by human means only. For thus are most men usually overcome; (namely), they are either wrought upon by the gifts of the rich, or, they are led astray by excellency of speech, or, by the phantasms of science: or, they fear the power of illustrious personages. But He made use of no such disciples as these: on the contrary, by the poor, the despised;—by men ignorant as to speech, Syrians in language, and in their character humble and mean,—did He openly manifest His work (of redemption). It was the Divine Power alone, which He made use of;—that which He evinced when He previously called them, and made them go forth; and so promised that He would make them both "Fishers of men," and Preachers; that, instead of the nets which they then had, they should receive from Him the net, which should comprehend in its texture, an aggregate of the declarations of both the Law and the Prophets, as well as of those comprehended in (all) the Divine teaching. This they should cast into the sea of mankind as existing in the world, and inclose (therein) as many as they could; filling these their rational nets

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a Syr. סמה, a reduplicated form of דמה, which Castell gives under this root, in דמה, incitavit, persuasit, &c.

b The Syr. has here גבר, for גבר, &c. no doubt; the diacritical point of the Dolath being occasionally omitted.
with every sort of the fish that are rational. But these things, which were then heard by word, were words and sounds, and nothing more: it was an effort of the Divine Power itself, which, at no distant time, brought them to pass; and so fulfilled by deeds the things which had been foretold, that, in a short time, He made His own possession the whole creation of mankind,—congregations innumer- able,—by means of these poor and illiterate men; and, that His Churches were every where filled, both with Greeks and Barbarians. For, it was not by that one Divine word of promise, that He would teach His Disciples, but, that He would make them Fishers of men. Nor was it therefore, that He knew only, what should come to pass; nor, that He foretold this; but, that He should also be looked upon (as) the Effectuator of all this knowledge.—He spoke in word, and He performed and established the deed:—that something (I say), which was to be brought about, (He foretold) by demonstration and representation; and of this He gave the fulfilment in the fact itself! For, to them who formerly toiled throughout the lengthened night, which was dark and destitute of the true light and knowledge of God, and could find nothing which they could take, (leading) to salvation, He arose (as the sun) in His brightness, and commanded those who were in the light and the day,—not by their art, but by trusting in his word,—to cast out their nets into the deep. And they so enclosed this great multitude of fish, that their fishing vessels were pressed to breaking, and the ships themselves to remaining in the deep from their weight. And, because these things were so done, astonishment and great fear came upon Simon. But, our Saviour said (as it were) these things to him, Let not these things alarm thee: they are (but as) recitations for the present, and representations of something hereafter to come to pass: for, these are fish un-endued with either voice, or reason; these too, are ships and nets, composed of (earthly) material, and are inanimate; but, not as these things, are those of which these are the represen-tations: for shortly afterwards,—that is, immediately, now, and forthwith,—thou shalt be a fisher of men unto life (eternal). This laborious fishing which returns no profit, thou shalt relinquish; and, thou shalt become a
fisherman of reasonable creatures, in place of these which are irrational. Nor shalt thou again draw up those whom thou shalt catch from the depths of the sea, but from the bitterness of the life that is hateful; from the chambers of ungodly darkness and from sin, into the light which is intellectual; and to the elevation of purity. That is, thou shalt catch them for life, by means of that which is of life: it is not death that thou preparst for them. These first indeed, which are drawn up out of the sea, and which formerly enjoyed life in darkness and the deep, perish immediately on their ascending and receiving the light. But, those who shall be caught by thee from among men, shall be caught up out of the darkness of ignorance, and shall be changed to the life that is of God. These things therefore, (namely,) "Thou shalt henceforth catch men unto life," our Saviour foretold by the Divine power: and the same, our Saviour shewed by very deed, were sure and true. This Syrian fisherman therefore, this net-caster,—did by means of his net,—the texture of which was by the Divine power composed of the words of mystery,—catch innumerable multitudes of men. And, "The visual perception of something hidden, is something visible." The things therefore, which the long life of the world,—and which from the first experienced not the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour,—could not effect:—the things which neither Moses who gave the law to the Hebrews, nor the Prophets who came after Moses, could; nor yet the multitudes of others, who from ancient times carried as fishermen the doctrine of God to man, and who toiled throughout the whole night which preceded his manifestation,—could do, this Galilean, this Pauper, this Barbarian, this Simon did, by means of his voice bring to pass. The demonstrations indeed, then given of Simon as to these things, are the Churches which up to this time have arisen, far more in number than the ships (then present), and these, filled with fish that are rational. Such is this of Cesarea of Palestine, and such is that of Antioch of Syria; and such is that of Rome; for, by

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1 This is given above as a principle.
2 Our author here speaks as an inhabitant of Cesarea.
these Churches—which Simon set up, and by all those near
them,—are these things commemorated. Those too that are
in Egypt and in Alexandria itself, did he again, not by his
own means, but by those of Mark, his disciple, erect. Of
those also, that are in Italy and among the nations adjoin-
ing, he was the Steward (Dispenser): and he made his
disciple Mark the Teacher and Fisherman of those in
Egypt. Now, give thy consideration likewise, to the rest of
our Saviour's Disciples, on those whom He said He would
make Fishers of men;—and this his word He has shewn
forth by deeds. For up to this time He did, and caused,
that, forthwith, and throughout the whole creation of man,—
His rational net should be filled with every sort of rational
fish, Barbarian and Greek; and that He should draw up
from the depths of evil, and the darkness of ungodliness,
the souls of men; turning these daily and hourly to the
light and knowledge of God which had been delivered by
Himself. Which things, seen as they are with our own
eyes, establish,—as it appears to me,—beyond (all) doubt,
the Divine manifestation of our Saviour.

7. Art thou desirous then, of hearing a third declaration
of the Divine word, which foretold that His Disciples should
arise (as the Sun) throughout the whole world? Hear this
also, for it is after this manner: "Ye ¹ are the light of the
world:" and, "A city that is built on a hill cannot be
hidden:" "nor do men light a candle, and place it under
a bushel, but upon a candlestick; and it giveth light to all
that are in the house. So let your light shine before men,
that they may see your good works, and glorify your
Father who is in heaven." Here again, these very fisher-
men, who went forth from Galilee,—a corner ² of Judea so
called, which is situate on the sea; and of which Isaiah,—one
of the Prophets,—making known at once its obscurity, and
at the same time, the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour,
which he announced should take place there,—proclaimed
(saying), "Galilee ³ of the Gentiles, a people sitting in

¹ Matt. v. 14—16.
² Syr. Castell (Edit. Michaelis, gives ) gives angulus:
while the examples have .
³ Is. ix. 1, 2.
darkness have seen a great light:”—those (I say) who went forth from thence; men, mean, necessitous, illiterate in speech, and poor in circumstances;—those very fishermen He said, should be the light of the world; and this promise He confirmed by deed; (namely), that this same Simon who was called Cephas, (and) who went forth from Capernaum which is a village of Galilee,—should enlighten many souls of men with the light of the knowledge of God; and should himself become known throughout the whole creation, even to the regions of the West; and, that even to this time, his memory should be more celebrated among the Romans, than that of those of former times, so that he should be considered worthy of an honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city; and, that great multitudes of the Roman Empire should run to it, as to a great asylum and temple of God. How then, Does not the truth bear testimony to Him, who said to his Disciples, “Ye are the light of the world?” So again, the name of John the son of Zebedee also,—who (was engaged) in fishing with his father and brethren, and mending the net, whom He (Jesus) saw, and considered worthy both of this call and promise,—arose (as the Sun) throughout the whole creation; and whose words have, through the Gospel which was delivered by him, also enlightened the souls of men!—which has been translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and is daily preached in the ears of all nations! And more particularly, the sepulchre of this (Disciple) which is in Ephesus of Asia, does glorious honour to his death, and shews to the world the memorial of that light which cannot be hidden. In like manner also, the writings of the apostle Paul are preached throughout the whole creation, and they enlighten the souls of men. The martyrdom of his death, and the sepulchre which (is erected) over him, are, even to this day, greatly and abundantly honoured in the city of Rome. And, What need is there we should say, that the mode of life set up by means of the Disciples of our Saviour throughout the whole creation,—like the exhibition of a banner of victory,—is as a famous city which has nothing hidden within it? but which is in authority in the midst of all other cities, (and) according to the enunciation of our
Saviour, “Is like to a city placed upon a hill?” And this is the very word, which they preached respecting their master. It was not, as (if) hidden under a bushel, or given up to error and darkness; but, as upon a lofty candlestick, and lifted up to an exalted eminence, and giving light to all that were in the house of the whole world! And this, (viz.) “Let your light so shine before men,” evinced (both) foreknowledge and prophecy; not precept only, but also intimation of what should come to pass. He fully too named them all (here), the light when He said, “Ye are the light of the world.” Not, that they were many lights; but, that they all together (constituted) one light: as if from an equality\(^1\) of them all, there should be at once an arising (of light as of the Sun) to the whole world. For, it was His alone to say, “I AM the light of the world.” And of Him it has been truly said, that “He\(^2\) is the light that came into the world, which enlighteneth every man.” But, since these things have been thus foretold, and fulfilled; observe how He again spoke of, and explained, them to His Disciples: “That which I say to you in darkness, speak ye in the light; and, that which ye hear in your ears, preach ye on the housetops. And fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. But fear ye Him rather, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.” He also promised by these things, in the very beginnings (of the ministration) of His Disciples,—when they knew nothing of them, but were as if they had been in the dark,—the knowledge of the light. He prophesied also, to those (then) hearing His precepts, that they should preach openly to all men that which was (now) secret, in darkness, and invisible. He taught them too, not to be perplexed, but to suffer affliction with all

\(^1\) If it should be imagined, that Eusebius intended above to assign any preëminence to Peter in the work of evangelizing the world, this place would be sufficient to correct any such notion. Peter was, as the primary Apostle of the Gentiles, very highly honoured: it was Paul nevertheless, who, after his conversion, became the most abundant labourer of them all.

\(^2\) John viii. 12, &c.  
\(^3\) 1st. i. 9.  
\(^4\) Matt. x. 27, 28.
their soul; to preach Him in the ears of all; and not to fear those, who would kill the mortal body: the soul not being subject to loss of life by men, because it is incorporeal and immortal. For it is God only, who is able to inflict punishment and death, at once on both body and soul. It may be observed therefore, that He taught by these things, that the soul is incorporeal; and set up, in a few words, the ordinances of (true) philosophy,—

In that He foretold at the outset⁵ to His Disciples, that He would make them Fishers of men; and, that they should eventually, openly, immediately, (and) through His power, make Disciples of all nations. From the Gospel of Matthew⁶.

8. After his resurrection from the dead, all of them,—being together as they had been commanded,—went to Galilee, as He had said to them. But, when they saw Him, some worshipped Him, but others doubted. But He drew near to them, spoke with them, and said: “All power (both) in heaven and earth, is given to me of my Father. Go ye and make Disciples of all nations, and baptise them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And, behold! I am with you always even to the end of the world.” Observe now, in these things, the consideration and caution evinced by the Disciples: (viz.) that they did not all worship Him when they saw Him. Some of them indeed did this faithfully and devotedly, but others refrained for the present. It was not easily and suddenly, that they gave in to this miracle; but, it was after much investigation and with every caution they were so at last persuaded, that they went out to all mankind. They became too, the Preachers of His

⁵ The Syriac reads here, יֵשׁוּעַ, which, I am inclined to think, should be, יִשְׁתָּעְדֵנָה, by promise: still that gives a very suitable sense.

⁶ Matt. xxviii. 18, to the end. The differences from the Peschito are slight, and such as to shew, as before, that the Translator having the words of the Peschito in his mind, rather translated afresh than followed it literally.—All these headings following are, in the MS. given as Rubrics.
Resurrection; because it had prophetically said in the Scriptures of the Prophets, in His Person, "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and (for thy) possessions, the uttermost parts of the earth." Just as the testimony of this prophecy has now been fulfilled in fact, He said to His Disciples; "All power is given to me, as in heaven, so in earth." For, He had possessed the sovereignty of the things which are in heaven from eternity; but now, He said was given to Him, by His Father, those upon earth, in conformity with this (viz.) "Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thy possession. For, from ancient times,—as Moses attests,—"The most High, when dividing the nations, appointed the boundary of the people, according to the number of the angels."

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2 I do not see how this could come out of the mouth of an Arian.
3 The place here referred to is Deut. xxxii. 8, as given in the Version of the Septuagint: where we have, "κατ’ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ." Out of this seems to have originated the notion of Angels presiding over the several regions of the Earth: and, thence, among the heathen, of Demons doing this: a notion prevailing far and wide in the East at this very day. The Hebrew has here, "Children of Israel;" whence the notion among the Jews, that there were 72 nations on the earth, and as many languages; because this was the number supposed to have gone down with Jacob into Egypt. The whole however, is a gross mistake, which has arisen out of a false interpretation of the Hebrew term "션υψ.," signifying enumeration, as well as number. The sense of the place will then be, according to the enumeration, (account or statement) of the children of Israel: i.e. as found in their Scriptures. This Scripture is also quoted, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vii.; but the reasoning differs. See also ib. cap. x. p. 163. See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 250, &c. An extract is given from the Theophania, in the "Scriptorium Veterum Nova Collectio," Tom. vii. p. 91, by Signior Angelo Mai in these words: "Εἰσεβιὸν β τής θεοφανείας. "Εβδομηκοντα δὲ ἀνεδείκνυ ταξινόμον, ὅπόσα λέγεται καθ’ δής τῆς οἰκουμένης ἑνὶ προσωποῖς τῶν δὲ καὶ Μωσέων ἄλλοις γραφθέντα ποιμήν τῶν κατ’ ἐνα ὄψιν καταλογισμού τοῦ ἔθους γεγονότα παίδων ἐξ ἐν τούτων πάντων ἐβδομηκόντα φίλοις οὐδα προσώπων τῶν καθ’ ἔνας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἑνῶν λόγως ἀληθικὴ γεγονότα κατέχει." If this extract belongs to any part of this work, it must, I suppose, be to this; as I know of no other place at all like it. From the letter β being attached to the extract, one
So that the Angels of God were, from ancient times, Rulers over all that was on the earth. But, when mankind had been perverted to the error of many Gods, and the Angels, who were the Rulers, were unable to afford any remedy for this; the common Saviour of all Himself taught, by means of His Divine manifestation, and after His victory over Death, that the empire of the nations upon earth, should no more be given by his Father to the Angels, but to Himself. And on this account, He commanded his Disciples,—not from ancient times—but now, that they should make the circuit, and make Disciples, of all nations. And He necessarily added the mystery of cleansing⁴. For it was necessary to those, who should be converted from among the heathen, that they should be cleansed by His power from every pollution and uncleanness; because they had been defiled by the error of Demons, and had been holden by the worship of Idols, and by uncleanness of every sort, but had now first been changed from that life of abomination, and of lawless practices. These very persons then, did He direct to teach,—after this cleansing, which is by the mystery of His doctrine,—not, that they should observe the precepts of the Jews, nor yet the Law of Moses, but all those which He commanded them to observe. And these

would imagine that the second Book was meant; but certainly, our second Book contains no such matter. All I can see in it, I must confess, is, that the writer of the Codex mentioned by Signior Mai only intended to give a sort of Comment on this place of the Theophania, and one which seems to have come originally from the Jews: it being much of a piece with the traditionary nonsense entertained by that people, but quite foreign to the manner of Eusebius, who never indulges in caballistic reasoning of this sort. Nor is the Signior (now Cardinal) correct when he says:—"Theophania, seu publica Christi vita, (Luc. cap. 3)"; neither the term, nor the contents of the work, nor the Scripture cited, justifying such an assertion. Nor does the word άναγορα, referred to, even hint at the existence of this work. All the passage in the Chronicle intends evidently is, that our Lord appeared (άναγορα) in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar. The Cardinal tells us moreover, that he has discovered xviii. other fragments of this work, which he has printed in the second edition of his first volume. But this edition I have not yet been able to find in this country; I can say nothing therefore about these extracts.

⁴ Syr. Λατσίατων, by which he means Baptism.
are those which the whole of the Disciples,—making sev-
eronally the circuit of all the nations,—equally delivered to
every Church throughout the whole creation. He neces-
sarily therefore, stirred them up, and made them readily to
confide,—to undertake the circuit of all nations, and to make
Disciples of all races of men, through the promise by which
He counselled them, saying: "Behold, I myself am with
you." To this word of promise, He also superadded the
performance. He was present in the Divine Power with
each and every one of them; to the whole of them was
He at once present, and with them He acted and wrought.
He confirmed too, even to victory, (the promise) constit-
tuting them Teachers to all nations, of that fear of
God¹ which was delivered by Himself. In this promise
therefore, they trusted; and forthwith, did they fulfil His
words by deeds: nor did they in any thing hesitate; but
they (so) went forth with all readiness to the disciplining
of all nations, that they engaged in the work. With their
eyes they had seen Him who was a little while before dead,
then living: and, Him whom they had denied with curs-
ing²,—on account of what then happened to them,—they
had seen openly, present, and in his own person; and, as
His custom was, He had conversed with them, and promised
them the things of which we have already spoken. Nor
could they disbelieve His promises, because of His appear-
ing (to them); which (appearing) they had investigated.
Now in this precept, there must have been (much) that was
discouraging to them, knowing as they did in themselves
the rusticity and illiterate character which they sustained;
on account of which, they might indeed have sought to
be excused, and have well imagined it impossible that
those, whose Language was the Syriac (only), and who
knew nothing beyond the art of catching fish, could be
Teachers both of the Greeks and Romans, of the Egyp-
tians also, the Persians, and the rest of the barbarous
nations: and set about to legislate,—in opposition to all
other Legislators and Kings throughout the whole crea-

¹ A very common term, used to designate the true religion: it is
also frequently used in the Hebrew Bible in this sense.
² Alluding to the denial of Peter. Matt. xxvi. 74.
tion,—that which was opposed to the things delivered to them from all ages, respecting the Gods of their Fore-

fathers. But it was not possible for them to think such

things, who had heard the voice of God saying to them,

"Behold, I myself am with you always." They had too,

openly viewed the Godhead of Him who spoke with them.

It had been seen to be superior to Death: respecting which

however they had entertained fear. On the contrary they

(now) hear, that henceforth they shall, with all their soul,

undergo afflictions. They had now taken up from their

Master, the certainty of life after death; they went out

therefore, with confidence to make the circuit of all nations,

that they might confirm by fact, the promises of Him their

Lord. But He attached to the promises made to them, a

more excellent word; and,—what exceeds all wonder,—

this He shews forth even to this present time; (viz.) "Be-

hold, I myself am with you always." He added also,

"even to the end of the world." And this applies, not

only to them, but also to all those who came after them, and

from them received His doctrine; and, thenceforward, even
to this time, is He present to all those who have become His

Disciples. Hence, His Church, which is kept by Himself,
is daily increasing and multiplying to myriads; and by His

Power shall it be congregated, even to the end of the world!

On the conversion of all nations to God. From the


9. Again, upon another occasion after His resurrection

from the dead, He appeared to the other disciples, and to

them,—yet doubting and not believing in Him,—He put

forth and said these words: "3 These are the words which

I said to you, when I was yet with you; that it is neces-
sary every thing should be fulfilled which is written re-
specting me in the Law of Moses, in the Prophets, and

in the Psalms. Then He opened their understandings

that they should understand the Scriptures: and He said,

Thus it was right that Christ should suffer, and that

He should rise from the dead on the third day; and

(that) repentance and remission of sins should be preached

in His name among all nations, beginning from Jeru-


3 Luke xxiv. 44. seq.  

15—2
salem. And ye are the witnesses of these things." On one occasion indeed, He said, that "in His name should be preached repentance to all nations." (Now), if the Deed did not follow upon the Word; neither can His resurrection from the dead be credited. But if, even up to this time, the things which His prediction foretold, remain in fact, so that His lively, (energetic) and operative word is visible (in effect) throughout the whole creation to our eyes; then is it unbecoming we should disbelieve Him who spoke this. For He, whose power is living (energetic,) operative, and visible to the eyes, powerfully impels us first of all to confess thereupon, that He is living; and that He brings to effect the living things of God, whose living (actual) deeds are seen fulfilling His words. These His words then,—being varied and translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and the Barbarians,—has He made intelligible to all, so that His doctrine is heard by all nations, and has stirred up myriads of congregations of those, who were formerly wickedly led on in the error of many Gods, in the worship of Idols, and in (the course of life) which was unbecoming, to conversion and repentance. He did not command them first to preach remission of sins, and then repentance; but first, repentance, and then remission. For it was to those, who evinced a sincere repentance of former sins, that our Saviour's grace gave the pardon of their deeds;—on whose account indeed He suffered Death, and gave His soul a ransom for the souls of those, who should be saved through Him. Thus therefore, these His disciples,—men rude of speech and altogether illiterate, poor and needy, (as) they were in their character,—trusted in the power of Him who appeared to them after Death, and openly held converse with them. And they began from Jerusalem according to His commands, and went forth into all nations; the things too, which they were commanded, they performed, and preached repentance to all men, and

1 The phraseology of the Syriac deserves notice here. It runs thus, literally, In the whole hearing (i.e. understanding) therefore of all the nations has He made these His words; being varied and translated, etc.

The term ܐܘܢܓܠܐ is used here, and signifies, as it does also above, Book iii. sect. 39, the understanding of languages.

2 Syr. ܐܘܢܓܠܐ; pure: here in the Latin sense sincera (sine cera).
remission of the former sins of the soul. And such was the entire superiority which they evinced, that, even to these our times, the doctrine of these poor and illiterate men, is in active operation throughout the whole creation of man.

*How His acts should be heard, and preached of, throughout the whole world.* From the Gospel of Matthew and of Mark.

10. When our Saviour was in Bethany, a village not far from Jerusalem;—having been invited by one who was (named) Simon, and sitting down there;—a certain woman took an alabaster box of balsam (ointment), which was very precious, and came and poured it out upon his feet: but His Disciples forbade her; complaining of what had happened. But He received the thing done as a sign, and intimated that this act should be preached of, and heard, throughout the whole world. He prophesied accordingly, and said: "I say unto you, that wheresoever this my Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, what this (woman) hath done, shall also be spoken of for a memorial of her." Now these things He foretold, when, at that time, the writing of the Gospel had yet entered into the mind of none, nor had it come to the hearing of any. Nor, as it is likely, had what was then done, been learned by any who resided in the neighbourhood, but by those only who were present. Nevertheless, He left this whole enunciation in word, and prophesied that the Gospels, which should be written by His Disciples, should be preached throughout the whole world. And to the word He at once also superadded the deed, and said, that with His acts should be written in the Gospel, and spoken of throughout the whole world, even that which had been done by this woman, for a memorial of her:—which same thing has (now) been seen confirmed by Him in very deed! For there is neither people, region, nor place, in which the memorial of this woman, as recorded in the Gospel, has not been mentioned; and, together, with the doctrine respecting Him, is it preached throughout the

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3 Syr. מַעַרְכָּהָה.
whole world.—Of the things therefore, respecting this\(^1\) (Gospel,) and respecting His Church, hear (now) how He made His promises:—

*How He mentioned His church by name, when yet it had no existence: and how He declared, that the gates of Hell should never prevail against it.* From the Gospel of Matthew.

11. When asking His Disciples on a certain occasion, what men said of Him, and they answering according to the opinion of the many, He asked them the second time, "*But what say ye?*" and, when Simon had said unto Him, "*Thou art the Christ of the living God, *" He answered him, and said: "*Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood hath not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, Thou art Cephas: and upon this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.*" The (term) "*this*" He took (as implying) the knowledge, that *He was the Messiah*, the Son of the living God; and *Cephas* (the rock), because it should neither be *rent* nor *moved*. It is not unlikely, that He named (in) "*this*"

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\(^1\) The term *this* (Syr. [ fuller]) may, indeed, here refer to the *woman* just named: I am disposed rather to think that it refers to *this* gospel, or doctrine, termed [ fuller] above.

\(^2\) Matt. xvi. 15. seq. As this passage is important, I give the Syriac of it here, which stands thus: [ fuller]. It will be observed, that "*gates of hell, gate-bars of hell*, is given here, where the Peschito has [ fuller], *gates of hell*. We have too, [ fuller], instead of [ fuller] of the Peschito. We have too, [ fuller], instead of [ fuller]. No other variety exists. Justin Martyr takes this passage in the same way: (Dialog. cum Tryphone. p. 255. 48. Ed. Syllburg,) viz. "*καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὦν Θεὸς Χριστὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐνικῶντα*
the whole sense comprised here. On this account too, He designated that same Disciple, who had formerly been called Simon, Cephas (Peter), with reference to this knowledge; (and) of which He afterwards prophesied, and said: “On this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.” He foretold at once something to come to pass, and promised, that Himself would build it (the Church), and bring the work to completion, by the things of this knowledge which had now been

αὐτὸν ἐνα τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα πρότερον καλούμενον, ἑπαυνούμασε Πέτρον.” “Atque ex discipulis suis unum Simeum, Simonem prius nominatum, Petrum appellavit: quod se per Patris sui celestis revelationem, Filium Dei esse cognoverit.” Euthymius gives the sense thus: Thou art Peter, as about to be a rock of the faith, after the denial (of Christ); or, as already being firm in mind: thence, upon this firmness I will build my Church, or, I will lay thee (as) a foundation of the Believers. For the Church are the Believers, &c. “Σὺ εἶ πέτρος, ὡς μέλλων γενεσθαι πέτρα πιστῶς, μετὰ τὴν ἁρπαγμ. ἢ ὅσιος στερημένος ὃν τῷ φρονήματι καὶ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ στερβότητι οἰκοδομήσαι μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἢγων, σε θήσω θεμέλιον τῶν πιστευόντων. ἐκκλησία γὰρ, οἱ πιστοί.” k. t. l. See Hammond’s admirable note on this place. It is also thus given in the Syriac, (in this MS.) in the work of Titus Bishop of Bzrah on the Manicheans, near the end.

That is: “On this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.” He calls every thing therefore gate-bars, by means of which those, who should take upon themselves a complete readiness to encounter the death of martyrdom, for the sake of the fear of God...And, after a few other things, when Simon said to Him, “Thou art the Christ,” ‘He returned the answer,’ “Upon this rock do I build my Church.”—Upon what? Upon this faith, that? “Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God.”—He goes on to say, not as the mad Manes affirms of Him, that the Messiah is the five elements.—He might have added,—and probably would, had the thing existed in his days,—nor as the arrogant Papists do, that by “Cephas” (Peter), is here meant the Popes of Rome.
given concerning Himself; that it should be made firm as on a confirmed foundation; and that His Church should be built, solely by means of His own power which is everlasting, and that the gates of Hell should never overcome it. He himself afforded a proof (of this) in the fulfilment, better than any (that) words (can give). For innumerable persecutions, and many forms of death, have sprung up against His Church, but in nothing could they prevail against it. He has therefore, openly confirmed the enunciation of His prediction, by deeds; its truth He has shewn, by the fulfilment. The Church too, which He called the congregation, about to be set up in His name, evinced no small foreknowledge: for the congregations of the Jews had been termed Synagogues; and, during the time of His going about among men, He frequented the Synagogue of the Jews. Nor was there hitherto, so much as one Synagogue only, set apart to Him. And, Who is not astonished, that He so foreknew those congregations which should afterwards be set up, at a great distance of time, in His name, and, that He should not name them, after the Jewish custom, Synagogues, but Churches? He added too, that the gate-bars of Hell should not prevail against them:—things, which we perceive with our own eyes! Nor should we wonder at the prediction only, but also at His promise, namely, "I build my Church upon the rock, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it:" which is (all) so brought near in fact, that we can see it! For it was not by the power of men, nor yet by the superiority of the Teachers (employed), that His Church was raised; but, it was He who promised, and in deed fulfilled His promise!—He (I say) who up to this time has, by the Divine Power, built up, and enlarged, His Church throughout the whole creation of man!

On the divisions which are in Houses and Families up to this time, on account of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.

12. ¹Think not, that I am come to send forth peace upon earth: I am not come to send forth peace, but a sword. For I am come to divide a man against his Father,
and the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter in law against her Mother in law: and the enemies of a man (shall be) those of his own house. (Or), as Luke enounced (it); "Think ye then, that I am come to send forth peace on earth? I say unto you, No; but divisions. For, there shall be henceforth five in one house, who (shall be) divided, three against two, and two against three. And the Father shall be divided against his Son, and the Son, against his Father; and the Mother shall be divided against her Daughter, and the Daughter, against her Mother; and the Mother in law, against her Daughter in law; and the Daughter in law, against her Mother in law." And, Who is not astonished, that the things which should take place in every individual house, in times far removed (from those of the prediction), and even up to this time, did not remain hidden to the foreknowledge of our Saviour? For He foretold to His disciples, the things which up to this time are taking place, just as one present to the things themselves, and making the circuit of the dwellings of all the children of men:—things which hitherto have not existed, nor did they at the period in which He enounced these words. Nor, were there yet any such doings; they were then heard only in the ear. But now, that the prediction has in fact come to its completion, and is visible to the eyes, How can any one, who would think justly, but confess that they are in truth the words of God? And again in these things also,—"For I am come to divide and to send forth a sword, and divisions among the children of men,"—we likewise see with our own eyes, that no word of man, either of philosopher or prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, ever shewed forth power such as this, that he should so hold the whole creation, that there should be divisions in every house; that he should pass through and distinguish every race, throughout all their families; and, that of these some should be considered as his own, and others as opposed to these! But it was our Saviour alone, and this Word of God, who promised to do this, and He confirmed the promise, in very deed! The cause therefore, of the divisions of soul that came to

2 Luke xii. 51. seq.
pass in houses He Himself taught, as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language\textsuperscript{1}, in which it is said: "I will select to myself these things: very very excellent are those whom my Father, who is in heaven, has given to me." And, one may learn from this, how in every house in which the word of Jesus should prevail, the excellent would be distinguished from the vile. For, if a man make a comparison among brothers, or servants, or in families generally, as to the customs, forms, manner of life, and the purity and meekness of those, who have chosen the doctrine of our Saviour;—for this is

\footnote{\textsuperscript{1} Eusebius has, in his Eccl. Hist. occasionally mentioned this Gospel: e.g. as apocryphal, Lib. iii. cap. xxxv. "δὴ δὲ ἐν τούτοις των καὶ τὸ καθ’ ἠβραίους ἐναγγέλων κατέλεξαν, φι μάλιστα ἠβραίων οἱ τῶν χριστιάνων παράδειγμαν χαίρουσιν." "Sed et in eundem ordinem (i.e. apocr.) jam a quibusdam relatum est Evangelium secundum Hebræos, quo maximè delectantur Hebraei illi qui Christi fidem suceperunt." Again, as retained by the Ebianites and their followers, ib. cap. xxvii. And again, as spoken of by Papias, and said by him to have been written by Matthew, and to have contained the history of the adulteress (John viii.) ib. cap. xxxix. And again, (Lib. iv. cap. xxii.) Hesgeiphus is said to have cited some things from the Gospel of the Hebrews, and also the Syriac one. This last however was, no doubt, one and the same with the Hebrew one, and so called because written in the Syro-Chaldaic dialect in Hebrew letters. It was by Jerome translated, into both the Greek and Latin languages: a copy of the original being, in his days, preserved in the Library of Cesarea, which had been formed by Pamphilus the Martyr and Friend of Eusebius. See Jerome on Isaiah, cap. xi. and Matt. xviii. And the note of Valesius, p. 47. See also Jones on the Canon of the New Testament, Vol. i. pt. 2. cap. xxxv. seq.—As this passage of the Gospel (so called) of the Hebrews, does not appear to have been cited by any ecclesiastical or other writer, I have thought it right to give it as it stands in the Syriac.

"אֶשֶׁר מֵעֲשֹׂרֵי הָעָלְמָן"}
what is meant by those who have been selected by Him:—
and, of those who have not yet become worthy of Him;
—he will perceive what sort of power that is, of which He
has made use; and, that He did not only foretell what
should come to pass, but that He has, according to the
prediction, also brought the works to pass: and, with other
things, these also in which it is written that He said,
"I will select to myself the\(^2\) very excellent, those whom
my Father who is in heaven has given to me." Nevertheless,
(what He) now (said), "I am not come to send
forth peace on earth," with other things, He explained to
the Disciples themselves and said; "I leave peace with
you, my own peace give I unto you: it is not as the world
giveth peace, that I also so give peace." It was the know-
ledge and love of God, which He had prepared for His dis-
ciples; and this, that the soul should not be perturbed.
And in this way, He named the light, and confirmation of
the mind. These things therefore He foretold, and also
respecting these (men): but, of those which He foreknew
and foretold respecting the Jewish People, (the time) is at
hand that we should enquire.

On the things which He prophesied against the Jewish
people in parables. From the Gospel of Matthew.

13. When the Rulers of the Jewish people, the chief
Priests, and the Doctors of the Law, were assembled togeth-
er in Jerusalem, and He was in the Temple; He foretold
covertly and by parable, the things they were about to dare
against Him, and the destruction which should overtake
them on account of this daring, in this manner: "There
was \(^2\) a certain master of a house, (who) planted a vineyard,
and surrounded it with a fence, and digged a wine-press
therein, and built in it a tower, and delivered it to hus-
bandmen, and departed. And, when the fruit-season drew

\(^2\) The passage differs here from the citation above, in the omission of
these things; which might have been omitted as unnecessary
to the argument.

\(^2\) Matt. xxii. 33. seq. This subject is prosecuted much at length on
the predictions given from the Old Testament, in the Demonstr. Evang.
Lib. ii. cap. iii. seq.
near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they
might bring to him the fruit. But these husbandmen
seised his servants, and some of them they smote, and some-
they stoned, and some they killed. And again, he sent
other servants, more than the former; and to these, they
did in like manner. But at last, he sent his Son, and
said, Surely they will reverence my Son. But these hus-
bandmen, when they saw the Son, said among themselves:
This is his heir; come let us kill him, and the inheritance
will be ours. So they took him, and cast him out of the
vineyard, and killed him. When therefore, the Lord of the
vineyard shall come, What shall he do to those husbandmen?
They say to him, he shall most miserably destroy them; and
his vineyard he shall deliver to other husbandmen, who
shall render him the fruits in their seasons. Jesus himself
said to them, Have ye never read in the Scripture, 'The
stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief
corner stone of the building: This is of the Lord, and it is
a miracle in our eyes.' Wherefore I say unto you, The
kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be
given to a people which shall render the fruits' (thereof.)
And this parable is of a sort with that, which is in the Pro-
phet Isaiah, which is (given) in this manner: "My be-
loved had a vineyard on the horn of a fat place. And he
cultivated it, and surrounded it with a fence, and planted
in it vines, and built a Tower within it. He also made a
wine-press in it. And he expected that it would produce
grapes; but it produced wild grapes." But this that
is in the Prophet, accuses the vineyard; which he thus in-
terprets, as to who was (really) intended, when he says,
"For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house that is
in Israel, and the men of Judah are (His) one beloved
plant. I looked for judgment, but there was rapine; and
for righteousness, but behold, howling!"

14. The parable then, spoken by our Saviour, was so
like to that of the Prophet, that it was known to point out
those who were present and heard (it). But, it was not
of the vineyard that it was spoken, because the Prophet

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1 Syr. Ἰσαακ. Castell, "ceratum, fuba græca, siliqua." Is. v. 1. seq.
had already made his prediction of this. The things however, which were not mentioned in the Prophet, He supplied in His parable: those, I say, which respected the husbandmen of the vineyard; and these were the Elders of the people, the chief Priests, the Rulers, and Doctors: those, who indeed were the cause to the whole congregation, that they should render evil fruit, and, on whose account, the vineyard itself was left to destruction. That is, the whole of their people, with their fence, was rooted up; those who formerly contended for the people, and watched over the people, together with their place. The Tower that was in it, was the Temple; the wine-press, the Altar. And all these were therefore, wholly taken away, even to their foundations; because the husbandmen had become polluted with blood; those (I say), who had openly slain the servants first and last; those Prophets, who had, time after time, been sent unto them. The Old Testament also gives its testimony (otherwise) to this matter; and, of the Prophets, Elias who in his prayer to God says, “Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and broken down thy Altar: and I am left alone, and they seek to take my life.” Of these things therefore does this Prophet, by his prayer, accuse the rulers of the Jewish people. These however, the pollution of the Prophets’ blood had not satisfied, and at last they slew the Son himself, that is, the Son of God! Nor was it that they knew Him not; but, when they knew fully and accurately, that He was the heir! These things then, our Saviour Himself delivered by parable, respecting Himself, before His suffering. He also foretold,—by His foreknowledge, what should come to pass; (viz.) these things when walking in the Temple,—to those husbandmen of the vineyard of His times, the Chief Priests, the Doctors, and the rest of those who were at the head of the people. And much (and) openly did He, in the parable, prepare them to pronounce condemnation against themselves: asking them in the close of the parable, and saying, “What shall the Lord of the vineyard, when He comes, do to those husbandmen?”

* The MS. reads [παραβολος] here, a manifest error, for [παραβολος]. I have made this correction in the printed text accordingly.

* 1 Kings xix. 10—14. Rom. xi. 3.
And they, not yet understanding that it had been spoken of themselves, gave judgment against themselves, saying, "He shall most miserably destroy them, and shall give up the vineyard to other husbandmen, who shall render to Him the fruits in their seasons." Jesus then said to them: "1 Have ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building: This is from the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes?" Very consistently after the prediction of His death, He pointed out, from the testimony of the prophets, His own resurrection from the dead. For He had previously taught, that the Son of the Lord of the vineyard should be slain by the wicked husbandmen, and had obtained from themselves (their own) condemnation. After that, He brought this forward: "The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building:" which, in the prophecy, had been given by way of parable on His resurrection. For,—after He had been rejected by those husbandmen who were also the builders, He (I say), who was (as) a precious stone, and of whom the Prophet Isaiah says, "2 Behold, I lay in Zion a choice and precious stone, the chief corner (stone) of the foundation: And he, who believeth in it, shall not be ashamed,"—He became the chief corner (stone) of another building, of which the (divine) word has said: "3 And this is a miracle in our eyes:" by which He meant His Church. And thus deservedly did He, according to their own judgment on themselves, repay them, saying, "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people, that will render the fruits" (thereof): which corresponds to this declaration (already) mentioned, (viz.) "from them;" that He would "give the vineyard to other husbandmen, who should render to Him the fruits in their seasons." For He named the "kingdom of God," those observances in which the worship of God consisted; and these He declared, should be taken away from those husbandmen: and (this) He has most openly shewn, and brought to effect;

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2 Is. xxviii. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 6. 3 Ps. cxxviii. 22, 23.
giving (the vineyard) to another people, which does bring forth its fruits. And this is the Christian people, which does, throughout the whole creation, bring forth the fruits, that are both conformable, and suitable, to the observances of God; and shews this daily, both in words and works.

On the rejection of the Jews at once, and the calling of the Gentiles: also on those who should unworthily be gathered into His Church; and on the end of these. From the Gospel of Matthew.

15. After the Parable which has already been mentioned, the word of the Divine Scripture states, that “When the chief Priests and Pharisees had heard His parables, they knew that He spake against themselves, and they sought to take Him: but they feared the people, because they held Him as a Prophet.” “And Jesus answered them, and said again in a parable: The kingdom of heaven is like to a (certain) man, a king, who made a (marriage) feast for his son, and sent his servants to call those who had been bidden to the feast; but they would not come. And again, he sent out other servants, and commanded them to say to those who had been bidden: Behold, my dinner is ready, my fatted oxen are slain, and every thing is prepared for you: Come to the feast. But they disregarded and went away, One to the village (farm), and Another to (his) merchandise. But they who remained seized his servants, and abused and slew (them). And the king was enraged, and sent his army and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city. He then said to his servants, My dinner is ready, but those who were bidden were unworthy of it. Go ye out therefore, into the ways and paths, and every one that ye find, call to the feast. So those servants went out into the ways, and they brought together all they could find, (both) bad and good.” Now, in the former Parable, the Vineyard, the Tower, the Winepress, and the Husbandmen, were evil: and the servants

4 Matt. xxii. 4-14. seq. with a few unimportant varieties from the Peschito: and the same may be said generally of all these quotations from Scripture.

5 Matt. xxii. 1—10, with some unimportant varieties from the Peschito, as before.
sent, first and last, were killed. And, at last, even the Son of the Lord of the vineyard was himself slain: by which were pointed out, the People, the Temple, the Altar, and the Rulers of the Jews; and also those wicked husbandmen, who, standing at the head of the people, slew both the former and latter Prophets, and at last the Son of God Himself!

16. Now the Parable before our eyes, obviously introduces the familiar feast, and bringing together, of the Brigegroom and Bride, with a marriage-supper: and again the servants also, who are here destroyed and slain, and the former and latter persons bidden. By means of these again, He points out covertly, the things that happened after His resurrection from the dead. For the Bridegroom is, the Word of God; the Bride, the rational soul, which is associated with Him, and receives the Divine seed that is of Him. And (this) Divine and rational association, (represents) that of His Church: and, consequent upon these things, the rational feast and marriage supper, (represent) the Divine and heavenly aliments (so prepared). He does not here speak of the inviting servants, with reference to those who were formerly sent to the vineyard, but, with reference to the latter ones. For those were the Prophets; but these, His own Apostles, who were sent forth to make the call, (and) first, of those who were of the circumcision. For, when He first sent these forth, He charged them, saying, "1Into the way of the Gentiles go ye not; and into a city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but rather go ye to the wandering sheep of the house of Israel." These same persons therefore, the servants did first invite; but, when they hearkened not to the call, He sent also, the second time, many Evangelists and Preachers of the Gospel; those whom He chose, after the twelve Apostles, the seventy other Disciples, who also first preached the Gospel to the Jewish people, and called them to the feast of the New Testament. But they availed nothing, because they, who had been bidden, were busied with their merchandise; and who, after they had heard the

1 Matt. x. 5, 6.
call of the servants, abused some, and killed others. And it is in our power to find from the Scriptures, how many of the Disciples of our Saviour they afterwards killed, both in Jerusalem and in the rest of Judea. Stephen then was, in the first place, forthwith slain by them by stoning. After him, James the brother of John. And again after them, he who first chose (to accept) the throne of the Church of that place, James who was called the Brother of our Lord: whom, on account of his great excellence, they called "the Just." Him too, the Jews of those times killed by stoning. How they abused the Apostles by stripes, the Book of the Acts relates. And these things did He, by His divine knowledge, foretell before they happened; He also foretold the things which should befall them from the Jews. By means of a parable too, He predicted what should come to pass before these things took place, by these expressions, (viz.) "The king was enraged," at the abuse and slaughter of his servants, "and sent his army, and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city." And, What can be more obvious than this foreknowledge, and the fulfilment of the things themselves (so predicted)? For the army of the Romans came soon after, and took the city, and destroyed the Temple itself by fire. And, of Whom was it, except of Him who is King of all, God over all, that it was thus said, that "the King shall send his army, and shall slay those murderers, and shall burn up their

*Syr. Άμνεθ η μαχαίρα υπό Ηρώδου πετράρχου τῶν Ἰουδαίων." Sophronius, as cited by Fabricius, Salut. Lux Evang. p. 101, who shews that it was Herod Agrippa who put him to death, in the 44th year of Claudius. Acts xii. 2.

* The Syr. has [ ] | ] . By ( ) "throne" is here necessarily meant the Episcopal chair of that Church: which agrees well with the judgment which James is said to have given, Acts xv. 19; and where Peter gives his opinion, not as a Judge, but as a mere individual concerned in the question at issue. See also Fabricii Salutaris Lux Evang. p. 47, &c.


* Syr. [ ] | | | , where [ ] must have been omitted by mistake. I have therefore inserted it thus [ ] in brackets.
To this very time indeed, the remnants of the conflagration which took place in various parts of the city, are obvious to the sight of those who travel thither. But, how those murderers of the Apostles were taken in the reduction (of the city), and suffered the punishment which they deserved, it is not necessary we should say, as the things which were done to them, may readily be found in the record of the Romans by Flavius Josephus. After the slaughter of these therefore, and the reduction of the metropolis of their kingdom, they,—who remained of those servants that had first heard it said by their Lord, "They who were first called were not worthy; but go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find, call to the feast"—performed even the thing commanded. Our Saviour said to them therefore, after His resurrection, "Go ye and make Disciples of all nations in my name." And these things He said, who formerly had commanded: "In the way of the Gentiles go ye not," but (enjoined) that they should preach to the Jews only. But, when these had abused (their) Inviters, then He dismissed the servants the second time, and said, "Those that were called were not worthy. Go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find call to the feast." And this they fulfilled in deed. They went out into the whole creation, and they preached to all nations, the divine and heavenly calling; and "they collected together as many as they could find, (both) bad and good." Let no one therefore wonder, that, of those, who are collected into the Church of Christ, all are not good; but, that in the mixture together with the good, the evil will also be collected. Nor did this escape the foreknowledge of our Saviour. And it is accordingly seen to remain in fact, in conformity with that foreknowledge: and, what the end of those will be, who are brought together unworthily in His Church, He Himself shews; for He afterwards teaches these things in the

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1 So styled here perhaps, because written by Josephus after he had attached himself to the Romans, and had dedicated it to the Roman Emperor.
2 His History of the Jewish Wars.
3 Syr. מֵעַל מַעְלָה, read מֵעַל מַעְלָה.
parable, saying, "And the feast was filled with guests: but, when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man who had not (on) wedding garments. And he said to him, My friend! how camest thou in hither not having put on wedding garments? And he was silent. Then the king said to the ministers: Bind him hands and feet, and cast him out into outer darkness. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are the called, but few the chosen." He likewise previously rebuked, with these predictive words, those who should conduct themselves unrighteously in His Church.

Again, on the rejection of the Jewish people. From the Gospel of Matthew.

17. "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, How shall ye escape hell? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you Prophets, and Wise men, and Scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them ye shall scourge in your synagogues, and shall persecute them from city to city; so that there shall come upon you, all the blood of the Righteous, which has been shed upon the land, from the blood of Abel, even to the blood of Zacharias the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the steps and the altar. I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation." There is no need we should affirm, that all these things are so plain, as to require no explanation whatever; which, being afterwards fulfilled in very deed, confirmed by (their) open fulfilment, the foreknowledge of our Saviour. For the Apostles were scourged by the Jews at a subsequent period, in Jerusalem itself; when also, they went forth from their synagogues, "rejoicing that they were found worthy to be reproached for his name's sake." Stephen also was stoned by them; and James was slain with the sword; and again, the second

4 Matt. xxi. 10—14.
5 Matt. xiii. 33. seq. agreeing, with a few variations, with the Peschito.
6 We have here מָכַס, instead of מָכַס of the Peschito.
7 Acts v. 41.
8 Syr. MS. מָכַס, מָכַס, מָכַס, which is manifestly defective.
I have supplied מָכַס in brackets, after מָכַס.
9 See sect. 16, above, note.
James was put to death with stones. And Simeon, who after James held the Episcopal chair in Jerusalem, was given up to crucifixion, as the history reminds (us). And many others again, who were slain by the Jews, have (thus) set their seal to the foreknowledge of our Saviour. On account of all which, the judgment of God took vengeance on the generation that dared to do all this: and, upon it turned back the (just) consequence of all its deeds. For it was of that generation that their Temple and altar were rooted up, and the kingdom, which had, by tradition from their forefathers, been preserved to that very time, was dissolved. And of the same, was their freedom taken away: and, from the effects themselves it was evident, that the avenging of the blood of all the Righteous was on that generation, in conformity with the words of our Saviour. It is necessary then we should see, with what entire power, and by what sort of force, it was said, "Behold I send to you Prophets, and Wise men." For (this), "Behold I send," is an intimation of the power of God. And, that He called the Rulers of the Jews to their face, a "generation of vipers," affords no proof of deficiency (in this respect). The prediction too, of the destruction which should overtake them, does, after all the rest, afford ample confirmation as to these declarations; and this their complete fulfilment proves. These things are therefore sufficient (here). Let us then,

1 James the Less, called the "Brother of the Lord" in the Scripture. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii.
2 According to some this was Simon Peter, others say that Simon the son of Cleopas was the person; and this is the account of Hegesippus, as preserved by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. whose words are: "καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ὥς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐγὼ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ κλητῆ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος. ὃν προέδρον πάντες, δύνεται ἀνεφελθῶν τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον." "Postquam, inquit, Jacobus cognomento Justus martyrium perinde se Dominus pertulit, ob ejusdem doctrine predictionem; rursus frater patruelia Domini Symeon Cleop e filius, episcopus constituitur: cunctis uno consenso secundum illum remuniantibus, eo quod cognatus Domini esset."
3 The meaning of our author is,—according to the principle formerly laid down,—that, as that prediction had been completely fulfilled, we can entertain no reasonable doubt as to other declarations then made.
now enquire accordingly, how it happened to the land which had always been precious to them, and to those glories of the metropolis of the kingdom which had been (so) famous with them; of which, by His divine foreknowledge He attested;—weeping bitterly as He did over them of His mercy,—that the whole should undergo a change to the extremes of calamity, because of the insolence of its inhabitants against Him.

On the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

18. What the end of those things should be, which had been foretold respecting the Jewish people, has (already) been said and shewn. But, as He, the Word of God, prophesied also respecting these places themselves, it is necessary we should see His words on them. Now, when the Rulers of the Jews would not bear the purity of His Doctrine, its publication, nor His rebukes, they so acted as to rid their city of Him. He then, leaving Jerusalem, pronounced these words over their city: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem! that hast killed the Prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto thee, How often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings: but ye would not. Behold! your house is left desolate. For I say unto you, that ye shall not see me henceforth until ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Impurity (and) pollution afterwards marked their doings: and this was the sin in which they dared to persist against our Saviour. And it was right, not only that the Inhabitants of the city, but also the land itself,—in which they so greatly boasted,—should be made to suffer the things, which the deeds of its inhabitants deserved. And these they did suffer! For it was not long, before the Romans came against the city: and, of the inhabitants, some they killed by the law of war; others they destroyed by famine; others they led away captive; and others they persecuted. The captive\(^4\) (City) and Temple they burnt, and reduced to utter deso-

\(^4\) Matt. xxiii. 37. Luke xiii. 34.

\(^5\) Syr. ωδο| ἔδοξα | ἐδοξα οδο, lit. and the captivity and Temple they burnt: which must, I suppose, mean the City.
lation! But the things which took place afterwards, did our Saviour, from his foreknowledge as the Word of God, foretell should come to pass, by means of those which are (now) before us. For He named the whole Jewish people, the children of the City; and the Temple, He styled their House. And thus He testified, that they should, on their own wicked account, bear the vengeance thus to be inflicted. For many times would He have gathered their children together beneath the yoke of the worship of God, just as all formerly was; even as He had from ancient times been careful for them, and had, during all ages, instructed them by one or other of the Prophets, and called them, but they would not hearken to his call;—on this account, He gave judgment against them, and said, "Behold your house is left desolate." It was therefore with special care that He said, not (only) the City itself should be desolate, but the House that was within it: that is, the Temple; (and) which He was unwilling should again be called His, or yet "the House of God," but theirs (only). He prophesied too, that it should be desolate in no other way, than as deprived of that providential care, which was formerly exerted over it: hence He said, "Behold your house is left desolate." And, it is right we should wonder at the fulfilment of this prediction, since at no time did this place undergo such an entire desolation as this was. Not at the time when it was raised to its foundations by the Babylonians, on account of their great wickedness, their worshipping of Idols, and pollution in the blood of the Prophets. For seventy years was the whole period of the desolation of the place in those times: because it was not (thus) fully said to them at that time, "Behold your House is left desolate." Nor was it (then so) forsaken; an event happening soon after, which dignified it with a renewal much more illustrious than its former state, as one of the Prophets had foretold: (viz.) "The glory of this latter House shall be greater than that of the former." After the enunciation therefore of our Saviour,—that they should so be left, and their house come, by the judgment of God, to utter desolation;—to

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1 Haggai ii. 9.
those who visit these places, the sight itself affords the most complete fulfilment of the prediction. The period too has been that of many years, and (of duration) so long, as not only to be double of the desolation of seventy years,—which was that in the time of the Babylonians,—but even to surpass four times (its duration); and (thus) confirming the judgment pronounced by our Saviour. Again, on another occasion, our Saviour—walking by the side of the Temple, just mentioned, and His Disciples wondering at the building which surrounded it, and pointing out to Him the greatness and beauty of the same Temple;—returned to them answer and said, “Behold! see ye not all these things? I say unto you, stone shall not be left here upon stone, which shall not be thrown down.” The Scriptures do moreover shew, that the whole building and the extreme ornamenting of the Temple there, were indeed thus worthy of being considered miraculous: and, for proof (of this), there are preserved, even to this time, some remaining vestiges of these its ancient decorations. But, of these ancient things, the greatest miracle of all is, the Divine word (declaring) the foreknowledge of our Saviour, which fully enounced to those, who were wondering at the buildings (of the Temple), the judgment, that there should not be left in the place at which they were wondering, “one stone upon another which should not be raised.” For it was right, that this place should undergo an entire destruction and desolation, on account of the audacity of its Inhabitants; because it was the residence of impious men. And, just as the prediction was, are the results in fact remaining: the whole Temple, and its walls,—as well as those ornamented and beautiful buildings which were within it, and which exceeded all description,—have suffered desolation from that time to this! With time too, this increases: and, so has the power of The Word gone on destroying, that, in many places, no vestige of their foundations is now visible! which any one who desires it, may see with his own eyes². And, should any
one say, that a few of the places are still existing; we may nevertheless, justly expect the destruction of these also, as their ruin is daily increasing: the predicting word, just mentioned, daily operating by a power which is unseen. I know too—for I have heard it from persons who interpret the passage before us differently,—that this was not said on all the buildings, except only on that place which the Disciples, when expressing their wonder upon it, pointed out to Him; for it was upon this that He spoke the predicting word. Again, the Scriptures of His Disciples which teach respecting Him, (teach) us these things (following), on the utter destruction of the place.—


19. "And, when He saw the city, He wept over it, and said, If thou hadst known, even in this day the things of thy peace.—But now, they are (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, in which thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall press upon thee from every part of thee: and they shall utterly root thee up, and thy children within thee.” The things, prior to these, were predicted respecting the Temple; these, which are now before us, respecting the City itself; which the Jews named the City of God, because of the Temple of God that had been built within it. Over the whole of this then, the compassionate (Saviour) wept. It was not, that He had so much pity on the buildings, nor indeed upon the land, as He had first upon the souls of its inhabitants, and (then) upon (the prospect of) their destruction. He pointed out moreover, the cause of their desolation when He said, “If thou hadst known, even in this day, the things of thy peace:” intimating too His own coming, which should be for the peace of the whole world. For

διηγομένως πιστεύσατε αὐτόπτης γὰρ τοῦ κήρυ ὁ ἐρμίας ἑκείνης γενέσθαι. “Templi vero solitudinem, immo autem a fundamentis eversionem, qui e vobis eo profecti viderunt confiteantur: reliqui vero saltem narrandibus fidem habeant. Ego quidem hisce oculis vidi desertum templi locum.”
1 Luke xix. 41. seq.
this is He, of whom it was said, "In his days shall righteousness arise (as the sun), and abundance of peace." He came also for this purpose, that "He might preach peace to them that were near, and to them that were afar off." And, of them who received Him, He said, "Peace I leave to you; my peace give I unto you:" the peace, which all nations who believed on Him throughout the whole creation, have received. But the people, who were of the circumcision and believed not on Him, knew not the things of their peace: and, on this account, He said afterwards, "It is now (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee." The things (I say), which were therefore to take hold on them, a short time after, in the reduction (of the city): (and), because they had no previous perception of the peace, that had been formerly preached to them, it should now be concealed from their eyes. They had therefore, no previous perception of any thing, which should afterwards befall them; He then plainly foretold these things by His foreknowledge, and gave open intimation of the reduction (of the city), which should come upon them through the Romans, (when saying), "The days shall come upon thee...because thou knewest not the things of thy peace." For, for this cause "there shall come upon thee the days, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall go round about thee, and shall press upon thee from every quarter of thee; and they shall root thee out, and thy children within thee." In these (words) then, has been recorded the form of war which should come upon them. And, how they were fulfilled, we shall presently find from the writings of Josephus, who was himself a Jew, and descended from a tribe of the Jews;—one of the well known and famous men among that people. At the time of the reduction (of the place), he committed to writing every thing that was done among them; and (so) shewed, that the predictions before us were, in their facts, fulfilled.

*Ps. lxxii. 7.*  
*Eph. ii. 17.*  
*John xiv. 27.*  
*Ib. ver. 44.*
Again, on the reduction of the City. From the Gospel of Luke.

20. "When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, know ye that its desolation is near. Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains. And let those that are within it (Jerusalem) give up: and let not those that are in its borders, enter into it. Because these are the days of vengeance, that all which has been written should be fulfilled. But, woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days; for there shall be great tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled." Previous to this He said, "Behold your house is left desolate." He now gives by the words before us, the signs of the times of the final destruction of the place; and these He shews, saying, "When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, thence know ye that its desolation is near." Now, let no one imagine, that, after the reduction of the place, and the desolation that should be in it, another renewal of it shall take place, as it was in the times of Cyrus, king of the Persians; and afterwards in those of Antiochus Epiphanes;
and again, in those of Pompey. For many times did this place suffer reduction, and was afterwards dignified by a more excellent restoration. But, when ye shall see it reduced by armies, know ye that which comes upon it, to be a final and full desolation and destruction. He designates the desolation of Jerusalem, by the destruction of the Temple, and the laying aside of those services which were, according to the law of Moses, formerly performed within it. You are not to suppose, that the desolation of the city, mentioned in these (words), was to be such that no one should any more reside in it: for He says after this, that the city shall be inhabited, not by the Jews, but by the Gentiles, when speaking thus, "And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles." It was known therefore to Him, that it should be inhabited by the Gentiles. But He styled this its desolation (viz). because it should no more (be inhabited)

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4 Our author might have added much, if he had chosen to do so, from the Prophets, confirmatory of this position. I will supply an instance or two. In Isaiah xxiv. 1. we are told that "the Lord maketh the earth (read, the land, i.e. of Judea) empty, and maketh it waste...and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof." 3. "The land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled."...5 because they have transgressed the laws,...broken the everlasting covenant." 6. "Therefore hath the curse devoured the earth (the land)...therefore the inhabitants of the earth (land) are burned (comp. Deut. xxxii. 22—27)...20. "And it shall fall, and not rise again." Verse 23. identifies this prediction with those here cited by Eusebius, viz. Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi. The conversion of the Gentiles is, moreover, beautifully touched upon ib. ver. 13—16. Comp. ch. xxv. 1. seq. In ch. xxvi. the same subject is taken up, and in ver. 5, 6, we have literally described, the trampling down of this impious city. See also xxvi. ver. 10, 11, and xxvii. 18, also xxix. 1—7; 9—20, which are all obvious and direct predictions of these times; and to these many similar ones might be added. Let those who hold a restoration of the Jews look to this. See also Ezek. v, vi, vii, throughout with the parallel places, as given in the margins of the common Bibles. A large number of passages to this effect are cited from Isaiah by our author, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. ii. xxx.—xxxvii. &c.

by its own children, nor should the service of the law be established within it. And, how these things have been fulfilled, many words are not wanted (to shew); because, we can easily see with our own eyes, how the Jews are dispersed into all nations; and, how the inhabitants of that which was formerly Jerusalem,—but is now named Ælia by Ælius Hadrian,—are foreigners, and the descendants of another race. The wonder therefore of the prophecy is this, that He said of the Jews, "they should be led captive into all nations;" and, of the Gentiles, "that Jerusalem should be trampled on by them." This miracle is then complete: the Jews being now fully (dispersed) throughout the whole creation, so that they are (found) remaining among the Ethiopians, the Scythians, and in the extremities of the earth. It is only their own city, and the place in which their worship formerly was (carried on), that they cannot enter 1! But, if the city itself had been utterly desolated, and without inhabitants, men would have thought that this was the cause (of their exclusion from it). Now however, that the place is inhabited by foreigners, the descendants of a different race, and that it is not allowed to them alone even to set a foot in it, so that they cannot view even from a distance the land of their forefathers 2; the things foretold of it are fulfilled, in exact accordance with the prediction: (viz). "They shall be led captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles." The manner moreover of the captivity, points out the war of which He spoke; "For (said He) there shall be (great) thribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people: and they shall fall by the edge of the sword." We

1 So also Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. vi. (Edit. 1696.) p. 96. seq. where (p. 96 B.) the words used are an echo of these: viz. "νόμον δόμαςι καὶ διατέξειν αὐτρικοῦ, ὅπερ ἀν μὴ ἐξ ἀπόστολων δεινων ἔτοιμον τῷ παλαιῷ ἑιμοῖ, ἐκπλησπαίσιον." The testimony of Tertullian, very much to the same effect, will be found in the Bishop of Lincoln's valuable work, "The Eccles. Hist. of the second and third Centuries;" &c. Camb. 1826. p. 162.

2 Ib. B.

3 The word "great" (Syr. [23],) used above, is omitted here. Luke xxii. 23, 24.
can learn too, from the writings of Flavius Josephus, how these things took place in their localities, and how those, which had been foretold by our Saviour, were, in fact, fulfilled. He also shews plainly the fulfilment of the prediction of our Saviour, when He said, "Woe to those that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days!" For he has put it on record, how the women roasted their children by the fire and ate them, on account of the pressure of the famine which prevailed in the city. This famine therefore, which took place in the city, our Saviour foresaw, and counselled His Disciples that, in the reduction which was about to come upon the Jews, it was not for them to take refuge in the city as in a place guarded and preserved by God, but in which many should suffer; but, that they should depart thence, and "flee to the mountains;" and, that those, who should be within Judea, should give up to the Gentiles; and those, who were in its lands, should not take refuge in it as in a fortified place. On this account He said, "Let those who are in its borders not enter into it, since these are the days of vengeance, that all may be fulfilled which has been written." Any one therefore, who desires it, may learn the results of these things from the writings of Josephus. And, if it is right we should lay down a few things from him in this book, by way of testimony, there is nothing that should hinder us from hearing the historian himself, who writes in this manner:—

From the sixth Book of Josephus.

21. "And, How can it be necessary, that I should describe the severity of the famine, as to things inanimate? I come then to the making known of a fact, the like of which has not been recorded, either among the Greeks, or the Barbarians: one which, it is shocking to mention, and, to the hearing, incredible. I myself indeed, would

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gladly have left this calamity (unmentioned)—that I might not be thought by those who shall come after, to have related falsehoods,—had I not had many witnesses among those of our own times. I should indeed otherwise have rendered but a doubtful good, as to the land of my fathers, had I omitted to mention the things which it has, in fact, suffered. A certain woman, of those who resided on the other side of the Jordan,—whose name was Mirian, well known on account of her family and wealth,—took refuge with many (others) in Jerusalem, and with them was shut up (in the siege). This woman’s other possessions, as they were after she left the passage (of the Jordan) and came into the city, the Tyrants seized. The residue of her treasures moreover, should it have sufficed for her daily sustenance, was invaded and seized by the attendant soldiers. Grievous indignation therefore, took possession of her; and many times did she excite the robbers against herself, by curses and reproaches. But, when no one put her to death,—either on account of her indignation or in mercy; and she became weary of seeking sustenance for others from every quarter, and (as) suspicion was excited against her, even if she found (it): hunger, at the same time, remaining in her bowels, and indignation inflaming her more than hunger;—she took for her counsellor impetuosity and necessity, and dared to do that which was contrary to nature. She seized upon her son,—for she had a sucking infant,—and said, “Wretched (babe)! for Whom do I preserve thee in war, famine, and tumult?—that thou shouldest be a slave to the Romans? If thou shouldest indeed live happily with them, still famine precedes (this) servitude; and the seditious are cruel. Come; be thou thou to me for food; to the seditious, the vengeance;—and to the world, the tale which alone is wanting to (complete) the sufferings of the Jews! And, saying this, she at once killed her son. She then roasted him, and ate a part of him! the rest she hid, and kept?!”

1 Syr. יְשָׁבָה. Joseph. Gr. ὑπερφόροι.
2 Deut. xxvii. 56, 57. “The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground
These sufferings out of many, I have here set down on account of the Divine prediction of our Saviour, which declared, "Woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days:" and because it adds this also to the predictive words of our Saviour, "There shall be great tribulation on the land, and great wrath upon this people:" or, as Matthew has said⁵, "For there shall be at that time great tribulation, the like of which has not been since the beginning of the world, even until now; nor shall be" (hereafter). It will be well therefore, to hear this writer himself, when thus putting on record the fulfilment of these same things.

*From the fifth Book of Josephus⁴.*

22. "It would be impossible to give an account of each and every of their iniquities singly; we say then summarily, that no (other) city (ever) suffered all these things; and, that there never was a generation so fruitful in vices as this⁶: for they destroyed the city itself⁷! and (were the cause) that the Romans should be recorded,—as forced by them against their own wills,—to this sad

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for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear: for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee." See all the preceding verses, 52 seq. Comp. Lam. ii. 11; iv. 3, 10, 11. Ezek. v. 9, 13, 16, 17. These predictions were, indeed, dreadfully fulfilled to the very letter!

⁴ Matt. xxiv. 21.
⁵ Hudson's Josephus, Tom. ii. Lib. v. cap. 10, p. 1246, line 41.
⁶ There is a considerable omission here in our Syriac text of Josephus: but, as the matter omitted could have but little reference to the objects had in view by Eusebius; there is no reason to suppose, the text of Josephus himself to be redundant on this account.
⁷ The Syriac is worded rather extraordinarily here; which I notice for the mere sake of the Student. It stands thus: | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּhé | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹא יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | לֹа יֵאָלֶּה | ل...
victory! They accordingly dragged them on forthwith, unopposed, to the Temple; and viewed from the upper city, the fire that was burning within it." Nor were they pained, nor did they weep at these things! Because, "there should be at that time great tribulation, such, that its like existed not since the beginning of the world." This very thing was foretold by our Saviour, which this writer attests; the whole of which was fully brought to pass\textsuperscript{1} forty years afterwards, in the times of Vespasian the Roman Emperor. Our Saviour moreover, added to His predictions,—determining the time,—how long Jerusalem should be trampled on by the Gentiles; for He said, "Until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled:" intimating by this, the end\textsuperscript{2} of the world.

Again, on the laws of the Jews, (viz.) that they should no more be observed, either on mount Gerizim, or in Jerusalem. And, on the service worthy of God, which should be set up in His Church. From the Gospel of John.

23. On the side of this our neighbouring city Neapolis of Palestine,—which was not small, but is even (now) a city of celebrity,—a woman of Samaria drew near to Him; and, after other words, said to Him, "Sir, I perceive that thou art a Prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this

\textsuperscript{1} Syr.  כנפ. [וכנפ. מַעַת] קֵדָד. According to the Dictionaries, The whole was crowned after forty years. Nothing, I think, can be more certain—as far as the authority of this place goes, than that מַעַת here, is used in the sense of the Heb. מִגְבָּה, completed, brought to pass, or the like.

\textsuperscript{2} "The times of the Gentiles" must, I think, mean those times previously spoken of in the Scriptures, during which the Gentiles should retain their ancient state and power. That is, during the last part of Daniel's fourth monarchy, in which it is foretold they should have the rule. After this, during the fifth kingdom the saints are to have the rule, these therefore, must be their times, not, scripturally speaking, "the times of the Gentiles." Our author is therefore, wrong in this place. See the Introduction to his work. He is not the only one who has taken it in this sense, as may be seen by referring to Poole's Synopsis, &c.
mountain; but ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where (men) ought to worship." Upon which, our Saviour returning this answer, said to her, "Believe me woman, the hour cometh (in) which, neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship the Father." And, after a few other things, He said: "The hour cometh, and now is, (in) which the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh even such as these to worship Him. God is a spirit, and it is right that those who worship Him, should worship him in spirit and in truth." And, by these things also, He fully proved that His foreknowledge was not small. For formerly, in the days of Tiberius the Roman Emperor,—in whose times these things were said,—the Jews were particularly collected together in Jerusalem, for the observance of the precepts of their Law; and the Samaritans, on the mount called Gerizim which they honoured, on the side of Neapolis, affirming that it was right the Law of Moses should there be observed. Now, these mounts are, as it were, anathemas of God. With both, certain parts were honoured; and of both, the Scripture of each bears record; that of Moses, respecting Gerizim; and those of the Hebrew Prophets, respecting Jerusalem. The sentence of judgment therefore, put forth in the Divine enunciation of our Saviour was, That no more, either in Jerusalem, or on mount Gerizim, should those henceforth worship, who then adhered so pertinaciously to these places: which came to pass soon after. (For), in the days of Titus Vespasian, and in the reduction which happened in those of Hadrian, both these mounts were, according to His words, desolated. That on the side of the city Neapolis, was defiled by unbecoming Images, by Idols,

3 John iv. 19—24.
4 The places had here in view are Deut. xi. 29; xxvii. 4. seq. Josh. viii. 30. seq. The Samaritans, it appears, have introduced a large number of spurious readings into the Text of their edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, and, among others, one ascribing a higher degree of honour to mount Gerizim, than to Hebal: for which Dr Kennicott, some years ago, considered it his duty to contend. See my Prolegomena to Mr Bagster's Polyglott Bible, Proleg. ii. sect. i. xxi. seq. where I have shewn that much relating to this controversy had not been duly understood.
by Sacrifices, and the shedding of blood, and (thus) rendered abominable. The Temple also of Jerusalem was rased to the foundations, and has remained, during the whole of the time mentioned, in utter desolation and (destruction by) burning. And, from that time and even until now, has the prediction of our Saviour been fulfilled, which declared, "The hour cometh, (in) which neither in this mount, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship." He terms the time (meant) "the hour;" which was not yet at hand, but was about to be. And, speaking to His Disciples on the rational service to be completed by Himself, He added, "The hour cometh, and now is, that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth." He necessarily added therefore here, It "now is." For immediately, from the very hour (in) which he said these words, (viz.) "The true worshippers,"—of whom He was the Head and Teacher,—His Disciples, who received the rational service,—from Him, did perform the service of God, "in spirit and in truth." But the thing, above all (others) prophesied of in these words, implies, that no more on any mount, nor in any distinct corner of the earth, but throughout the whole creation, should those "true worshippers" worship the God who is above all, and should present to Him the Divine services, which should be performed without blood, "in spirit and truth." Not by similitude, nor by those things of which He was the antitype, as were those of Moses observed by both Jews and Samaritans, in slaughter, sacrifices, incense, fire, and many other bodily modes;—that all of these should be abolished through the things now before us, did the Word of God here predict. He also said, henceforth "in spirit and truth." That is, "the true worshippers" shall render to God, the service which is worthy of Him, in a manner divine and with both the soul and mind.

On the people which should be set up out of foreign nations, by means of his teaching. From the Gospel of John.

24. "I am the good Shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me. Even as the Father hath

1 John x. 14—17.
known me, so know I the Father....And I lay down my life (lit. self) for my sheep. And I have other sheep, those who were not of this fold; and it is necessary that I should bring in these, and that they should hear my voice. And there shall be one fold and one shepherd.”

By other words (too) He taught and said, “I am not come, but to the sheep that have strayed of the house of Israel.” It was the Jewish people then, that He named under this figure; but, by the things before us, He predicted, that it was not those only who had become His disciples from among the Jews, that were considered (as) of the number of His flock; but those also who were without this fold. For thus, the word (Scripture) usually names at one time, the whole Jewish people; at another, Jerusalem, and the service there performed according to the Law of Moses.—That “He would collect other sheep which were not of that fold,” implies the whole creation; and He foretold by these things, that out of them (this) rational flock should be so brought together to Him, that to the one and self-same worship of God, all, (both) Jews and Idolaters believing in Him, should come over; and, that there should be “one fold and one Shepherd.”

This is His Church, which has been established both from among the Jews, and Gentiles. And thus, has it come to pass! For at once, at the outset of the preaching of the Gospel, great multitudes of the Jews were convinced that He was the Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. And with these, (those), who believed on Him from among the Gentiles, were brought together in one Church, under the hand of the one Shepherd,—of Him who is the Word of God. For in Jerusalem itself arose, from among the Jews, one after another fifteen bishops of the Church there, from James who was the first.

There were too thousands, at once both of Jews and Gentiles there, who had been brought together, even to the time of

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8 Matt. xv. 24.
9 These Jews, according to our author, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. ii. xxxvi. cap. iv. p. 63. seq. constituted the Remnant, which it had frequently been foretold should be saved. And in this he was certainly right. Examine these places, and comp. Rom. xi. 5, &c.

17—2
its reduction in the days of Hadrian. And, that He was the (good) Shepherd who had been many times preached of in the words of the Prophets, it is obvious to us: the words (I say), which mention the Word of God and teach, that He is the Shepherd of the souls of men, as of rational flocks. For it is thus said on one occasion by the Prophets: "The Lord feedeth me (as a shepherd), and I shall lack nothing." And on another; "Shepherd of Israel look, (thou) who leadest Joseph as a flock". And, on another, He introduces (one) saying, "He is the Lord, and the Shepherd of the sheep." He therefore alone, is truly declared to be the Shepherd of rational souls. For, just as the case is among men, the nature of the sheep is one, and that of the shepherd another; and, (as) the rational nature rules and leads that which is irrational; so also is it with respect to the superiority of the Shepherd (here), the Word of God, the nature far excels that of man. We indeed are His flock, and, as compared with His power, we are less rational than any sheep. But He is in truth the good and pure Shepherd, who does not so neglect His flock, that it may be devoured by the wolves; that is to say, by the wicked demons, the corrupters of souls. This constrains us to look to His word which declared, with great power and might, "I am the good Shepherd;" and which also said, "I lay down my life for my sheep." (This) He said in a mystery respecting His death. He also taught at the same time the cause; viz. that it was for the redemption of the souls of the rational flocks, that He (so) gave His life. And this also: "I have other sheep," shews, that the Jews were not His only possession; but also, that the whole of the nations had been given to Him of His Father, according to this (declaration), "Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance."

1 Ps. xxiii. 1.
2 Ps. lxxx. 1.
3 This is no direct citation of Scripture: it is perhaps, as on a former occasion, (above p. 18, note,) the general sense only of some one or two verses. The most likely appear to me to be Is. xl. 10, 11.
How His death was the cause of the redemption of many.

From the Gospel of John.

25. He was often with the Jews, because to them were known the predictions of the Prophets respecting Him. But, because the Greeks upon one occasion also approached His Disciples, desiring to see Him,—it is written, that, when they had told Him this, He said: ""The hour is come, that the Son of Man should be glorified. I say unto you, that unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it will remain alone; but if it (so) die, it will bring forth much fruit." By these things also, He obviously declared in a mystery, that, among the Greeks, among foreign nations and the children of a different generation, those things which comprehended the praises of His Godhead should be embraced. For it was not when He was among the Jews that he said, "His hour had come that He should be glorified," but, when the Greeks drew near to Him. After this, he necessarily continued shewing of His own death, His resurrection, and of the calling of the people, among whom He then was. For, just as the grain of wheat, before it falls into the earth, remains alone, but contains the life-producing-power, with the energies of the seed included within it, (and) which the ears shall produce; but, after falling into the earth,—just as that which lives after death,—it will increase, and, from the power vested within it, produce many ears of corn; so did He also declare respecting Himself, that the things should be. And this indeed, the result of them has plainly evinced.

* John xii. 23, 24.

* These however were probably Hellenistic Jews: for we are told that "there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast." They might, indeed, have been proselytes: but the former supposition is the most probable.

* Syr. מֵאָת, is a contraction for מֵאָת מֵאָת, just as מֵאָת, is for מֵאָת מֵאָת.

* Syr. וְקָדֵשׁ, lit. words, or reasons, of the seed. The reader will bear in mind, that וְקָדֵשׁ, has often been used, in this work, in the sense of invigorating, efficient, cause, and the like, as derived from Him who is termed The Word, וְקָדֵשׁ. See Book i. sect. 76. above, with the note.
For, it was not the Greeks alone who, after His death, received of His power and of the provisions of His Godhead, but also many nations. He was therefore, that seed which fell, and sprang up again, "He who was dead, but is alive!" He, who after His fall which was by death, increased greatly, is He who has, by His resurrection, filled the lands of the heathen, as it were cultivated fields, with the Divine unutterable power. On this account He said, "The harvest is great, but the labourers are few." And again, "Lift up your eyes and see the fields, that they are white for the harvest." These things He also foretold (figuratively), of those who should after His death establish themselves in Him, through the pure faith which is by Him; the multitude of whom should, throughout the whole creation both of Greeks and Barbarians, constitute the Church to be established in myriads of congregations;—collected together, as it were, (the produce of) rational well-cultured fields, into one place; (that is) the souls of men, into the granaries of His Church. Hence it has been said, "He whose fan is in His hand, and who will cleanse His floor, and collect the wheat into (His) treasuries: but the straw He will burn with fire unquenchable."

How Simon the chief of the Disciples, should, like his Master, be given up to crucifixion, and depart this life. From the Gospel of John.

26. "My children, a little while I am with you; and ye shall seek me: even as I said to the Jews, whither I go, ye cannot come; and thus also I say again unto you. Simon Peter said unto Him, Whither goest Thou? And Jesus answered him: Whither I go, thou canst not now come; but, after a time, thou shalt come." And again, in the latter part of the book, Jesus, after his resurrection from the dead, said to Peter: "I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thy loins, and wentest whither

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1 Alluding perhaps to Luke xv. 32.
2 Matt. ix. 37. Luke x. 2. 2 John iv. 35.
4 John xiii. 33. 1b. ver. 36. 7 John xxi. 18, 19.
thou wouldest; but, when thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee, and shall lead thee whither thou shalt not be willing. And these things which He said (were) to shew, by what death he should glorify God. And, when He had said this, He said to him, Follow me.” And, Who is not astonished, that, when He said these things to His Disciples, they should be prepared and ready to adhere to Him even to death? For He did not deceive them by intimating, or promising to them, the things considered good in this life; nor did He, by any such means, allure them to give their adhesion to Him; but, He simply foretold those obvious tortures which should, on His account, befall them. And (so) He previously shewed to Simon the mode of crucifixition, by which he afterwards closed his life in the city of Rome, in this which He said, “When thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee.” And similarly, He also shewed mystically in this which He said, “Whither I go, thou canst not now come; but, after a time, thou shalt come.” Now, these things were not said to them all, but only to Peter; because it is he alone, who, in the Scripture, (is said) should end his life after the manner of the suffering of our Saviour.

How He foretold to the rest of His Disciples, the persecutions which were about to arise time after time against them. From the Gospel of Matthew\(^a\).

27. “Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to their Rulers, and shall scourge you in their Synagogues, and shall bring you before governours and kings for my sake, for a testimony to themselves, and to the Gentiles.” And again\(^b\), “Blessed are ye when they persecute you, and revile you, and say every evil (thing) against you, for my sake. Rejoice and exult, since great is your reward in heaven; for so they persecuted the Prophets who were before you.” Now, the wonder is this, (viz.) the additional word here saying, “for my sake.” For it was not sufficient, that He should only foreknow and foretell the persecutions

\(^a\) Chap. x. 17. \(^b\) Chap. v. 11, 12.
which should arise against His Disciples; but, that He might also shew the cause of these, He said, they should suffer these things for His sake. Nor was it on account of any evil practices, nor yet for any other fault; but,—(as) He previously testified,—that every thing (of this sort) should befall them for His sake: which is present in the fact for our information! For if any one, during the time of the persecutions, denied only that he was a Christian, he was released from all blame and cause of accusation. But, so irreprehensible and sinless were the lives of His Disciples to be, that they should suffer every sort of calamity for no other cause, except only their confessing, and giving testimony to, Him. He did indeed, fully stir up and make them ready (for this), by comparing them with the ancient Prophets and Friends of God; for1, (said He), even as they persecuted the Prophets who were before you, so shall they, without cause, drive you out; and, after the manner of the Prophets, shall ye be punished, because ye worship the God who is over all; on which account, they also persecuted the Prophets. Now that He should foretell, that even governours and kings should be moved by these things; that the time was then at hand; that He should (so) speak with His Disciples; and that His words should so come to pass and remain in fact, How greatly does it exceed (all) wonder? For there have been many others, both Barbarians and Greeks, who have said and promised many wise things to their Disciples. Of these, some supposed that there was no God; others annihilated every consideration about Providence; and others (received) those who were thought Gods by the many: others arose (as) the leaders of vicious factions2; others (who thought), that Rest3 was the extreme (good): and others, that Rest indiscriminately was; and who indeed talked just as they might be circumstanced. But never did any one of these, pre-

2 Syr. | אֲשַׁמְתֵּךְ | רָצֹא. Or, it may mean, of vicious sects, as אֲשַׁמְתֵּךְ is here evidently the Greek τάγμα, which is mostly used to signify a military body, as being set in order, τάγμα. The Second Book of our work has generally discussed these matters.
3 See above, Book ii. par. 19, p. 80. with the notes.
viously determine such things for His Disciples. Nor do we know of any persecutions that opposed them, such as those were that opposed the teaching of our Saviour. How then shall we not wonder, and confess, that these are indeed the words of God?—these (I say), which not only previously attested, through the Divine foreknowledge, the persecutions which should come upon His Disciples; but also, previously pointed out the cause of these, by this which He said, that *these things should happen to them, for His sake*?

*How those also who were equals should arise, and persecute each other, in the times of the persecutions.* From the Gospel of Matthew ¹.

28. "The brother shall deliver his brother to death, and the father his son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he, who shall bear even to the end, shall live." Now, how these things have, even to the present time, been fulfilled in fact, What need is there that we should shew at length, since these facts are superior to all report? We have seen too with our own eyes, how many things of this sort took place, both during the persecutions, and in our own times. Nor do you simply hear this, that "*the brother should deliver his brother to death;*" for even this might have been as any mere matter of opinion. But we can investigate (the case), and inform ourselves how it was, that "*the brother delivered his brother to death.*"—When one surrenders himself to fraternal affection, and chooses the love of life, and denies God, and particularly with respect to his brother, whom he will solicit and persuade to worship idols; will excite and inveigle, putting forth (his) fraternal affection, so as to make him disregard the command of our Saviour; then indeed, will the

¹ Chap. x. 21. seq. This place, as in other instances, differs slightly from the Peshito. It is cited for the same purpose by Theodoret, Græc. auct. curat. p. 446. Ed. Gaisford. We have in the heading here, in the Syriac [זא], for [זא], the last letter having dropped out in the process of printing.
brother deliver up his brother to the death of his soul. In like manner also, will the father cause his son to err (by enticing), and will persuade him to worship the idols, and (so) deliver him to death. So also the children, their parents: they will, through their affection for them, (so) lead them on, that they will choose the mortal life which now is, rather than that which is with God; and will (so) become the cause, both of the death and perdition of the soul of their parents. And many such things as these, did we witness with our own eyes, during the times of the persecutions; so that in them was fulfilled the (prediction): "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake." In this place also was this addition carefully made, teaching the Disciples that, it should not be for any hateful deed, but for His name's sake, they should be hated.

On those who should impurely collect themselves into His Church, and on the punishment that should come upon them. From the Gospel of Matthew.

29. "The kingdom of heaven is like a net that fell into the sea, and collected of every sort (of fish); and, when it was full, they drew it up to the shore, and sitting down they selected those that were good, and put them into vessels; but the bad, they threw away. Thus shall it be in the end of this world: the angels shall go forth, and shall separate the evil from among the just, and shall cast them into a fiery oven: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." The "net,"—which is here (put) by a figure for the word,—and which is woven (as it were) from the various mind of the old and new Scriptures, He names His own doctrine: the fluctuating life of man, which is subject to hardship in its doings on account of the calamities attending it, "the sea." Out of this (sort of) life, as from the sea, the "net," so foretold, was to catch up tens of thousands. And under it were to be (taken), the various multitudes of those opposed

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1 This is a far-fetched, and unnecessary, interpretation. The intention of the passage seems to be,—what indeed the commentators usually make it,—that, as there should be divisions in families, (Luke xii. 52, 53,) those who were opposed to our Lord, should betray and give up those who were His followers: a thing which in all probability took place.

2 Chap. xiii. 47. seq.
to each other in their characters; and of these, the good and bad in their dispositions. Of these too he spoke mystically, as being caught up from the sea after the manner of fish, when He said in the first calling of His Disciples, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." This collecting together therefore of such men, bad and good, in His Church,—assembled (as they are) to this very time,—was not unknown to Him: for He taught, that these same should at last be separated by the Angels, who should be appointed to this (work); and (so) should the punishment, due to the disposition of each one, be awarded.

How Impostors and Seducers should invest themselves with His Doctrine, and formally present themselves to Him. From the Gospel of Matthew.

30. "Beware of lying Prophets who come to you in lambs' clothing, but inwardly (are) rapacious wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them. For men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. So every good tree produceth good fruit, but an evil tree giveth forth evil fruit." He (here) counselled (them) by His foreknowledge, to beware of those ungodly persons, who, availing themselves of the opinions of others, and of the words of the Scriptures of His Divinity, should in after times formally assume the name of Christianity. He also shews the marks and vouchers of the evil concealed within them, and which should deceive the many, when saying, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Now the fruits of such are these; the ungodly words uttered by them; their unrighteous and perverse manner of life. These things then, when uttered and foretold by our Saviour, afforded at that time no visible testimony whatever to those who heard them, (as to their truth); but, in after times, the facts (so) declared became openly visible to all: the followers accordingly of

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* See above, par. 6.

* Chap. vii. 16, 16, 17, and as before, differing slightly from the Peschito.

* We have here, for the of the Peschito. I have translated the place accordingly.

* I. c. Heterodoxy.
Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, and those other corrupters of souls, sprang up, (viz.) Bardeanes, and that madman in opinion of yesterday, and of our own times, whose name became the titular badge of the Manichean.

1 Syr. ܡܲܠܟܲܐ. Marcion himself was a native of Pontus, and lived in the times of Anicetus the eleventh Bishop of Rome. He enlarged upon the errors of Cerdon his immediate predecessor, who had espoused and laboured to propagate the opinions of Simon Magus. Marcion was an open blasphemer of God, and corrupter of the Scriptures. He was one of those who forbade marriage, and urged the abstaining from certain meats, and in this, he seems to have agreed with the Manicheans and Saturninians: in many things with the Simonians, Basilidians, Bogomilians, Andæans, &c. This heresy had, in the times of Epiphanius, extended itself to Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Cyprus, and Persia. See Grabe’s Irenæus, p. 104, with the notes and references.

2 Syr. ܡܲܠܟܲܐ. So called after their leader Valentinus, who came to Rome in the times of Hyginus, and lived during those of Pius, and to those of Anicetus. His doctrines had originated in Simon Magus, which he very gradually and cautiously endeavoured to introduce into the Church. For which he was eventually deprived of communion. See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Index. It. Grabe.

3 Syr. ܡܲܠܟܲܐ. So called after Basilides their leader. He was a native of Alexandria, and flourished in the times of Hadrian. He received his doctrines, which were those of Simon Magus, from Mandon, in which marriage was forbidden, and the abstaining from certain meats was urged. See Grabe’s Irenæus, p. 96, with the notes and Index.

4 He was a native of Mesopotamia, and flourished in the times of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He first attached himself to Valentinus; but afterwards wrote against him and his doctrines. He is said to have been a very elegant and acute writer: but he never purged himself, as it should seem, from the Gnostic heresy. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. IV. cap. XXX. Asseman. Bible. Orient. Tom. I. p. 47, &c. as marked in the Index: particularly p. 380, note.

5 Manes, (or, as the modern Persians name him, ܡܢܝ, Mani, the Syrians ܡܢܝ) was a Persian by birth, and, according to the Chronicon of Edessa (Asseman. Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. p. 393, note) was born A.D. 240. He entered Mesopotamia in A.D. 261, when he came to Archelans Bishop of the Caschari, for the purpose of disputing on the subject of religion: but, being overcome, he secretly withdrew himself to Persia. He was there taken by the king, flayed alive, and exposed to dogs. He was strenuous in advancing the old oriental doctrine of the two Principles, good, and bad, among Christians; of which marked traces remain to this day among the Mohammedans of Persia, as may be seen.
30. |

BOOK IV. 269

heresy; who all became the sources of lying and ungodly
doctrine. Nor did they otherwise come to light, but as
outwardly clothed with the skins of our Saviour’s lambs.
And He plainly styled His Disciples “sheep;” saying, “My
sheep hear my voice:” and again, “Behold, I send you
as sheep among wolves.” Of these then they outwardly
assumed the manner, while in themselves they were “rapacious
wolves.” (And), How many thousands of the sheep of our
Saviour, did these Deceivers snatch away? Who, presenting
their persons in form as to Christ, attached themselves to
His instruction, and to the terms of the doctrines relating to
His Godhead, and exhibited themselves as (His) lambs!
But, that ungodly bitterness which lay (as) in ambush
within them, adhered secretly to those who had been en-
snared by them. These, therefore, who were now thought
to be “sheep,” because of their (thus) drawing near (to
Him), openly appeared afterwards to be “rapacious wolves.”

in the celebrated work of Kuleini, under the figures of Intellect and
Folly, (see my Persian Controversies, p. 175, and note,) as also in the
Dabistan, ascribed to Mohsin Fâni. He held with the Gnostics, that
Christ was a mere Phantom; he put it forth that himself was the Christ,
and the Comforter (Paraclete); and his twelve Disciples accordingly
proscribed marriage as being of the Devil, &c. See Theodoret, Heret.
Fac. i. xxvi. Tom. iv. with the Index. Epiphan. de Mens. et Fond. as
cited by Asseman. A Syriac translation of the work of Titus, Bishop of
Bozrah, against this heresy, is to be found in the volume from which
I take this work of Eusebius. All these, according to Hegesippus, as
preserved by Eusebius (Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxxii.) originated from
Thebuthis, who, being mortified because not made a Bishop, set about
secretly to corrupt the Church. He was of one of the seven sects then
spread abroad among the Jews. Out of which also arose Simon, whence
the Simonians: also Cleobius, Dositheachus, Gortheachus, Masbotheachus; whence
also Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Basilides, &c. &c. Hence
also the false Christs, false Apostles, false Prophets, &c. See the
notes of Valesius, Ed. 1693, p. 69. seq.

5 John x. 27.
7 Matt. x. 16: comp. Luke x. 3. Cited also by Theodoret, Gr. affect.
curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 446.
9 Syr. [ Invalidate, which, I think, should be read Invalidate: the intention
of our author evidently being, to give an equivalent to the “amarum
et maligni principis apostasiae serpentes venenum” of Irenæus, Edit. Grabe,
p. 105.
And hence, our Saviour taught us previously to beware of them, when He said by way of instruction, "By their fruits ye shall know them."

How even He and His Disciples should be thought to have taken men, by means of Magicians, and of intercourse with Demons.

31. "The disciple is not greater than his master, nor the servant than his lord. It is sufficient for the disciple that he be as his master, and for the servant, as his lord. And, if they have called the Lord of the house Beelzebub, How much more the children of his household? Fear them not therefore, for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed; nor concealed that shall not be made known." The Jews held that Beelzebub was an evil Demon, and prince of the Demons: they blasphemed our Saviour accordingly, (affirming) that by the power of this, He expelled the rest of the Demons from men. But, He returned the true answer to those who thought this, which is also written among His words. He foretold too, to His Disciples, that they also should be thought to overcome men, through intercourse with Demons and Magicians: which very thing, now affirmed by the many, has sealed and confirmed the prediction of our Saviour. He also gave His testimony, that this notion, (so) ascribed to them, should come to nothing, from (the consideration) of their lives, and conduct; their purity of doctrine, and that (inculcating)

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2 Matt. ix. 34; xii. 34. Mark iii. 22. Nothing was more common, among both the Jews and heathens, than the accusation of Magic against the miraculous powers of Christ, and of His immediate followers. (See Wetstein on Matt. xii. 24.) "The Heathen," says Bingham, "because our Saviour and his followers did many miracles, which they imputed to evil arts, and the power of magic,...therefore generally declaimed against them as magicians, and under that character exposed them to the fury of the vulgar," &c. From the prevalence of a belief in magic still in the East, the Mohammedans strongly object to the manner in which we speak of miracles; because, say they, it might still follow, that such miracles proceed from skill in magic. See my Persian Controversies, Camb. 1824, sect. ii. p. 191. seq. and Book v. sect. 2. below.
the worship of God. He said therefore, "Fear them not; for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed, nor concealed that shall not be made known." He therefore reproved these (Disciples), for a considerable time, because the things formerly escaping the many, had, on this account, been supposed (by them) to be incapable of publication; as also those, belonging to the doctrines of the (true) worship of God, of being made openly known. But, His ordinances and precepts have now been made known to every man; and He has extinguished that (injurious) opinion respecting them, (His Disciples) which had formerly been held by the many.

On those who should remain in complete holiness in His Church, and in the life inexperienced (in conjugal) Society. From the Gospel of Matthew.

32. When He determined for them, that (one) should not leave his wife except in the matter of fornication, and His Disciples said to Him, "If the cause of a man with the wife be thus, it is not advantageous to take wives;" it is written, that He said upon these things, "Every man is not sufficient for this matter, except those to whom it is given. There are eunuchs, who were thus from their mothers' womb; and there are eunuchs, who were (made) eunuchs by men; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who can bear (it) let him bear (it)." It is evident from the context of the Scriptures, that there never was among men, and particularly among the Jews, any one who uttered by revelation any thing like this; or, who did any thing like it: or that, throughout the whole creation and among all nations, whether in the cities or villages, there were multitudes, not of men (only), but also of women, who

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* This place, which is obscure, seems to me to mean this: He bore long with the ignorance of His disciples, seeing as they did His divine power, and blamed their doubting as to the ultimate results of His Gospel. The chief difficulty in the Syriac is, the introduction of the interrogative [حدن], How? intended apparently to have the force of a strong negative.

† Matt. xix. 9. Differing from the Peschito as before.
kept themselves in perfect holiness, and the state of virginity, through the hope and expectation of the kingdom of heaven. We have seen in the very experiment itself, that they learned they should soon be prepared for this. The fulfilment however, of the claim to foreknowledge, was not simply (realized here); for we have seen many men, well known to us, who (actually) availed themselves of the iron (knife,) and made eunuchs of themselves for no other cause, except that of the hope of the kingdom of heaven: who neither hesitated, nor were weak in the doctrine of our Saviour, but simply and boldly betook themselves to the thing itself. So that the foreknowledge of our Saviour, even respecting these things, sets to its seal, that His word was in truth the word of God.

1 Syr. ɔρφλα, against which some pious monk has written in the margin, μαι ναι, see and desire: as if this were an essential of Christianity!

2 Syr. &c., δεσμευμένοι ἢπόθανε, Castell had given in his Lexicon, ἰμβεβελληθς, "Ubinau, quo auctore aut exemplo?" asks Michaelis in his edition of it.—This passage can perhaps hardly be made out, without adopting Castell's meaning of the word. It is well known that cognate verbs do, in the sister dialects of the Hebrew, often take the sense of one another. In this case, the sense will be that of the Hebrew, ἰτἡ, Arab. ˂, defect, &c. If it be said, that the place might be rendered thus; they delayed not, but became strong in the doctrine, &c. then, it may be asked, How is the  µ] following, to be taken? oδη  δεσμευμένοι  δεσμευμένοι  µ], &c. I am induced to believe therefore, that Castell is right, and that this place affords the sort of example which Michaelis required.

3 It need not be supposed that our author mentions this, for the purpose of praising it: his object probably was to shew, that, as our Lord foretold this, its coming to pass—a thing most unnatural and unheard of,—was sufficient to shew His foreknowledge. In his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. vi. cap. viii.) he has mentioned this, as the daring act of an inexperienced young man, resulting from a simple and juvenile method of interpreting the passage referred to: which he says was, nevertheless, a proof of continence and of a strong faith; and this is perhaps, a main part of his object here. See also Book v. sect. 14. below.
On the distinction of those who should not worthily receive the seed of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.

33. When a great multitude of men had come near Him, He thus foretold by a parable what those should be, who should receive the seed of His doctrine, saying: "Behold, a sower went forth to sow: and, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of heaven came and devoured it: and some fell on the rock, where there was not much earth, and immediately it sprang forth; and, because there was no depth of earth beneath its root, it dried up. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns sprang up, and choked it: and some fell upon good ground, and it gave forth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold. After these things He cried out and said, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." After this also, He was asked by His Disciples, what the interpretation of the parable should be; and He taught them, saying, "Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower. Every one that heareth the word of the kingdom, but understandeth it not,—the Evil one cometh, and snatcheth the seed out of his heart. This is that which is sown by the way side. And that which is sown upon the rock, is he who heareth the word, and with readiness receiveth it: but, not being confirmed therein, he is offended by a little afflicion. And that which fell among the thorns, is he who heareth the word, but the care of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and it remaineth without fruit. But that which is sown on good ground, is he who heareth the word, and understandeth it, and produceth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold." Now, Whence could it have happened to human nature, not only to declare by (one's) foreknowledge something that should come into being; but also, to determine the kinds and sorts of persons (who should), unless indeed He were truly The Word of God?—He (I say), who at that time (so) prophesied and taught;—of whom it is said, "The Word of God is lively (energetic), and more sharp and cutting than the two-edged sword, and passeth even to the parts of the

* Matt. xiii. 3—9.
soul and of the body, and of the joints and marrow; and is the Judge of the thoughts and intentions of the heart, and from whom no creature is hidden." He well declared therefore, the distinguishing marks of those who should afterwards receive His doctrines; and He also foretold, that those who should in impurity receive the seed of His instruction, should be of three kinds; as should in like manner the good, who should like good ground bear much, and give great increase to the word itself. Of those corrupters of the seed too, which should fall into their souls, He declared there should be three (moving) causes: Either from the considerations of life, and the care of things not (absolutely) necessary, and from riches and pleasures, immersing (as it were) the seed sown within them, and making it resemble the seed choked by thorns; or, others not receiving it into the depth of the mind, but immediately extinguishing it when affliction overtakes them; or, the third cause may be, that the source of the destructions of the seed within them is, the surrendering of a lax and ready hearing to (men) wishing to seduce them, and to snatch away the seed that had fallen into their souls. And these same are, in no other way cut off from bearing the fruit that is of God, except as by one or other of the means just mentioned. But those who are opposed to these, and receive the seed of salvation into a soul that is pure, and a mind that is devoted, do again, as their power may be, greatly increase their fruits. He moreover assimilates the distinctions of these, to those of good and excellent lands which bring forth some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred-fold. For such as these powers are, are those occasionally found in the souls of men. These things therefore, He prophesied on these matters. But, of the

1 Heb. iv. 12. seq. Differing considerably from the Peschito, as before. The ancients, as it will be seen in Poole (Synopsis), generally referred this passage to Christ, just as Eusebius does here; and, it must be confessed, the matter contained in the 18th verse, powerfully supports this view. The exegetical sense however, comes to the same under either view: for, whether we take the word of Christ, with the moderns; or, the Word, Christ, with the ancients, the effects, here spoken of, must all be eventually referred to Him. I prefer the former view, as being the more obvious and simple.
multitude of those who should in after-times bear (much) fruit, through the instruction of His words, He thus cried out and said, "The harvest is great, but the labourers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest." And again, of these same He said on another occasion: "Do not ye yourselves say, that there are yet four months, and the harvest cometh? Lift up your eyes, and see the fields that they are white for the harvest?" And, Who does not wonder, that He should shew even the fewness of those who should in purity be the chiefs of His word, for He said, "The labourers are few!" And, as prayer was necessary for the obtaining of these, He said therefore, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth labourers into His harvest." When He said therefore, "The sower went out to sow," He also said, that there was another sower, and another seed; and He also shewed and taught, whence, and whither, he went forth by the things said in the parable immediately following this, which is in this form:

On the teaching of Heterodoxy, which should be sown together with His word in the souls of men. From the Gospel of Matthew.

34. He added another Parable, and said: "The kingdom of heaven is like to a man, who sowed good seed in his field. But, when men slept, the Enemy came and sowed Tares among the wheat, and departed. When therefore, the wheat sprang forth and produced fruit, the Tares appeared in like manner. And his servants drew near and said to him: Our Lord, Didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? Whence are there Tares in it? But he said to them, The man (who is) the Enemy hath done this. They say to him: Is it thy will therefore, that we go (and) gather them? But he

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1 Matt. ix. 37.
2 John iv. 38. Differing in each case from the Peschito, as before.
3 Syr. [λειψα] δε, lit. other opinions: which is probably put for the Greek ἐποδοτείς; it being customary with the Syrians so to translate Greek compounds. See above, Book iv. par. 19, note, and ib. 69.
said to them, No; lest, while ye gather the Tares, ye also root up the wheat with them. Let them both grow until the harvest. And at the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the Tares, and bind them in bundles for burning; but gather ye the wheat into the granaries” (lit. treasuries). This same Parable too, He explained to His Disciples in the house, when they drew near to Him and said, “Explain to us the Parable of the Tares of the field. And He answered them, and said: "The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world. (As to) the good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; and the Tares, those are the children of the wicked one; and the Enemy, who sowed them, is the Accuser. And the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the Angels. Even therefore, as the Tares are gathered up, and fall into the fire; so shall it be at the end of this world. The Son of man shall send His Angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offences, and those that do evil, and shall cast them into the Gehenna3 of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And then shall the righteous shine in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.” Our Saviour shewed therefore, by His explanation of the Parable4, these things (viz.), who the sower that went out to sow the seed was, and what the seed was which He cast forth, in the expressions5: “The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world.” For He usually called Himself the “Son of man,” on account of His going about among men6. He therefore went forth from

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1 Matt. xiii. 24—31. Differing from the Peschito, as before.
2 Ib. 36—43.
3 The Greek has here αὐξητικό, and the Peschito [αύξη] , its literal translation: no MS. has γένια, whence it appears very likely, that Eusebius cited the passage from memory: a thing very common with the Fathers.
4 The Syr. has here δακτύλιον, word, an error of the copyist no doubt, for δακτύλιον, parable: the same error recurs a little lower down.
5 Syr. [δακτύλιον, as before.
6 Rather, one would think, from his being born as a man.
within’, and came out. Where then was He within, but above the world? where (indeed) He existed; and in the end of the world* He came forth, and came down to us, who were without (out of) the kingdom of heaven. And with Him He brought the heavenly seed, which He sowed in the souls of men as in distinguished lands. For the Parable placed before us teaches respecting the field, as of what sort it is, into which He cast the seed;—which says, “The field is the world;” and it shews of this field, that it belongs to none but Himself;—to Him who came forth from the inner part of His kingdom, to those who were “without” (out of it), when saying, “the servants drew near and said to Him, “Our Lord, didst thou sow good seed in thy field?” He therefore taught plainly, that even this field is His own: and this He interpreted and shewed, was the world. In the former Parable therefore, He shewed His foreknowledge as to what the distinctions of those would be, who should receive the seed into their souls; but in this, which is placed before us, the perverse doctrines and errors of the ungodly Heretics: when not one of them had yet so established himself among men! Nevertheless, it was not unknown to Him that this should come to pass. For, as false scriptures were scattered as seed in succeeding times throughout the whole earth, with enunciations assimilated to those of His doctrine, by an opposing nature, not unlike the Tares (sown) among His pure words and life-giving doctrines⁷;—and there are myriads even to this time, some of whom make their boast of Manes, some of Marcion, and some of others, of those (I say) who put forth ungodly heterodoxy, and “Tares” (as it were), assimilated to the doctrine of our Saviour; making use of His name, and holding false books of the Gospels:—but he who was the Father of these things;

⁷ See above, Book i. sectt. 27, 37, with the notes.
⁸ It will be sufficient to remark here that, by the “end of the world,” must be meant in this place,—as in very many passages of Scripture,—that period in which the old system passed away, and the new one—the Christian Church was established. But of this, more in our Introduction to this work.
⁹ Much to the same effect, Eccles. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxiii. near the end.
—he who first sowed them in the souls of those who received him, was the Accuser himself: so He (our Saviour) well evinced, by the Divine power, the foreknowledge of what should come to pass; and these things He previously testified, which have been thus fulfilled in fact; and accordingly their fulfilment was, as His words (had foreshewn). As He therefore truly shewed forth these things, and as we see in the facts themselves, the fulfilment of these predictions of our Saviour; so ought we also to think, that the rest shall come to pass. And these are, "the harvest," "the end," and "the angels the reapers:" also that the Tares shall be gathered, and shall fall into the fire:—the extreme good things too of those, who shall have preserved and multiplied the living, pure, and life-giving seed; of whom it is said, "Then shall the righteous shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father."

**On those who should falsely name themselves the Christ.**

From the Gospel of Matthew.

35. "When He sat on the mount of Olives, His Disciples drew near, saying between themselves and Him, Tell us, When shall these things be? and What is the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world? And Jesus answered them, and said, See that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ; and shall deceive many." And again, after a few things He said, "If at that time any one say to you, the Christ is here, or there; believe ye not. For false Christs shall arise, and false Prophets, and shall give great signs and wonders, so that if it were possible they should deceive even the elect. Behold, I have foretold (it) to you. If therefore they shall say to you, Behold, He is in the desert, go not forth; or, Behold, He is in the chamber, believe (it) not. For, as the lightning shineth from the

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1 The MS. has Christians, which, from what follows, evidently ought to be, the Christ.

2 Chap. xxiv. 3. seq.

3 Ib. ver. 23—27.

4 "Behold, I have told you before," of the authorized version is ambiguous. I have therefore avoided this.
East, and is seen even to the West; so shall the coming of the Son of Man be.” And on another occasion, when speaking with the Jews, He added these things and said, “I am come in the name of my Father, and ye receive me not; but, if another come in his own name, him ye will receive.” These things He foretold when warning His Disciples against the lying Antichrist, whom they were expecting: and one (of these) shewed of another in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, who (should be) in (the time of) the end. But, that others also should be before this, our Saviour Himself foretold in several places: “For many,” said He, “shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ, and shall deceive many.” And there were many (such) after (these) His words. And so the Samaritans were forthwith persuaded that Dosithēus, who was after the times of our Saviour, was the prophet of whom

8 John v. 43.

9 The Syr. has here, مسبح عمامہ مصم, probably in imitation of the Gr. ἄριστους ὑψωτάτης.

7 The place here alluded to is, most probably, 2 Thess. ii. 3. seq. The person who should withhold (ὁ κατέχων, ver. 6.) was, most probably Nero. (See Wetstein on the place); and “the man of sin,” generally, each of the several Roman Emperors who became persecutors of the Church. Such was the opinion,—and no doubt the true one—of many of the Fathers: which is grounded on Dan. vii. 8; ix. 27; and xi. 36. See also my Sermons and Dissertations, Lond. 1830, pp. 235, 237, note, and ib. p. 326, seq. with the Introduction to this work.

8 He was, according to some, as ancient as the times of Semacherib; which appears to be quite visionary. Jerome places him before the times of our Lord, and makes him the author of the sect of the Pharisees. Origen however affirms, that he was contemporary with the Apostles, and that he declared himself to be the Christ. This, Origen probably grounded on a passage in the Recognitions ascribed to Clemens Romanus, which informs us, that upon the death of John the Baptist, Dosithēus set up his claim; appointed thirty disciples, and took a woman whom he named the moon—(considering the Sun probably as his own representative). To this man Simon Magus attached himself, and obtained a place among the thirty, on the first vacancy that afterwards occurred; and soon after he fell in love with this woman. Hegesippus too, makes Dosithēus contemporary with the Apostles, as also does Eu- logius, Patriarch of Alexandria. See the note of Valesius to the Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. And the note above, sect. 30. On the other hand, Theodoret makes Simon Magus the leader. Tom. iv. p. 193.
Moses predicted. And he so deceived them, that they declared he was the Christ. Others again, in the times of the Apostles, named Simon Magus "the great power of God," and thought that he was the Christ. Others (thought the same) of Montanus in Phrygia: and others again, of others, in another place. Nor did the deceivers cease. And it is necessary we should suppose, that there were many such as these; so that even from them, testimony may be had, as to the reality of our Saviour's foreknowledge. Our Saviour taught moreover, that His glorious second coming should not again be, as it was at the first, in some one place, so that it may be supposed to be visible in some corner of the earth: and, that no one should thus think, He said, "If any one shall say to you, Behold, the Christ is here, or is there, believe ye not." For opinions such as these comport by no means with Him, but with those false Christs and false Prophets. He indeed appeared once in the form of man, and in a certain district. But, of what sort his glorious second coming from heaven should be, He taught and said, "For, as the lightning goeth forth."

1 Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19. 2 Acts viii. 10. 3 He commenced his career of heresy in a village of Mysia named Ardana, situate on the borders of Phrygia. He took to him two women, named Priscilla and Maximilla; gave out that he was the Paraclete, and that his women were Prophetesses. His sect, which was the Cataephygian, was large, and, at one time, reckoned Tertullian among its supporters. Among other things, the dissolution of marriages and new sorts of fastings were inculcated as necessary. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. v. capp. iii. xiv. xvi. xviii. and the notes of Valesius. See also Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. iii. cap. ii. Tom. iv. p. 227.

4 As these citations were probably all made from memory, the reader must not be surprised in finding that they occasionally differ, even in the same context.—These passages would, one would think, be sufficient to satisfy those who are so intent on the personal reign of Christ on earth, that their notions are perfectly groundless. For, if He is not to be seen either here, there; either, in the desert, or in the secret chamber, as the false Christs were; but, whose coming was rather to be as the lightning in rapidity and effect,—as indeed was the case in the overthrow of the Jews, the spread of Christianity, and the fall of the Roman Empire; and as particularly foretold in Dan. vii. 13, 14: comp. Matt. xxiv. 24, 30; xxvi. 64. Ephes. i. 22. Col. i. 23, also Zech. ix. 14, with the preceding context from ver. 9;—then must all speculations about a per-
from the East, and is seen even to the West; so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be."

On the events that should happen at the end of things.

From the Gospel of Matthew.

36. "Ye shall hear indeed of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be famines and pestilences, and commotions in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake." And after this He added, and said, "Then shall many stumble, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And, because of the abundance of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. But he, who shall bear until the End, shall live. And the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations; and then cometh the End." He clearly foretold also by these things, that His

sonal reign on earth be visionary and false. Our author however, seems to understand this, as referring to our Lord's coming to judgment at the last day. If so, I have no doubt he is wrong.


6 Syr. [ΔΔ], taken generally as signifying "earthquakes" in this place; but which may mean any agitation or commotion.

7 Cited by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 88.), with this remark: "τίς δ' οὐθαυμάσεται αἰναβαίνων τῷ λόγῳ ἐκ ἐκείνων διδακόντω καὶ λέγοντα...καὶ θεαρσὶ κατα τὰ ἑκάτερα εἰρημένα κεκηρυγμένον τῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν Ἑλλησ καὶ βαβυλὼν, σοφοῖς καὶ ἁπάντας; Πάσαν γὰρ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ὁ μετὰ δυνάμεως λαληθένσι λόγος κεκράτηκε· καὶ οὐκ ἐστι τι γένος ἑπτάν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ ἐκτετείρη ἐπαραδίδεσθαι τῷ Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ." "Quis item non mirabitur, ascendens contemplatione ad illud vaticinium.....cum videat juxta illam predictionem jam predicatum in omnibus, quae sub oculo sunt, terris Graecorum barbarorumque tum sapientibus, tum insapientibus? Omne enim humanam naturam visuit sermo predicatus cum potentia, nec est videre illum genus hominum, à quo hæc doctrina recepta non sit."
Gospel should, of necessity, first be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, "and then should the End come." For the End of the world should not come, before (the Gospel) had been preached; but, when His word should have so taken effect among all nations, that the people should be few, among whom His Gospel had not been preached; so also should the time of the End\(^1\) be short (in its coming). He further teaches and

\(^1\) This argument is urged by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 68. Edit. Spencer). From this reasoning of Eusebius, it is evident that he believed that the End had come. And in this there can be no doubt, I think, he was right; but as this involves a question very ill understood at this day, it may be right to offer a few words here, as to what is meant by the End. This, I think, Daniel (ix. 27.) terms the "consummation:" (comp. ver. 26 and vii. 26, 28.) that is, the End of his seventy weeks, (ib. ver. 24. seq.) when "vision and prophecy" should be sealed: i.e. completed. In chap. viii. 19, it is said, "at the time appointed the End shall be." Again, ib. chap. 27, 28. The End of the matter is said to be, when the kingdom under the whole heaven shall have been given to the Saints (i.e.) the Christians: in other words, when the Kings of the earth shall have become its nursing fathers, and Queens its nursing mothers, (Is. xliv. 23.) Again, Dan. xii. 7. When the power of the holy people shall have been scattered, "all these things shall be finished:" i.e. when the power of the new Church shall be spread abroad far and wide, then shall the End of all these things be. (Comp. Is. lxii. 12, &c. Dan. viii. 24.) In Rev. x. 6, 7, which is an exact parallel of Dan. xii. 7, it is sworn by the angel, that time shall be no longer, and that the mystery of God, as declared by the Prophets, shall be finished. Now, our Lord has identified his predictions (Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxii.) with these of Daniel. In the former (ver. 14.) He says: "then shall the End come. When ye therefore shall see the abomination...spoken of by Daniel the prophet" (ix. 27; xii. 11.)..."then shall be great tribulation" (ver. 21. comp. Dan. ix. 26; xii. 1.); ver. 34, "This generation shall not pass till all these things be," i.e. commenced (comp. ver. 8.). In the latter (Luke xxii. ver. 22.) "These be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled" (i.e. in them). That the terms, latter days, last days, end of the world, ends of the world, the fulness of time, refer to the times of the Apostles, and those immediately subsequent to these, the Concordance, with the parallels marked in our common Bibles, will be sufficient to shew.—But the kingdom of the saints is never to end (i.e. as far as prediction is concerned); it can therefore, have no last days, latter days, or the like. When any such terms are referred to the last judgment, the language is doctrinal, not prophetic. I conclude, therefore, that this End did come, when the persecution of Diocletian ceased: for
says, "Ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet." He also shews when this shall be, for He says, "The Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations: and then cometh the end." When also, "famines and pestilences, and commotions (shall be) in divers places, and nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom," and there shall be overwhelming persecutions, and great afflictions. After these things too, He says, "And ye shall be hated of all nations," not on account of any other hateful acts, but "for my name's sake."

37. These proofs of the Divine manifestation of our Saviour, which we have thus far seen, are at the same time demonstrative, that both the words and deeds (had in view) are Divine. For in former times, the words were simply heard; but now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly visible in deed, together with powers eclipsing those of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded by these, we ought not to wonder: because it is usual with man so to resist things the most plain, as even to dare to oppose by his words the existence of an universal Providence; and hence also, to deny God himself! And thus also, will he disingenuously contend against many other things, to which the truth bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in its own nature true; so also will the wicked unbelief of men, in no way injure the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. But, if it is right

then all the conditions of prophecy had been fulfilled. Eusebius is therefore right. See also my Sermons and Dissertations, London, 1831, and the Introduction to this work.

* He proved in sect. 28, above, that this had taken place, as he affirms in other places, that the Gospel had been received throughout the whole world. And so says the Apostle, "Yes, verily their sound went out into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world." Rom. x. 18; and ib. xvi. 26.—"made known to all nations for the obedience of faith." And again, Col. i. 23...."The Gospel, which was preached to every creature which is under heaven." To the same effect is the testimony of the Fathers generally. See the "Salutaris Lux Evangelica" of Fabricius: and the Introduction to this work.
that we should compose, for these also, a form (of prescription) conducing to intellectual health; it is time that we should here again present, for their use, (other) proofs of the (truth of the) Gospel, and now also recite the things, which have formerly been investigated with reference to other (objectors), as to those who will not be persuaded by the things (hitherto) said.

The End of the Fourth Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea.
BOOK V.

THE FIFTH BOOK (OF EUSEBIUS) OF CESAREA.

1. Such as these (then), are the proofs of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all, Jesus the Christ, which have been thus far visible to the eyes, shewing forth at once the Divine words and deeds. For in ancient times, the words, of which we have already spoken, as to things which should come to pass, were simply heard; those (I say) which He prophesied to His disciples when He was near, (and) in their presence. But now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly viewed in fact, with powers eclipsing that of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded of these things, we ought not to wonder: because man is accustomed so to resist the clearest things (possible,) as to dare to oppose in his assertions even the existence of an universal Providence, and thus also even to deny God Himself! And thus disingenuously, will he also contend against many other things, to which the truth (itself) bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in (its own) nature true; so also will the wickedness of the unbelief of men, injure in no respect the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. Let us not deign therefore, even in word to attach ourselves to these. For those, whom the works of God will not persuade, the word of man will be (too) abject to move. Nevertheless, let us again take up the more vigorously, those things against such, which we formerly investigated by questions¹, in proof of the Gospels. If therefore any one should, after all this, impugn the truth and dare disingenuously to affirm, that the Christ of God was not (such) as we believe He was, but was a magician, seducer, and impos-

¹ Alluding to the interrogative mode of inquiry pursued in the former Books of this work.
tor; we would present to him, as an infant in mind, those things which we also formerly investigated:

**Against those who suppose that the Christ of God was a magician and deceiver.**

2. 'Let us now ask then, Whether there ever was a man heard of at any period, who (as) a magician and deceiver, was (also) a teacher of humility, meekness, purity, and of every other virtue? And, Whether it is just to call by these names, Him who would not allow, that (men) should even look upon women with evil desire? And, Whether he could be a magician, who delivered the chief philosophy by teaching His disciples, that the indigent should of their wealth* adhere to Him, and that compassion and liberality should abound with them*? And, Whether He could be a magician, who forbade the assembling together of ferocious and tumultuous inhabitants, and taught them to love the retirement only, which devotes itself to the word of God? How could He,—who deterred from every species of falsehood, and commanded that men should so honour truth above all things, that they should not stand in need of a true oath, much less of a false one,—be justly named a magician? But, What need can there be, that I should now say many

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1 This place occurs also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. iii. p. 102. D. sq.—The charge of our Lord's being a magician is often advanced by Celsus, Origen contra Cels. Lib. i. pp. 7, 30, 58, &c. See sect. 16, below, and Spencer's notes on Origen contra Cels. Lib. i. p. 7, note.

2 Syr. ἐπιδημένοις. The meaning of which I suppose is, that he wished His followers to be, those who most felt their wants of His aid. The Syriac is probably defective here.

3 Syr. ἐπιδημένοις. By ἐπιδημένοις is meant literally the stretching out of the hand in offering assistance. I have rendered it, therefore, by liberality. The Greek, however, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. iii. p. 102. is as follows:..."ἐν τῇ τούτων φοινίκειας πανεπείραμα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐστίν, καὶ τῷ φιλόπονοι καὶ κοινωνικῷ περὶ πολλοῦ τίθεσθαι." Our translator does not seem clearly to have apprehended the construction of τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, &c.

4 The Greek adds here, "ἔστω γὰρ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ, καὶ τὸ οὐ, οὗ." (Matt. v. 37), which is, probably, the addition of some copyist.
things (on this point,) since we may readily inform ourselves from His own words,—which have, even to this day, been preached throughout the whole earth,—what the sort of conduct was, which was disseminated by Him in the world? Every one who loves the truth will confess of Him, not only that He was neither magician nor deceiver⁸, but was the Word of God in truth, and the teacher of the divine philosophy and righteousness; and⁹ not of this common philosophy of the world;—

3. But⁸ the things pertaining to His form of doctrine were such as these.—Come then, let us enquire whether this His error, consisted in (any of) the many things of His teaching. Observe then, ἦν ὁ θεός, ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὁ μεγίστος, ὁ ἀληθινός, ὁ πάντων καθερμων. And, Do not the words of His doctrine to this very time, raise the mind of every Greek and Barbarian in existence, to the God who is supreme, to Him (I say) who is the maker of the heavens and of the earth, and of the whole world; making (them) overlap all visible nature, and every thing fabricated? Was this then His error? or, Was it, that He did not allow those to worship many gods,—to whom it had been made clear, from this worship of God only, that He could not be convicted of falsehood:—(and) who had fallen after their Head, on account of this real error? But this was not new, nor was it His word (only), but that of those Hebrews, friends of God, who arose in ancient times. And from them it was, that these recent (true) philosophers were aided in these great (performances), and gave in to their doctrines: the wise men of Greece too, glorying in the divinities of their

⁸ The Greek has, διὰ τιμήθηκεν θείου καὶ ἀληθῶς, καὶ θείως, καὶ κειμένως. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 103. A. B.

⁹ And here the Greek leaves us, but joins us again, ib. C., with some slight variations.

⁷ The Syr. has, ἐστὶν πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ Ἑβραῖον, which, however, ought evidently to be read ἡ Ἑβραῖον ἡ ἐκκλησία, not ἡ Ἑβραῖον ἡ ἐκκλησία, but ἡ Ἑβραῖον ἡ ἐκκλησία, &c. alluding perhaps to 1 Cor. ii. 6.

⁸ Comp. also, ib. p. 106. seq.
deities, have put it thus on record of the Hebrews, that "wisdom came to the Chaldeans alone, and the Hebrews purely worshipped the Essence of the person of God, the King of all."

4. If then those ancient friends of God,—those to whom (these) divinations have more particularly borne testimony,—did raise the act of worship (directing it) to the God who is over all; How should we confess of Him, that He was a deceiver, and not a most wonderful teacher, who has extended this worship of God—as to the things which were known only in former times to these descendants of the Heads of the Hebrew fathers,—to all mankind! And this to such a degree, that no more, as in those times, a few, and those easy to be numbered, hold the orthodox faith respecting God; but thousands of congregations of barbarians at once, and of those who in ancient times were perfectly savage, also of the wise, and men of Greece,—of those (I say) who now, like the prophets and just men of old, have been taught in the worship of God, solely by means of His power, and of His instruction!

5. But, let us also investigate this third (consideration). Was it then for this, that they called Him a deceiver (viz.), because He taught, that men should no more honour God with the slaughter of bulls, or with the sacrifices of irrational animals? Neither with blood and fire, nor with

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1 This is also cited, (ib. p. 104. A.) thus:

"Μούνος Χαλδαίοις σοφίνα λάχον, ἐν ἔρ Εβραίοις, Ἀντιγόναθαν αὐτάκα σοφιζόμενοι Θεὸν ἀγαποῦν."  

Lat.  "Sola Chaldaeis sapientia contigit, atque  
"Hebraeis, qui ex se genitum, regemque Deumque  
"Purâ mente colunt, atque unum numen adorant."

It is cited again, Prep. Evang. Lib. ix. cap. x. p. 413. C. with the slight variation of σοφίαν, for σοφίνα. Other oracles are given from Porphyry, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 134. B. C.

2 Syr. לְשׁוֹן מָשָׁא, lit. the right opinion of God: which, I have no doubt, is a periphrasis of the Greek ἡ ὥρθοδοξία ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. See the note to the heading of sect. 34, Book iv.

2 The Syriac word used here is, לְשׁוֹן, lit. myriads: but, as it is applied very much as our word thousand is, to express any large indefinite number, I have occasionally so translated it.
incense, which are of the earth, because these things are of small value and earthly; and shewed that they never could comport with the nature which is immortal and incorporeal?—determined also that to keep the commandments of God, and by their means to purify both the soul and body, was more acceptable and becoming to God, than any sort of sacrifice?—inculeated too that men should be careful to become like God, both in enlightenment of mind, and in the knowledge of his worship? And, should any one of the Greeks find fault with these things, let him know that it is not to be imagined, that the things (so) received are against (even) those of His own teachers, who have put much together on this (matter,) viz.; That (men) should not suppose they honoured God by means of blood and the sacrifices of irrational animals, or by those of fire, smoke, and the fumes of fat.

6. We know too that we are, after these things, taught by Him that the world was made; and that these Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, are the work of God; and that it is not right we should worship these, and not Him who is the Maker and Creator of them all. It may be well therefore for us to see, how He could have deceived men, from whom we have learned to think that this system (of things) is nothing new, but is that of the Hebrews, the ancient friends of God. Even this sentiment was also from these famous philosophers;—they delivered these same (particulars), affirming that these heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the whole world, were also made by Him, who is the Creator of all things. He also taught us to believe, that the soul which we possess is immortal, and that it is in no respect like the animals that are irrational, but that (the faculties) within it resemble the powers of God. He likewise taught, that all those who were barbarian and ignorant, should (at once) make this their own, and be, and know. And, How was it, that we were not made wise by those sages among the Egyptians,

* Abundant testimony, to this effect, is adduced, Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. capp. x. xi. &c. from Porphry and Theophrastus; and again, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 105, &c.
or by those Greeks who made broad their foreheads; those who said that the soul which was in man, was in no respect better in its essence than were gnats, fleas, worms, or reptiles; nor even, than the soul of the serpent, the viper, the bear, or the panther? and that swine, as to their soul, differed in no respect, (from men)?—

7. And, that after these things, He perseveringly admonished (men) of the judgment of God, and of the punishments and vengeance,—things from which we cannot be exempt,—which are recorded against the wicked; also, of the promises of eternal life, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the life of happiness with God, respecting the just. Whom then did He deceive? Did He not rather stimulate (men) to hasten on to virtue, because of the victories reserved for the righteous? and, to flee from, and repel from them, every vice, because of the punishments to be inflicted on the wicked? Such then, being the instructions contained in the doctrinal ordinances of our Saviour; What room does there remain for imagining, that we should suppose Him to have been a Deceiver and Magician?—But, let us also investigate these things.—

8. When a magician associates his companions with the things of this vice, Like to what men does he make

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1 Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 106. C...."τῶν τάς ὄφρας ἀναστραγάτω; οὐ μεθάν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν διαφέρουσαν ἀνεσφάγημαι ἐνπιθὸν τε καὶ εὐλησία, καὶ μείωσ τὴν ἐν άθροισθοις ψυρχῆς." ..."qui supercilia contracta ostentat, si nihil plane ea parte qua est, diffère a culicis extus verminulo, aut musca animam humanam affirmat? Hence it should seem that the Syr. מַתְלָל—which is not found in the Lexicons,—must signify, i.e. μυὶκός, culex: i.e. a sort of gnat, or musquito.

2 Syr. מַתְלָל, which probably should be מַתְלָל bears: the former occurring before, and which I have translated "reptiles." Demonstr. Evang. ib. αλλὰ καὶ φέρες, καὶ χίδιας, ἄρκτων τε καὶ παράδεισος, καὶ ως ψυρχῆς κατ’, οὐδὲν. κ. τ. λ.

3 Ib. C. D. with some slight variations.

4 As continued from the preceding section, and requiring מַתְלָל, "we know that we are taught by Him," to be thence supplied.

5 Matter nearly allied to this is to be found, ib. p. 126. seq. The place, however, occurs ib. p. 126. D. where it stands thus: "γόνης, διαν
them? Is it not to magicians, deceivers, and fabricators of magical drugs,—in all respects like himself? Was there ever, then, a man found among the whole Christian race, who fabricated magical rites or drugs, from the doctrine of our Saviour? There is no (such thing) existing for any man to say; but, the contrary to this, that they have been seen passing over to the precepts of the philosophy which is Divine. How then, can He be justly styled other, in truth, than the Teacher of the life which worships God, the common Saviour of all,—who became throughout the whole habitable world, and to all nations, the (sole) cause of purity and of holiness of life, and of the knowledge (inculcating) the worship of the Creator of all things?

9. Those too, who adhered to Him from the first, as well as those who afterwards received the traditionary account of the manner of their conversation, were, as to all these matters, so far removed from suspicion of evil and bitterness, that they did not even allow the sick to do many things which the many dared to do; either, that they should write (charms) upon tablets, or make use of amulets; or, that they should in their minds have respect to those who promised to use enchantments; or, that they should prescribe for the persons (of the sick), as cures for complaints, either the fumes of roots, or of apples, or of any other similar things. All these things were therefore, excluded from the doctrine of our Saviour: nor was there ever a Christian to be found who used amulets, or enchant-

έτροις τά τῆς κακίας μεταδίδω ὑποίους ἀνδρας κατασκευάζει; ἀρ' οὖχι γοηται καὶ πλάνους καὶ φαρμακών αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα παρα-πλησίους; I give the place, because the Syriac is obscure.


7 Syr. [Δάμας Θεομ.judge]. The term [Δαμίας θεομ. judge] occurs in no Syriac Lexicon to which I have access. I have no doubt, however, it is derived from [Δαμίας θεομ. judge], whence in Aphel the part. [Δαμίας θεομ. judge], and pl. [Δαμίας θεομ. judge], exorcists, Acts xix. 13: which would, in context such as this, rather signify persons using magical rites, or the like. The Greek has: "καί περίμαται χρησταί," lit. and to use amulets. See Steph. Thesaur. sub voce. Demonstr. Evang. ib. C.

8 Syr. [Δαμίας θεομ. judge], as above. Gr. "περίμαται χρησταί."
ments, or the means of written tablets, or, indeed, any other forms allied to these; the indiscriminate use of which was in repute among the many. What then can be said against the men who had been instructed in these things, so as to cast the imputation on them, of their having been the disciples of a master who was a magician? when, behold, the association of any one among the disciples, who promised any (new) doctrine, was severely reprehended! Those men therefore both of art and science, to whom He was the cause of their (Christian) instruction, fully confessed of Him, that He was much their superior (in these respects). For, even as physicians are witnesses of the goodness of the doctrine of their master; so, of geometricians, Who has assigned any other instructing heads, except geometricians? and of arithmeticians, except arithmeticians? And in like manner, of the magician, the best witnesses as to these things have been His disciples, who have (always) fully resembled their Master, and have done (as he did). But no man has ever been found, during all these years, a magician and (at the same time a) Disciple of our Saviour; when, behold, kings and governours have, during the whole of these times, made the most careful inquiries into (these) things by means of the worst of torments!

10. And thus indeed, neither was there (ever) any magician His Disciple, so as to be left free and exempt from every (sort) of condemnation; being only reduced by them (the persecuting emperors) to sacrifice

11. But, that our discourse may not wander from Scripture, take the proof of these things even from the writings of those primitive acquaintances and Disciples of our Saviour, (as found) in the book of their own “Acts.” They so wrought upon those of the Gentiles who received their doctrine, that many of these,—who formerly accused them of magic,—so entirely changed their conduct, that they boldly brought forward the abominable books which they had formerly kept secret, to them into the midst of the

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1 Demonstr Evang. ib. p. 128. A., but much more full in the Greek. Our author seems to mean; No magician would have ever suffered martyrdom, as His Disciples did, because he could have experienced no difficulty in sacrificing to idols.
assemblies, and threw them into the fire in the presence of all. Hear then the statement of these things, which runs thus:—

12. "The greater part then of those who practised magic brought in their books, and burnt them in the presence of all men; and they reckoned their price, and it was found, that they were worth fifty thousand" (pieces of silver).

13. Such therefore were the Disciples of our Saviour, and such was the entire power of the word, which they put forth in their discourses with (their) hearers, that it became fixed in the depths of their souls;—were so struck and inclined, that every one took up the resolution no more to suffer those things to remain hidden, by which the many had formerly been implicated in error, but that these secret things should be brought out into the light, and that they should become witnesses against themselves, of their own former wickedness. Such also were those who became their Disciples, so pure, noble in soul, and abundant in love, that they allowed nothing impure to remain concealed within them, but, on the contrary, they gloried and exulted in their change from vice to virtue. Since therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour were seen to be such, Must not their Master have first been much more excellent? But, if you wish to know from those who are Disciples, of what sort their Master was, you have tens of thousands of the Disciples of the precepts of our Saviour even to this time; of whom there are multitudes of congregations of men, who have armed themselves against the lusts of the nature of the body, and have accustomed themselves to preserve their minds uninjured by any of the evil passions: those (I say), who have passed their whole lives, (and) grown old in purity; and have put forth, from the provisions of His word, the most brilliant examples (to others).

14. Nor was it that men only were in this manner (attached) to Him, and became Philosophers; but also

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2 Acts xix. 19. The citation agrees neither with the Peschito, nor the Philoxenian Version; but, as before, was translated afresh from the Greek. Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. C.
tens of thousands of women throughout the whole creation; those (I say), who like Priestesses of the supreme God, attached themselves to the most exalted service, and applied themselves to the love of the wisdom which is heavenly. On the generation of the body they cast contempt, giving all care to their soul, keeping themselves in purity from every thing sordid and unclean, and extending their desires to all holiness and to virginity. The Greeks, indeed, sing of one shepherd who left his place for the sake of philosophy, and him they hawk about here and there. This was Democritus. They also express their astonishment at one Crates, who gave his possessions to his citizens. He then

1 Syr. which must either be a derivative of ἡμίλλοια, or a word cognate with it. The Gr. has, ἐκπερέλειαν πεποιηκαίμα.
2 Demonstr. Evang. "τῷ παρμασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ τῶν ὀλίν ἀκατεξείκασιν, ἀγνεῖαν παντελῆ καὶ παρθενίαν ἀσκήσασθαι:" which, it must be confessed, savours, to some extent, of the attachment to monastic institutions so unhappily prevalent in the days of our author.
3 He was, as some think, the real originator of the Epicurean sect, and author of the doctrine of Atoms. Cicero says of him, (Tusc. Quest. Lib. v. c. xxxix.) just as Eusebius does here: "An, ni ita se res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipse Democritus, agros at patrimonia sua reliquisse; huic discendi queredique divinae delectationis tota se animo dedissent." And Horace, (Epist. Lib. i. 12, 12.) speaking of him as a shepherd; "Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox." See also his life by Diogenes Læartius: whence it should seem that he was a man of most extensive erudition, having written books on Morality, Physics, Mathematics, Geometry, Astronomy, Geography, Music, Poetry, Medicine, Agriculture, Painting, Tactics, on the Sacred Literature of Babylon, Chaldean History, Navigation, &c.
4 Syr. &c. This is, no doubt, the Theban Crates whose life is given in Diogenes Læartius, (Lib. vi. segm. 85): where we have, "τούτων φησιν Ἀντισθενῆς ἐν δια-
δοχαῖς θεασάμενον ἐν τινὶ πραγματεία Ἡλεφών σπυρίδιον ἔχοντα, καὶ τάλλα λαμρῖν, αἶδι ἐπὶ τὴν κυκλῆς φιλοσοφίαν. ἕξαρχησάμενοι τε τὴν οὐδίαν, (καὶ γὰρ ἣν τῶν ἐπιστήμων) ἀθροίασαν πρὸς τὰ ἐκατόν διακόσια τάλαντα, τοῖς πολίταις ἀνεῖσαι ταύτα, αὐτὸν δὲ καρτερῶς ὅμως φιλοσοφεῖν, ὥς καὶ φιλήμμα τὸν κενοῦν αὐτοῦ μεμηχαῖα, φησὶ γοῦν,''
"Καὶ τοῦ θέρους μὲν εἶχεν ἰματίαν δασὺ, "Ἰν' ἐγκρατῆς ὥ, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ῥάκος."
took with him himself alone, and boasted in the provisions of liberty. But these counterparts of the word of our Saviour, are tens of thousands in number; nor was it one, or two (only), who sold their possessions and distributed them to the poor and needy: indeed we ourselves are witnesses, that these were even such among men; and, in the effects themselves, we have seen the righteousness of the doctrine of our Saviour. And, What need can there be that we should say, how many myriads even of the barbarians themselves, and not (of these) only, but also of the Greeks, have, by the doctrine of the words of our Saviour, been raised above every error of a plurality of gods, and have recognized and confessed the one only God, the Father and Creator of this whole world? Him (I say), whom one Plato formerly knew, but confessed that he durst not speak of Him before all men; because such power as all this of God’s worship was not with him: but to these the Disciples of our Saviour it was, through the help of their Lord, easy to acknowledge Him, and to find Him (at hand as) the Father and Creator of all. To every race of men did they reveal Him, and so preached the knowledge of Him to all, throughout the whole creation, that, from their teaching, there are even to this time, among all nations, tens of thousands of congregations, not only of men, but also of women, children, slaves, and villagers! All this (then accrued to them) from this philosopher, so that

"Hunc ait Antisthenes in successionibus, cùm in Tragœdia quadam cerneter Telephum sportulam tenetem, ad cynicam philosophiam prorupisse, illúmque patrimonio vendito, erat quippe vir nobilis, cùm congregasset circiter ducenta talenta, civibus ea divisisse: adeoque constanter philosophatum esse, ut et Philémon comics ipsius mentionem fecerit: ait nempe:

"Æstate crassum vestiebat pallium
Sed byene pannum, ut temperans evaderet."

they were not wanting, not only to make Him known (as) the Maker and Creator of this whole world, but they also became his ambassadors in every place. Such were the victories of the common Saviour of all; these, the deceptions of Him who was thought to be a Deceiver! While, behold, such alone were His Disciples and acquaintances; from whom it was (but) right, we should learn of what sort their Master was.

15. Come then, let us again try the matter thus,—You say of Him that He was a magician; and not (only so,) but, that He was a maker of magicians. You style Him cunning, and a deceiver. How then was it, that He was the first, and the only one, who has arisen capable of this matter? Or, Is it (not) right we should, according to custom2, ascribe the cause to the Teachers4? If then He was the first and only one capable of this;—no one having taught Him, and He having never learned any thing from others, nor yet derived it from the ancients;—How is it not then incumbent on us to confess of Him, that His nature was Divine? He (I say), who without book, without precepts, and without teachers, (so) learned of Himself, and was seen to know from Himself, the Maker of all these things? when, observe, it is impossible for any one to acquire a knowledge of the art of the goldsmith, of logic, or of the primitive elements (of the world), without some one to instruct and teach him. But, if He was out of nature;—and no one ever, (so) taught of himself, came out a teacher of grammar, or of rhetoric; not having previously been taught; nor, has there been a physician, or builder, or practitioner of any other art: these things being but small, and belonging to men; but this, one might say, is of the Teacher of the whole habitable world; (viz.) that He performed the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, (and)

1 Ib. p. 130. B.
2 Ib. p. 130. B. C., &c.
3 The Syr. has |סֶּפֶך|, which I would read |סֶּפֶך|, not doubting that the supernumerary points are owing to the carelessness of some copyist.
4 The Greek stands thus: “ἡ πάντας που κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον εἰς διδασκάλου ἀνατέμπειν χρη τὰ αἰτία;” where our translator does not seem to have read πάντας in his copy.
whose Disciples (taught) by Himself were such; having received nothing from the ancients, neither having had any help from those moderns who performed things not unlike what others had done, who had preceded Him;—What other thing can we testify or confess, but that the matter is in truth Divine, and such as exceeds all human nature?  

16. But, you say of Him that He had deceiving teachers, and that neither the sciences of the Egyptians, nor those mysteries which were formerly preached among them, escaped Him: that from these He collected together (His doctrines), and that He seems to have been a man of this description. If then others, His superiors, appeared before Him, and were His teachers, whether in Egypt or elsewhere; Why did not the fame of these also run forth, prior to His name among all men, just as His has done? and, Why is not the praise of them also proclaimed, even to this time, just as His has been? and, Who is the magician, of those who arose at any time, Barbarian or Greek, who was the teacher of such disciples; the originator of all such laws and precepts as these are; and has shewed forth the power of (this) the common Saviour of all? and, of Whom has it ever been written, that He did such cures as those which have been recorded of our Saviour?—The knowledge too of something to come to pass, with all those

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5 The Mohammedans urge an argument of this sort in favour of their Prophet, from a fancied inimitability in the elegance of the Koran; which, it is not impossible, they might originally have taken from this, or some similar Christian, work.

6 lb. p. 131. A. seq.

7 This is, by no means, a supposititious case. "Celsus," says Mr Bingham, (Antiq. Vol. i. Book i. c. ii. sect. 5.) "and others pretended that our Saviour studied magic in Egypt; and St Austin says, it was generally believed among the heathen, that he wrote some books about magic too, which he delivered to Peter and Paul for the use of his disciples. Hence it was that Suetonius, speaking in the language of his party, calls the Christians, Genus hominum superstitionis malefici, the men of magical superstition. As Asclepiades, the judge in Prudentius, styles St Romanus the martyr, the Arch-magician. And St Ambrose observes in the Passion of St Agnes, how the people cried out against her, "away with the sorceress! away with the enchanter!" See also the note to Book iv. sect. 31, above. Origen contra Cels. Lib. i. pp. 22, 30. Lib. ii. p. 89, &c.
predictions? those too, which like these, have by their means been laid down as principles, What other has, either before, or after Him, been memorialized as having delivered? and, Who is it that has promised that he would effect those things, throughout the whole habitable world, which he had (so) predicted, and has, in fact, so confirmed His words, that, even to these our times, the fulfilment of His predictions is visible to our own eyes? And, Whose disciples and eye-witnesses of the things themselves (here had in view), have ever so sealed the truth regarding those which they attested of their Lord, by the trial of both fire and sword, as these Disciples of our Saviour have done?—who (indeed) bore the reproach of all men, for the sake of the things which they had seen and witnessed of Him, and submitted to every species of torment; while the end of their testimony respecting Him was, as that of the Son of God! How much less would magicians seal with their blood their testimonies? And, Which of the magicians, even if it ever came into his mind to set up a new people in his own name, did not only think of doing this, but also gave effect to his project? How would not this eclipse all human nature, that he should also frame laws opposed to the error of a plurality of Gods, and adverse to the ordinances of Kings, Legislators, Philosophers, Poets, and Theologians? and, that he should send these forth and shew, through the period of a long life, that they were (at once) triumphant and faultless?

17. Which¹ of the magicians is it, who ever projected that which our Saviour did? But, if one did so project; still he dared not to advance this. But, if one so dared; still he brought not the matter to effect. He (the Saviour) said in one word and enunciation to His Disciples, “Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach ye them every thing that I have commanded you.”² And the deed He made to follow the word. For thence, every race of the Greeks and Barbarians became at once, and in a short space of time, (His) Disciples: The laws too of our

¹ Demonstr. Evang. p. 131. D.
Saviour were not written in any Book of His; but, without book\textsuperscript{3}, were disseminated at His command among all nations; (and) these were opposed to the ancient worship of a plurality of Gods:—laws at enmity with the Demons, and unfriendly to every error of a multitude of Deities:—laws purifying the Scythians, the Persians, and other Barbarians, and converting (them) from every savage, and lawless sort of life:—laws subversive of the customs, which had obtained from ancient times among the Greeks, and teaching the new and genuine worship of God. How then have they dared so (to advance) such things as these, that one should say of Him, that He was probably aided (in) this magic by others,—the ancient magicians,—who were before His times\textsuperscript{4}? But, if there was no other person, whom any one could say resembled Him; neither was there consequently, who could have been the cause of His possessing all this superiority.—It is now time therefore that we should confess, that an extraordinary and Divine Nature came into the world, which first and alone performed the things which had never before been commemorated among men.

18. Let us again ask, after these things, Whether any one ever saw with his eyes, or learned by hearing, that there were magicians such as He was, and composers of

\textsuperscript{3} Let it not be imagined that this favours the modern doctrines about unwritten tradition. The Apostles were,—be it remembered,—\textit{divinely} inspired expressly for this work, and for inditing those Scriptures which are the \textit{main} sources of divine truth to the Christian Church. And, although Irenæus (Lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 200. Edit. Grabe) speaks of \textit{Tradition}, not written, but delivered \textit{viva voce}; it is evident enough, that he intends to ascribe to this no independent authority: for in the very same context he informs us, that the Heretics, against whom he was writing, were found, when opposing this Tradition, resisting the declarations also of the Scriptures. Ancient Tradition, when found accordant with the Scriptures, may indeed be relied on; but, it is from an examination of it by the Scriptures alone, that we can know it to be good.

\textsuperscript{4} Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 132. B. where the Gr. stands thus: "τι ἐντα σοῦ τοι πάλαι γόης πρὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ χρόνων, ἤ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοιοῦτον, ἤ καὶ παραπλήσιον τετολμηταῖ, ἢς εἰκότως φάναι αὐτὸν παρ' ἐτέρων ὄφελησθαι τὰ τῆς γνωσεια;" of which the Syriac is as servile a rendering, and, at the same time, as obscure an one, as perhaps can be imagined.
(magical) drugs\(^1\), who, without libations, sacrifices, and invocations of Demons, performed the rites of magic? When, behold, it is well known and clear to every one, that the whole process of magic is usually effected by these things. For, How can any one bring an accusation of this sort either against our Saviour, or against his Disciples, or against those who are, even to these times led by His doctrine? Is there a man who can bring such an accusation as this against them? Is it not evident, even to the blind, that we are prepared for every thing the reverse of these things? And that we dare to surrender up ourselves to death in an instant? but that we will not sacrifice to Demons:—that we instantly submit to be put out of life; but do not submit to be subjected to Demons! And, Who is he who knows not how delightful it is to us, that, through the name of our Saviour, (coupled) with prayers that are pure, we cast out every kind of Demon? And thus the word of our Saviour, and the doctrine which is from Him, have made us all to be greatly superior to the power which is invisible, and impervious to inquiry*; and, (such) that we are ready to be enemies and haters of the Demons, but not that we should be friends, or followers, of (their) customs; much less be subjected and obedient (to them). How then could He have been a slave to the Demons, who delivered such things as these, to those who were devoted to Himself? And, How could He have sacrificed to evil spirits? Or, How could He have called upon the Demons (as His) assistants and helpers, when all the Demons and impure spirits have been agitated, as by some torment or punishment even to this very time, at the mention of His name? (and) have departed and fled before His power, as it was the case in former times, when He conversed with men, when they could not bear to see Him; (one and) another, crying out from another place, and saying, "What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God? Art thou come to torment us before the time?"

\(^1\) Syr. יָדִּישׁי, for the Gr. φαρμακίας.
\(^2\) The Greek of this occurs, ib. D. but has no equivalent to our Syriac, סַמְךָ.
19. Now, Is not the man whose mind is intent on magic only,—and is wholly addicted to things (thus) base,—in his character openly odious, vile, corrupt, iniquitous, ungodly, and impious? And being such, Whence, and How, can he teach others, either the things which pertain to the worship of God, or which respect purity? or, which concern the knowledge of God? or, which are on the immortality of the soul? or, which inculcate righteousness, and the judgment of God who is over all? Would he not be an ambassador of the things which are opposed to all these? persevering in those that attend on hatred, and the denial of God? and rooting up as fabulous the (doctrine of a) general providence of God? and laughing at the words which treat of virtue, and (affirm) of the soul that it is immortal? If indeed, such things as these had been witnessed (of Him), then would there have been nothing, even respecting this our (Teacher), which we could have said to the contrary. But, if in all His words and His deeds, He was seen to call upon God who is over all, and King of all; and prepared his Disciples to be such; and, if He was Himself temperate, and a Teacher of temperance; if too, He was a doer and a preacher of righteousness, of truth, of mercy, and of every virtue; and, if He shewed forth the worship of God, the King of all; How does it indeed not follow upon these things that we should think of Him, that not one of those wonderful acts which He did was done by magic? and confess that it was, in truth, by the unseen power of God?

20. These things then, are directed (against) those who dare, with ungodly mouths, to blaspheme against Him. But if they change and confess of Him, that He was a teacher of purity and sobriety of life, and a bringer in of the doctrine of the (true) worship of God; still, that He was no doer of those wonderful, powerful, and miraculous works which are recorded of Him, or of those divine deeds which are superior to man; and, that His Disciples

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8 The Greek here, as often in other places, exceeds our Syriac text, which induces me to believe, that our work was written prior to this. Ib. p. 133. C.

4 The Greek leaves us here, ib. D.
have fabricated these same; it is now time that we should also meet this accusation.

Against those who do not believe the testimony of the Disciples of our Saviour, respecting His miraculous deeds.

21. If¹ then (these) should say of Him, that He wrought no complete miracle, nor yet any of those wonderful works of which His disciples bore testimony, but that His disciples have otherwise falsely stated them, and have lied for the purpose of putting forth miraculous relations about Him; let us see whether the word of these is to be taken as satisfactory: there being no (earthly) cause that they can assign, why they the Disciples, and He their master, went forth into the world. For He who teaches, gives a promise of some doctrine²: and they again, the Disciples, love both the precepts and doctrines, as if (conveying) some (valuable) art³, and give themselves up (accordingly) to the Teacher. What ground therefore, can there be for any one to speak against the disciples of our Saviour, on account of their conversation with Him? And, What could have pressed them to this care respecting Him, and that they should have recorded Him (as) the teacher of such doctrines to themselves? Or, Is (not) this clear? For the things which they learned of Him, they also declared fully to others: and these were the appointments of this His philosophy. They⁴ were too, the first ambassadors of God

² See Book iv. par. 27, where He informs them of what they should suffer for His sake. The Greek has here: "δ, τε γάρ διδάσκεις, ἐπαγγελίαν Μαθηματός των ἐπαγγέλλεται, οὕτε αὕ Μαθηταί, μαθεματῶν ὑπηγόμενοι, σφακ αὐτοῖς τῷ διδασκάλῳ." κ. τ. λ. The Syriac has, ᵃρχά αὐτῶν ἵνα μάθησις ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται, where it is obvious, that ὑπερασπίζεται, as in some other instances, ought to be read for ὑπερασπίζεται.
³ This does not occur in the Greek.
⁴ This does not occur in the Greek, ib. The Syr. is worth remarking here, ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται ὑπερασπίζεται, where, I think,
who is over all, of the providence of God, of the righteous judgment (of God,) of the soul's being immortal, of the distinction between the life of the good and the bad, and of other things of this kind, which are written in their Scripture. It was also a precept pertaining to the life of this philosophy, which He laid down for them when He said, "Possess ye neither gold nor silver in your purses, neither scrip for the way," with other similar things: but (His great precept was), that they should give up their souls, only to the providential care of the Governor of all, and not be anxious on account of want. And He so instructed them, that they should consider (His precepts) much better than those which Moses delivered to the Jews. For he laid down a law for them, —as for men to whom murder would be easy,—that they should not kill. And in like manner, that they should not commit adultery, as to men dissolute and adulterous. And again, that they should not steal, as to men to whom slavery would be suitable; and, that they should not injure, as to men who were fraudulent. But of these, He knew that it was desirable they should stand in need of no such laws; but that this should above all things be precious in their sight, (viz.) that their soul should be subject to no (evil) passion; and that they should root up and expel from the bottom of their heart, as from its root, the germ of (every) vice; (and,) that they should be superior to wrath, and every base desire: that is to say, that they should not even be angry, because of the superiority of their soul, as being free from passion; that they should not look upon a woman with evil desire; that they should so labour against theft, that they should give of their own to them that needed; and further, that they should not glory in this, that they injured none,

it is obvious the Disciples must be meant. In this case then, should be written with ribbui, implying the plural number, and be taken impersonally, as it is often the case in this work.

\footnote{Matt. x. 10. Differing, as before, from the Peschito.}

\footnote{This last clause is not found in the Greek, ib. p. 110. A., where the rest is found.}
but (rather) in this, that those who wished to injure them, they bore with without anger\(^1\). But, What need is there that I should collect together all the things which He, and they, taught? He also counselled them,—together, with all these things,—that they should be so confirmed in the truth, as not to be under the necessity of giving even a true oath, much less a false one: but that they should so form their character, that in it, apart from every sort of oath\(^2\), they should appear as true, and should proceed no farther than “\textit{yea}\(^3\)” (yεα), and should in their conversation truly apply this.

22. We\(^4\) may ask therefore, whether there is any thing—whatever it might be—against those who were the hearers of these things, and who forthwith arose as teachers of them to other Disciples, (out) of which we may suppose they fabricated all the things, which they attested their Master had done. And, What is there in this leading us to suppose, that they all thoroughly lied? They were, in number, the Twelve who had been chosen, and the remaining Seventy of whom it is said, that He sent them before Him, two and two, into every place and part to which He was about to go. But, there is not so much as a word that can be said of this whole company, (shewing) that they belied Him:—of men, who loved the life that was pure, and the worship of the (true) God; who cared but little for all the children of their own families; and who instead of their friends, their wives I say, their children and all belonging to them, took to the life which had no possessions; and fully gave their testimony to their Lord, as from one mouth, among all mankind.

23. This\(^5\) is therefore, the leading, primary, and true reason. Let us then, also investigate that which is opposed (to it). Let Him therefore be (considered) the Teacher, and them the Disciples; and so, as it were in a relation of

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\(^1\) So the Sermon on the mount, generally, Matt. v. seq.

\(^2\) The Greek has, ὡς μηδὲ εὐφροσύνας δείσαριν, πολλὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιρροήν.

\(^3\) Matt. v. 37. The Greek however has, “μεξίχρι τοῦ ναό, καὶ τοῦ οὖ, χαρῇν.”


\(^5\) Ib. D. seq.
hypothesis\(^6\) that He taught none of the things already mentioned, but those opposed to them (viz.)—that they should forthwith be transgressors of the Law; should act impiously, iniquitously, fraudulently, and falsely; should swear falsely, and do (many) hateful things, and if there be any other vice that can be named.\(^7\) Now, all these things are wholly foreign to the doctrines of our Saviour; they are opposed (to them,) and would be the (offspring) of arrogance and impudence. Nor, are they only opposed to His words and doctrines, but also to the mode of life which has hitherto been delivered to all nations; that which is practised in all His Churches.\(^8\) But, even if the matter be (wholly) false, then cannot its like be advanced; (viz.) that we should have been a race so negligent, as not even to have examined the things now before us!—Let Him then be (supposed to have been) the Teacher of every vice, and iniquity; and that the chief care was, that they should after all these things remain concealed.\(^9\) And such custom is most wisely concealed under the form of a doctrine which is pure,\(^10\) and putting forth a new (mode) of worship. These then, were led by such things, and by others still worse. For vice previously ensnares, and it constitutes the teaching of itself. They would (then,) exalt their Master to a state of greatness by lying words, and spare not even one expression of falsehood; and falsely ascribe to Him every sort of miracle and wonderful work, that (men) might

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\(^7\) The Greek has something more here, ib. p. 111. A.

\(^8\) Our text here exceeds the Greek.

\(^9\) Ibid. p. 111. A.

\(^10\) Syr. \textit{κακίας ἀφεθήναι} ὑπενθύμισαι. Gr. \textit{σεμνῆς διδασκαλίας}. We need not, therefore, suppose with Michaelis (Lex. p. 566.) that \textit{κακίας} is the true reading.

\(^11\) The Gr. ib. “Διὸ τὸ προαλέσ τῆς κακίας, καὶ αὐτοδακτοῦ αὐτήν.” Let. “Propterea videlicet quod magna est ad malitiam proclivitas.” Syr. \textit{λίγον} \textit{σοφίαν} \textit{ φυλάξαι} \textit{προαλέ} \textit{αὐτήν}. \textit{χάλεπα} \textit{σεμνῆς} \textit{διδασκαλίας} lit. \textit{Because vice previously ensnares,} and, &c. taking \textit{προαλέ} as if compounded of \textit{προ} and \textit{ἀλέξω}: which is certainly wrong.
wonder at them and felicitate them, that they were dignified by being the Disciples of such a Master.

24. Come then, let us now see,—if they really were such,—whether it was possible that could have been established, which they endeavoured to do for Him. For they say, that "Evil is friendly to evil, but not to good." Whence then, is this agreement in vice to be discovered in the multitudes of all these men? And, Whence this testimony respecting them (viz.), that the object of them all was in unison? And, Whence this doctrine about the Divine appointments, and the teaching of the (true) Philosophy? Whence also, the mind (intent) on the life of virtue? And, Whence the doctrine (inculcating) flight from every vice? Whence also, the knowledge and recording of precepts such as these? And, Whence the glory of the conduct and conversation which was delivered by them, throughout the whole creation of man? Whence too, all this power? Whence this courage? Whence this confidence? Whence this resignation even to death?—But, Who would at the first, even in opinion, have had respect to the man who taught vice and bitterness,—as it is (here) said of Him,—and who promised such things? They would surely say (such were the deeds) of a Magician. But, the Disciples of this Leader were in nothing vicious. And, Must not they have understood these things at the end of their Master? and, by what sort of Death he was affected? Why then, after such an end of shame, did they continue in these things? and affirm of Him who was then among the dead, that He was God, unless they thought it a thing of no moment, that they themselves should suffer similar things? Now, Who is it that has voluntarily and openly ever chosen punishment for the sake of nothing profitable? For, had they been desirous of possessions, so would they also of

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1 Gr. i. B. "κακῷ δὲ κακῶν οὐ φασιν εἴναι φίλον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄγαθῷ," where our translator read not οὐ, and took κακῷ, &c. in an abstract sense. A sentiment not unlike this occurs in Origen, contra Cels. Lib. 1. p. 11. "ἵνα ὤρη ἡ ἀλήθεια.

2 Much here not found in the Gr. ib.

3 Ib. C. with some variations.

4 Ib. D. Our text exceeds the Greek considerably here.
profit: and, if they had been abominable in character, they would have been lustful. We may then think of them perhaps, that they had thus dealt with the matter for the sake of these things, and intrepidly exposed themselves even to death! But, if they preached what was adverse to these, and fully proclaimed (it) in the hearing of all the congregations (of Christians); and also, immediately instructed (men) in the doctrine of the Scriptures, (viz.) that they should flee from every vicious and base desire; should avoid every thing fraudulent; should overcome every sort of lust, and the love of money; and that they did moreover, so teach those who became their disciples; it will be likely that they carried on no merchandize, collected no wealth, and took no part in a life either of ease, or of pleasure. Since therefore, they were led by none of these things; How could they have been induced to suffer, for no object, the worst of punishments and of vengeance, for the testimony given of their Master, which, again, had no foundation in fact?

Syr. | 7ληταρα. This word occurs in no Syriac Lexicon accessible to me. It is, however, beyond all doubt, the “Parabolarii,” i.e. “Parabolani” of the Latins, and Παραβολαίοι of the Greeks. The following is Bingham’s account of the term. (Ant. Christ. Church, Book i. c. ii. sect. 8.) “They” (the heathen) “gave them” (the Christians) “the names of Parabolarii and Desperati, the bold and desperate men, The Parabolarii or Parabolani among the Romans, were those bold adventurous men who hired out themselves to fight with wild beasts, upon the stage or amphitheatre, whence they had also the name of Bestiarii and Confectores. Now, because the Christians were put to fight for their lives in the same manner, and they rather chose to do it than deny their religion, they therefore got the name of Paraboli and Parabolani; which, though it was intended as a name of reproach and mockery, yet the Christians were not unwilling to take it to themselves, being one of the truest characters that the heathens ever gave them,” &c. And, again, (Book iii. c. ix. sect. 3.) “These were those whom the Romans called Bestiarii, and sometimes Paraboli and Parabolarii, from the Greek word Παραβολαῖον τέλεον, which signifies exposing a man’s life to danger, as they that fought with wild beasts did...and it is the opinion of Gothofred and some other learned critics, that the ancient reading of the Greek copies of...Phil. ii. 30, was Παραβολαῖον τέλεον τῷ χηρῷ, exposing his life to danger, as an old Latin interpreter of Puteanus renders it, ‘Parabolatus de animá suá.’” See also Wetstein on the place. This name was also given to some officers of the Church, who thus冒险ured their lives in visiting the sick.” Bingham, ib.
25. But let it be granted, that they honoured Him while He was yet with them, and had His conversation among them, and led them astray by deception, as it has been affirmed; How was it then, that even after His death, and then much more strenuously than before, they went on calling Him God? Because, while He was yet among men, it is said that they even forsook and denied Him, at the time when His deceivers were ready (to take Him); but, after His departure from among men, they joyfully chose death, rather than relinquish the good testimony they had given respecting Him! Those (Disciples) therefore, who formerly knew no good thing of their Master, neither the life, deed, doctrine, nor work, that was worthy of praise; and, who had received no advantage from Him, except indeed vice, and the leading astray of men; How was it, that they so easily gave themselves up to death, not, because they were in any respect guilty, but because they had attested things so glorious and praise-worthy of Him; when behold, it was in the power of every one of them to live in safety, and to lead a life of comfort at home with his friends? But, How could men, who were themselves deceived and deceiving, submit willingly to death for another, who, as they knew with certainty, (and) better than all others, had not been in any one thing the cause of good to them, but—as men say,—the Teacher of every evil? A man endued with mind and virtue, may indeed for some noble conquest, or for some excellent person, occasionally with propriety, and even with glory, submit to death. But he, who is so base in character as to have been in pursuit only of the things of a temporal life, and the enjoyment of lusts, has never chosen death rather than life; nor has suffered severe punishment for the sake of his friends, much less for one convicted of vice. How then, could the Disciples of the (Person) mentioned,—who could not have been ignorant that He was a deceiver and magician, if He really had been such, and even retaining in

1 Gr. ib. D. The arguments here replied to, will generally be found in Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 87, &c.
2 Ib. p. 112. A.
3 Syr. ܠܡܐ ܠܡܐ, Gr. "πλάνοι δὲ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἄφατεσθεν."
themselves every vice that was hateful,—have willingly undergone every species of torment and of punishment from their countrymen, on account of the testimony they had given of Him? But this is by no means, the disposition of the vicious. For I myself have seen many, who have faithfully kept society and oath with the living; but who, as soon as these died, dissolved every compact of this sort entered into between them. And we all know accurately how the Sophists,—brought together in the cities (generally), and in glorious repute for their erudition and display of words,—load with praises the governors, and those vested with great power and rule, just so long as they retain this; but, as soon as any change (in this respect) happens to them, these also change their words; and no more will they willingly memorialize those whom they formerly did, purely from the fear of those (now) in power.

26. If then, these Disciples of our Saviour were deceived and deceiving, I would add this also: They were unlearned, and altogether illiterate; that is, they were even barbarians, and understood no language except the Syriac. How then did they, after the departure of their Lord from among men, go forth into the whole creation, and give their testimony to His Godhead? And, by What sort of advice were they prevailed on to attempt this? By What power too, did they effect that which they undertook? It might have happened indeed, that some rustics at their own homes would be perverted and led astray. But, that they (the Disciples) should be sent forth into foreign countries, and should not relinquish their object through remissness, but should preach the name of our Saviour to every man, together with His deeds of wonder; and not this only, but should also teach His commandments both in the villages and cities;—some of them to the Roman power (itself), and (so) apportion to themselves this city of the empire: others also, to the Persians; others, to those among the Armenians; others, to the nation of the Parthians; and again, to that also of the Scythians: (that) some of these

4 Not in the Gr. ib. C.
5 Ib. (Demonstr. Evang.) p. 112. C., with some variations.
6 Comp. Ep. Col. i. 23, and see the note above, Book iv. par. 36.
should go forth, even as far as the extremities of the creation, and arrive at the country of the Hindoos; others pass over to the Islands beyond the ocean, and which are called Britain;—could not, I think, have been the things of men; How much less, of those who were deficient and illiterate? How much still less, of deceivers and magicians?

27. How then could those, whose experience of their Master was, that He was vicious and a perverter,—and who had with their own eyes witnessed His departure by death,—have used such terms with each other, for this (viz.), that they should unanimously lie respecting Him? For they all attested as with one mouth, the cleansing of lepers, the casting out of Demons, the raising of the dead, (the restoring of) sight to the blind, and many other instances of cure, which were effected by Him:—

28. And after these things, His resurrection after the death which they had previously witnessed? For, to such things, not happening, nor even being heard of in their times, How could they, with one mouth, have given testimony, and convinced (themselves) that they came to pass? and have continued to place faith in (this) their testimony, even to death? Was it, either that they were brought together, and that they swore to do this? and that they entered into compact with one another, to fabricate, and falsely to put forth, things which never came to pass? And shall we say, that they used terms to this effect as the pretence for such compact? or, such as these? Men, our friends!—Him who was, (as it were) yesterday or the day before, a Deceiver and Teacher of error,—who suffered extreme punishment before the eyes of us all,—we know better and more accurately than any other, how far He excelled, because we were the Disciples of His secret mysteries. He appeared as pure to the many, and thought that He possessed something better than the many. But

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1 Syr. [المثل: دمحمد], see above, Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 112.
D. Gr. "τῶν καλομένων βρεττανῶν ῥήσουν."
2 Ib. p. 113, A.
3 Ib. p. 113, B., with some varieties.
4 Syr. [خِطْب], lit. children. Gr. "μὲνται τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ γεγενημένοι." ib. B.
He possessed nothing great, nor yet any thing worthy of (that) His resurrection; unless one might say, that He was cunning and impure in character, and that those were perversions which He taught us, and the false boastings which was favourable to such things;—come, let us give the right hand to one another, and let us all at once enter into compact among ourselves, that we will unanimously put forth, among all mankind, falsehood respecting Him, and will say, that we saw "Him give sight to the blind," a thing which no one (of us) ever heard of; and that "He cleansed the lepers," and "Raised the dead." And we will in a body affirm, that things were done by Him which we (indeed) never saw; and were said (by Him) which we likewise never heard. Those things too which were done, as it were in reality, we will contend for (as such). And, if this His last end has been published, and He so openly received His death that no one can conceal it, we will nevertheless, impudently make this of no effect; attesting pertinaciously that He rose from the dead; was also with all of us, and accompanied us both in conversation and in the usual meals. Let this then, be pertinaciously and shamelessly retained in all these things, and so remain with us, that we persist in it even to death!—For, Why might we (not) expose ourselves to death for nothing? And, Why should it molest us, willingly to receive stripes and torments in our persons, for nothing that is necessary? And, if it be required that we should suffer imprisonment, injury, and affliction, for nothing that is true; should submit instanta-neously to this; should all of us together lie by consent, and put forth falsehood for no profit whatever, either to ourselves or to those who may be deceived by us; or, to Him, of whom these lies have been told by us; affirming that He was God: and that we should extend this falsehood, not only to our own people, but should also go out among all mankind, and fill the whole creation with the

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5 Gr. σύμψω, ib. C.
6 The Gr. adds, "δι' ους ήμων ιστόρησε καὶ καφοί τήν ἀκοήν παρασχέων."
7 Ib. p. 114. A. Gr. "τι γὰρ καὶ ἄτοπον υπὲρ τού μηδενός ἀποθνησκεῖν;—"
things we have (thus) laid down respecting Him; and should thence proceed forthwith, to make laws for all nations, subversive of the opinions respecting the Gods of their forefathers; those (I say), which had from ancient times been established among them: and, that we should first of all lay our commands upon the Romans, not to worship those whom their forefathers supposed to be Gods; that we should then also pass off to the Greeks, and preach that which is also adverse to their wise men: that we should not neglect the Egyptians, but contend also with their Deities, but should not draw out against them the things of Moses, which were in former times adverse to them, but place against them the Death of our Teacher as something terrific: and should destroy that fame respecting the Gods, which formerly went out from among them to all mankind, not by mere words, and stories, but by the power of our Lord, of Him who was crucified; and, that we should again proceed even to the extremities of the land of the Barbarians, and subvert the things (prevailing) with all men: and for this purpose not one of us should be wanting: For the reward pertaining to the things which we (so) attempted, would not be small, since the triumphs to which we should present ourselves, would not be simple ones; but, as it is likely, (would be) punishments awarded by the laws of every place; open bonds, tortments, imprisonments, fire, sword, (death by) the cross and (by) wild beasts: but, because we would acquire a likeness to our Teacher, we would willingly rather, and with joyfulness one and all, continue (partaking) in these calamities! For, What can there be better than this, that we should be found enemies to both God and man, for no one thing profitable? And also, that we should obtain nothing of ease? neither should see our friends, nor in any way increase our wealth? nor even possess the hope of any good to perfection? but should, on the contrary, vainly and without any object err

1 Syr. [ড্যালু]. Gr. “σ’ ἔθλον.” Ib. p. 114. D.
2 Syr. [ডাচাস] [এসি]. Gr. “τα τυχόντα βραβεῖα.”
ourselves, and lead others (also) astray? For this is the helpful thing (had in view), that we should both be opposed to all nations, and also engaged in contention with those Gods, whom all men have from ancient times confessed: and, that we should preach of Him who was our Teacher, and who died before our eyes, that He was God, and the Son of God: and that we ourselves should be ready to die for Him, having learned from him nothing true, and nothing advantageous! And that we should particularly honour Him, because He aided us in nothing excellent: and should moreover do every thing in order to glorify His name; suffer every sort of injury and vengeance, and willingly receive every form of punishment for nothing that is true! For, evil certainly is truth, and falsehood has that which is opposed to vice. On this account we say, that “He even raised the dead, also cleansed the lepers, also cast out Demons, and was the doer of other wonderful works,” when we know of no such things done by Him, but have fabricated all these things for ourselves; and (thus) led all astray, on whom we could prevail to do so! But, if any one would not be (so) persuaded, still we ourselves should,—for the sake of the things which we had (so) bargained upon among ourselves,—have brought forth upon ourselves the things worthy of such a system of error.

29. And do these things appear to you as convincing? And, Can you so far persuade yourself, that they (His Disciples) did falsely put forth such things as these? And, that men so deficient and unlettered, did actually make (such) compact among themselves, and (triumphantly) walk over the power of the Romans? Could human nature, possessed as it is with the love of life, have ever submitted, for no object and of its own will, to death? Or, Could the Disciples of our Saviour have been carried on to such an excess of madness, that they should at once,—when they had seen no act of a miraculous character performed by Him,—have falsely put forth by compact such things as these?


2 Ib. p. 115. C.
And again, Could they have put together such lying statements respecting Him, and then have readily submitted to death in support of them?

30. But\(^1\) they went not forth by compact, to this (work of) preaching respecting Him; nor did they make (any compact) among themselves. Whence then, had they this perfect agreement of testimony respecting His deeds? Is it (not) likely, from seeing the things which were done by Him?—For one of (these) two things must be the fact: (viz.) Either, they made compact among themselves, and lied; or else, they attested (what) they had seen with their eyes. If then, they really saw (the things), and preached (them) to all men; they were worthy of credit when they said of our Saviour, that He was God; and, that He permitted them to see with their eyes, (the putting forth of) Divine powers, Miracles, and wonderful Works. If however they really saw none of the things (so) recorded, but put together false statements; and accordingly made oath, and sworn covenant, on this, (viz.) that they would say nothing true, and (then) lied, and attested of their Lord what was false; How could they in reality have submitted to death, for nothing true? and, that neither fire, nor sword, nor fierce beasts, nor the depth of the sea, could make them falsify the accounts, which they had (thus) falsely put forth respecting their Lord?

31. But\(^2\), How can you say that they neither expected nor hoped, that they should suffer any calamity from this their testimony respecting Him; and, that they therefore went out, even boldly, to the (work of) preaching about Him? On the contrary, it was impossible they should not have hoped\(^3\), that they should suffer every sort of calamity: superinducing as they did the destruction of the Gods, at once of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Barbarians. Now the Book itself, which (speaks) of them, shews plainly, that after the death of their Lord certain men, enemies of the word and who lay in wait for it, laid hands on them; delivering them first to imprisonment, and then strictly

\(^1\) Wanting in the Gr. ib.  
\(^2\) Demonstr. Evang. ib. D.  
\(^3\) Gr. "ἀπελπίσασι τα πάντα." This is said with reference to the supposition made above.
commanding them, that they should speak to none in the name of Jesus. And, when they found them afterwards openly teaching the multitudes the things respecting Him, they violently seized, and scourged (them), and forbade them (so) to teach; Simon Peter answering said to them, "It is right that we should rather hearken to God, and not to men." After these things too, Stephen was stoned with stones, and died; because he had openly spoken (of Him) in the assembly of the Jews. And there arose no small persecution against those, who were the ambassadors of the name of Jesus. And again at another time, when Herod the king of the Jews slew James the brother of John with the sword, he, the same, confined Simon Peter in bonds, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles. And, while these suffered such things, the rest of the Disciples persevered, grew strong, and remained in the doctrine of our Saviour; and again preached to all men more particularly respecting Him, and His wonderful works. After these things, James—whom those who formerly resided at Jerusalem called "the Just," on account of his great excellence,—was interrogated of the chief priests and doctors of the Jewish people, as to what he thought of Jesus; and, when he returned answer to them, that "He was the Son of God," he was also stoned with stones by them. Simon Peter too, was, after his Head (i.e. Christ), crucified at Rome. Paul also was taken off (slain,) and John was committed to the island (Patmos in banishment). And, while these suffered such things, not so much as one of the

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4 Acts iv. 17, 18. 6 Ib. 19. 6 Ib. ch. vii.
7 Ib. ch. viii. 1. seq. 8 Ib. ch. xii. 2. seq.
9 So Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 60.
B. C. Syr. αὐτοῖς, for the Greek ἀναρεθήν, probably.
12 Ib. cap. xviii. Gr. "η ἁγία παραδοσια." 13 Gr. "κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυροῦται." Lat. "capite in terram versus cru ci affigitur." Syr. τῶν | σαράντα; 30. Our translator seems not to have been aware of the ellipsis of the Greek, viz. κατὰ κεφαλῆς κάτω: or, which is the same thing, of this Attic usage. See also our author's Eccl. Hist. Lib. iii. cap. i.
rest forsook His (Christ's) doctrine; and (indeed) all of them prayed, that such things might befall them, in order that they might, for the sake of the worship of God, be like to those already mentioned. And, on this account again, they openly gave their testimony of our Saviour; and of His wonderful works, the more abundantly.

32. And observe, If the things which they preached respecting Him were lies, and they had fabricated them by compact; we ought to wonder how this whole company could have observed this agreement, in what they had fabricated, even to death. And no one of them ever betrayed any fear, on account of the things that had happened to those who had previously been slain; or left their society; or preached that which opposed what his companion had; or brought to light the things they had (so) agreed upon. But even he, who,—filled with the love of money,—dared to deliver Him up to (His) enemies, did forthwith, and with his own hands, inflict punishment on himself!

33. Now, Is not this replete with wonder, that men, who were deceivers and unlettered, knowing neither how to speak, or understand, any language beyond that of their fathers, should not only undertake to go forth and to pass into all nations, but should also (so) go forth and effect (their) purpose? And, let this also be considered, that not even one of them ever uttered a word adverse to the marvellous deeds of their Lord! If then, the agreement of witnesses is sufficient to settle any of those things, about which there is doubt, and which is commonly brought into dispute in the courts of law;—and the law of God has declared that "in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every matter shall be established,"—Shall not the truth also be established by these, who were the chosen twelve, and

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1 This was Judas, Matt. xxvi. 14; xxvii. 3, &c. Syr. מָשְׂמִי יָדָךְ, Gr. "καθ' ἑαυτόν...τὴν δίκην ἐπεσωζόστο." Where the Syr. seems to require, מְשֹׁמֵע. This is, I think, an instance of impure Syriac: but it might be the error of some copyist.


3 This clause does not appear in the Greek.

4 Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15. 2 Cor. xiii. 1.
the Disciples seventy in number, and thousands of others besides these, all of whom at once exhibited (so) wonderful an agreement, and who have (so) given their testimony to the things done by our Saviour? This too they did, not without affliction; but in the suffering of torments, and of every species of injury, of scourgings, imprisonment, and deaths! On this account they were through God believed, in order that (He) might everywhere confirm the word preached, by their means, throughout the whole habitable world, even to this day!

34. Let it be considered then, that we have granted these things, by connivance at an unjust principle. For (in) this, that a man might imagine that which is adverse to the Scripture, and, that we should say of the common Saviour of all that He was a Teacher, not of righteous precepts, but of those of vice, fraud, and of every sort of abomination; and, that these His Disciples learned the same from Him, and were all lustful and vicious in every thing, beyond all men that ever existed; we allowed, by connivance, according to the statement (supposed), that which is of all things the most improper. For this would be, as if one should in a similar manner, injuriously accuse Moses who said in the law, "Thou shalt not kill; neither shalt thou commit adultery; neither shalt thou steal; neither shalt thou bear false witness;" and should say, that he uttered these things by way of irony and in hypocrisy; for, it was his wish (nevertheless) that his hearers should kill, commit adultery,

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5 Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. Gr. οὐκ ἀνέδωρεν.
6 ἡν ϑοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπερηφάνεν.
7 Ib. p. 117. C. The Syriac is obscure here, which stands thus: [Fabrum] [cinctum] [cinctum] [cinctum] [cinctum] [cinctum], lit. These things then, have been investigated, or, let them be (thought) investigated, (as) that we have given to them, by connivance, a beginning which is not in propriety. The Gr. has, "ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄρχης ἀντώνικα κατὰ συγγράφους δοθέα ἐνακινεῖ τέκνα." The Latin. trans. not very closely, "Hac igitur satis ex concessione tam absurdi principii, nobis meditata sint."
8 Syr. [co3]. This word (co3) is given in no Dictionary in a sense suitable to this place. The Gr. has, εἰπονεία, by an irony.
and act in direct opposition to the things, which he himself shewed the Law laid down; and put forth (merely) the form of an approach to purity of life!—But there is nothing so shameless as this! In like manner also, might any one arraign the positions\(^1\) of the Philosophers among the Greeks, whose lives were those of patience, as were all their words, and might say, that they were in their conduct opposed to what they wrote; and so shewed themselves to have made a mere (hypocritical) approach to the life, which belongs to philosophy. And thus, we affirm, might any one simply arraign all the writings of the ancients, and shew cause against the truth which they contain; and might Himself receive that, which is diametrically opposed to these! But, as it cannot be difficult to any one possessed of common sense, to pronounce of this that it would be madness; so also, of the precepts of our Saviour and of His Disciples, should any one pervert the truth which is (found) in these, and then attempt to fix upon Him the things diametrically opposed to His teaching.—But, let that be granted which the statement itself requires. How much more will it then appear, that the assertion of the opponent cannot stand, as (being grounded) in a connivance (concession) which it is improper to (allow)?

35. These\(^2\) things being then refuted, let us also consider the testimony of the Scriptures of the Divinity, and the spotless and truth-loving manner of the Disciples, of our Saviour. Any one therefore, who chooses (to exercise) a sound mind, may hence see, that they were worthy of all dignity, since they confessed that they were mean and unlettered in their discourse, and betook themselves to a love for the doctrine of the worship of God, and of philosophy. They also desired the life, capable of submitting to sufferings, and afflicted by fasting, (by) abstinence from wine and from flesh, and (by) many other humiliating things of the body; by prayer and supplication to God, and more particularly by temperance, and the chief holiness of body

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\(^1\) Syr. \[صمدودصثدصث\]. Demonstr. Evang. p. 117. D.

\(^2\) Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 118. B.
and soul. And, Who is not astonished at this, that they should, for the sake of the excellency of wisdom, have even separated themselves from the wives that had been lawfully given to them? and that they were led by no natural desire, and subdued by no love of children; since they desired not the children that were mortal, but those which were immortal? And, How can any one fail to wonder at this their character, that they desired no money? or (How) imagine this, that they fled not from, but loved, a Teacher who despised the possessions of gold and silver? and the Lawgiver, who laid it down that they should not enlarge their possessions even to two coats? which any one hearing, would doubtless seek excuse from its severe requirements; while they were seen to act upon it, even to the letter! For, upon a certain occasion a lame man—one of those who begged, on account of the extreme doubt as to provision,—asked (alms) of those who were about Simon Peter: and, when Simon Peter had nothing that he could give, he confessed that he was destitute (lit. clean) of every sort of possession of silver and gold, and said, "Silver and gold have I none." After this he brought forth the precious name,—which is of all things the most precious,—and said, "This which I have give I to thee. In the name of Jesus the Christ, arise and walk."

36. And, when they attended to their Teacher, (Jesus) enjoined upon them the grievous things, (which should happen to them) in these words which He said to them, (viz.) "In the world ye shall have tribulation," and again—"Ye shall weep and mourn, but the world shall

[Notes and references]

2. Gr. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 118. B.C. "δι' ἄκρας σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀγέλειας σώματος ὅμοιος καὶ ψυχῆς κατορθούμενον (i.e. βίον.)"


rejoice". How plainly did the firmness and deep (sincerity) of their character not appear, since they fled not from these (severe) exercises of the soul, nor betook themselves to the things of the desires? nor did their Lord moreover allure them by way of deception, or make them His by promising them the things which supply ease and comfort; but, truly and freely foretold to them those which should happen to them; and enabled them to choose for themselves the sort of conduct, which He had laid down for them. Of this sort were the things, which He foretold and attested, respecting the persecutions that were to happen to them, because of His name, (viz.) "that they should come before governours, and even kings;" and, that they should suffer every sort of punishment and vengeance, not on account of any thing hateful, nor for any other just cause; but for this only, (viz.), for their testimony respecting Him; which (indeed), we have seen with our own eyes, has happened even to this time? His prediction moreover, is worthy of our admiration; for the testimony (given) respecting the name of our Saviour, and the confessing of Him, had usually the effect of inflaming the anger of the Rulers. And, even if nothing hateful had been perpetrated by any one confessing Christ, they punished and injuriously treated him, on account of His name, as evil, and more evil than any other thing: but, if any one did not confess His name, but denied that he was a Disciple of Christ, he was immediately set at liberty, even if he were implicated in many things which were abominable! But, What necessity can there be, that I should collect and endeavour to record, the many things relating to the lives of the Disciples of our Saviour, when the things already advanced, will be sufficient proof of (all) that is before us? To these (however) we will again add the things (following), here in (their) place; and with these we will conclude our discussion.

37. As to Matthew the Apostle his former manner

1 John xvi. 20.  
3 Syr. Ἰοακίμ, which perhaps ought to be Ἰωάκημ. The Greek is quite different.  
4 See the note to the next paragraph. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. p. 110. D. seq. with certain variations.
of life was not that which was excellent; on the contrary, he was one of those whose business was tax-gathering and fraud. This however, not one of the rest of the Apostles has laid open to us, neither John the Apostle who was with him, nor Luke, nor Mark, the writers of the rest of the Gospels: but Matthew, recording his own manner of life, has become his own accuser! Hear then, how openly he has memorialized his own name against himself in his own writing, and has thus spoken:—

38. "And, when Jesus passed from thence, He saw a man sitting among the Tax-gatherers, whose name was Matthew; and He said to him, Follow me: and he arose (and) followed Him. And it came to pass that when He was sitting in the house, Behold many Tax-gatherers and Sinners were sitting with Jesus, and with His Disciples." And again, after these things, when passing away, and reciting the number of the rest of the Disciples, He added respecting Himself the name of Tax-gatherer, and spoke thus: "The names of the twelve Apostles are these: The first, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, and Thomas and Matthew the Tax-gatherer." Thus therefore Matthew evinces, through the greatness of (his) humility, his truth-loving character, calls himself a Tax-gatherer; conceals not his former mode of life, and counts himself among sinners! He also numbers himself second to the Apostle who was with him; for he associated (himself) with Thomas, as (he did) Simon with Andrew, James with John, and Philip with Bartholomew; placing Thomas first, and honouring him as the more excellent Apostle with himself; while the rest of the Evangelists have done the reverse of this. Hear therefore how Luke

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6 Matt. ix. 9—11. As before, differing considerably from the Peschito.

6 Matt. x. 2, 3.

7 An extract from the original Greek of this place, having been preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and kindly communicated to me, (see Book iv. sect. 6, above,) I shall now give it as before (I. c.) "Fol. 8750. v. Ευαγγελία θεοφύ: (here rubrica excepit locum Lucæ de vocatione Levi:) Αξιόν θαυμάσαι τὸ ἐπλαστόν καὶ φιλάθληθες ἦδον. καὶ
bears record of Matthew, not giving him the appellation of Tax-gatherer, nor placing him after Thomas; but, because he considered him the more worthy, numbering him first, and placing Thomas after him, just as Mark has done: His words then, are these: "And', when it was day, He called His Disciples, and chose twelve out of them, those whom He named Apostles: Simon, whom He named Cephas; and

καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τοῦ εἰσαγγελτοῦ μαθηταῖος. οὐκ ἔχει τού πρότερον ψιλον, οἷς ἀπὸ σωμάτων διαμέτρου ἐρμάτω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀμφι τῶν τελευτῶν καὶ πλονειάσεως σχολαζόντων. καὶ τωτό τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσαγγελτῶν οὔδεν δήλον ἦμι ἑσπίθαιεν. οὐκ ὁ συναπόστολος αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβης. οὔδε γε λουκᾶς. οὔδε μάρκος οἱ τοῖς λοιπῶν εἰσαγγελῶν συγγραφεῖς. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν λουκᾶς συγκάλλουσι τὸ ὅνομα τῷ ἀρχαίοτερῳ προσφορία κατεχόμεθα. αὐτὸν δ' ὁ μαθηταίος. τὸν ἐαυτοῦ στηλετείν ύπὸν (λαοι βιοῦ). "καὶ κατηγορεῖ ἐαυτὸν γινόμενος, ἄνομοι, αὐτὸν ἐαυτῷ μεμνημένος. ἐν τῷ οἴκειῳ συγγράμματι τὸν ἵστορεῖ τοῦ πρώτου. καὶ παραγὼν ἐκείθεν ὁ Ἰς. ἤλθεν ἢν εἶναι (ἀνήμπτον) καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελευταῖον μαθηταῖον ὁνόματι. ἐλέγχων ἐαυτὸ τὸ τραύμα τῆς θαμανής τῆς τέχνης τοῦ ἱστορέαντος. καὶ πάλιν προῖσι ἐξῆς. τὸν καταλόγον τῶν λοιπῶν μαθητῶν ἑξαρθμόμενος, αὐτῷ ἐαυτῷ τὸ τοῦ τελευταίου προστίθησιν ὅνομα. δι’ ὑπερβολῆν ἐπικειόμενος μὴ ἑπικρίνειν τοῦ πρώτον αὐτοῦ ψιλον. (Fol. 378 r.) καὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἐαυτῶν συναρθριῶν. καὶ τοῦ συναπόστολον, διέστερον ἐαυτὸν καταλέγει. συνεργοῦντος γονὸν τῷ θεῷ. ὅπερ βασιλεία. καὶ ἰδίαις ἡμῖν, φιλιότατο καὶ βαθυλογοῖο. προτάττει ἐαυτοῦ τῶν ναύματος. προτάττει μὲ κρίσεις τοῦ συναπόστολον. τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσαγγελτῶν τοιαύτης πεποικότως: —Sequitur et hoc loco rubrica: γρηγορίου θεολόγος."

Dr Kopitar adds, "Nota quid si sub Corderii Eusebii et Theophane, quem ille e Bessarionis codice citat, nec definit, lately Eusebiu theopānea? E nostro nil amplius appareat. Séd video a Kollmaris nota ad Lactamii receptionem, Rich. Simonem laudare similiter catenam Bibliothecae Par·

The Parisian Catena I have no means of examining. The query respecting the Codex of Cardinal Bessarion, I must leave to those who have access to that Codex. On other extracts, found by Signor Mai, see p. 225, above, note. The learned reader will perceive, that in this, as well as the former extract, the "Iota subscriptum" is every were omitted: and that, in this extract, a few words have been added by the compiler of the Catena in which it is found. The whole passage is also found, with some variations, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. v. p. 119. D. seq.

1 Luke vi. 13. seq.
Andrew his brother, James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas." Thus therefore Luke honoured Matthew, just as they, who had from the first been eye-witnesses and hearers of the word, had delivered to him. And thus Matthew, through his humility, made little of himself, confessed that he was a Tax-gatherer, and numbered himself the second (in order), after the Apostle who was (named) with him.

39. You will also find that John is like Matthew (in this respect); for in his Epistle he does not so much as make mention of himself, or call himself Elder or Apostle, or Evangelist. In the Gospel too, which was written by him, he says of himself that Jesus loved him, but he does not reveal his own name.

40. Simon Peter moreover, did not so much as attempt the writing of a Gospel, on account of his great fear (of responsibility). But Mark, they say, who, being well known to him and his Disciple, put on record the declarations of Simon respecting the deeds of our Saviour. Who,—when

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*Syr. ἡμῶν μαθητῆς, for ἡμῶν μαθητῶν,]* no doubt, by error of some copyist.


Demonstr. Evang. *ib. p. 120. D.*

Our author speaks here of the First Epistle of John only: the second and third,—in each of which the Apostle is indeed styled "Elder,"—being suspected as spurious for some time in the Church. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. xxxv.—"In the fourth century, when Eusebius wrote his Ecclesiastica History, the Second and Third Epistles of St John were not reckoned among the ἑυλογουμένα, but were in the number of the ἄντιλογουμένα, or books received by some, and rejected by others." marsh's Michaelis, Vol. vi. sect. i. chap. xxxii.

Tb. "The author neither calls himself John, nor assumes the title of Apostle; but names himself simply 'the Elder,' (ὁ πρεσβύτερος)... St John might with the same propriety call himself πρεσβύτερος, as St Peter called himself συμπρεσβύτερος; and after the death of St Peter, the title ὁ πρεσβύτερος might have been applied exclusively to St John, who was the only Apostle then living." See the whole of this: it. Proleg. Mill. in N. T. Edit. Kuster, sect. 151, 222: also Hammond's and Whitby's Prefaces to the Second Epistle of St John. The Greek however, has here, ἐν μείν γάρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαίς αὐτῶν: which, no doubt, ought to be, ἐν μείν γάρ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ αὐτῶν.
he betook himself to the recording of these things, (viz.) when Jesus asked what men said of Him, and the Disciples themselves what they thought of Him; Simon answered and said to Him, "Thou art the Christ;"—made the statement that Jesus did not even answer him, or say any thing to him; but that He forbade their telling this to any man. Now Mark committed these things to writing, although he was not present with Jesus when He said them; but he had heard them from Peter, when he taught them. Peter however, was unwilling to state the things which Jesus had said either to him, or about him, by way of testimony (favourable) to himself. But, the things which were said of him are these, (which) Matthew has put forth in these (words): "But you, Whom say ye that I am? Simon said to Him, Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him; Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood have not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gate-bars of hell shall not prevail against it. And I give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and every one whom thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and every one whom thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." When (therefore), all these things were said to Simon Peter by Jesus, Mark did not record so much as

1 Mark viii. 29.
2 Matt. xvi. 15—20. Disagreeing in many respects with the Peschito, as before. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 121. A.B.
3 See above, Book iv. sect. 2, where we have a good explanation of this passage. It is also cited Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iii. p. mihi. 8. C., also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. v. p. 121. B.
4 I would remark here, that by "binding and loosing," can only be meant, the office—committed primarily to the Apostles, and secondarily to all duly authorized Ministers of Christ—of preaching, ministerially, the remission of sins through faith in Him: the fact being, that no one of the Apostles ever did, in his own person, proceed to pronounce pardon of sin on any man, nor, on the other hand, to denounce damnation: this mode of speaking of any thing as done, when the enunciation of it only is intended, being very frequently had recourse to in the Scriptures. See my Heb. Gram. Art. 154, 8; 157, 6, second or third edit.
one of them; because, as it is probable, neither did Peter mention them in his teaching. These things therefore, Simon Peter well kept silent, and hence Mark omitted them. But the things of his denial (of Christ), he preached to all men; and (so) caused an accusation to be recorded against himself! That he wept bitterly too, over this, you will find Mark to have given the record in these (words): “And, when Peter was in the court, one of the maid-servants of the High Priest came to him; and, when she saw that he was warming (himself), she looked upon him and said to him, Thou also wast with Jesus the Nazarene. But he denied and said, I know (him) not, nor do I perceive what thou sayest: and he went out into the outer court; and the cock crew. And again a maid saw him, and began to say to those who were standing (by);

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* Both Estius (in difficil. Script. loc. in Marc. viii. 29.) and Dr Hammond (Annot. on the title of Matt.) have also noticed this, as Eusebius has. (Prep. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. vii.) “St Peter’s humility,” says the former, “would not suffer him to tell these” (honourable) “things to St Mark, when he was writing his Gospel...” “which evidences the great modesty of the Apostle.” Dr Hammond:...“He (Peter, and after Him Mark) doth it, (mentions his denial, &c.) more coldly than Matthew had done, only ἔκλασε...Matthew, ἔκλασε παρὰ ἔκλασε.” Jones (on the Canon, Vol. iii. p. 65.) well remarks,...“There is not any one single instance in all his Gospel (i.e. Mark’s) which tends to advance the honour...of Peter above the rest of the Apostles,...which cannot be accounted for by any way more probable, than supposing that the Apostle did not publish those circumstances which were so much in his favour.” He also remarks, that, Peter’s working a miracle, in order to pay the tribute, is omitted by Mark. See Matt. xvii. 24. Mark ix. 30—33. Our Lord’s saying he would pray for Peter, Luke xxii. 31—32, is also omitted. Peter’s humility in not allowing Christ to wash his feet, is also omitted. (John xiii. 6). Peter’s zeal in cutting off the High Priest’s servant’s ear, John xviii. 10, is also omitted, as is his faith in leaping into the sea, John xxi. 7: also the particular charge to feed His sheep, John xxi. 15: as also the prediction of his martyrdom, John xxi. 18. It is worthy of remark too, that all these omissions were made in the city of Rome, where Peter taught, and where Mark, most likely, wrote his Gospel! Surely the Apostle never could have intended, to be elevated there as superior to all the Apostles, and head of the whole Christian Church! Is it not probable that his intention was, to guard against the assumption, which he foresaw would be had recourse to?

# Mark xiv. 66, to the end: differing from the Peschito, as before.
This (man) also is (one) of them. And he again denied. And again a little after, those who were standing (by) said to Simon, Truly thou art (one) of them; for thou art also a Galilean. But he began to curse and to say, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And immediately, the cock crew the second time." These things Mark wrote; and these, Simon Peter witnessed against himself. For all these things of Mark are, they say, the memorials of the declarations of Peter himself.

41. Of those therefore, who excused themselves from saying the things which would contribute to their own good fame, and who recorded against themselves accusations which can never be forgotten, charging themselves with their own foolishness, in things which none of those who came afterwards could have known, had they not been recorded by themselves; How (shall we not assert) they were free from every feeling of self-love, and lying statement? and justly confess of them, that they openly and clearly put forth the proof of an ardent love of truth? Those therefore, who evinced such a character as this,—of whom men thought that they were the authors of falsehood and of lying, and whom they endeavoured to malign as Deceivers;—How are these not (now) found to be a laughing-stock, lovers of hatred and envy, and enemies to the truth? For, How should not those be such, who (insisted) on the things which were guileless, and of no hateful observance; these same (I say), whose characters were true and pure, and who shewed forth their habitual dispositions by their words?—(not) that (men) should say of them, that they were cunning and wily Sophists, and fabricators of things that had no existence, and laid upon their Lord, by way of favour, things which He never did. It does appear to me, that we may well put the question to these, Whether it be right we should give credence to the Disciples of our Saviour, or not? And, if we are not


³ Syr. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

and Δυσματισμοὶ, are accumulated apparently to supply emphasis to the place. Gr. "φιλαλήθην δὲ διαθέτως σαφῆ καὶ ἐνεργῆ τεκμηρίως."

⁴ Ib. p. 122. C., with some variations.
to give credence to these only, Whether we should to all those also, who have long ago preached the memorial of their conduct and precepts, (both) among the Greeks and the Barbarians; and have committed to writing time after time the victories attending this? And also, Whether it be just to extend credence to others; but to withhold it from them only?—How clearly then, does not the malice of such (opponents) appear!

42. But*, Why should these have lied respecting their Lord? and have delivered down, in their writings, things of Him which had no existence, as if they had really happened? Why too, should they have falsely stated of Him the sufferings, and (other) grievous things (which He bore)? His betrayal by one word of His Disciple (Judas)? the accusation of those who crucified Him? the ridicule? the contempt of the judgment (passed on Him)? the reproach? the smittings on the face? the scourges laid upon His loins? the crown of thorns which was placed upon Him in reproach? the purple robe which they put upon Him after the manner of a cloak*? and, at last, the bearing of His cross, the signal mark of His victory? that He was then affixed to this? that He was pierced? both in His hands and feet? that they gave Him vinegar to drink? that one struck Him on the head with a reed? that He was derided of those who looked on Him? Is it right (I say), that we should suppose His Disciples to have falsely stated even these, and many other similar things that are written about Him? Or, that we should believe they truly stated these (disreputable) things? but, that we should not give credence to those which are honourable (to Him)? But, How can this system* of contrariety be supported?

* Demonstr Evang. ib. D. * Gr. ib. χαλιμέδος σχήματι.

7 Syr. 1:12], signifying, according to Castell, "ordinatus est fissiculus marginarum, monile, ornatus: loquitus est concinnus." Than which nothing can be more foreign to our context. Buxtorf, however, gives in his Chaldaic and Talmudic Lexicon, col. 825. "Fígere, Purgere; Figere, Pernigere, Porfure," &c. which suits the place well. And so the Gr. ib. "καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας καταπειρόμενον." See Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 96.

8 Syr. συνθήκας. Gr. "καταντίον δόγμα."
For this, that (men) should affirm that these same persons were true; and again this, that they were false, would be nothing else but to affirm of them, that which is in itself contradictory! Of What sort then, should the apprehension of these be? For, if this stigma is to be fixed upon them, (viz.) that they propagated falsehood, and exalted their Lord by lying statements, and adorned Him by means of (fabricated) miracles; they surely never would have committed to writing the things already mentioned, which were adverse to themselves; nor would they have made it known to those, who should come afterwards, that He, whose ambassadors they were, was "oppressed" and "exceedingly sorrowful," and was perturbed in his soul: or, that they "forsook Him and fled:" or, that he, who was the chosen of all the Apostles, and His Disciple, the same Simon Peter (I say),—who is preached of,—did, without either pain (inflicted), or torment threatened, deny Him three times! For these things, even if said by others, it was necessary they should deny; they (I say), who betook themselves to nothing else, except the fabrication of false statements favourable to Him, and magnifying both themselves and their Lord.

43. If\(^1\) then, they appear to be lovers of truth in those grievous accounts (which they give) of Him; much more are they so in those glorious ones. For those, who chose to lie on any one occasion, would the more particularly avoid those things which brought difficulty with them, either by silence or denial of them: because, those who should come after, would not have it in their power to blame the things, which they had (so) kept silent. Why then, did they not lie and say that Judas who betrayed Him, forthwith became a stone\(^2\), when he dared to give the kiss—the signal of betrayal? And, that he who dared to strike Him on the cheek, had his right hand immediately withered? And the High Priest of the Jews, because he ran along with those who criminated Him, became blind in his eyes? But, Why did not they all lie, (and say) that, in

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\(^2\) Syr. ܐ]| ܡ ܩ ܙ ܐ ܐ ܐ, Gr. ἄνευ τῆς ἡμέρας, became a stone.
truth, no grievance (whatsoever) happened to Him? but, that He concealed Himself from men, and laughed at their judgment-hall? and, that those who accused Him, were deceived by spectres sent from God; thinking that they were doing something adverse to one who was not near them? And, Why should not this have been (deemed) more glorious, than their falsely stating that "He raised the dead," and was the doer of wonderful works? This, that they should have recorded, that nothing either human or mortal happened to him; but, that He did every thing by the Divine power.—That He made His ascension to heaven in the Divine glory? For those, who gave credence to their other accounts, could not have withheld their belief from these. How then, should those be (deemed) worthy of exemption from every suspicion of vice, who concealed nothing of the truth, as to the difficulties and calamities (so happening); and not also worthy of all credit, as to the other miraculous deeds which they attested respecting Him? The testimony therefore, of these men respecting our Saviour, is sufficient. There is nevertheless, nothing to prohibit our availing ourselves, even the more abundantly, of the Hebrew witness Josephus; who, in the Eighteenth Book of his Antiquities of the Jews, writing the things that belonged to the times of Pilate, commemorates our Saviour in these words:—

(The testimony) of Josephus respecting the Christ.

44. “At3 this period then was Jesus, a wise man, if it be right to call Him a man; for He was the doer of

3 Antiq. Jud. Lib. xviii. cap. iv. sect. 3. Edit. Hudson, p. 798, where the passage is thus given, “Γίνεται: "δὲ κατὰ τούτων τῶν χρόνων" Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἄνδρα, εἶναι ἄνδρα αὐτῶν λέγων χρῆ. ἢ γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιήσας, ἐδιάκονος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῆς ταληθῆς δεχομένων καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν Ἰουδαίοις, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ εἰπεργάτες. ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἔνδειξε τῶν πρῶτων ἄνδρῶν 'παρ' ἡμῖν, σταυρὸ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πλάτων, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οὐ γὰρ πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἀγαπήσαντες, ἔφαν ὡς αὐτῶν τρίτην ἐκατον πάλιν ζών, τῶν δεισιν προφητῶν ταῦτα τε καὶ ἄλλα ἔμπρακτα θανάσια περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηκότων. "ἐκ τῆς νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ἰδοὺ ἐπέληπτο τοῦ φυλού." Hudson has
wonderful works, and the Teacher of those men who, with
pleasure, received Him in truth. And He brought together
many (both) of the Jews, and many of the profane (Gen-
tiles). And this was the Messiah (Christ). And, when
Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal ancient men
among ourselves, laid on Him the punishment of the Cross,
those who formerly loved Him were not reduced to silence.
For He appeared again to them, on the third day, alive:
things which, with many others, the Prophets had said
respecting Him: so that from thence, and even until now,
the race of the Christians has not been wanting to Him.”

45. If therefore, as (this) author attests of Him,

has given (ib.) a good list of various readings. It will be sufficient for
me to notice those observed by our Syrian translator. This passage is
cited by Eusebius both in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. i. cap. xi.), and
in his Demonstratio Evangelica (Lib. iii. v. p. 124. B.) as may be seen
in Hudson.  a. So the Syr. άηήή. b. So the Syr. c. Syr. καὶ διέθεκαλον.
d. Syr. τῷ ἀληθείᾳ δεξιονεύων αὐτὸν. e. So the Syr. not “pellexit,” as
in the Latin of Hudson’s Edit. f. Syr. καὶ ὁ χρυστόν. g. Syr.  ἰοῦντα
insimulacione? This word I have never met with before in this sense.
h. the Syr. adds ινείνων, ὁι πάλαι, παλαιῶς, or ἀρχαιοτ. if we have not
two translations here of the Greek, τῶν προστων, which I suspect is the
case. i. The Syr. seems to have had τῶν προστων. j. Syr. seems to have
had, οί τοι πρόστων. k. Probably not in the Greek of our translator. l. Not
in the copy of our Syrian. m. The Syr. seems to have read, ἰδευ εἰς ἐτι.
 n. Did not exist in the Greek of our translator.—See also Fabricii Salu-
taris Lux Evangelii, cap. ii. p. 16. seq.—It has been very common to
suspect this passage as spurious, or as partly so; and some have gone so
far as to charge Eusebius with the fraud. See the notes of Valesius
to the Eccl. Hist. l. c. above. The chief ground for this suspicion
appears to be, Josephus’s saying, This was the Christ, when, in fact, he
was no Christian. But, Is it necessary to suppose this? The Rulers of
the Jews must have known that Jesus was the Christ; and yet, they
resisted Him, even to the uttermost! They were acquainted with His
miracles, and His resurrection. Did they act accordingly? Quite the
contrary! Much the same might be said of thousands among ourselves,
who willingly give their testimony to the historical fact of Jesus being
the Christ, but who are still as little friends to His cause as Josephus
was. Whatever may, therefore, be the fact of the case, as to this read-
ing, I do not see how it can be impugned on grounds so fallacious as
these. My own impression is, that it is not spurious.

He was the doer of wonderful works, and that He made His Disciples,—not only the twelve Apostles, or the seventy Disciples, but also attached to Himself,—myriads of others both of the Jews and Gentiles; it is clear, that He possessed something excellent beyond the rest of mankind. For, How could He have otherwise attached to Himself the many, both of the Jews and Gentiles, unless He had made use of miracles and astonishing deeds, and of doctrines (till then) unknown? The Book of the Acts of the Apostles also attests, that there were many thousands of the Jews, who were persuaded that He was that Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. It is also on record, that there was a great Church of Christ at Jerusalem, which had been collected from among the Jews, even to the times of its reduction by Hadrian. The first Bishops too who were there, are said to have been, one after another, fifteen (in number), who were Jews; the names of whom are published to the men of that place, even until now. So that by these, every accusation against the Disciples may be undone; since, what was prior to them, and independent of their testimony, these attest of Him, (viz.), that He, the Christ of God, did by means of these wondrous works which He performed, reduce many, both of the Jews and of the Gentiles, beneath His power.

46. You will also be made acquainted with the Divinity of His power, if you will consider of what nature He was; and how it was that all this superiority of the Divine power (operated) in the overcoming of things exceeding all description. For let it be considered, No one—who ever wished to disseminate his laws, or any strange doctrine among all nations, and, who would shew himself to be a Teacher of the worship of the one supreme God, to all races of men,—would be willing to make use of those as the ministers of his will, who were of all men the most rustic and deficient. And it is likely, one might

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2 So also p. 259, see the note.
3 The Demonstr. Evang. leaves us here. lb. p. 125. A.
think, he would attempt this with the greatest impropriety. For, How could they who could scarcely open their lips, ever be the Teachers of any one man, much less of multitudes? And, How could they, destitute of every sort of erudition, address whole assemblies, unless this were indeed a shewing forth of the will of God? For He called them, as we have already shewn, and said in the first place "Follow me, and I will make you Fishers of men." And, because He thenceforth made them His own, and they adhered to Him, He breathed into them the Divine power, and filled them both with strength and courage: and, as He was the Word of God in truth, and the Doer of all these miracles, He made them the Fishermen of intellectual and reasonable souls; adding, at once to the word "Follow me, and I will make you," the Deed, making them both the Doers and Teachers, of the worship of His God. And thus He sent them forth into all nations throughout the whole creation, and demonstrated that they were the Preachers of His doctrine. And, Who is not astonished, and probably incredulous, as to this miracle, which could scarcely (indeed) have been imagined? Since no one, of those who have been eminent, has ever been commemorated as having had recourse to any such thing as this; or has come up to any thing resembling it. For it has been the desire of each one of these, to set up something promising to himself, in his own land only; or, to be able to establish such laws as seemed to him good, among some one people of his own. But observe of Him, who availed himself of nothing either human or mortal, how, in reality, He again put forth the word of God in the precept, which He gave

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1 Gr. "εἰκὼν τῶν παραλογώτατα ταῦτα αὐτοῦ πεποιηκόναν νομίσαι." Lat. "utpote cum verisimile sit illum censuisset, preter omnem rationem hec se facturum." Which is incorrect: better perhaps,—and as our Syriac has taken it,—quenquam censuisset, or the like.

2 Syr. ϑῶν ζώνης, ζῶνης, lit. lift up their lips: copied perhaps from the Biblical, "lift up the voice." Gr. ib. B. "διάρατη δυναμενοι στόμα." See Book iv. par. 6, above. This matter occurs also in the Demontr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. v. p. 135. B. C. seq.

3 John xx. 22. The Greek is different here, ib. C.

4 The Greek has much more here, ib. D.
to these His powerless Disciples, (viz.) "Go ye and make Disciples of all nations!" It is likely too, His Disciples would thus address their Lord, by way of answer*: How can we do this? For, How can we preach to the Romans? And, How can we discourse with the Egyptians? What diction can we use against the Greeks; being brought up in the Syrian language only? How can we persuade the Persians, the Armenians, the Chaldeans, the Scythians, the Hindoos, and other nations called Barbarians, to desert the gods of their forefathers, and to worship the one Creator of all things? And, upon What superiority of words can we rely, that we shall succeed in this? Or, How can we hope, that we shall prevail in the things attempted? (viz.) that we shall legislate for all nations, in direct opposition to the laws laid down from ancient times, (and this) against their gods? And, What power have we upon which to trust, that we shall succeed in this enterprise? These things therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour would either have thought, or said. But He who was their Lord solved, by one additional word, the aggregate of the things of which they doubted, (and) pledged them by saying, "Ye shall conquer in my name." For it was not that He commanded them, simply and indiscriminately, to go and make Disciples of all nations; but with this excellent addition¹⁰ which He delivered, (viz): "In my name." Since it was by the power of His name that all this came to pass¹¹; as the Apostle has said, "God¹² has given Him a name, which is superior to every name: that, at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow which is in heaven, and which is in earth, and which is beneath the earth." It is likely therefore, that He would shew forth the excellency of the unseen power, which was

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* Demonstr Evang. ib. p. 136. A.
* The Greek is interrogative here, καὶ πῶς, εἰπὼν ἄν οἱ Μαθηταί, κ. τ. λ.

⁹ I. C. This is perhaps, as on some other occasions, the substance only of certain passages, e.g. Mark xvi. 17, 18. John xiv. 13, 14, &c. The Greek however has only, "ἐν τῷ ὄνομαί μου," in my name.

ⁱ⁰ Syr. [א] [Δאאך], Gr. "προσθέστε δὲ ἀναγκαῖας."

¹¹ This last sentence is wanting in the Greek, with other variations.

¹² I. C. D.
hidden from the many, by His name; and, (accordingly) He made the addition, “In my name.” He thus accurately foretold moreover, something which should come to pass, (when) He said, “It is expedient that this my Gospel be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations.” Now, this matter was then declared in a corner of the earth, so that those only who were at hand could have heard it. But, How could they have believed Him when He said this, unless they had taken experiment as to the truth of His words, from the other Divine acts which were done by Him? For this, you are compelled to confess when it is considered, that they gave credence to what He said. For, when He gave them the command, not so much as one sought to be excused; but they confided in what He had intimated: and, just as His promises had been, so did they make Disciples of the whole race of men! They did go forth from their own land into all nations; and, in a short time, His words were seen in effect! His Gospel was therefore shortly preached, throughout the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, so that the Barbarians and Greeks received the Scriptures, respecting the common Saviour of all, in the handwriting of their Progenitors, and in the words of their spiritual Fathers.

47. A man might therefore well stand in doubt, as to what the form of the doctrine of our Saviour’s Disciples was; how they passed on into the midst of cities, and so proclaimed (it) in the middle of the streets; lifting up their voices, calling to those with whom they met, and thence conversing with the people: also, of what sort the language was in which they addressed them, so that we can imagine the hearers were persuaded thereby: and (again), how (such) men, inexperienced in words and far removed from every sort of erudition, could speak before the people; and (this), if not in large assemblies, still with the few with

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1 Cited also above, p. 159.
2 The terms here, are, [σωφρόνος], and [σωφρός], respectively. The Syrian Grammarians make this distinction, although it is not constantly adopted, as Castell has shewn. The Greek, however, has, (Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 137. A.) “πατρίος χαρακτήραν καὶ πατρίῳ φωνῇ.”
3 Ib. p. 137. A.
whom they met, and then addressed: and, of what, and of what sort of terms, they made use for persuading (their) hearers. Nor was their effort small, since they by no means denied the ignominious death of Him, whom they preached. But, even if they concealed this, and did not confess before all, what, and how many, things He suffered of the Jews, but put forth only those splendid and glorious things—I say indeed,—His wondrous works, His miraculous operations, and His doctrines of the (true) Philosophy; still, the matter will not thus be made easy, (viz.) how they could make those who heard them, easily to give in to their declarations: because their diction would be foreign. They would too, now be listening to declarations entirely new, (coming) from men, who possessed nothing worthy of truth, in testimony of the things affirmed by 'them.

48. But⁴, let it be supposed that the persuasives now put forth were these, (viz.) that those who were His ambassadors, should at one time preach that He was God; that, in body, He was human; and that, in his nature, He was no other than the Word of God: on which account also, He performed all these miracles, and (put forth these) powers: but, that at another time, He suffered reproach and infamy, and at last the capital and shameful punishment of the Cross; which is inflicted on those (only), who are in their deeds the worst of all men. Who then, would not (now) properly treat them with ridicule, as affirming things opposed to each other? And, Who is he, whose intellect would (partake) so much of stone⁵, as readily to believe them, when they said that they saw Him⁷ after His death? that He rose from the dead?—Him (I say), who could not help Himself when among the living? And (again), Who would ever be persuaded by men so illiterate and

⁴ Syr. ἐνεπικαλομενοι, Gr. αὐτοὶ ὅ ἀγὼν.
⁶ Gr. ib. "ἔρχεται ὁ λόγος ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου." 
⁷ Syr. ἐκαθαρτότης, which, no doubt, ought to be καθαρσία τῶν βάναων: the Greek having, "λέγων τινί εἰσαρκέναι μετὰ τῶν βάναων." κ.τ.λ. manifestly involving a plurality, from the preceding terms.
⁸ This argument is advanced by Celsus: Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 94. seq.
deficient as these, when saying; You should despise the things of your own forefathers; charge as folly those of the wise of ancient times; suffer yourselves to be persuaded by us alone, and to be commanded by the precepts of Him who was crucified: for He only is the beloved, and only (begotten) of that God alone, who is over all?

49. I myself however, investigating for myself with effort\(^1\), and in the love of truth, this same thing (singly), should perceive not one virtue in it (making it) credible, nor even any thing great, or worthy of faith, nor so persuasive, as adequate to the persuading of even one illiterate person, much less men wise and intellectual. Nevertheless, when again I view its power, and the result of its doings; how the many myriads have given their assent to it, and how Churches of tens of thousands of men have been brought together, by these very deficient and rustic persons;—nor that these were built in obscure places, nor in those which are unknown, but rather in the greatest cities, I say in the Imperial city of Rome itself, in Alexandria, in Antioch, in all Egypt, in Libya, in Europe, in Asia, both in the villages and (other) places, and among all nations; I am again compelled to recur to the question of (its) cause, and to confess, that they (the Disciples) could not otherwise have undertaken this enterprise, than by a Divine power which exceeds that of man, and by the assistance of Him who said to them, "Go, and make Disciples of all nations in my name." And, when He had said this to them, He attached to it the promise, by which they should be so encouraged, as readily to give themselves up to the things commanded. For He said to them, "Behold\(^2\) I am with you always, even to the end of the world." It is stated, more-

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\(^1\) The Syriac has here, סְמִי דְמַע: which is perhaps here, as in some other places already noticed, used in the sense of energy or vigour. The Greek, ib. p. 138. A. has no equivalent. All our author means is probably this, that, looking at such a project of converting the world, with such means simply, how much soever he might be disposed to look candidly on the thing; yet he could not but conclude, that it really promised nothing: i.e. provided other and almighty powers had not been put forth in it.

\(^2\) Matt. xxviii. 19.

\(^*\) Ib. ver. 20.
over, that He breathed into them the Holy Ghost with the Divine power; (thus) giving them the power to work miracles, saying at one time, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost;" and at another, commanding them, to "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, and cast out Demons:—freely ye have received, freely give."  

50. Even you yourself see therefore, how this their word took effect; since even the Book of their Acts attests things like to these, and which accord with them; how,—(for example,) when writing also of those by whom miraculous deeds were done in the name of Jesus,—those, who were present and saw, were astonished. They were astonished, as it should seem, at those who had formerly seen (this power) by means of deeds; and who then made them (i. e. the chief Priests,) readily to ask, Who this was, by whose power and name the miracle had been wrought?—And thus, as they taught, they found that these had in faith (even) run before their instruction. For, it was not by words that they were persuaded; but it was by the deeds which preceded these, that they were readily prevailed upon to accede to the things said. It is also said, that men suddenly brought to them sacrifices and libations, as if they had been Gods; thinking that one of them was Mercury, the other Jupiter: and the whole of this astonishment was, to their minds, a demonstration that the deeds done were miraculous. And, as all those which they preached respecting our Saviour, were such as these, they were thenceforth quickly, and with propriety, received. Nor did they give their testimony of His resurrection from the dead, by mere words and without proofs; but, by their power and by deeds did they persuade, and shew forth the works of the living (God).  

51. If then, they preached that He was God, and the Son of God, and that He was with the Father before He came among men; Why should they not have especially added to this, that they believed what was adverse to have been impossible and incredible? For they must have justly thought it impossible, that these acts could have been

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4 John xx. 22.  6 This seems to refer to Acts iii. 7, &c. iv. 7, &c.  
5 Matt. x. 8, &c.  7 Acts xiv. 12, &c.  
8 Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 139. B. C.  
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those of men; but, on the contrary, those of God, even the more though no one would say (this).

52. And this, and nothing else, is indeed the thing required, (viz.) by what power the Disciples of our Saviour gained credit from those, who had from the first heard them; and how they persuaded both Greeks and Barbarians to think of Him, as of the Word of God: and how they set up in the midst of the cities, and in all villages, Houses (appropriated to) the Doctrine of the worship of the supreme God. And, Who is not also astonished at this, when he considers with himself, and feels satisfied, that this could not have been of man; that never at any former time, were the many nations of the whole creation subject to the one sovereign rule of the Romans, except only since the time of our Saviour? For it happened, immediately upon His passing about among men, that the affairs of the Romans became great;—that, at that time, Augustus was primarily the sole Sovereign of many nations; and that in his time Cleopatra was inflamed with love; and the traditony (kingdom) of the Ptolemies in Egypt was dissolved. For, from that time, and until now, that kingdom which was from ancient time; and of it, as one might say, the ancient germ of men which was established in Egypt, have been rooted up. From

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1 Syr. ḫ, for which we have nothing in the Greek, which stands thus, “καὶ μὴ λέγῃ τίς.”  
2 Ib. C. D.  
5 The authors of “The Universal History,” tells us, after reciting the amours of Julius Cesar and of Mark Antony with Cleopatra, (Vol. ix. p. 480, Edit. 1747,) that “In her ended the family of Ptolemy Lagus, the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, after it had ruled over Egypt, from the death of Alexander, two hundred and ninety four years, or, as others will have it, two hundred and ninety three, and three months. For from this time Egypt was reduced to a Roman province, and governed by a pretor sent thither from Rome.”—On the prophecies of Daniel relating to this period, the work of Sir Isaac Newton on this subject, or Rollin’s Ancient History, may be consulted with advantage.
that period too, have the Jewish people been in subjection to the Romans; as has that, in like manner, of the Syrians, the Cappadocians, the Macedonians, the Bithynians, and the Greeks; and, to speak collectively, all the rest of those subjects to the rule of the Romans; and, that this did not come to pass without regard to the Divine teaching of our Saviour, Who will not confess, when He has considered, that it would not have been easy for His Disciples to be sent forth, and to pass into foreign parts, when all the nations were divided one against another? and when there was no one uniting element among them, on account of the many Satraps (stationed) in every place, and in every city? But, in the extirpation of these, they immediately, fearlessly, and with pleasure, set about doing that which had been placed before them; because God, who is over all, had previously made their course peaceful, and had restrained the wrath of the worshippers of Demons in the cities, by the fear of the great Empire. Consider then, If there had not been something to restrain those who had been stupefied with the error of a plurality of Gods, how they would have contended with the Doctrine of Christ. For, you would doubtless have seen in every city and village, commotions (stirred up) against each other, with persecutions and wars of no mean description, had the worshippers of the Demons possessed the sovereign rule over us. But now, this also is a work of the God who is over all, that He might subdue

* It must be borne in mind, that this refers solely to the times in which the Apostles preached: for, in these, they generally suffered no persecutions, except from the unbelieving Jews. We have a remarkable instance illustrative of this argument recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, (ch. xxii. 23—30): where it is evident that, if Paul had not been a Roman, or had omitted to stand upon his privilege as such, he would have been scourged, if not put to death, by the Centurion: and also, that if no Centurion had been there, he would have been stoned to death by the Jews. The Roman power therefore, although afterwards a persecuting one, did contribute certainly to the furtherance of the Gospel.—This argument is urged also above, Book iii. sect. 1. seq.; and in the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 10, also in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. xvi. p. 541.

* Syr. ἐν τούτῳ ἐξουσία: where our translator seems to have read τὴν ἐφ' ἄλλην ἐξουσία.
the enemies of His word, by the greater fear of a superior kingdom. For it was His will, that (His word) should daily increase and extend itself to all mankind: and again, so, that it should not be thought, that, it was by the connivance of the Rulers, and not by the superior power of God, it took effect.—When any one of the tyrants was so elated by wickedness, as to set about resisting the word of Christ, the God of all even allowed such at once to do his will; because he would afford proof to those combatants\(^1\) for (establishing) the worship of God, and also that it might be seen clearly by all men, that it was not by the will of man that the word was established, but by the power of God himself. And, Who is not\(^2\) instantly amazed at the things which usually come to pass in times such as these\(^3\)? For, those ancient combatants from among men for the worship of God, kept secret\(^4\) the nature of their superiority: at that time\(^5\) they became known and seen by all, when they were adorned with the victories which were from God: while those, who were the enemies of the worship of God, received the punishments which were justly their due: chastized (as they were) by strokes sent from God, and their entire bodies wasted by grievous and incurable diseases, so as to have been speedily driven to confess

\(^1\) Syr. یمانē. Gr. διὰ της ἑτεροκλησίας.

\(^2\) The negative is wanting in the Latin translation here, but not in the Greek.

\(^3\) Reference (see also Eccl. Hist. Lib. ix. cap. ix. p. 293. B.) is probably here made to some of those marvellous things done in ancient times in favour of God's Church. In the Ecclesiastical History of our Author, the deliverance from Egypt is thus compared with the erection of the Christian Church. Paulus Orosius makes a similar comparison, (Lib. vii. cap. xxvii. See my Sermons and Dissertations, Lond. 1830, pp. 360-10.), and Lactantius treats this matter much at length in his admirable Tract, "De mortibus Persecutorum." See also, on the death of Domitian, Suetonius, Lib. xi. cap. xvi. seq. Galerius was the instigator of the last persecution. See his miserable end. Hist. Eccl. Lib. viii. cap. xvi. p. 257. seq. See also, ib. Lib. ix. cap. vi. p. 297. ib. cap. x. p. 297. B. C. ib. p. 288. D. seq. also Constantini orat. ad Sanct. cœt. cap. xxv. xxv.

\(^4\) Wanting in the Greek, ib. p. 140. D.

\(^5\) Syr. ὠνάμ, by an error of the press, for ὠνάμ.
their wickedness in opposing our Saviour! But these, the rest of all those who were worthy of the Divine name (Christian), and who gloried in thinking of the things which belonged to Christ, did in a short time shew,—being brought through trials,—the purity and refining of their minds, and that they had thus also obtained freedom for their souls. And soon did God cause, that, by their means, the Word, the Saviour, should arise (as the sun) on tens of thousands.

* This, although hinting—it may be—at the plagues of Egypt, and the fall of Pharaoh and his host, has more immediate reference to the Roman Emperors, who took an active part in the persecutions of the Church. See the authorities just referred to, particularly Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. vili. cap. xvii. p. 257. This part closes with Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. ib. p. 141. A.

The End of writing the Five Books of Eusebius of Caesarea, which are called "The Divine Manifestation."
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Preface, Page iv. on the term “Theophanía.”

In our Author’s Commentary on Ps. xl ix. (Heb. 1.) v. 2, on the words ἐὐπρέπεια δὲ ἡ πραύτητος. (Heb.) “the perfection of beauty:” we have, ἡ ἐνδοξος αὐτοῦ θεοφάνεια. (of our work, θεοφάνεια; and ib. pp. 522. C. 524. D.) ταύτην καὶ τό ἡ θεός ἐμφανῶς ἦξει, δηλοι. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων κρυπτόμενος ἐστίν ταύτα οὐδὲ τοποῖνται πάσχοι νημίσκωτο, οὐδὲ πάσιν ἐδείκνυ τὴν ἑαυτὰ θεότητα. τότε δὲ φθονὸν ἐμφανῶς ἦξει καὶ οὐ παραπατήσεται.” k. t. l. “Species autem decoris est gloriae ejus theophania, quam aperte declarct illud: Deus manifeste veniet. In primo itaque adventu suo, dum ab hominibus judicio examinaretur, silebat, tantaque perpessus non se se exulcebat, nec omnibus suam exhibebat deitatem. Tunc, ait, manifeste veniet et non silebit,” &c. Which is sufficient to confirm what is said (p. 225) on Signior Mai’s account of this matter.

Preface, Page xi.

I am happy to have it in my power to state, that the Rev. W. Cureton, Curator of the MS. department of the British Museum, intends to publish the Syriac versions, both of the work of Titus Bishop of Bozrah, and of the Recognitions of Clement, contained in the MS. from which our work is taken.

Preface, Page xxi.

It should seem, that the “Eclogæ Prophetarum,” lately published by Dr. Gaisford at Oxford, was written during the last persecution, from the passages (p. 26).... “μὴ δὲ μὴν σείεσθαι τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς ἐνιμώξη, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἐνεστώτων,” k. t. l.....And again, (ib.) “Ταύτα δὲ φανερόν, ἐπεὶ τὰχα ἐξειν ἀντικρύν κατὰ τῶν ἐνεστώτα διαμομ.” And, if this be the case, it must have been written before the Council of Nice was called together. It has been shewn (p. xxxiv. note) that Eusebius does, in this work, affirm that Πῶς, Jehovah, of the Old Testament, was THE WORD, the Christ of God, revealed in the New. What then are we to think of the assertion of Athanasius (ib. p. xlv.) that, up to the times of the Council of Nice, Eusebius held the opinions of Arius, denying the divinity
of the Son? And, how are we to understand Montfaucon, when he tells us (p. xxvii. Prelim. Com. in Psalms) that the "Tetragrammon Ἑῷ, quod passim ait in his Commentaris uni Patri competere posse; semel in Commentario itemque semel in Demonstrazione Evangelica, ait Filio nonnunquam adscriptione fuisse; accommodate scilicet, neque proprie, ut alibi de Dei appellatione dictum est?" Are we to take "accommodate," and "neque proprie," as the genuine sentiments of Eusebius, or only, as those ascribed to him by his opponent?—Of his opponent, no doubt. How then, is this "accommodate" now to be understood? Our Lord appeared in the Person of Jehovah, really I presume (see pages xxx. xxxiv.), for I dare not suppose this could have taken place in any other way. But I will not pursue aspersions of this sort. I will only add, Eusebius must have held the proper divinity of Christ, previous to the Council of Nice, and this as fully, as he held that of Jehovah.

Page xxviii., Note.

It will be seen, from various places in the preceding work, that the the term λόγος; Syr. [Δικαίωμα, as occasionally remarked in the Notes, is variously applied. The following is our Author's own explanation of this term: (Eccles. Theol. Lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 120)..."κύριε, ὁ λόγος, καὶ ο ἐν τῇ λογικῇ ὑμνῇ καταβεβλημένος, καθ’ δὲν τὸ λογίζομαι ἡμῶν πάρεσθι καὶ παρὰ τοῦτον, ἔτερον, ὁ διὰ γλώττης καὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου σημαίνει τί καὶ κατὰ τρίτον τρόπον, ὁ διὰ γραφῆς τῷ γραφεῖ συνεταγμένος. ἢδὴ δὲ λόγον εἰσώθημεν καλεῖν καὶ τὸν συνεργοῦν, ἢ φυτικόν. καθ’ δὲν δυνάμει τὰ μηδέποτε φύνηται ἑνακόηται τοῖς σπέρματι μέλλοντα, διὸν οὐκ ἔχειν τῆς ἐνεργείας, εἰς φῶς προϊναι. καὶ παρὰ τούτα ἐτέρως εἰσώθησιν ὁμοίως λόγου, τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν τεχνῶν των ἐπιστήμης." κ.π.λ. "Vocatur logos, id quod disponitur in anima rationali: unde contingit rationari. Est et logos secundo, quod significat alicujus, per linguam et vocem articulatam. Tertio, quod descriptis, et scribendo scriptor disposit. Sollemus et logon appellare significat et nascentem facultatem; secundum quem dicuntur postestate esse, in seminibus illa, quae nondum enata sunt, sed deinceps actu proditura sunt in lucem. Adhuc et alio modo, sollemus logon usurpare, pro intellectiva artis alicujus, aut scientiae facultate," &c. See pages 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 57, 61—3.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page xlvi.


Page lxxii.

I was incorrect in saying, that Montfaucon thought this extract from the Seventh General Council, too contemptible to deserve his notice: the truth is, he has cited it under the title, ii. Nic. Act. vi. p. 491, in his Prelim. Com. in Psalms, p. xxvii., where, I think it cannot be doubted, Eusebius of Nicomedia must be the person really meant: the sentiments there expressed being his, and not those of our Eusebius.

Page 170.

The expression ἡμιθάναμα, gate-bars of Death, is taken from Ps. cxi. 16. Gr. μοχλοῦν αἰθρῶν.

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THE END.
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