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ST. HIPPOLYTUS

AND

THE CHURCH OF ROME.

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MISCELLANIES,
LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS

By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Being Selections from his Works.

Contents.

VOL. I.—Pompeian Inscriptions—Athens and Attica—Notes in Greece—Notes in France—Notes at Paris—Amiens and St. Theodosia : Story of her Canonization—Notes in Italy, and at Rome—The Court of Rome and Kingdom of Italy: Its ill-advised policy: Offer from a Cardinal—Alexander Lycurgus—Archbishop Longley: Greek and Latin Translation of the Letter of the Lambeth Conference, 1867—The Vatican Council: Answer to Pius IX—Whether the Babylon of the Apocalypse is the Church of Rome—The Old Catholics at Cologne—Erasmus.

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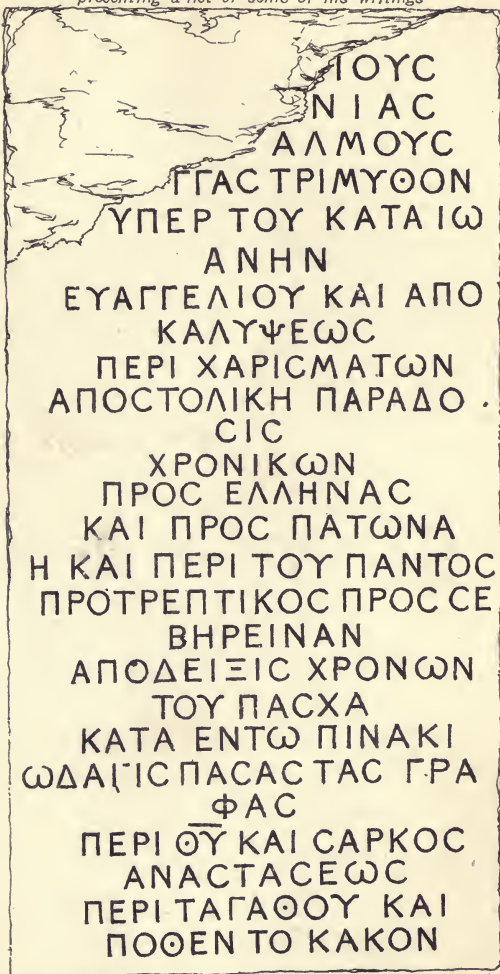
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STATUE OF S. HIPPOLYTUS

Dug up in the Ager Veranus at Rome
near the Chapel of St. Lawrence outside the walls,
in the year 1551, in the Pontificate of Pope Pius IV.
See below Chap. IV P. 29

Inscription on the back of the Statue of St. Hippolytus
presenting a list of his writings



ΙΟΥΣ
ΝΙΑΣ
ΑΛΜΟΥΣ
ΓΓΑΣ ΤΡΙΜΥΘΟΝ
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩ
ΑΝΗΝ
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ
ΚΑΛΥΨΕΩΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ
ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΠΑΡΑΔΟ-
CIC
ΧΡΟΝΙΚΩΝ
ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΤΩΝΑ
Η ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ
ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕ
ΒΗΡΕΙΑΝ
ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ
ΚΑΤΑ ΕΝΤΩ ΠΙΝΑΚΙ
ΩΔΑΙC ΠΑΣΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΓΡΑ
ΦΑΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΘΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΚΟΣ
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΠΟΘΕΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΚΟΝ

On these titles of writings of St. Hippolytus see Fabricius in his
Edition of Hippolytus Vol. I p. 79-89, Cave Hist. Lit. I. p. 104-106.
And see below Chap. XIII.



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ST. HIPPOLYTUS

AND

THE CHURCH OF ROME

IN THE

Earlier Part of the Third Century.

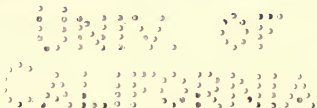
FROM THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED "REFUTATION OF ALL
HERESIES."

BY

CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

SECOND, AND GREATLY-ENLARGED EDITION.



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Oxford and Cambridge.

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TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE

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PREFACE.

THE present Volume is a new work rather than a new edition.

The additions—which form about half of it—refer mainly to what has been written on the subject of it by learned men after the publication of the former edition ; and in the other half new materials have been inserted.

Since that time I have also examined the Manuscript, which was discovered in a monastery of Mount Athos in 1842, and which is now at Paris ; and I have collated that portion of the Manuscript which relates to the history of the Church of Rome in the earlier part of the third century, and which is inserted, with a Translation and Notes, in the present Volume.

Events which have taken place at Rome since the publication of the first edition of this work,—especially

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in 1854 and 1870,—have given additional importance to the questions considered in this volume ; which is now put forth in a hope, that it may, with the divine blessing, serve, in some degree, to the elucidation of an interesting, but not well-known, portion of Church History, and also to the maintenance and advancement of Christian Faith and Unity.

EASTER, 1880.

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CHAPTER I.

The Recently Discovered "Philosophumena; or, Refutation of all Heresies."

THE discovery of a theological work, dating from so early a period as the first half of the third century, is an important event in the History of the Christian Church. It is one which we have been permitted to see.

A learned Greek, Minoïdes Mynas, having been despatched by M. Villemain, Minister of Public Instruction in France under King Louis Philippe, with a commission to make researches in Greek Monasteries for ancient MSS., brought back some literary treasures of this description from Mount Athos in the year 1842. Some of these were deposited in the Royal Library at Paris; and among them was a Greek MS. written in the earlier part of the fourteenth century, on paper, containing 137 leaves, which was first carefully examined by M. Emmanuel Miller, already known to the world from his official position in that national collection, and distinguished by the courtesy with which he has promoted the designs of foreigners

desirous of access¹ to its literary riches, and by the publication of some remains of ancient Literature. The work in question was prepared for publication under the editorial superintendence of M. Miller, who states that it was written by a certain Michael, as appears from a Greek sentence at the close of the MS. : it was first printed at the instance and under the encouragement of the Delegates of the University Press at Oxford, where it appeared in the year 1851—rather more than sixteen centuries after its composition.

This Volume, thus resuscitated, has been found to possess special claims to public attention. It is valuable from its antiquity, and from its contents : it is valuable as a philosophical work, and also as a theological and historical one.

It consisted, when perfect, of Ten Books. Of those ten, the second and third, and the commencement of the fourth, do not appear to be now extant. The first Book is not contained in the Parisian MS., but had been already known to the world from a MS. of Cardinal Ottoboni, and from three other MSS., and had been printed in the Benedictine edition of the works of Origen.²

The design of its Author was to give an account in the first four Books, of the various systems of ancient Philosophy, physical and ethical.³ This portion was

¹ To which the present writer had occasion to bear testimony some years since. *Diary in France*, pp. 90. 101, 2nd edit. 1846.

² Vol. i. pp. 872—909, ed. Paris, 1733. It was first printed from a Medicean MS. in vol. x. p. 579, of Gronovii *Thesaurus Ant. Græc.*

³ The following is the Author's description of his own work, lib. x.

intended to be introductory to the rest. The writer then proceeds to treat of the various heresies in order of time, which had appeared in the Christian Church, from the first promulgation of the Gospel, down to his own age. Here then, in the fifth book, the work becomes theological, and here it is his purpose to show that (as St. Irenæus⁴ and Tertullian⁵ had observed) the dogmatic systems of heretics had their foundation,—not in Scripture,—but in the schools of Heathen Metaphysics. He disputes their claim to originality, and treats them as plagiarisms from Pagan Philosophy.

The circumstances now stated, with regard to the materials of which this work is composed, will suggest the reason why it bore a double title. It is inscribed “PHILOSOPHUMENA ; or, a REFUTATION of all HERESIES.”⁶ The former of these two titles describes the contents of the first four Books—the second title designates the succeeding five ; and both titles are applicable to the last or tenth Book, which is an Epitome of the others ; and concludes with a declaration of the truth, in an address to the Gentile world.

In the sixth and seventh Books the Author is

p. 311 : συμπεριλαβόντες τὰ πάντων τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησι σοφῶν δόγματα ἐν τέσσαρσι βιβλίοις, τὰ δὲ τοῖς αἰρεσιάρχαις ἐν πέντε, νῦν τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον ἐν ἐνὶ (Cod. εἷνα) ἐπιδείξομεν, ἀνακεφαλαιούμενοι πρῶτον τὰ πᾶσι δεδοκμημένα.

⁴ S. Iren. ii. xiv. 2.

⁵ Hæreticorum Patriarchæ Philosophi, says Tertullian c. Hermogen. c. 8, illi sapientix professores de quorum ingeniis omnis hæresis animatur. De Animâ, c. 3. 23. De Præscr. Hæret. c. 30. See also S. Jerome, Epist. 84, where he speaks of Tatian and others, who had traced heresies to philosophical sects.

⁶ φιλοσοφούμενα, ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἰρέσεων ἔλεγχος.

often treading on the same ground as that traversed by St. Irenæus in his work on Heresies, to whom he acknowledges his obligations (p. 202. 222), and from whom he frequently transcribes, either verbatim, or with some modifications. And here we may observe, in passing, is a circumstance which imparts a peculiar value to the newly-discovered Treatise. In some instances it presents to us the original Greek of Irenæus, where till now we possessed only the Latin Version. The recovery of this work is a recovery, in part, of the text of Irenæus. In some places, it will enable a future Editor or Irenæus to restore Irenæus to himself.⁷

The last two Books of this Volume are those which impart to its discovery an historical importance, which it is not easy, at present, adequately to appreciate. Time alone can show in all its bearings the importance of this work, composed sixteen centuries ago, and discovered in the nineteenth century in a monastery of Greece, by a Greek sent from Paris by the French Government, and presented to the world for the first time, under the editorship of a French scholar, in an English University. Time, it is probable, will prove that the hand of a wise and merciful Providence may be seen in its preservation, and also in its publication at the present juncture in the history of the Church and the World.

⁷ Some evidence of this may be seen in p. 203 of the *Philosophumena*, and following pages. See also the passages cited in the *Ecclesiastic*, LXVII. p. 47.

On what grounds, it may be inquired, are such anticipations based? Because this newly discovered work unfolds, in the ninth Book, a portion of ancient Church-History with which hitherto we have had comparatively but little acquaintance, from the lack of materials for an accurate knowledge with respect to it. The writer lived at a period prior to that of our most ancient Ecclesiastical Historians. He was anterior to Eusebius by a century. He does much to fill up a chasm in the Annals of the Western Church. And the portion of Church-History with which he deals is one of great importance, on account of its relation to certain questions of Christian Doctrine and Church Discipline, which possess more than ordinary interest, and exercise more than common influence, at the present time.

The writer places us at Rome; he describes, with graphic minuteness, events which took place in the Church of Rome in the second and third centuries after Christ. His work was composed soon after the Episcopate of Callistus who died A.D. 223.⁸ He does not speak on hearsay; but as an eye-witness. And not only so, he represents himself as occupying an important position in the Church of Rome at that time, and as taking a prominent part in the events which he narrates. In a word, we have here a Bishop of the Roman Church, in the third century, presenting us with a Memoir of his own Time.

Inasmuch as this portion of the work is of a special

⁸ See *Philosophumena*, pp. 291, 292. ed. Miller.

character, and forms a substantive whole, and possesses peculiar claims on public attention, it appeared to deserve consideration, whether it might not be detached from the rest, and offered separately to the English reader in his own language, as well as in the original Greek.

Hence the present publication.

The Author of the newly-discovered work might now be left to speak for himself, and to recite his own history ; and it would be irrelevant and almost presumptuous to anticipate him, even by a brief summary of his narrative. But, as has been already observed, we have here an Author professing to be a Roman Bishop, and presenting us with a "History of his own Time." Have we here a Roman Huet? Have we, some may say, a Roman Burnet of the third century? Is his recital trustworthy? This is an important question. The reply must depend on the writer's character. And to determine this, we must ascertain, who is the Author? what is the evidence of his veracity?

This let us endeavour to do.

CHAPTER II.

The Philosophumena ; or, Refutation of all Heresies— its Author.

THE copies of the edition, printed at Oxford in 1851, of the Treatise¹ before us bear in their exterior the name of ORIGEN on their back. The learned Editor, M. Miller, and some other erudite scholars, maintain that it was written by Origen. Some of the copyists, also, who transcribed it many centuries ago, assigned it to Origen. And we read, also, the words “doctrine of Origen,” noted by an ancient hand in the margin of the Volume.² And the *first* book of it, which (as was before observed) had been already known to the world, has been ascribed to him in no less than four MSS., and had been admitted into Editions of that Father’s Works.³

Is it then from the pen of ORIGEN ?

¹ The title is, Ὀριγένους φιλοσοφούμενα, ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος. Origenis Philosophumena, sive Omnium Hæresium Refutatio : e Codice Parisino nunc primum edidit Emmanuel Miller. Oxonii, e Typographeo Academico, 1851, p. 339.

² P. 334. Ὀριγένης καὶ Ὀριγένους δόξα.

³ Origenis Opera, ed. Car. Delarue, iv. voll. Paris, 1733. Vol. I. pp. 873—909.

To this question we would reply in the negative.

I. It has been a common practice, in ancient and modern times, to ascribe works,—especially anonymous works,—to illustrious persons. A book, wandering about the world without a name, is, and ever has been, an unattractive thing. Such Books had a tendency to acquire for themselves the name of a creditable author, just as, in course of time, nameless pictures assume the name of some well-known Master. The same motives which tempted some persons, who possessed more leisure than honesty, to compose works, and then to father them on great men, induced copyists and dealers in Manuscripts to assign celebrated names to the works which they themselves had transcribed or had purchased, and exposed to sale.⁴ The name of Origen was the likeliest to occur to a person who was in quest of an Author for the present Treatise. Origen lived at the time from which this Treatise dates, and at which its Author flourished. Origen wrote in Greek. Origen was also a voluminous Writer. He was well versed in systems of Philosophers, as well as in theories of Heretics; and, therefore, it would appear probable, that any anonymous Greek treatise—such as that before us—might be more safely assigned to Origen than to any one else; and that it would pass under his name without further inquiry. A list of works, erroneously assigned to Origen, may be seen in the

⁴ See Bentley, *Dissert. on Phalaris*, pp. 6—8, ed. Lond. 1777.

“Origeniana” of Huet,⁵ who states various reasons for such an ascription. We shall have occasion to observe hereafter, that another anonymous work, similar in some respects to the present, was from the pen of the same writer as composed the present Treatise, and that it was ascribed to Origen.

2. With regard to the words “*Doctrine of Origen*,” inscribed by some ancient Copyist on the margin of a passage in this Treatise,—these do not appear to afford any argument (as has been supposed by some) for the ascription of this work to Origen, but rather the contrary. Silius Italicus, it is well known, was an admirer and imitator of Virgil, as Virgil was of Ennius. We should be much surprised to find, in MSS. of the “*Punica*” of Silius, the words “*Versus Sili*” noted at the side of one of the lines in that Poem, as we should be surprised to find a marginal note, “*Versus Maronis*,” annexed to a line of the *Æneid*. But we should not be astonished to find the words “*Versus Virgilii*” appended as a marginal comment to a line of Silius; or to read the words “*Versus Ennii*” annexed to a line of Virgil. But we should not thence infer that the “*Punic War*” was written by Virgil, or that the *Æneid* was composed by Ennius, or that the marginal annotator had imagined that this was the case—but the contrary. And so the words, “*Doctrine of Origin*,” do not appear to intimate, that in the copyist’s opinion “the

⁵ Appendix to lib. iii. in the ivth Volume of the Benedictine Edition, p. 321. See also the Preface to that edition, p. xiii.

Philosophumena" was written by Origen, but that it was composed by some person who (in his view) had imitated or expressed the opinion of Origen, in that particular passage to which the marginal note was annexed.

3. The first book of the Philosophumena has, it is true, been inserted in editions of Origen's works. But the editors of Origen have avowed their belief that the Treatise is not his:⁶ and the recent discovery of the main portion of the remainder has confirmed their judgment.

Their opinion that the work is not by Origen was grounded on a passage occurring in the first Book,⁷ where the Author describes himself as "a successor of the Apostles, a partaker with them in the same grace and principal sacerdocy,⁸ and doctorship, and as numbered among the guardians of the Church." These words, they very justly observe, could only have been employed by a *Bishop*, speaking of himself. Origen was *not* a Bishop; and he was distinguished by modesty, as well as by learning. He would not, therefore, have written thus. Therefore, the Author of the Philosophumena is not Origen.

4. Again: Origen, it is true, visited Rome at a particular time which falls within the period described

⁶ Origenis Opera, i. p. 873, ed. Bened. 1733. Huet. Origeniana, iii. Appendix xi. vol. iv. p. 527.

⁷ Philosophumena, p. 3, l. 63, ed. Miller.

⁸ ἀρχιερέτεια. Compare the language of Tertullian de Bapt. c. 17: "Dandi baptismum quidem habet jus *summus sacerdos*, qui est *Episcopus*."

in the present Volume. He came to Rome in the Pontificate of Zephyrinus ; but his visit was of brief duration.⁹ Origen was only a sojourner at Rome for a short time ; but the Author of the present Treatise appears to have spent the greater part of his life at Rome, or near it. It is clear, from the narrative contained in the portion of the *Philosophumena* laid before the reader in this Volume, that the Writer was at Rome, or its neighbourhood, before the Pontificate of Zephyrinus, that he remained there during that Pontificate—which was not a short one, but lasted about sixteen years—and that he continued there till after the death of Callistus, the successor of Zephyrinus. Therefore, this Treatise was not written by Origen.

5. Besides : the Author of the *Philosophumena* describes himself as holding an important office in the Roman Church ; he represents himself as having exercised ecclesiastical discipline there, and as having separated certain persons from Church-communion by sentence of excommunication.¹

Nothing of this kind could be said of Origen ; therefore we are again brought to the conclusion that the treatise before us was not written by him.

6. Men's opinions alter ; their tempers are liable to change ; but facts are immutable. Hence, in this

⁹ *ἐνθα οὐ πολὺν διατρίψας*, says Euseb. vi. 14. Origen is said, by St. Jerome (de Vir. Illust. c. 61, and by Nicephorus Callist. iv. 31), to have been among the hearers who listened to a sermon by St. Hippolytus.

¹ Book ix. 12, p. 290. 38.

question of authorship, it appears more safe to dwell on circumstantial evidence, than to lay stress on discrepancies of thought and manner, visible in this Treatise, when contrasted with what is seen in undoubted works of Origen.

Yet such characteristics merit consideration. And they serve to confirm the opinion already stated, that the Volume before us is not attributable to him.

7. For example ; our Author² speaks at large of the Noetian heresy, and its adherents, who dwelt on certain detached' and isolated words of Scripture, and, relying on them, contended³ that the First and Second Persons of the Blessed Trinity are only two different Names of the same Divine Being. His language, concerning these parties, is that of one who had recently had experience of the evils to which their false teaching led, and who had been engaged in a painful struggle with the abettors of that heresy.

But how different is the tone of Origen when treating of the same subject ! In a spirit of calm philosophy, of ingenious tolerance, and inventive charity, he suggests circumstances of extenuation, and almost pleads for the erring while he deplors their errors. He observes, what was doubtless true, that the Noetians recoiled from an opposite heresy, which disparaged the dignity of the Son, and degraded

² Lib. viii. pp. 276, 277 ; ix. pp. 278—291.

³ S. Hippol. c. Noet. iii. apud Routh, Script. Eccles. Opusc. p. 52.
ταῦτα βούλονται οὕτω διηγείσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῖς μονόκωλα χρώμενοι,—

Him to the level of an ordinary man, animated by the Spirit of God, and that thus, through fear of an heretical dogma, they had lapsed unconsciously into heresy.⁴

This was a liberal view. It was suited to the position and genius of Origen, who beheld the strife from afar. But it was not to be expected from one who was actively engaged in the battle. And, however this may be, certainly nothing can be more different than the temper and tone with which the Patripassian heresy and its promoters are regarded and described in the works of Origen on the one side and in this "Refutation of all heresies" on the other. He who wrote the former could hardly have written the latter. Therefore again it would appear that the Author of the present treatise is not Origen.

8. One more remark of this kind. The opinion of

⁴ Origen, in Matth. t. xvii. § 14, says that they err *φαντασίᾳ τοῦ δοξάζειν χριστόν*, and in Johan., tom. ii. c. 2, calls them *φιλοθέους εἶναι εὐχομένους*, and offers also some apology for them as *εὐλαβουμένους δύο ἀναγορευσαί θεοῦς, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο παριπίπτοντας ψευδέσι καὶ ἀσεβέσι δόγμασι*, vol. i. p. 92. Lommatzsch. See also Origen, *Fragm. ex libro in Epist. ad Titum*, ed. Lommatzsch V. 287, *ne videantur duos deos dicere, neque rursum negare Salvatoris Deitatem, unam eandemque subsistentiam Patris ac Filii asseverant, i. e. duo quidem nomina secundum diversitatem causarum recipientem, unam tamen ὑπόστασιν subsistere, i. e. unam Personam duobus nominibus subjacentem, qui Latine Patripassiani appellantur.* Origen's success in dealing with Beryllus of Bosra is well known, Euseb. vi. 33. S. Jerome de Viris. Illust. c. 60, and was probably due to his Christian temper not less than to his profound learning. *οὐκ ἂν ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα λέγοιμεν ἂν τοὺς ἄλλα δοξάζοντας*, he says, c. Cels. v. p. 273, *οὐκ ἂν ἀποστουγήσαιεν τοὺς παραχαράττοντας τὰ χριστιανισμοῦ*, he says in a spirit which can hardly be reconciled with the language of the present Treatise.

Origen with regard to future punishments is well known. The same feelings which induced him to palliate the errors of heretics, beguiled him into exercising his ingenuity in tampering with the declarations of Scripture concerning the eternal duration of the future punishment of sin.⁵

But the author of the newly discovered Treatise speaks a very different language. He does indeed, at the close of his work, address an affectionate invitation to the heathen world. He portrays, with glowing and rapturous eloquence, the dignity, blessedness, and glory of those privileges which would be theirs, if they were Christ's. He describes the immense love of God in Christ to the world, and His earnest desire for their salvation, and he exhorts them to accept God's gracious offers, and to enter the Church of Christ. But he does not pause there. He presents to them in dark colours another alternative. He describes the woe and the anguish to which they will be doomed, if they refuse to hearken to God. He displays the boiling surge of the never-ebbing lake of fire,⁶ and the excruciating agonies of those who are lost. He labours to prevail on them to escape from the wrath to come, and to attain the happiness of the blessed, by declaring to them, in God's name, that the pains of hell and the joys of heaven are not temporal, but eternal.⁷

⁵ See Origen, 19. Homil. in Jerem. tom. iii. p. 267. De Princ. i. 6.

⁶ Philosophumena, p. 338. 4, βρασμὸν ἀεδαίου λίμνης.

⁷ Compare the similar statements of doctrine by St. Irenæus, iv. 78 ; v. 27.

Such is his mode of dealing with that subject.

Probably enough has been said to satisfy the reader that the author of the Treatise before us is not Origen.

Let us pass to another name.

CHAPTER III.

Another Name considered.

IT is a remarkable circumstance, that very few of the Roman Poets were natives of Rome. Catullus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Persius, were born in provincial towns of Italy. Many, also, of the Roman Poets, as they are commonly called, were not natives of the Italian soil. Africa gave birth to Terence; Lucan, Seneca, and Martial, were from Spain. The same is true also of the most distinguished Orators, Philosophers, and Historians, whose names are generally connected with that of Rome. Scarcely one of the most eminent Roman writers was born at Rome. A similar remark may be made with regard to the early Ecclesiastical writers and distinguished men of the Latin Church. Few were connected by birth, or even by residence, with Rome. And of the eleven Bishops who governed the Church of Rome during the first two centuries, two only appear to have had any reputation for literary attainments: St. Clement, whose Epistle to the Corinthian Church still survives, and whose native country is uncertain; and Victor,

supposed to have been of Africa, who is regarded as the first Ecclesiastical Author who wrote in the Latin tongue.¹ The inscriptions on the tombs of the earlier Bishops of Rome, buried in the Catacomb of Callistus, are Greek.² There are very few names, of literary celebrity, which are in any way connected with the Roman Church in the first three centuries of the Christian era.³

Hence it would appear to be a not very difficult task to discover the Author of the Treatise before us. He also puts into our hands three clues for his identification—not to speak of others at present. He represents himself—

1. As a Bishop ;
2. As taking an active part in the Ecclesiastical affairs of Rome ; and
3. As having written other Works, whose titles he specifies.

Who was there, let us ask, that corresponded to this description ?

The name of Origen, suggested by the title, being

¹ S. Hieron. de Viris Illust., c. 34. 40. 53.

² May I be allowed to refer to the description of them in my Tour in Italy, i. pp. 177—183 ?

³ The Historian Sozomen, who wrote early in the fifth century, asserts that no Bishop of Rome nor any Ecclesiastic preached to the people in his age. Sozomen, vii. 19, and see the note of Valesius on the passage ; and it is commonly asserted that no Bishop of Rome delivered Sermons or Homilies in public before Leo I., in the middle of the fifth century ; but this seems to be hardly reconcilable with the statement of Prudentius (born A.D. 348), Hymn. xi. 25 :—

Fronte sub adversâ gradibus sublime tribunal
Tollitur, Antistes prædicat unde Deum.

dismissed as untenable, perhaps the first person who would present himself to the mind of an inquirer as a candidate for the authorship of this Treatise, would be CAIUS. He is known to have been a Presbyter of the Roman Church in the episcopate of Zephyrinus;⁴ and the Author of this Treatise lived in the age of Zephyrinus. Caius is also known as a learned and eloquent man, and as having conducted a theological disputation, probably by the appointment of Zephyrinus,⁵ with Proclus, a leader of the Montanists at Rome, and to have gained honour by the ability which he displayed on that occasion. From the fragments which remain of his controversial argument, we learn that he wrote in Greek; and we are informed, that, being a Presbyter of Rome, he was promoted to the Episcopal order.⁶

Thus he appears to satisfy some of the most important conditions of the present case.

Another point, also, may be noticed here.

1. Among the Works which the writer of this Treatise specifies as having been produced by him-

⁴ Euseb. ii. 25; vi. 20. Phot. Cod. 48. Zephyrinus was Bishop of Rome from A.D. 202 to A.D. 218. Jaffé Regesta Pontificum, p. 5.

⁵ Hence, perhaps, the assertion of Optatus i. 9: Marcion, Praxeas, Sabellius, Valentinus et cæteri usque ad *Cataphrygas* temporibus suis a Victorino Pictaviensi, *Zephyrino Urbico* (i. e. Episcopo Urbis Romæ), et a Tertulliano Carthaginensi et aliis adsertoribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ superati sunt.

⁶ Phot. Cod. 48. τοῦτον τὸν Γάϊον πρεσβύτερον φασιν γεγενῆσθαι τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ Οὐίκτορος καὶ Ζεφυρίνου ἀρχιερέων, χειροτονηθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον: but there is reason, as we shall hereafter see, to think this assertion ought rather to be applied to another person,—Hippolytus.

self, is one entitled "On the Substance of the Universe."⁷

Can we, then, ascertain the Author of that Work—"On The Universe"?

Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople,—the Statesman, Scholar, and Divine, of the ninth century, in that rich storehouse of ancient literary lore, the "Library" or bibliographical record,⁸ which he wrote when on a diplomatic mission as an ambassador in Assyria, and in which he describes the contents of the books he had read, refers to a Work,⁹ called "The Labyrinth"—so named (it appears) because its Author endeavoured to track certain heretical teachers through their devious mazes, and to enable others, who might be entangled in their windings, to extricate themselves from them.

From the notice given by Photius of "The Labyrinth," we learn, that the Author of it referred his readers to another work of his own composition—a work "On the Substance of the Universe."¹

By whom then was "The Labyrinth" written?

If we can discover this, we shall have ascertained the Author of our own Treatise; and of the Treatise

⁷ p. 334. 78. εἶσονται, ἐντυχόντες ἡμῶν βίβλων περιεχούση περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας.

⁸ See Fabricius, Harles. x. p. 678.

⁹ Phot. Bibl. Cod. 48.

¹ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ λαβυρίνθου διεμαρτύρατο ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι τὸν περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας λόγον. This work, says Photius (Cod. 48), was entitled in some MSS. περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας, in others, π. τ. τ. π. οὐσίας: in others, περὶ τοῦ παντός. He appears to have seen various MSS. of it.

on the Universe. Indeed, if the question concerning the authorship of any one of these three Treatises is settled, the question also would seem to be decided concerning the other two.

On reference to the words of Photius, already noticed, it would seem at first sight that we have there a solution of the problem.

The Labyrinth, writes Photius, has been *ascribed* to *Origen*,² but "*they say that it is by CAIUS.*"³

Photius then mentions that the Author of the Labyrinth referred to the Treatise on the Universe as written by himself.⁴

Here our first impression would be that the question before us was now set at rest.

We feel disposed to acknowledge CAIUS, the celebrated Roman presbyter of the second and third century, as the Author of the newly-discovered Treatise, and of the two other works that have been mentioned, from the same pen.

But when we proceed to examine the evidence more closely, we find reason to retract, or, at least to suspend, our judgment.

Photius appears to hesitate, except as to the identity of the Author of the Labyrinth and of the Treatise on the Universe.

² See also Theodoret. hæret. fabul. ii. 5.

³ Phot. Cod. 48. Γαίου, ὃν φασι συντάξαι καὶ τὸν λαβύρινθον. He is reporting *their* opinion when he adds, Γαίου ἐστὶ πόνημα τῆ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ συντεταχότος τὸν λαβύρινθον.

⁴ Ibid. ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ λαβυρίνθου διεμαρτύρατο ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι τὸν περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας λόγον.

He had the Treatise on the Universe as well as the Labyrinth in his Library. He describes its contents.⁵ He says that this Treatise having been left anonymous, had been attributed by some to Josephus,⁶ by others to Justin Martyr, and by others to Irenæus, and that in a marginal note in his MS., it was assigned to Caius, “who, *they say*, wrote the Labyrinth, the author of which states at the end of it that he wrote the work on the Universe.”

“*But* (says Photius) whether it was written by Caius, or by another,—*is not yet manifest to me.*”⁷

Thus then, we do not feel justified in awarding this work, and the other two connected with it, to CAIUS, on the authority of Photius.

2. Other considerations also may deter us from making such an assignment.

Notices of Caius have been left by Eusebius and St. Jerome. It is their practice to specify the titles of the works written by the persons whom they commemorate. They mention the disputation of Caius against Montanism. But neither Eusebius nor St. Jerome mentions any one of these three works just specified, as written by Caius.

It would not be surprising that *one* of these three works should not have been noticed by them in their account of the author of the three; but it is very improbable that *all* the three should have been *omitted*

⁵ Cod. 48.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ οὐπω μοι γέγονεν εὔδηλον.

by them *both*; especially in the case of such a person as Caius, who was a distinguished man, but not (as far as we know) a voluminous writer.

It is not, therefore, probable that Caius wrote these three works; and since they were all written by the same author, therefore none of them was written by Caius; and therefore it would seem, on this ground, that we must look elsewhere for the Author of the newly-discovered Treatise before us.

3. Again; the Treatise before us was written after the Episcopate of Zephyrinus; for it speaks of his death, and after the death of his successor.⁸

The disputation of Caius with Proclus the *Montanist* took place in the Episcopate of Zephyrinus; and the impression we receive from Church History is, that the reputation of Caius was mainly derived from his success in that controversy. It appears to have been the principal public event of his professional life.

The Author of the newly-discovered Treatise, which, it is to be remembered, is designed to be a History of all Heresies, as well as a Refutation of them, refers to other works written by himself.

Now, at the close of his Eighth Book, he comes to speak of *Montanus*, and of the Montanistic tenets. He treats their heresy very lightly and briefly; indeed he hardly regards it as a heresy;⁹ and takes care to

⁸ P. 288. 96, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ζεφυρίνου τελευτῆν: pp. 291, 292, and after the death of Callistus.

⁹ *Philosophumena*, p. 275. He calls them αἰρετικώτεροι, *sub-*

inform his readers that the *Montanists are orthodox in the main articles of the Faith.*

If a person had taken up arms against Montanism as Caius did, and if he had composed and published a Work in refutation of Montanism as Caius had done, and if his name had been honourably associated, and almost identified, with the controversy which the Church carried on against Montanus, it does not appear to be probable that he would have spoken of Montanism so lightly as the Author of this Treatise does speak.

And if the Author of this Treatise had written against Montanism, it is probable, that, since he says so little on that subject in this Treatise, and since it is his practice to refer his reader to his other works as supplementary to the present, he would have referred to his work on Montanism for further information on that matter. In a word, either Caius would not have spoken of Montanism, as the Author of this Treatise speaks; or, if he had spoken as he does, he would have said something more on that subject than this Author does say.

Therefore, on this ground also, we may infer that this Treatise was not written by CAIUS.

4. Besides, the Author of this Treatise, as we have seen, touches briefly on Montanism in the Eighth Book. He then passes on to another heresy, that of

hæretici; and adds, οὔτοι τὸν μὲν Πατέρα τῶν ὄλων Θεὸν καὶ πάντων κτιστὴν ὁμοίως τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμολογοῦσι, καὶ ὅσα τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρεῖ.

the Encratites ; and, after a few words upon them, he brings the Eighth Book to a close.

And how does he begin the Ninth ?

With a special Preface, a somewhat elaborate one, in which he states, that having described various Heresies, and having refuted them in the *preceding* Books of this Treatise, he is now entering a new field in the *Ninth* Book, and is approaching the most difficult toil of all. And what is that ? To refute the Heresies that arose *in his own time*.¹

He *does not* regard *Montanism* as a *heresy* of his *own time*.

But Caius took an active part in refuting Montanism. It was by his refutation of it that he had gained his renown. Caius would never have described Montanism as a *heresy of the past*. He would not, and could not have written, concerning it, as this Author writes.

Therefore, again, we are brought to the conclusion that this Treatise was not written by CAIUS.

5. Once more. The Montanists against whom Caius argued, referred to the *Apocalypse* of St. John, as affording Scriptural authority to their prophetic rhapsodies and millenarian reveries. Caius, who seems to have been eminent for zeal, not always guided by discretion, appears to have encountered this argument by questioning the genuineness of the

¹ See Book IX. pp. 278, 279. The English reader may see the passages at length in the Translation inserted in chapter vi. of the present Volume.

Apocalypse.² And, there is too good reason for believing that he was carried so far in his animosity against the fanatical dogmas derived by the Montanists from the Apocalypse, that he was not satisfied with denying the genuineness of that Book, but he even proceeded to the length of ascribing it to a heretic, Cerinthus.

If it should appear improbable that such an error as this should be committed by a distinguished person like Caius, a presbyter of the Roman Church, let it be remembered that, as was before observed, the Church of Rome was not eminent for learning at that time. Let it be remembered also, that the Church of Rome herself was induced by a similar fear of

² As this is doubted by some learned persons, who say that Cerinthus composed Revelations (cp. Theodoret. hæret. fab. ii. 3), in which he put forth chiliastic opinions, and that all that was denied by "some in the Church was that these were written by St. John" (see Tillemont Mem. Hist. Eccl. iii. 176); let it be observed that it is evident from the testimony of Dionysius, Bp. of Alexandria, in Euseb. vii. 25, when rightly punctuated, that the *genuineness of the Apocalypse* had been *denied* by some in the Church, and that it had also been ascribed by them to *Cerinthus*, who (they said) had assigned it falsely to St. John, in order to gain currency for his own millenarian opinions under the authority of St. John's name. And that *Caius* was among those persons in the Church to whom Dionysius refers, appears (I conceive) from Euseb. iii. 28, where, after mentioning that Caius had alleged that Cerinthus sought to gain credence for his Chiliasm under the authority of "Revelations, as if written by a great Apostle," he immediately proceeds to cite the words of Dionysius concerning *the Apocalypse of St. John*, as quoted also in another place (Euseb. vii. 25). See also Mill Proleg. in N. T., 654; Grabe, Spicileg., t. i. p. 312; Lardner, Works, i. 637; Döllinger, Hist. of the Church, i. 190, in Oxenham's translation; Gieseler, Eccl. Hist., § 59; who affirm that Caius denied the genuineness of the Apocalypse.

erroneous consequences,³ to surrender another Canonical Book of Holy Scripture—The Epistle to the Hebrews.⁴ The learning of the Church was then mainly in the East. It was by the influence of the East on the West, that the Church of Rome was enabled to recover that Epistle. It was also the influence of the Apocalyptic Churches of Asia, exerted particularly through St. Irenæus and his scholar St. Hippolytus in the West, that preserved the Apocalypse, as an inspired work of St. John, to the Church of Rome.

It becomes then a question for consideration in reference to the present Treatise,—

Does the Author speak of the Apocalypse? If so, in what terms?

In the Seventh Book⁵ he is describing the heretical opinions and licentious practices of the Nicolaitans.

He thus writes.⁶ “Nicolas, one of the seven who was ordained to the Diaconate by the Apostles, was

³ First of Montanism, then of Novatianism. Philastr. de Hæres., § 89.

⁴ It does not appear in the ancient Canon of the Roman Church (Routh, Rel. Sac., iv. p. 2); and St. Jerome says, iii. p. 60 (ed. Bened.), “Epistola ad Hebræos quam *Latina* consuetudo non recipit;” he says, ii. p. 608, “Eam *Latina* consuetudo non recipit;” but he says “inter Scripturas Canonicas ab Ecclesiis *Orientis* suscipitur et ab omnibus retrò Ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus.” Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, before the middle of the third century, acknowledged it as St. Paul’s, Euseb. vi. 41.

⁵ P. 258.

⁶ πολλῆς δὲ αὐτῶν συστάσεως κακῶν αἴτιος γεγένηται Νικόλαος, εἰς τῶν ἑπτὰ εἰς διακονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς, ὃς ἀποστὰς τῆς κατ’ εὐθείαν διδασκαλίας ἐδίδασκεν ἀδιαφορίαν βίου τε καὶ γνώσεως.

the cause of their great conglomeration of evils, who, having fallen away from sound doctrine, taught indifference of morals and of knowledge."

The rest is important, but the text is somewhat corrupt.

The original in the Paris Manuscript is as follows :
 οὗ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐνυβρίζον τὸ τὸ "Ἁγιον Πνεῦμα διὰ
 τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου ἤλεγχε πορνείοντας καὶ
 εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίουσας.⁷

The sense clearly is, "Whose disciples, *i. e.* the disciples of Nicolas . . . the *Holy Spirit* upbraiding rebuked by the *Apocalypse of St. John*, committing fornication, and eating things offered to idols."

He refers to the Book of Revelation, ii. 6. 14, 15. He quotes it as inspired, and as the work of St. John.⁸

This passage, like many others in the Treatise before us, is almost a transcript from the work of St. Irenæus against heresy :⁹ and thus, as was before

⁷ P. 259. 95. M. Miller reads οὗ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐνυβρίζοντας τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης ἤλεγχε : but probably the second τὸ is to be cancelled. In the present Treatise, p. 265 and p. 287 ed. Miller, ἐνυβρίζω is similarly used with an accusative. See the writer in the Ecclesiastic, No. lxxvii. p. 57.

⁸ It is observable that the Author of the Treatise on the Universe appears to refer to the Apocalypse. See Fabric. Hippol., i. 220 : λίμνη πυρός, κ.τ.λ.

⁹ The passage in Irenæus is i. 27 : "Nicolaitæ magistrum quidem habent Nicolaum, unum ex VII, qui primi ad diaconiam ab Apostolis constituti sunt : qui indiscrete vivunt ; plenissimè autem per *Joannis Apocalypsim* manifestantur qui sint, nullam differentiam esse docentes in mœchando et idolothyton edere. Quapropter dixit et de iis Sermo *Sed hoc habes quod odisti opera Nicolaitarum quæ et Ego odi.*" (Apoc. ii. 6.) Cp. Iren. iii. 11.

noticed, it helps us to the original Greek of that venerable writer, in many places where we possess him now only in the old Latin version.

It may also be added, that the text of our Treatise may be often corrected from Irenæus.¹

St. Irenæus, we know, had a great veneration for the Apocalypse, and quotes it very frequently (about thirty times) as inspired, and as the work of the holy Apostle and Evangelist, St. John. Our Author was evidently a diligent reader of St. Irenæus; and, in the passage before us, he follows Irenæus in acknowledging the Genuineness and Inspiration of the Apocalypse.

Here then, as it seems, we have sufficient proof, that the Author of this Treatise is not CAIUS of Rome.²

¹ Parallels between our Treatise and Irenæus are quoted by Duncker in his edition of the "Philosophumena, or Refutation of all Heresies," Gotting. 1859, p. 554.

² Also, what has been said in this chapter, compared with what will be said in the next, suggests reasons for demurring to the ingenious theory of a learned writer in the Journal of Philology (Vol. I. No. 1, p. 98), that Caius and Hippolytus are one and the same person.

CHAPTER IV.

Another Name suggested.

IN the year 1551, some excavations were made at Rome in the part of the Eastern Suburb called "Ager Veranus," near an ancient church of St. Hippolytus, on the Via Tiburtina, or road to Tivoli, not far from the church of St. Lorenzo.¹ The clearing away of the accumulations of an ancient Cemetery and Chapel on that site led to an interesting discovery. A marble Statue of a figure sitting in a Chair was brought to light.² The person there represented was of venerable aspect, bald, with a flowing beard, and clad in the Greek pallium.

The two sides and back of the Chair were found to be covered with Inscriptions in Greek uncial letters. The right side of the Chair exhibits a Calendar, which designates the days of the months of March and April, with which the xivth of the moon coincides. This Calendar, indicating the Paschal Full Moons, is constructed for seven cycles of xvi years

¹ See Tillemont, Mémoires, iii. 24.

² See the engraving prefixed to this volume.

each, dating from the first year of the Emperor Alexander Severus, which is proved from this Calendar to have been³ A.D. 222. These Tables are formed on the suppositions (which are erroneous) that after eight years the full moon recurs on the same day of the month, and that after fifty-six years it recurs on the same day of the week, and they represent in seven columns the day on which the full moon falls during seven periods of sixteen years.

The other side of the Chair presents a Table, indicating the Day on which the Easter Festival falls in each year for the same period of seven cycles of xvi years, dating also from A.D. 222. When the xivth day of the moon falls on a Saturday, then the Easter festival is not to be celebrated on the morrow, or *following* Sunday, but on the Sunday after that. This regulation was in accordance with the Latin practice, but at variance with the Alexandrine custom,⁴ according to which the Paschal Festival might be solemnized from the xvth day of the moon. This Paschal Table, also, is constructed in seven columns of xvi years each, and indicates the day of the month in which the Paschal Festival would fall, from A.D. 222 to A.D. 333.

Many things in this Calendar betoken that it is the work of a Western,⁵ and that it was designed for use in the Western Church.

³ See Clinton, *Fasti Romani ad A.D. 222.*

⁴ See Ideler, *Chronologie*, ii. p. 220.

⁵ Ideler, *Chronologie*, ii. p. 213: Dass er im Occident lebte wird durch die von ihm befolgte *römische* Zeitrechnung ausser Zweifel gesetzt.

The carved Back of the Chair, which was somewhat mutilated, presents a Catalogue of Titles of Works—composed doubtless by the person who occupies the chair.⁶

This Statue thus discovered was in a fragmentary state, but was happily preserved by Cardinal Marcello Cervino, afterwards Pope Marcellus II., and was removed as a valuable monument of Christian Antiquity to the Vatican, and was restored by the aid of Roman Sculptors, as far as might be, to its pristine form, under the auspices of Pope Pius IV., and is now in the Lateran Museum at Rome.⁷

The Paschal Table inscribed on the sides of the Chair dates, as has been stated, from the beginning of the reign of Alexander Severus.

He ascended the imperial throne A.D. 222, when Callistus was Bishop of Rome,—about two years after the death of Zephyrinus, the Predecessor of Callistus, that is to say, in the period described by the Author of the Treatise before us, who represents himself as living under Zephyrinus and his successor; and who in this work, which is entitled “A Refutation of *all* Heresies,” mentions *no* heresy *subsequent* to that age.

Among the titles of Books inscribed on the Chair, we find the following—“On the Universe.”⁸

⁶ See the inscription prefixed to this volume, and below chap. xiii.

⁷ A representation of the three sides of the Statue and of the inscription upon them may be seen in the edition of Hippolytus by Fabricius, pp. 36—38; p. 74, folio, Hamburgh, 1716.

⁸ *περὶ τοῦ παντός.*

The Author of the recently-discovered Treatise (as was before noticed) refers to a book bearing *this* title, as written *by himself*.

Can we, then, ascertain who the personage, represented by the statue, is ?

If so, we have a clue to the authorship of our Treatise.

In reply to this question, let it be observed, that Eusebius and St. Jerome⁹ have left Catalogues respectively of Works composed by an eminent person, one of the most eminent for theological learning and eloquence of that age.

Suffice it to say, that in those Catalogues, they specify a Paschal Cycle of sixteen years, similar to that on the Statue.

They specify also other Works, which tally in the main with the Catalogue on the Statue. Whatever discrepancies there may be in the Catalogues, arise from omissions in one of what is inserted in one or both of the other two : and thus these discrepancies are of service, as showing that the Catalogues are, in some degree at least, independent of each other.

Therefore, the Writer, whose works Eusebius and St. Jerome are describing, is the same as the Person represented in the Statue.

The Author whose Works Eusebius and St. Jerome are enumerating, is St. HIPPOLYTUS.

He then is the person represented in the Statue.

I. This conclusion is confirmed by other evidence

⁹ Euseb. vi. 22. S. Hieron. de Viris Illust. 61.

The person represented in the Statue is that of a venerable figure, sitting in a chair as a Christian Teacher. Hippolytus, it is well known from Eusebius and St. Jerome, was a Bishop of the Church. The Statue was found on the spot described in a hymn of the Christian Poet, Prudentius,¹ as the site where, after a celebrated Teacher of the church called Hippolytus had suffered martyrdom at a place Portus,—that is, the port or harbour of Rome, at the mouth of the river Tiber,—a monument was erected to his memory. A church bearing the name of St. Hippolytus anciently stood there. The Cemetery where the remains of the Hippolytus who is celebrated in that hymn by Prudentius, were buried, was near the Church of Lorenzo, where the Statue was discovered. In the life of Pope Hadrian I.,² it is recorded that “he repaired the Cemetery of St. Hippolytus, near the Church of Lorenzo, which had long fallen into decay.” Hence, it is evident that the person represented in the Statue found in 1551, is the venerable Bishop, the Saint and

¹ Prudentius de martyrio Sancti Hippolyti, Peri Stephanôn, Hymn. xi. 152 :

“Roma placet sanctos quæ teneat cineres.

Haud procul extremo culta ad pomœria vallo—

Mersa latebrosis crypta patet foveis.”

In v. 220 the author describes a neighbouring temple, of which the ruins are said by Baronius to have been extant in his time. See Fabric. Hippol. i. p. xix, note.

² Pope from A.D. 772—795. Anastasii Liber de Vitis Pont. in Hadrian I. A church of St. *Hippolytus* is described by an ancient writer on the “Regiones Urbis,” apud Mabillon, *Analecta Vetera*, p. 365, as standing on the *Via Tiburtina*, near the Church of S. *Laurence*. See also the authorities in Ruggieri de sede S. Hippolyti, pp. 473, 474, 476.

Martyr of the Roman Church in the third century,
St. Hippolytus.

Accordingly, when the Statue was removed to the Vatican, it was there received as a Statue of St. Hippolytus, and the following inscription, declaratory of its purport and discovery, and of its restoration by Pope Pius IV., and assigning to Hippolytus the title of "Bishop of Portus," the harbour of Rome, was engraved on its pedestal,

STATVA
S. HIPPOLYTI
PORTVENSIS EPISCOPI
QVI VIXIT ALEXANDRO
PIO. IMP.
EX VRBIS RVINIS EFFOSSA
A PIO. IIII. MEDICEO
PONT. MAX.
RESTITVTA.

2. The Catalogue on this Statue of Hippolytus specifies (as we have said) a work "*On the Universe.*"

The Author of our Treatise on Heresy mentions (in p. 334) a Work *on the Universe* as written by himself.

Therefore, on this ground we may infer that the writer of our Treatise is St. Hippolytus.

3. Next, it may be added, both Eusebius and St. Jerome mention "a Treatise *against all heresies,*" as written by Hippolytus.³

³ Euseb. vi. 22. πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις. S. Hieron. de Viris Illust. c. lxi.: "Adversus omnes Hæreses." The title of our work is, φιλοσοφούμενα, ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος.

Hence also it would seem to be probable that the Author of the newly-discovered Treatise which is entitled "*a Refutation of all Heresies*," is St. HIP-POLYTUS.

And, if this is the case, then it appears that the discovery of an ancient Statue, near Rome, more than three hundred years ago, will have served as a clue for ascertaining the Author of a Treatise disinterred from a Monastery in Mount Athos in 1842; and will have aided us in the attainment of certain important results (as we shall see hereafter) consequent on that fact.

Let us therefore proceed to consider whether the opinion, now stated as probable, that the present Treatise was written by St. Hippolytus, may be corroborated by other proofs.

Various works are now extant, which are attributed to St. Hippolytus, and they have been inserted as such, in the edition of his writings published by Fabricius. One of these—his homily against the heresy of Noëtus, (published by the late Dr. Routh in his *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, i. 49), remarkable alike for sound theological learning and manly eloquence, contains, as we shall see hereafter, many paragraphs similar to passages in the present Treatise. So, as we shall also see, does the work "on Antichrist" ascribed to him. But, let us reserve what is to be said on them to a later period in the inquiry, and let us construct our argument on what is unquestioned and unquestionable.

4. Let us bear in mind what the time and place are with which we are concerned in the present inquiry.

The Author, whoever he may be, lived in the Church of Rome, in the end of the second and earlier part of the third century. He does not write in the language of Rome, but of Greece. And his work proves him to have been a learned and eloquent man. If what he narrates of himself be true, he had composed various other works, he was a copious writer, and he held a high position in the Roman Church for many years.

Few persons correspond to this description. Indeed, we might almost say that no one does—except St. Hippolytus.

Our Treatise (as we have seen) divides itself into two portions.

1. A view of the Philosophical Systems that had prevailed in the Heathen World.

2. A Refutation of the Heresies that had arisen in the Christian Church.

Hence, the twofold title, "*Philosophumena; or a Refutation of all Heresies.*"

1. With regard to the first of these titles; it is observable that St. Hippolytus is called by ancient writers "a sacred *Philosopher*,"⁴ and it is said, that he was eminent "in Christian *Philosophy.*"

⁴ Georg. Syncell. in Chronog. ad A.D. 215, as quoted in S. Hippol. ed. Fabr., i. p. 42. See also S. Jerome, Epist. ad Magn. 70, et ad Lucin. 71, where he celebrates Hippolytus for his proficiency in Philosophy.

It would seem then that he had written some Philosophical work, which entitled him to this appellation. Such a work is the present, as its name intimates.

Let us now refer to the Second title, the "*Refutation of all Heresies.*"

As we have already seen, Eusebius and St. Jerome attest that a Work "*Against all Heresies*" was written by Hippolytus.

The same is affirmed by numerous other ancient Authors.⁵

2. We are also informed, that St. Hippolytus⁶ spoke in strong terms of censure against Nicolas, one of the VII. Deacons, as well as against the Nicolaitans—an observable circumstance, because many of the ancient Fathers, viz. Ignatius, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Theodoret did indeed reprobate the Nicolaitans and their Heresy, but exempted Nicolas the Deacon from blame.⁷

Now, in a passage already cited (p. 27) from the Treatise before us,⁸ we have seen that the Author censures both Nicolas and the Nicolaitans; as Hippolytus is said to have done.

⁵ Georgius Syncellus in Chronog. A.D. 215. Chronic. Paschal. Alexandrin. p. 6. Nicephorus, Callisti Hist. Eccl., iv. 31, ascribes to Hippolytus, *σύνταγμα πρὸς πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις βιωφελέστατον*. S. Epiphanius, Hær. xxxi. c. 33, refers to Hippolytus as one of his predecessors in refuting Heresy.

⁶ Gobar. ap. Phot. Cod. 232, *ποίας ὑπολήψεις εἶχεν Ἰππόλυτος περὶ Νικολάου τοῦ ἐνδὸς τῶν ζ' διακόνων, καὶ ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ καταγινώσκει.*

⁷ Gobar. ap. Phot. Bibliothec., Cod. 232.

⁸ p 258.

3. We have also seen that the Author, in that passage, as in many others of this Treatise, copies St. Irenæus.

Now, among the scholars of Irenæus, we are informed by Photius, was Hippolytus.⁹

The time in which our Author lived, the mode in which he deals with the work of Irenæus, make it probable that he was reared under his training. He writes like a scholar of Irenæus.

Again, we saw in the passage, just noticed, from our Treatise, a testimony to the genuineness and Inspiration of the Apocalypse. He speaks concerning the Apocalypse as a scholar of St. Irenæus would speak.¹

4. We have contrasted that testimony with the mode in which Caius the Roman Presbyter treated the same Book—the Book of Revelation. Caius, we know, flourished in the Episcopate of Zephyrinus, that is, he was contemporary with—perhaps a little senior to—our Author; and not merely was contemporaneous with him, but resided at the same place, that is, in or near Rome.

The Author of our Treatise received and revered the Apocalypse.

Let us now turn to the Catalogue of the titles of Works inscribed on the back of the Statue of St. Hippolytus.²

⁹ Phot. Cod. 121, *Μαθητῆς Εἰρηναίου Ἰππόλυτος*.

¹ See above, chapter iii. p. 27.

² See the frontispiece to the present Volume and below chap. xiii.;

There we read the following:—"A defence of the Gospel according to St. John and of the *Apocalypse*."³

Hence we see, that whatever might be the disposition of his Roman contemporary Caius, Hippolytus acknowledged the *Apocalypse* as a work of the Evangelist St. John.

Nor is this all. In the Chaldee Catalogue of the Works of Hippolytus,⁴ is one, entitled, "Chapters of St. Hippolytus, *against Caius*."

It is true that Fabricius and some other learned men have conjectured that this is an erroneous transcript, and that the true reading is "against the Caianites,"⁵—heretics of that name. For why, they ask, should Hippolytus have written against his contemporary Caius, who refuted heresies?

But why, we may reply, should we desert the received reading? The fact is clear, that some persons in the Western Church had questioned the authority of the *Apocalypse*. Why otherwise should Hippolytus defend it? If Caius, the Roman Presbyter, treated the *Apocalypse* as we have seen he did (chap. iii.), and yet enjoyed the reputation he did in the Church of Rome, it is probable, that many in the Roman Church (misled it is probable by zeal against Montanism) looked on the *Apocalypse* with suspicion

and compare Gruter. Inscript. 140; Le Moynes's *Varia Sacra*, i. p. 496; S. Hippol. ed. Fabricii, i. p. 38; Cave, i. 104; Bunsen, "Hippolytus and his Age," i. pp. 288, 289.

³ Ἐπεὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγελίου καὶ Ἀποκαλύψεως.

⁴ By Hebed Jesu. See S. Hippol. ed. Fabric., i. p. 224.

⁵ Fabric. Bibl. Græc. Harles., vii. p. 197, ed. Hippol., i. p. 224.

What more reasonable, then, than that Hippolytus his contemporary, the scholar of Irenæus the disciple of Polycarp the hearer of St. John the beloved disciple of Christ, when writing a defence (as we know he did) of the Apocalypse, should address it to Caius, in order to warn him and others of his error, and to endeavour to rescue them from it ?

However this may be, certain it is, that the Author of our Treatise censured Nicolas, as well as the Nicolaitans ; and that he had no doubts as to the genuineness and inspiration of the Apocalypse. Certain it also is, that in both these respects, as in many others, he followed Irenæus.

It is also evident, that St. Hippolytus did the same ; and that he was a scholar of Irenæus.

Hence, then, we recognize some further confirmations of the previous probability that our Author is St. Hippolytus.

Let us consider, by way of recapitulation, the personal history of the writer of this Treatise.

5. He writes, and writes eloquently, in Greek, and yet, as this Treatise shows, he lived in the Western Church. . . . Besides this *Treatise against all Heresies*, he wrote a Work "*On the Universe.*" He resided at Rome, or near it, under three successive Bishops at least, that is, in the Episcopate of Zephyrinus, of Callistus, and of his successor, Urbanus, perhaps longer.⁶ He was a Bishop, and speaks of his conse-

⁶ Book ix. passim.

quent obligation to refute heresy, and to maintain the truth.⁷ He exercised Church discipline, in resisting false doctrine, and in separating open and obstinate offenders from Communion with the Church.⁸ He describes,⁹ with the graphic liveliness of one who had been a spectator, or had heard a description of those who were eye-witnesses of it, a remarkable scene which took place at Portus, the harbour of Rome.

All these and other particulars which might be noticed, correspond with what we know of Hippolytus. His name is not of Latin origin, but Greek. Being a scholar of Irenæus, he was probably of Eastern extraction. And all Antiquity witnesses that he wrote in Greek. He composed a "Refutation of all Heresies," and a "Treatise on the Universe." He lived under Zephyrinus, Callistus, and his successor, probably later. Hippolytus was, also, a Bishop and Martyr. There is reason, as we shall hereafter see, to believe that Hippolytus was designated as a "*Bishop of the nations*" (ἐπίσκοπος ἐθνῶν) and that he resided at Portus, or Roman harbour, to which the people of many Nations flocked as a great commercial Emporium; he is often called by ancient writers, a Roman Bishop, and even (in the language of those days) a Bishop of Rome.¹ He was also a Martyr, and is com-

⁷ Book i. p. 3.

⁸ See p. 290, where the Author uses the plural *we*, speaking of *himself*. See the Rev. T. K. Arnold's Theol. Critic. vol. ii. p. 597. So p. 334, 78, ἡμῶν βίβλαφ.

⁹ P. 286.

¹ See the authorities in the edition of St. Hippolytus by Fabricius,

memorated as such in the Roman Martyrologies.² As such he was honoured by one of the noblest Statues of a Christian Ecclesiastic in ancient Christian times. As such he is venerated in the Roman Breviary, and was received into the Vatican Palace, and now into the Lateran Museum, sitting in his marble Chair,—as a Teacher of the Western Church.

Lastly, this newly-discovered Treatise has now been acknowledged to be the work of St. Hippolytus the Scholar of St. Irenæus, the Bishop and Martyr of the Roman Church, the most learned and eloquent of the writers of that Church in the earlier part of the Third century, by the concurrent judgment of some of the most eminent theologians, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant; such as Dr. Von Döllinger, Bishop Lightfoot, Dean Milman, Archdeacon Churton, Canon Robertson, Baron Bunsen, Dr. G. Volckmar, Dr. Gieseler, Professor Jacobi, Dr. Schaff, and others; and this Treatise has been published as a genuine work of St. Hippolytus by Dr. Duncker at Göttingen in 1859. The testimony on this matter may be i. p. viii—x, and p. 42—47, Ruggieri de sede S. Hippolyti, p. 478—493, 518—525.

² On the ides of August, Aug. 13, (ed. Baronii, p. 360—362) Romæ beati Hippolyti Martyris qui pro confessionis gloriâ sub *Valeriano* Imperatore post alia tormenta ligatis pedibus ad colla indomitorum equorum per carduetum et tribulos crudeliter tractus toto corpore laceratus emisit spiritum; extra portam Tiburtinam in agro Verano sepultus. Cardinal Baronius testifies to the existence of a Church of St. Hippolytus, near that of St. Lawrence.

This is in harmony with the account of Prudentius in his hymn of St. Hippolytus. The name of Hippolytus, with some other circumstances which appear to belong to our Hippolytus, occurs also in the Roman Martyrology on August 22.

summed up in the words of Dr. Von Döllinger.³ "That the celebrated Doctor of the Church, Hippolytus, was the Author of the newly-discovered Work on the Heresies, is declared simultaneously and independently by the majority of those who have investigated this question."

A Treatise, therefore, like the present, coming from St. Hippolytus, and recovered almost miraculously in the middle of the nineteenth century, is entitled to respectful attention, especially from the Western Church. And it may reasonably be expected to receive it.

³ Hippolytus und Kallistus, pag. i. Regensburg, 1853.

CHAPTER V.

Objections Considered.—Photius and others.

A CONSIDERABLE amount of evidence may be adduced to authorize the ascription of a Work to a particular writer, and such evidence may be sufficient to produce conviction, when considered by itself; and yet, when the question is subjected to further examination, and arguments are adduced on the other side, that conviction may be weakened, and the mind may waver concerning the soundness of its former persuasion.

We have been engaged in considering the question,—

To whom is the newly-discovered Treatise on Heresy to be assigned?

We have been led to observe, that the Candidates for its authorship cannot be numerous. We have examined the pretensions of two Competitors—Origen, and Caius of Rome, who appeared at first to have strong claims on our attention. We have seen that the Work could not be adjudged to either of them.

Another name was then adduced,—that of ST. HIPPOLYTUS. And there seemed to be sufficient reason for awarding this Volume to him.

This part of our task has been performed with comparative ease. Others have smoothed the way. More than a year ago, a learned English Theologian,¹ speaking of this newly-discovered Treatise, assigned it to St. Hippolytus ; and, since that time, a Work has been published, which adduces some cogent arguments in favour of the same opinion, by a writer long known to the world—the Chevalier Bunsen.²

But “Audi alteram partem” is the counsel which is suggested by experience in questions of this description. We cannot justly feel satisfied with any conclusion, till we hear what may be adduced against it. And it is not to be denied, that, in the present case, there is much to be said which might seem at first to be of sufficient weight to constrain us to suspend our judgment, if not to incline it in another direction.

Let us, then, address ourselves to the consideration of this *other* evidence.

¹ The late Archb. Churton, page xxvii of the Preface to his Edition of Bp. Pearson’s *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, where he calls this Treatise “Opus nuper felicibus Academiæ Oxoniensis auspiciis publicâ luce donatum, Christianæ Antiquitatis cultoribus acceptissimum, *Origenis*, ut titulus præfert, sive ut mihi cum Viris compluribus bene doctis probabilius videtur, *S. Hippolyti*.” This preface is dated vii. Kal. Feb. MDCCCLII.

² In the First Volume of “HIPPOLYTUS and his AGE,” by C. C. J. BUNSEN, D.C.L., Four Volumes, Lond. 1852.

1. The learned Patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, had in his Library a Work ascribed to ST. HIPPOLYTUS: and it was a Work “AGAINST HERESIES.”

In his bibliographical Journal, composed in Assyria, Photius describes it thus.³

“A *bibliदारion*” (a diminutive of *little book*) “of Hippolytus—was read to me.⁴ Hippolytus was a Scholar of Irenæus. This Book is a ‘*Treatise against Thirty-two Heresies* ;’ it begins with the Dositheans, and goes down to Noetus and the Noetians: and the Author says, that he composed it as a synopsis of Lectures⁵ delivered *vivâ voce* by Irenæus, in refutation of these heresies. There are some things deficient in accuracy in this book,—one is the assertion, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not by the Apostle St. Paul.”⁶

³ Phot. Cod. 121. ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Ἰππολύτου· Μαθητῆς δὲ Εἰρηναίου ὁ Ἰππόλυτος· ἦν δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα κατὰ αἰρέσεων λβ'. ἀρχὴν ποιούμενος· Δοσιθεαῶν καὶ μέχρι Νοητοῦ καὶ Νοητιανῶν διαλαμβάνων (sic Bekker, pro vulg. διαλαμβάνόμενον) ταύτας δὲ φησὶν ἐλέγχοις ὑποβληθῆναι ὁμιλοῦντος Εἰρηναίου, ὧν καὶ σύνοψιν ὁ Ἰππόλυτος ποιούμενος τὸδε τὸ βιβλίον φησὶν συντεταχέναι. . . . λέγει δὲ ἄλλα τε τινὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας λειπόμενα, καὶ ὅτι ἢ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴ οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Παύλου.

⁴ It is well known to have been a common practice of students in ancient times rather to *hear* books *read to them* by slaves called *anagnostæ*, than to read them with their own eyes. The lament of Cicero for the death of his *anagnostes* will occur to the reader. Hence perhaps the phrase of Photius; but he may have been his own reader.

⁵ These Lectures were probably prior to the V. Books,—or rather portions of V. Books,—of Irenæus against Heresies, now extant, which were published at intervals A.D. 180—185, according to Bp. Pearson, Diss. Post. ii. xiv. p. 527. Perhaps the date should be carried lower: the third book was written under Eleutherus (iii. 3), whose Episcopate is extended by some to A.D. 192. Jaffé, Regest. Pontif. p. 4.

⁶ Cp. Euseb., vi. 20, where he says that Caius also did not acknow-

Here, then, we are met by a difficulty.

Photius had a Work before him—a Work on Heresy—a Work written by St. Hippolytus. He proceeds to describe it. How does it correspond with the Treatise before us? *His* Volume is a *little book*—a single βιβλιδάριον; *ours* is a large one: it consists of ten βιβλία or books. His was a Treatise *against thirty-two* heresies. Ours is a *refutation of all heresies*. His began with the Dositheans, and ended with the Noetians; ours begins its catalogue of heresies with the Naassenes, and ends with the Elchasaites. His professed to be a compendium of oral discourses by Irenæus; ⁷ ours makes no such announcement. In the Treatise which Photius read, Hippolytus said that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by St. Paul. In the books which remain of our Treatise, there is no such assertion.⁸

2. Can, therefore, our Treatise be the same Work as that read by Photius?

It has been said by a learned writer⁹ that there is no doubt of their identity. But, on consideration of

ledge the Epistle to be by St. Paul, and even yet (adds Eusebius) some at Rome do not receive it as St. Paul's.

⁷ It could not have been a compendium from the *written* Treatise of Irenæus against Heresy, in V. Books; for no mention is made there of the Dositheans or Noetians.

⁸ These difficulties have been well stated by a learned writer, the present Dean of Rochester, in an able Article in the Rev. T. K. Arnold's Theol. Critic, vol. ii. p. 524.

⁹ M. Bunsen says, p. 16: "The description (given by Photius) tallies so exactly with the book before us, that it cannot have been given of any other." Again, p. 25: "The rest of the account given by Photius is positive and accurate enough to prove that we have the work he speaks

the evidence, few, it is probable, will concur in that opinion. No Procrustean process of pressure can make a Treatise in *ten books* to coincide with the single *little book* described by Photius.

3. Besides,—looking at the contents of our Treatise, we find a copious account of proceedings which took place in the Church of Rome in our Author's lifetime, and in which he had an active share. Considering the nature of those proceedings, any one who remembers the relation of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Bishop of Rome and the Roman See, and who recollects his long and vigorous struggle against what he regarded as its usurpations, will feel a strong persuasion, that if Photius had ever had before him the narrative contained in this Treatise, he would not have failed to notice it in his account of the Work, and would have dwelt upon the events there recorded, in his controversies with the Roman See.

4. Once more: We have seen that the Author of our Treatise claims the Work, "*On the Universe*," as his own.¹ But Photius (as we have also seen)² of before us." And again, p. 26: "*Photius evidently found these Judaic sects, as we do, at the head of his Treatise, but expresses himself inaccurately.*"

This is doubtful; and again: "*Instead of calling them Ophites (says M. Bunsen), Photius designates them as Dositheans.*" Again, p. 26: "*The last of the heresies treated by Hippolytus, in the work read by Photius, was that of the Noetians; and so in fact it is in our book.*" Again, pp. 120, 121: "*Looking back to the points I undertook to prove, I believe I have established them pretty satisfactorily.*" "Our work begins in fact, as Photius says, so too does it end."

P. 334, ed. Miller. Above, chapter iii. ² Above, chapter iii.

did not know who wrote that Work on the Universe. He says that it has been ascribed to Justin Martyr, Caius, and others;—but has no suspicion that it was written by Hippolytus. Hence, again, it is clear, that our Treatise is not the Little Book on Heresy by Hippolytus, which Photius saw and describes.

5. Here, let us candidly avow, is an embarrassment. Let us not close our eyes to it. Rather let us meet it, in hope, that, if our former conclusion was right, this, which is now a difficulty, may become an ally. St. Hippolytus, it is confessed by all, wrote a Treatise on Heresy. Photius read a Work on Heresy, written by Hippolytus. Our Treatise is a Treatise on Heresy, and is different from the Book read by Photius. And it is anonymous.

Has not, therefore, the Little Book read by Photius the fairer claim of the two to be regarded as *the* Work on Heresy written by Hippolytus, and mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome and others, and received by the world as such?

Again: if we ascend upward from the times of Photius to an earlier period, we find additional evidence of the existence of a Work on Heresy written by Hippolytus,—and a Work *differing* from the Treatise before us.

6. For example: Gelasius,³ whom some suppose to be the Bishop of Rome so named, at the close

³ Gelas. ap. Bibl. Patrum Max., Lugd. viii. p. 704, where good reasons are assigned for the opinion that these words were not written by the Gelasius, who was Bishop of Rome. Fabric. Hippol. p. 225.

of the fifth century (A.D. 492—496), in his Treatise “On the two Natures of Christ,” refers to a Work by St. Hippolytus on Heresy, and cites a passage from it. He introduces his quotation thus:⁴ “From Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, of the Metropolis of the Arabians, in his *Memoria Hæresium*.” He then recites (not in the original Greek, but in Latin) an extract; a very beautiful passage, in which Hippolytus collects from Holy Scripture some of the proofs, displayed by our Blessed Lord upon earth, of His Humanity, and also of His Divinity:

The passage cited by Gelasius does not appear in our Treatise.

The fact seems to be, as to the title here given to Hippolytus, “Bishop of the Metropolis of Arabia,” i.e. of Bosra (Bingham, ix. ch. i. and Carolus a S. Paulo, *Geographia Sacra*, p. 295; ed. 1703) that this error in the designation of Hippolytus, as has been suggested by Cotelerius (*Mon. Eccl. Gr.* ii. 639), was derived from the erroneous Latin version, by Ruffinus, of a passage in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, where speaking of the learned ecclesiastical writers flourishing at a particular period, he says: “Of these, Beryllus left Epistles, and various choice extracts from other writings. He was Bishop of the Arabians in Bosra. And likewise Hippolytus,—who was president of some other Church.”⁵

⁴ Hippolyti, Episcopi et Martyris, Arabum Metropolis, in *Memoria Hæresium*.

⁵ Ἐπίσκοπος δ' οὗτος ἦν τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν Ἀράβων, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἰππόλυτος, ἑτέρας πού καὶ αὐτὸς προσετῶς ἐκκλησίας, which is thus

But whether this extract was really made by Gelasius, Bishop of Rome, or no, (which is not of much moment to the question before us,) we must now revert to the fact, that we look in vain for the passage, in our Treatise on Heresy.

On the other hand, it may be remarked, that this same passage exists in the original Greek, not in the "Treatise of Hippolytus against Noetus," as has been affirmed,⁶ but in his Exposition of the Second Psalm, and is so cited by Theodoret.⁷

We may offer one more remark on this quotation, by Gelasius, before we close this Chapter; but in the mean time perhaps it may be affirmed that not much can be inferred from the words of Gelasius, either for or against the genuineness of our Treatise.

7. We ascend to an earlier period than Gelasius, and enter the fourth century.

A Bishop of Alexandria, Peter, who lived early in that century, refers to St. Hippolytus, whom he calls "a witness of Godliness," (probably alluding to his Martyrdom,) and Bishop of Portus, near Rome.⁸ He rendered by Ruffinus, "Erat inter cæteros et Beryllus scriptor præcipuus, qui et ipse diversa opuscula dereliquit. Episcopus hic fuit apud *Bostram Arabiæ urbem maximam, erat nihilominus et Hippolytus, qui et ipse aliquanta scripta dereliquit Episcopus.*" The Latin words of Gelasius, "Episcopus Arabum Metropolis," seem to be derived from this inaccurate version by Ruffinus.

⁶ M. Bunsen says, i. p. 206, "The passage (quoted by Gelasius) exists in the special Treatise against Noetus." A passage like it is found in that Homily, chap. xviii. vol. ii. p. 19, ed. Fabric., and bears marks of being from the same author.

⁷ Theodoret, Dial. ἀσύγχυτος. Vol. iv. Pars i. p. 132, Halæ, 1772.

⁸ Chronicon Paschale sive Alexandrinum, p. 4, ed. Dindorf, 1832, and p. 12. It appears to me that (notwithstanding what is said by Dr.

then proceeds to adduce a citation from a Work⁹ of “St. Hippolytus, against all Heresies.” The quotation refers to the error of the Quartodecimans (that is, of those who kept Easter as the Jews did the Passover, on the xivth day of the Moon), and Peter states that he quotes verbally¹ from that Work of Hippolytus.

Let us now refer to our own Treatise. We there find that the Author speaks of the Quartodecimans,² and that what he there says, bears some resemblance to the quotation of the Alexandrine Bishop, but is not identical with it³.

Hence then it is manifest, first, that the Bishop of

Döllinger to the contrary) Baron Bunsen had good grounds for ascribing this extract to S. Peter of Alexandria himself; Dindorf’s edition seems to show this. See S. Hippol. Fabric. i. p. 224; cf. *ibid.* p. 43.

⁹ σύνταγμα.

¹ ἐπὶ λέξεως.

² P. 274, 85.

³ The reader may compare the two passages :—

Quotation from Hippolytus against Heresy in Paschal Chronicle,
p. 6.

ὄρω μὲν (read ὀρώμεν) ὅτι φιλονεικίας τὸ ἔργον· λέγει γὰρ οὕτως, “ἐποίησεν τὸ πάσχα ὁ χριστὸς τότε, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ (ἡ?) ἔπαθεν, διὸ δεῖ καὶ δεῖ ἕν τρόπον ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησεν, οὕτως ποιεῖν.” πεπλάνηται δὲ, μὴ γινώσκων ὅτι τῷ καιρῷ (ῶ?) ἔπασχεν * ὁ χριστὸς οὐκ ἔφαγεν τὸ κατὰ νόμον πάσχα. Οὗτος (Αὐτός?) γὰρ ἦν τὸ πάσχα τὸ προκεκηρυγμένον, καὶ τελειούμενον τῇ ὀρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

Philosophumena, or Refutation of Heresies, pp. 274-5.

ἕτεροί τινες φιλόνοικοι τὴν φύσιν. . . συνιστάνουσι δεῖν τὸ πάσχα τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς φυλάσσειν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ νόμου διαταγὴν ἐν ἡ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ ἐμπέσῃ. . . οὐ προσέχοντες ὅτι Ἰουδαίους ἐνομοθετεῖτο, τοῖς μέλλουσι τὸ ἀληθινὸν πάσχα ἀναρεῖν (Christum) τὸ εἰς ἔθνη χωρηῖσαν, καὶ πίστει νοούμενον οὐ γράμματι νῦν τηρούμενον.

* Cf. S. Hippol. (fragm. lib. i. de Paschate) *ibid.* p. 6. τὸ Πάσχα οὐκ ἔφαγε, ἀλλ’ ἔπαθε (sc. χριστός). Fabr. Hippol. p. 43.

Alexandria had some work of Hippolytus on Heresy in his possession ; and, secondly, that our Treatise was not that work.

To these considerations must be added another ; namely, that the work to which these Authors refer,—namely, Photius, the so-called Gelasius, and Peter of Alexandria,—as written by Hippolytus, appears to have *borne his name* ; and to have been generally received as his. But our Treatise has not any name prefixed to it.

8. If then the alternative lay between the Book seen and quoted by Photius and others on the one side, and our Treatise on the other, it would seem requisite to ask for more time to consider, before we ventured to arbitrate between the two, and to reject the former work, and to receive the latter, as *the* Treatise against Heresy written by Hippolytus, and recognized by Antiquity as such.

9. But let us now pass on to observe, that this is not the case.

It may be allowed to be probable, that St. Hippolytus wrote two works against Heresy.

It is not uncommon for Authors to write a brief Essay on a subject, and then, subsequently, to expand it into a larger Treatise.

Cicero amplified, in his *De Oratore*, what he had before treated in his earlier works on Rhetoric.⁴ St.

⁴ *De Oratore* 1, 2. Vis enim, ut mihi sæpe dixisti, quoniam quæ pueris aut adolescentulis nobis ex commentariolis nostris *inchoata* et

Paul's Epistle to the Romans is an expansion of that to the Galatians. Tertullian goes over some of the same ground in his "ad Nationes" that he had previously traversed in his "Apologeticus." Origen composed three different editions of Scriptural Expositions.⁵ St. Augustine composed twelve books, "de Genesi ad literam," as a development of what he had before previously written in one book.⁶

Let us remember, also, the nature of the subject; Heresy. Heresy is not stationary; but is ever receiving new accessions, and showing itself in new forms. New refutations are requisite, as new errors arise. It is, therefore, not unlikely, that, if new heresies had arisen in his later years, and if the old ones were not extinct, Hippolytus would have written in continuation and expansion of what he had formerly published concerning Heresy.

10. In the present case, however, we need not rest on probabilities. We have good reason for believing, that St. Hippolytus wrote *two* Treatises against Heresy: first, a Compendium; then, afterwards, a longer Treatise. In speaking thus, we have the authority of St. Hippolytus himself.⁷

rudia exciderunt vix hâc ætate digna, aliquid *iisdem* de rebus politius a nobis perfectiusque proferri.

⁵ Sedulius, in præfat. operis Paschal., "Cognoscant Origenem *tribus editionibus* prope cuncta quæ disseruit aptavisse." See Vales. in Euseb. vi. 38.

⁶ S. Aug. Retractationes, i. 18.

⁷ We are indebted to the learned Author of the Papers in the Ecclesiastic, Nos. LXVI., LXVII., LXXXIV., for the first suggestion of this solution. See No. LXXXIV. p. 399. The same explanation

In the Introduction to the newly-discovered Treatise, the Author thus writes :—"No fable of those who are famous among heathens is to be rejected. Their incoherent dogmas are rather to be regarded as credible, on account of the greater infatuation of heretics, who have been supposed by many to worship God, because they hide and disguise their ineffable mysteries. *Whose dogmas we expounded, some time ago,⁸ with brevity, not exhibiting them in detail, but refuting them rather in rude generality ; not thinking it would be requisite to drag their secrets to the light,*—in order that when we had shown their tenets as it were darkly, they being filled with shame lest we should speak out their mysteries plainly, and show them to be infidels, might in some degree relinquish their irrational principles and godless designs. But since I perceive that *they have no feeling of regard for our moderation,* and that they do not consider that God, Who is blasphemed by them, is long-suffering, in order that either through compunction they may repent, or if obstinate they may be justly punished, *I am constrained to come forward,* and to disclose their secret mysteries which they deliver with great con-

has been also given by Duncker, as mentioned by Jacobi, de Basilidis Sententiis, Berlin, 1852. Let me add as a conjecture, that as the smaller and earlier work of Hippolytus, his *βιβλιδάριον* against Heresy was due to the oral discourses or Lectures of his master Irenæus, so the idea of this later and larger Treatise was suggested by the Work of Irenæus against Heresy, which we now possess, and that the "bibli-darion" bore very much the same relation to the Lectures, that the "Philosophumena" does to the *Ἐλεγχος* of Irenæus.

⁸ *πάλαι.*

fidence to those who are initiated by them. And though the subject compels us to launch forth on a wide sea of demonstration, I do not deem it fit to be silent, *but will exhibit in detail the dogmas of them all.* And though our argument will be long, yet it seems right not to flag. For we shall bequeathe to posterity a no slight boon, so that they may no longer be deceived, when all behold manifestly the secret orgies of heretics, which they deliver only to their neophytes.”

II. Let us remember, also, that, as we learn from Photius, the bibliidation of Hippolytus terminated with Noetus and the Noetians.

Now it appears from our Treatise, that *after* Noetus, another Heresy broke forth, derived in part from that of Noetus,—namely, the CALLISTIAN Heresy; and that it made great havock in the Roman Church, and that our Author had the principal share in checking its progress. Accordingly, in the Ninth Book, he begins as it were afresh, and devotes a great part of that Book to the Callistian Heresy, and to another still later heresy, which he describes as owing its progress at Rome to the Callistian, viz.,—the Heresy of the Elchasaites.

We see, then, that our Author had written an earlier work on Heresy; and, in the history of the Callistian and Elchasaite Heresies *subsequent* to the Noetian, we perceive another very good reason why he should have written a Second Treatise on Heresy, if the former Work which he had written had *ended* with Noetus.

12. Thus, then, we find it stated by our Author in the newly-discovered Treatise,—

1. That he had already, some time since (*πάλαι*), written a book against Heresy ;

2. That the former Work was a compendious one ; and

3. He adduces some reasons for writing *another* Treatise more in detail.

13. We are, therefore, now led to inquire, whether we can find an earlier and shorter Work on Heresy which we may assign to our Author.

Now, supposing our Author to be St. Hippolytus,—(which we have good reason to do, from our Author's age and position in the Western Church, and from his authorship of a "Work on the Universe," quoted in this Treatise as written by our Author, and known from the list on the Statue to be written by *Hippolytus*)—we find that a shorter work on Heresy is ascribed to him, corresponding in character to that of which we are now in search.

Such a Work, we say, was written by Hippolytus ;⁹ it was inscribed with his name, and was read by Photius. It was a *short* Work—for it is called *biblidarion*. It was probably not in several successive Books, like our Treatise, but contained in a *single Book*, like¹ that annexed to the Præscriptiones of

⁹ It may be observed here, that Trithemius de Script. Eccles., No. XXXVI., A.D. 1494, in his catalogue of the works of Hippolytus, enumerates, "Contra Omnes Hæreses, lib. iii."

¹ Which, in a MS. of Semler, is entitled "Adversus omnes Hæreses."

Tertullian. And it is not unlikely that the Heresies were *numbered* in it consecutively, and that each was despatched in a few paragraphs respectively, as is the case in the work on Heresy by Philastrius.² (circ. A.D. 350). Otherwise, we can hardly see why Photius should call it “A Little Book against *thirty-two* heresies.” For would he have taken the pains to *count* them? Would he have described it as such? It seems also to have been written a considerable time *before* our work, for it was not formed from the Work of Irenæus against Heresy, but from his *lectures*, and was published as a compendium of them. The work of Irenæus was finished about A.D. 190, and he died about A.D. 202; whereas our Author refers to facts that did not take place till about A.D. 220. It also *ended* with the Noetians, and does not appear to have said anything of the Callistians, and certainly did not go on (as ours does) to describe the Heresy of Elchasai.

14. Hence, therefore, the description by Photius of *another* work on Heresy by *Hippolytus*, *different* from our Treatise, so far from invalidating the evidence already adduced to show that our Treatise was written by Hippolytus, comes in as an additional proof that the newly-discovered Treatise is from him.

Our Author wrote *two* works on Heresy. The present Work is described by him as the later and longer of the two. If then our Author is Hippolytus, we may expect to find another earlier and shorter

² Bibl. Pat. Max. v. p. 701.

work than the present written by Hippolytus. We do find such a work. Therefore a new argument thence arises that our Author is Hippolytus.

15. Here, also, the other difficulties vanish which were noticed in this chapter.

Gelasius—or whoever is the Author of the Treatise above mentioned as bearing his name—certainly did not quote from our Treatise: we have seen good reason for thinking that he did not quote from a Treatise on Heresy by Hippolytus, but from another work of his. It may be, however, that the passage he cites was in the shorter Treatise seen by Photius, as well as in the Exposition of the Psalms by Hippolytus. And the term by which he describes the work from which he quotes, viz., “*Memoria Hæresium*,” would be very applicable to a brief Notice of Heresies, such as that which Photius describes.

The same may be said of the passage cited in the Paschal Chronicle. It proves that there was a work on Heresy by Hippolytus, *different* from ours. Its extract is from that work. It *differs* from what is said on the Quartodecimans in our Treatise, and yet in some degree *resembles* it in argument and language. It looks as if it came from the same pen as that which wrote our Treatise, though it is itself not the same as what is written there on the same subject. The Author of our Treatise had written another Treatise on Heresy. Therefore this quotation comes in also as an additional proof that our Treatise was written by Hippolytus.

We may find perhaps, hereafter, that the "Little Book" of Hippolytus, seen and described by Photius, may prove of still more service to us yet.

16. Lastly, whoever will compare the remarkable parallelisms between passages in the newly-discovered Treatise, or even in the portion of it printed in the present volume, and passages in the acknowledged works of Hippolytus (some of which are quoted in the notes to the portion published in the present work), he will feel strongly confirmed in the opinion that the newly-discovered Treatise is by him.

Let us now proceed a step further and listen to his own words, in the Ninth Book, describing the condition of the Church of Rome in his own time.



Specimens of the
Paris M.S. of the Refutation of all Heresies.
page.110.reverse.

του δε λόγου τουδοντ ἀγγελοι ἴνουνται
ἀγοι· ἔπειθεν ἡ ἀκουσὶ καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι.
- τας το πρώτον ἴνουνται ἡσωνται κατά
τὸν λόγον τὸνδε ἀπεροῦσιν· ἐστὶ καὶ πρῶ-
μῶς καὶ ἐπέων καὶ ὄρωντων ἰστέων
ὅπως εἰς τὸν δὲ ἴνουνται ἀγγελων κατά
φύσιν καὶ φράσεων ὅτι δέχθ

page 133 reverse.

τὸ κατὰ ἐν χόρῳ ἀπέηδτο ἀξέσθη· καὶ τὰ
μῶς ἴνουνται πληθύνονται ἴσων καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι
ὅσα; πρὶν ἀκούσθαι καὶ χεῖρ ἰταν ἡσων τῶ
δουλεῶν μὲν πρῶτον ἴνουνται

[To face p. 61.

CHAPTER VI.

The Author's Narrative concerning the Church of Rome in his own time.—Extracts from the Ninth and Tenth Books of his work on all Heresies.

* * * PRELIMINARY NOTE.—*The Paging on the left hand Margin of the Greek Text and on the right hand of my English translation refers to M. Miller's Edition of the "Philosophumena, or Refutation of all Heresies." Any variations from his Text that may appear to me to be requisite, are specified in the notes beneath the Text, but none have been introduced by me into the Text itself.*

The figures prefixed to my notes refer to the Lines of the Greek Text.

The readings of the Paris Manuscript, when not followed in the Text, are indicated in the collation immediately under the Greek Text.

I collated this portion of the Manuscript at Paris in the autumn of 1853, in the "Bibliothèque Impériale," formerly Bibliothèque du Roi (now I suppose Bibliothèque Nationale), Rue Richelieu. The MS., which had been lately bound, and was lettered "Histoire des Hérésies," is indicated in the Catalogue as No. 464 in the Supplement. It is on paper, and full of complicated contractions, especially in the latter books. The Ninth Book begins on the reverse of p. 109 of the Manuscript without any break, and is in the same hand as the rest.

ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΣΩΝ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΝ ΕΛΕΓΧΟΥ

BIBLION Θ'.

P. 278 ΤΑΔΕ ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐννάτῃ τοῦ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων
 ed. Miller. Ἐλέγχου.

Τίς ἢ Νοητοῦ βλάσφημος ἀφροσύνη, καὶ ὅτι δόγμασιν
 Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ προσέσχευ, οὐ τοῖς Χριστοῦ.

5 Καὶ πῶς Κάλλιστος μίξας τὴν Κλεομένους μαθητοῦ
 Νοητοῦ καὶ Θεοδοῦτου αἵρεσιν, ἑτέραν καινοτέραν αἵρεσιν
 συνέστησε, καὶ τίς ὁ τούτου βίος.

Τίς ἢ κενὴ ἐπιδημία τοῦ ξένου δαίμονος Ἡλχασαὶ καὶ
 ὅτι σκέπη τῶν ιδίων σφαλμάτων τὸ δοκεῖν προσέχειν
 10 νόμῳ τῷ δέοντι γνωστικοῖς δόγμασιν ἢ καὶ ἀστρολογικοῖς
 καὶ μαγείαις πρόσκειται.

Τίνα τὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἔθη, καὶ πόσαι τούτων διαφοραί.

2. Cod. ἐλλέγχου.

II. Cod. μαγίαις.

1. Similia præmisit Sanctus Irenæus, Lugdunensis Episcopus, Sancti Hippolyti magister, Libris suis adversus Hæreses. Vide ante Libros IV. et V. ad quorum exemplar sua composuisse videtur noster.

4. τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ. De hoc Heracliti, Philosophi Ephesii, epitheto, propter scriptorum obscuritatem indito, vide, si placet, Clem. Alex. Potter, ii. 676, not. Non illibenter recordabere graves Lucretii versus, i. 629 :

“ Quapropter qui materiem rerum esse putarunt
 Ignem, atque ex igni summam consistere solo,
 Magnopere a verâ lapsi ratione videntur.
 HERACLITUS init quorum dux proelia primus,
 Clarus ob *obscuram* linguam magis inter inanes,
 Quamde graveis inter Graios qui vera requirunt.
 Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque,
 Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt,
 Veraque constituunt, quæ belle tangere possunt
 Aureis, et lepido quæ sunt fucata sonore.”

BOOK THE NINTH OF THE REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

THE following are the contents of the NINTH BOOK P. 278
of the REFUTATION of ALL HERESIES. ed.
Miller.

What was the impious infatuation of NOETUS, and that he clave to the doctrines of Heraclitus the Obscure, and not to those of Christ.

How CALLISTUS blended the Heresy of Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus, with that of Theodotus, and constituted another stranger Heresy; and what was his manner of life.

What was the strange sojourn at Rome of the portentous spirit of Elchasai; and how a semblance of reverence for the law (of Moses) was made by him a cloke for his errors; whereas, in fact, he attaches himself to Gnostic or even to Astrological Theories, and to Magic.

What are the customs of the Jews, and how many their differences.

6. S. Hippol. c. Noët. § 3. Θεόδοτος τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον συνιστᾶν ψιλὸν βουλόμενος.

8. κενή. Ita MS. Sed legendum καινή quivis viderit.

9. τὸ δοκεῖν προσέχειν νόμῳ τῷ δέοντι γνωστικοῖς δογμασίν . . . πρόσκειται. Ita ex codice MS. unico Millerus. Sed interpungendum post νόμῳ (imò, ut nunc ex inspectione Codicis ipse intellexi, ita in Codice interpungitur), deinde legendum, vocibus disjunctis, ΤΩ: ΔΕ ΟΝΤΙ γνωστικοῖς δ. π. Sensus est “*Simulat se Legi Mosaicæ inhærere, sed de facto, τῷ δὲ ὄντι, gnosticis deliriis se mancipavit;*” vide inf. p. 293.

Πολλοῦ τοίνυν τοῦ περὶ πασῶν αἱρέσεων γενομένου
 ἡμῖν ἀγῶνος, μηθέν τε ἀνεξέλεγκτον καταλιποῦσι,
 15 περιλείπεται νῦν ὁ μέγιστος ἀγὼν, ἐκδιηγῆσασθαι καὶ
 P. 279 διελέγξαι τὰς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐπαναστάσας αἱρέσεις, δι' ὧν τινὲς
 ἀμαθεῖς καὶ τολμηροὶ διασκεδαννύειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν
 Ἐκκλησίαν, μέγιστον τάραχον κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον
 ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐμβάλλοντες. Δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν
 5 ἀρχηγὸν τῶν κακῶν γενομένην γνώμην ὀρμήσαντας
 διελέγξαι τίνες αἱ ταύτης ἀρχαί, ὅπως εὐγνωστοὶ αἱ
 ἐκφυάδες αὐτῆς ἅπασι γερόμεναι καταφρονηθῶσι.

Γεγένηται τις ὀνόματι Νοητὸς, τῷ γένει Σμυρναῖος.
 Οὗτος εἰσηγήσατο αἵρεσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλείτου δογμάτων,
 10 οὗ διάκονος καὶ μαθητῆς γίνεται Ἐπιγόνος τις τοῦνομα,
 ὃς τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπιδημήσας ἐπέσπειρε τὴν ἄθεον γνώμην.
 Ὡς μαθητεύσας Κλεομένης καὶ βίῳ καὶ τρόπῳ ἀλλότριος
 τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐκράτυνε τὸ δόγμα, κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ
 Ζεφυρίνου διέπειν νομίζοντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀνδρὸς

13. In cod. titulus : Φιλοσοφουμένων ἔννατον. Νοητος. 13. Cod.
 πολλυ τοίνυν. 2. Cod. διασκεδανοίην. 4. Cod. πᾶσι
 πιστοῖς. 11. Cod. τῇ Ῥώμην.

8. Vide inf. p. 329. Hippol. c. Noët. § 1, ed. Fabr. ii. 5. Νοήτου
 ὃς τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Σμυρναῖος οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου γερόμενος. Ephesium
 vocat Eriphanus, Hæres. lvii. Vide et Joann. Damascen. de Hæres.
 c. 57. Cæterum in tono vocis fluctuant Codices, aliis Νοητὸς, aliis
 Νόητος exhibentibus.

11. τῇ Ῥώμῃ. Ita Millerus. Codex habet τὴν Ῥώμην.

12. Vide Nostrum, lib. x. p. 329. 34. Νοητὸς εἰσηγήσατο τοιάνδε
 αἵρεσιν ἐξ Ἐπιγόνου τινὸς εἰς Κλεομένην χωρήσασαν, unde sua hausisse
 videtur Theodoretus, iii. 3. Νοητὸς ἀνεγώσατο τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἣν Ἐπι-
 γονος ἀπεκύησε πρῶτος, Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐβεβαίωσε. Hinc,
 opinor, suspicari licet Theodoretum libro decimo, compendiaro illo,
 usum esse, non autem Nostri opus integrum præ manibus habu-
 isse, idque ei in hoc loco fraudi fuisse. Vide infra Append. ii.

Now that we have performed a laborious work with regard to all (former) heresies, and have left none unrefuted; there remains now the hardest task of all; to give a complete description and refutation of those P. 279 Heresies which have arisen in our own age, by means of which some unlearned and bold men have undertaken to distract the Church, and have produced very great confusion throughout the world among all the faithful. For it appears requisite to revert to the dogma which was the primary source of the evil, and to expose its origin, so that its offshoots may be manifest to all, and may be contemned.

There was a certain NOETUS, of Smyrna. He introduced a heresy from the tenets of Heraclitus. One Epigonus was his agent and scholar, who, coming to sojourn at Rome, disseminated his impious doctrine. Cleomenes having become his disciple, an alien from the Church in life and disposition, fortified that doctrine, at the time when ZEPHYRINUS presumed to govern the Church, an illiterate and covetous man,

14. Vide apud Euseb. v. 28; vi. 21. De Zephyrino, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopo, hæc habet liber Pontificalis Damaso ascriptus ap. Labbe, Concil. i. p. 602. "Zephyrinus natione Romanus ex patre Abundantio sedit annos viii (xviii?), menses vii, dies x. Fuit autem temporibus Antonini et Severi a consulatu Saturnini et Gallicani, usque ad Præsentem et Strigatum consules. Hic fecit ordinationes iv per mens. Decemb. Presbyteros 13, Diaconos 7, Episcopos per loca 13. Qui sepultus est in cœmeterio suo, non longè a cœmeterio Callisti, viâ Appiâ." Dissonantia inter se tradunt auctores de annis Zephyrini, aliis ab A.D. 198, aliis ab A.D. 201 Pontificatum ejus ordientibus; quidam in A.D. 214 exitum figunt, nonnulli ad A.D. 219 continuant. Vide Clintoni Fastos ad A.D. 210. Ab A.D. 202 ad A.D. 218 (quo ei in

15 ἰδιώτου καὶ αἰσχροκερδοῦς· [δς] τῷ κέρδει προσφερομένῳ
 πειθόμενος, συνεχώρει τοῖς προσιούσι τῷ Κλεομένει
 μαθητεύεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποσυρόμενος τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπὶ τὰ
 αὐτὰ ὄρμητο, συμβούλου καὶ συναγωνιστοῦ τῶν κακῶν
 ὄντος αὐτῷ Καλλίστου, οὗ τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν ἐφευρεθεῖσαν
 20 αἴρεσιν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐκθήσομαι.

Τούτων κατὰ διαδοχὴν διέμεινε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον
 κρατυνόμενον καὶ ἐπαῦξον, διὰ τὸ συναιρεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς
 τὸν Ζεφυρίνου καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον, καίτοι ἡμῶν μηδέποτε
 συγχωρησάντων, ἀλλὰ πλειστάκις ἀντικαθεστῶτων πρὸς
 25 αὐτοὺς, καὶ διελεγξάντων, καὶ ἄκουτας βιασαμένων τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν ὁμολογεῖν· οἱ πρὸς μὲν ὄραν αἰδούμενοι, καὶ
 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας συναγόμενοι, ὠμολόγουν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ
 δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βόρβορον ἀνεκυλίουτο.

P. 280 Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας αὐτῶν τὴν διαδοχὴν
 ἐπεδείξαμεν, δοκεῖ λοιπὸν καὶ τῶν δογμάτων τὴν κακο-
 διδασκαλίαν ἐκθέσθαι, πρότερον τὰ Ἡρακλείτῳ τῷ
 Σκοτεινῷ δόξαντα παραθεμένους, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ τούτων
 5 μέρη Ἡρακλείτεια ὄντα φανερώσαι, ἃ τυχόντες οἱ νῦν
 προστάται τῆς αἰρέσεως οὐκ ἴσασιν ὄντα τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ,

15. Addidit δς Millerus.

habet συμβόλου.
 διελλεγξάντων.

16. Cod. Κλεομένη, cum iota sub-
 scripto.

18. Cod. συμβόλου. Imò, ut ipse vidi, Cod.

24. Cod. ἀντικαθεστῶτων.

25. Cod.

4. Cod. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ.

6. Cod. εἴσασιν.

Episcopatu successit Callistus) sedisse statuit Jaffé, Regest. Pontif. p. 5, ed. 1851.

ib. Ζεφυρίνου νομίζοντος διέπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. De hâc loquendi formulâ vide, si lubet, quæ infra monebimus cap. vii.

18. ὄρμητο. Sic MS.; sed legendum videtur ὄρμητο.

22. συναιρεῖσθαι. Ita ex Codice Millerus. Sed reposuerim συναίρεσθαι; vide Philosophumena, inf. 288, 89. συναράμενον, et p. 143, 77. λέγουσι Μωσέα αὐτῶν συναίρεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ.

who, being allured by offers of lucre, conceded to those, who resorted to Cleomenes, to become disciples; and at length, being inveigled himself, he ran into the same errors, having, as his adviser and coadjutor in evil, CALLISTUS, whose life and the heresy invented by him I will soon relate.

During their succession this school subsisted, being strengthened and aggrandized, because Zephyrinus and Callistus co-operated with them, although we never gave place, but very often resisted them, and confuted them, and compelled them reluctantly to own the truth; which they did through shame for a time, and being constrained by the force of truth; but soon afterwards they returned to wallow in the same mire.

But since we have indicated the succession of their P. 280. lineage, it seems requisite now to expose the pravity of their doctrines. (This we will do) first by setting down the opinions of HERACLITUS the Obscure, next by displaying those portions of their system that are derived from him, which they who now promote this heresy have espoused, being not aware that those tenets are borrowed from Heraclitus; but they imagine

23. Hæc et quæ sequuntur colorem orationis traxisse videntur ex Apostoli historiâ suam ipsius cum B. Petro concertationem enarrantis, ad Galat. ii. 5—13.

28. ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βορβόρον ἀνεκκλίοντο ex B. Petr. 2. ii. 22, ὅς λουσαμένη εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου: (*secundam* igitur S. Petri Epistolam agnovisse videtur noster :) quæ quidem Sancti Apostoli verba ex Græco Senario Proverbiali videntur efficta, quem sic se olim habuisse conjecerim,
 εἰς ἴδιον ἐξέραμ' ἐπιστρέψας κύων,
 λελουμένη θ' ὅς εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου.

νομίζοντες εἶναι Χριστοῦ. Οἷς εἰ ἐνέτυχον, κὰν οὔτω
 δυσωπηθέντες παύσονται τῆς ἀθέου δυσφημίας. Ἄλλ' εἰ
 καὶ πρότερον ἔκκειται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Φιλοσοφουμένοις
 10 ἡ δόξα Ἑρακλείτου, ἀλλὰ γε δοκεῖ προσαναπαραχθῆναι
 καὶ νῦν, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ ἐγγίονος ἐλέγχου φανερώς
 διδαχθῶσιν οἱ τούτου νομίζοντες Χριστοῦ εἶναι μαθητὰς,
 οὐκ ὄντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ.

- P. 283 Φανερόν δὲ πᾶσι τοὺς νοητοὺς Νοητοῦ διαδόχους καὶ
 τῆς αἰρέσεως προστάτας, εἰ καὶ Ἑρακλείτου λέγοισαν
 ἑαυτοὺς μὴ γεγονέναι ἀκροατὰς, ἀλλὰ γε [τὰ] τῷ Νοητῷ
 δόξαντα αἰρουμένους ἀναφανδόν, ταῦτα ὁμολογεῖν. Λέ-
 5 γουσι γὰρ οὔτως ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν εἶναι πάντων
 δημιουργὸν καὶ πατέρα, εὐδοκήσαντα δὲ πεφηνέναι τοῖς
 ἀρχῆθεν δικαίοις ὄντα ἀόρατον. "Ὅτε μὲν γὰρ οὐχ
 ὀράται ἦν ἀόρατος, ἀχώρητος δὲ ὅτε μὴ χωρεῖσθαι θέλει,
 P. 284 χωρητὸς δὲ ὅτε χωρεῖται. Οὔτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον
 ἀκράτητος, ἀγέννητος, ἀθάνατος καὶ θνητός. Πῶς οὐχ

9. Cod. φιλοσοφουμένους. Cf. lib. i. cap. 4. Sic Miller. Imò Codex
 habet (ut ipse vidi) φιλοσοφόμενοις. 10. Cod. πρὸς ἀνπαραχθῆναι.

11. Cod. ἀγγίονος ἐλλέγχου. 2. "Scrib. vel λελοουσιν vel
 λέγοιεν." Miller.

3. "Add. τὰ. Vel τῷ in τὰ mutandum."
 Miller. 6. Cod. πεφηνέναι. 2. In Cod. ἀκράτητος bis scriptum.

7. Pro κὰν οὔτω παύσονται legendum videtur παύσαιντο τι, vide
 Præf. p. 2. ὅπως αἰσχυρθέντες παύσωνται τι τῆς ἀλογίστου γνώμης.

10. Lib. i. p. 10.

14. In priore editione Heraclitea dogmata, a nostro citata, inserueram;
 sed ut ad historiam Romanæ Ecclesiæ, de quâ nunc agitur, parum
 spectantia nunc omisi.

1. Νοητοὺς Νοητοῦ διαδόχους, idem hic lusus παρονομαστικὸς in voce
 Νοῦτο, qui apud S. Hippol. c. Noët. § 3. αἱ γραφαὶ ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν ἄλλα
 ἢ καὶ Νόητος νοεῖ, οὐκ ἦδη δὲ εἰ Νόητος μὴ νοεῖ παρὰ τοῦτο ἔκβλητοι αἱ
 γραφαί. Vide etiam ibid. § 8. τί πρὸς ταῦτα νοήσει Νόητος μὴ νοῶν τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν; Hinc Callistum, Noëtianam impietatem hæresim novis qui-

them to be from Christ. If, however, they met with them (thus displayed), perhaps even by this means they might be shamed out of their impious language. And although the tenets of Heraclitus have been already set forth in our "Philosophumena," yet we will now also revert to them, in order that by this closer examination those persons may be instructed, who imagine that these men are disciples of Christ, whereas they are scholars not of Him, but of Heraclitus.

It is evident to all, that the knowing successors of P. 283 Noetus, and the chief patrons of his heresy, although they may assert that they have never been disciples of Heraclitus, yet by adopting the dogmas of Noetus, avow the same tenets with Heraclitus. For they speak thus, that one and the same God is the Maker and Father of all things, and that when it pleased Him, He revealed Himself to the righteous from the beginning, being invisible. For when He is not seen He was invisible, and incomprehensible when He is not willing to be comprehended; but comprehensible when He is comprehended. Thus, according to the P. 284 same argument, He is incomprehensible and comprehensible; unborn and born; immortal and mortal.

busdam additamentis adornantem, Theodoretus tradit ἐπιθήκας τινὰς ἐπινοῆσαι τῇ δυσσεβείᾳ τοῦ δόγματος, Hæret. Fab. iii. 3. Lusus etiam ad Latinos permeavit, qui Noëtianos *insensatos* appellant, vide Philastr. Hæres. in voce. Νοητοὺς *sensatos*, hos vocat noster,—amarâ ironiâ.

4. ταῦτα ὁμολογεῖν. Legendum ταῦτὰ pro ταῦτα quisvis viderit.

5. Post οὕτως interpungendum.

2. Cod. ἀκράτητος, ἀκράτητος, ἀγένητος, ἀθάνατος. Ex tenore sententiarum patet esse legendum ἀκράτητος κρατητός, ἀγένητος, γενητός.

Ἡρακλείτου οἱ τοιοῦτοι δειχθήσονται μαθηταί; μὴ αὐτῇ
 τῇ λέξει διαφθάσας ἐφιλοσόφησεν ὁ Σκοτεινός; Ὅτι δὲ
 5 καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν εἶναι λέγει καὶ πατέρα οὐδεὶς ἄγνοεῖ.
 Λέγει δὲ οὕτως· ὅτε μὲν οὖν μὴ γεγένητο ὁ πατήρ, δικαίως
 πατήρ προσηγόρευτο. Ὅτε δὲ ἠυδόκησεν γένεσιν ὑπο-
 μεῖναι, γενηθεὶς ὁ υἱὸς ἐγένετο αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, οὐχ ἑτέρου.
 Οὕτως γὰρ δοκεῖ μοναρχίαν συνιστᾶν, ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
 10 φασκων ὑπάρχειν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν, καλούμενον οὐχ
 ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, ὀνόματι μὲν πατέρα
 καὶ υἱὸν καλούμενον κατὰ χρόνων τροπήν, ἕνα δὲ εἶναι
 τοῦτον τὸν φανέντα, καὶ γένεσιν ἐκ παρθένου ὑπομείναντα,
 καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἄνθρωπον ἀναστραφέντα, υἱὸν μὲν
 15 ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ὀρώσῳ ὁμολογοῦντα διὰ τὴν γενομένην
 γένεσιν, πατέρα δὲ εἶναι καὶ τοῖς χωροῦσιν μὴ ἀπο-
 κρύψαντα. Τοῦτον πάθει ξύλου προσπαγέντα καὶ ἑαυτῷ
 τὸ πνεῦμα παραδόντα, ἀποθανόντα καὶ μὴ ἀποθανόντα,
 καὶ ἑαυτὸν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσαντα, τὸν ἐν μνημείῳ
 20 ταφέντα καὶ λόγγῃ τρωθέντα, καὶ ἦλοις καταπαγέντα,
 τοῦτον τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεὸν καὶ πατέρα εἶναι λέγει
 Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ τούτου χορὸς, Ἡρακλείτειον σκότος
 ἐπεισάγοντες πολλοῖς.

4. Cod. μῆδε λέξει. ^{τῇ τῇ} 6. Cod. μὴ γένητο. 14. Cod. ἀναστρεφέντα.

7. προσηγόρευτο. Mallet προσηγορεύετο.

9. Tertullian. c. Praxeam, 3. "Duos et tres Deos jam jactitant a nobis prædicari quasi non et Unitas irrationaliter collecta hæresim faciat, et Trinitas rationaliter expensa veritatem constituat. *Monarchiam* (inquiunt) tenemus."

10. πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν, καλούμενον οὐχ ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου. Ita Millerus, sed interpunctione mutatâ legendum π. κ. υἱὸν καλούμενον,—. Vide Theodoret. Hæc. Fab. iii. 3. τοῦτον καὶ υἱὸν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ πατέρα πρὸς τὰς χρείας τοῦτο κάκεινο καλούμενον.

How will not these persons be shown to be scholars P. 284 of Heraclitus? Has not that Obscure Metaphysician anticipated them by philosophizing in their very words? And every one knows that he (Noetus) calls the same both Son and Father. For he speaks thus; When the Father had not been born, He was rightly called Father. But when it pleased Him to undergo birth, then by birth He became the Son of Himself, and not of another. For thus he thinks to establish the principle of *Monarchianism*, saying, that one and the same Essence is called by the two names, Father and Son; not one born from the other, but Himself born from Himself, and called by the name of Father or Son, according to the change of times; but that He is one, He who was manifested to the world, and who deigned to undergo birth of a Virgin, and conversed as man with man, and who to those that beheld Him confessed Himself to be a Son, on account of His birth, but who also did not conceal from those who received Him that He was a Father. That He suffered, having been nailed to the Cross, and that having commended His Spirit to Himself, and having died and not died, and having on the third day raised Himself, Who had been buried in the tomb, and wounded with a spear, and pierced with nails, that He is the God of the Universe and Father—so says Cleomenes and his school, who thus envelope many with the darkness of Heraclitus.

17. τοῦτον πάθει ξύλου προσπαγέντα. Ita Millerus. In Codice

Ταύτην τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐκράτυνε Κάλλιστος, ἀνὴρ ἐν
 25 κακία πανοῦργος καὶ ποικίλος πρὸς πλάνην, θηρώμενος
 τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον. Τὸν Ζεφυρίνον, ἄνδρα
 ἰδιώτην καὶ ἀγράμματον καὶ ἄπειρον τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν
 ὄρων, ὃν πείθων δόγμασι καὶ ἀπαιτήσεσιν ἀπειρημέναις
 ἦγεν εἰς ὃ ἐβούλετο, ὄντα δωρολήπτην καὶ φιλάργυρον,
 P. 285 ἔπειθεν αἰεὶ στάσεις ἐμβαλεῖν ἀναμέσον τῶν ἀδελφῶν, αὐτὸς
 τὰ ἀμφότερα μέρη ὕστερον κερκωπέοις λόγοις πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ
 φιλίαν κατασκευάζων, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθειαν λέγων ὅμοια
 φρονοῦσι ποτὲ καθ' ἡδίαν τὰ ὅμοια φρονεῖν ἡπάτα· πάλιν
 5 δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ Σαβελλίου ὁμοίως, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξέστησε
 δυνάμενον κατορθοῦν. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑφ' ἡμῶν παραινέισθαι
 οὐκ ἐσκληρύνετο· ἡνίκα δὲ σὺν τῷ Καλλίστῳ ἐμόναζεν,
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεσεῖετο πρὸς τὸ δόγμα τὸ Κλεομένους
 ῥέπειν, φάσκοντος τὰ ὅμοια φρονεῖν. Ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν
 10 πανουργίαν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐνόει, αὐθις δὲ ἔγνω, ὡς διηγήσομαι
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ.

25. ποικίλος et θηρώμενος. 29. Cod. ὃ βούλετο. I. Cod.
 ἀναμέσων. 2. Cod. κερκώποις. ib. Cod. ἑαυτοὺς
 φιλίαν. 3. Fort. τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. Miller. ib. Fort. λέγων
 τὰ ὅμοια φρονεῖν ἡπάτα· πάλιν δὲ αὐτοῖς φρονοῦσι ποτὲ κατ' ἰδίαν τὰ Σαβ.
 Miller. 6. Leg. videtur δυνάμενος. Miller. 9. Cod. ῥαπεῖν
 correxerit Millerus.

literæ post προσπαγ— exesæ sunt; fortasse legendum προσπαγήναι vel παθεῖν ξύλφ προσπαγέντα.

24. Callistus, postea Romanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus A.D. 218—223. Zephyrinus sederat A.D. 202—218.

29. Comparanda sunt quæ infrà de Noëto, et de Callisto, dicturus est Hippolytus in compendio sive ἀνακεφαλαιώσει, lib. x. pp. 329, 330.

3. τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθειαν λέγων ὅμοια φρονοῦσιν ποτὲ καθ' ἡδίαν τὰ ὅμοια φρονεῖν ἡπάτα· πάλιν δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ Σαβελλίου ὁμοίως. Ita MS. Pro vitioso ΚΑΘ' ἩΔΙ'ΑΝ legendum conjecerim ΚΑΤ' ἸΔΕ'ΑΝ, i. e. *under*

CALLISTUS strengthened this heresy ; a man crafty in evil, and versatile in deceit, aspiring to the Episcopal throne. He influenced ZEPHYRINUS, who was an unlearned and illiterate person, and unskilled in Ecclesiastical definitions, and whom, being a receiver of bribes and covetous, Callistus led as he pleased, persuading him by dogmas and forbidden demands ; Callistus was ever instigating him to introduce strife among the brethren ; and then P. 285 Callistus himself swayed both sides by wily words to incline to friendship with himself ; and at one time speaking true doctrine to the one party, who held like sentiments (to the truth), he, under pretence of agreeing with them, deluded them ; and at another time speaking with similar language (of duplicity) to those who held the doctrine of Sabellius, whom also himself he made to fall, when he might have remained right. For when Sabellius was exhorted by me he was not obstinate ; but when he was alone with Callistus, he was instigated by him (professing to be of his opinion) to incline to the doctrine of Cleomenes. Sabellius did not then perceive his subtlety, but afterwards he discovered it, as I will shortly tell.

outward semblance of agreement. Tales hæreticorum præstigias tangit Irenæus, iii. 17. "Similia loquentes fidelibus non solum dissimilia sapiunt sed et contraria, et per omnia plena blasphemiis per quæ interficiunt eos qui per similitudinem verborum dissimile affectionis eorum in se attrahunt venenum." Pro αὐτοῖς rectè Bunsenius (i. p. 132) αὐτοῖς, i. e. φρονῶσι τὰ Σαβελλίου.

5. Novatian. de Trin. 12. "Quid dubitant cum Sabellii temeritate misceri qui Christum Patrem dicit?"

Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ζεφυρίνου προάγων δημοσίᾳ ἔπειθε λέγειν· Ἐγὼ οἶδα ἓνα θεὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ ἕτερον οὐδένα γενητὸν καὶ παθητὸν. Ποτὲ δὲ
 15 λέγων, Οὐχ ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ υἱὸς, οὕτως ἀπαυστον τὴν στάσιν ἐν τῷ λαῷ διετήρησεν, οὐ τὰ νοήματα γνόντες ἡμεῖς οὐ συνεχωροῦμεν, ἐλέγχοντες καὶ ἀντικαθιστάμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας· ὃς εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χωρῶν διὰ τὸ πάντα αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποκρίσει συντρέχειν,
 20 ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐ, ἀπεκάλει ἡμᾶς διθέους, ἐξεμῶν παρὰ βίαν τὸν ἐνδομυχοῦντα αὐτῷ ἰόν.

Τούτου τὸν βίον δοκεῖ ἡμῖν ἀγαπητὸν ἐκθέσθαι, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡμῖν ἐγεγόνει, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ φανῆναι τοῦ τοιοῦτου τὴν ἀναστροφὴν, εὐεπίγνωστος καὶ
 25 ταχεῖα τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν εὐθὺς γένηται ἢ διὰ τούτου ἐπικεχειρημένη αἴρεσις.

Οὗτος ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐπὶ Φουσκιανοῦ ἐπάρχου ὄντος Ῥώμης. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας τοιόσδε ἦν.

P. 28 Οἰκέτης ἐτύγχανε Καρποφόρου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς πιστοῦ ὄντος ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας. Τούτῳ ὁ Καρποφόρος, ἅτε δὴ ὡς πιστῷ, χρῆμα οὐκ ὀλίγον κατεπίστευσεν, ἐπαγγελιδάμενος κέρδος προσοίσειν ἐκ πραγματείας

17. Cod. ἐλλέγοντες.
 ἐνδομοιχοῦντα.

20. Cod. παραβίαν.

21. Cod.

26. Cod. ἐπικεχειρημένοι.

23. ὅπως εὐεπίγνωστος καὶ ταχεῖα τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἘΤΘΗΣ γένηται. Ita MS. Millerus εὐθὺς, et aliud adjectivum in ταχεῖα latere arbitratur. Hæreticorum commenta ab Hippolyto nostro exagitantur non tantum ut odio et execratione digna, sed ut ridiculæ et aniles fabulæ ideòque ludibrio habendæ. Vide sup. 279, 7. ὅπως καταφρονηθῶσιν: et αἰρέσεις καταγελάστους, inf. 334, 35. Mihi igitur in mentem venit καὶ ΤΑΧΑ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ΕΤΘΗΘΗΣ γένηται, i. e. ut facilis cognitu sit, et fortasse fatua prudentioribus, i. e. eorum sententiâ.

27. ἐμαρτύρησεν—ironicè.

Callistus, putting Zephyrinus himself forward publicly induced him to say, "I know one God, Christ Jesus, and beside Him I know none, who was born and suffered." But he (Callistus) sometimes saying "Not the Father suffered, but the Son," thus kept alive the strife without respite among our people. But we perceiving his devices did not give place to him, confuting him and resisting him for the Truth's sake. Then being driven to infatuation because all others went along with him in his hypocrisy but I did not, he used to call me a ditheist, disgorging violently the venom which lurked within him.

This man's life it seems to me desirable to narrate, since he was contemporary with me ; in order, that, by the manifestation of his conversation, the Heresy which was broached by him may become easy of cognizance to those who have sense, and haply may be regarded as childish by them.

He was a martyr (forsooth) when Fuscianus was Prefect of Rome. And the manner of his martyrdom was as follows ;

He was servant of a certain Carpophorus, a Christian P. 286 of Cæsar's household. Carpophorus entrusted him, as a Christian, with a considerable sum of money, on his professing that he would bring him gain from the

4. ἐπαγγειλάμενος κέρδος προσοίσειν. Legendum potius videtur ἐπαγγειλαμένῳ. Cui conjecturæ aliquantum favere Codex ipse videtur, nullum supra syllabam λα accentum habens. Cf. suprâ, Philosoph. 261, 19. ὄρᾶν ἐπαγγέλλονται τυφλώττοντες profitentur se videre, etsi cæcuntiant.

5 τραπεζιτικῆς· ὃς λαβὼν τράπεζαν ἐπεχείρησεν ἐν τῇ
 λεγομένῃ πισικινῇ πουπλικῇ, ᾧ οὐκ ὀλίγαι παραθῆκαι τῷ
 χρόνῳ ἐπιστεύθησαν ὑπὸ χηρῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν προσχή-
 ματι τοῦ Καρποφόρου. Ὁ δὲ ἐξαφανίσας τὰ πάντα
 ἠπόρει. Οὐ ταῦτα πράξαντος, οὐκ ἔλιπεν ὃς ἀπαγγεῖλη
 10 τῷ Καρποφόρῳ· ὁ δὲ ἔφη ἀπαιτεῖν λόγους παρ' αὐτοῦ.
 Ταῦτα συνιδὼν ὁ Κάλλιστος καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου
 κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενος, ἀπέδρα τὴν φυγὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν
 ποιούμενος· ὃς εὐρῶν πλοῖον ἐν τῷ Πόρτῳ ἔτοιμον πρὸς
 ἀναγωγὴν, ὅπου ἐτύγχανε πλέων, ἀνέβη πλευσόμενος.
 15 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως λαθεῖν δεδύνηται· οὐ γὰρ ἔλιπεν ὃς
 ἀπαγγεῖλη τῷ Καρποφόρῳ τὸ γεγενημένον. Ὁ δὲ
 ἐπιστὰς κατὰ τὸν λιμένα, ἐπειράτο ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ὀρμᾶν
 κατὰ μεμνημένα. Τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἐστὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ λιμένι,
 τοῦ δὲ πορθμέως βραδύνοντος, ἰδὼν πόρρωθεν ὁ Κάλλιστος

8. Cod. ἐξαφανήσας.
 lin. 18, et 21, p. 287.

9. Cod. ἔλειπεν, sed ἔλιπεν bis infra

lin. 18, et 21, p. 287.

18. "In μεμνημένα, syllabæ μην exesæ

tenuia vestigia supersunt." Miller.

19. Cod. πόρρωθεν.

5. Nondum, ut videtur, leges illæ ab Ecclesiâ fuerant latæ, quæ rem fœnerariam Christianis interdicebant, et pecuniam ex usuris conquisitam abominari jubebant. Tertullianus quidem lib. iv. c. Marcionem. "Percurre ait sequentia Ezechielis de viro justo. *Pecuniam suam fœnori non dedit*, et quod abundaverit non sumet, fœnoris scilicet redundantiam, quæ est usura." Hinc, temporis processu, primum in Clericos fœneratores, deinde etiam in laicos, pœnas irrogavit Ecclesia; Can. Nicæen. 17. Arelat. i. c. 12. Arelat. ii. c. 14. Eliberit. c. 20. Turon. i. c. 13. Vide quæ de hâc re fusè et exquisitè disseruit, sæculi nostri genio non admodum placitura, Præsul eruditissimus Wintoniensis L. Andrewes. Lond. 1629.—*Piscina Publica*; regio Urbis Romæ XII^{ma} inter Aventinum collem et Cœlium.

6. φ. Sic Miller; sed Codex habere videtur ὦς.

10. ὁ δὲ ἔφη ἀπαιτεῖν λόγους. Post ἀπαιτεῖν excidisse videtur ἔν.

13. *Portus Romanus*, duo millia passuum ab Ostiâ distans septentrionem versus, ad os Tiberinum, quindecim fere millia ab urbe Româ. Ibi Hippolytus ipse "Episcopus Nationum," ad Portum confluentium, fuisse videtur, et martyrium subiisse, teste Prudentio; vide infr. cap. xiv.

occupation of a banker. He (Callistus) set up a bank P. 286 in the *piscina publica*, and in course of time many deposits were entrusted to him by widows and brethren, through the influence of the name of Carpophorus. But Callistus, having embezzled them all, was in a great strait. And when he was in this plight, tidings did not fail to reach Carpophorus, who said that he would call him to account. When Callistus perceived this, and apprehended the danger which threatened him from his master, he ran away, taking flight towards the sea; and having found a ship at PORTUS ready to sail, he embarked with a purpose to sail whithersoever the vessel might be bound. But not even thus could he escape: for the news did not fail to reach the ears of Carpophorus. And he, standing on the shore, endeavoured, according to the information he had received, to make for the ship, which was in the middle of the harbour. But when the boatman (who was to ferry Carpophorus) was

14. ἔπου ἐτόγχανε πλέων. Ita Cod. Lege πλέων.

ib. ἀνέβη. Sic Miller. Codex, ut puto, ἀνεισι.

15. οὐ γὰρ ἔλιπε—In hac formulâ, ter repetitâ, salsa quædam ironia videtur inesse, quâ innuitur Callistum malo quodam genio fuisse exagitatatum, qui ejus vestigiis insisteret et eum, tanquam umbra, semper persequeretur. Cæterum ex hâc et similibus loquendi formulis quæ in hâc narratione passim obviæ sunt rectè statuitur, Auctoris nostri stylum etsi Græciâ vel Asiâ oriundi Latinum dicendi colorem imbibisse, eumque ipsum linguâ, ut par est credere, aliquantulum βεβαρβαρῶσθαι, χρόνιον ὄντ' ἐν βαρβάροις.

17. Locum sic interpunge: ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ὁρμᾶν κατὰ τὰ μεμνημένα, τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἐστὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ λιμένι (et sic, uti nunc vidi, Codex) τοῦ δὲ πορθμέως βραδύνοντος κ.τ.λ.

18. κατὰ μεμνημένα. Iegere mallet κατὰ τὰ μεμνημένα.

20 τὸν δεσπότην, ὃν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ γνοὺς ἑαυτὸν συν-
 ηλείφθαι, ἠφείδῃσε τοῦ ζῆν καὶ ἔσχατα ταῦτα λογισά-
 μενος ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. Οἱ δὲ ναῦται
 καταπηδήσαντες εἰς τὰ σκάφη ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἀνείλουτο.
 Τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μεγάλα βοώντων, καὶ οὗτος τῷ
 25 δεσπότη παραδοθεὶς ἐπανήχθη εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην· ὃν ὁ
 δεσπότης εἰς πίστρινον κατέθετο.

Χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος, ὡς συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι, προσ-
 ελθόντες ἀδελφοὶ παρεκάλουν τὸν Καρποφόρον ὅπως
 ἐξαγάγῃ τῆς κολάσεως τὸν δραπέτην, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν
 P. 287 ὁμολογεῖν ἔχειν παρά τισι χρῆμα ἀποκείμενον. Ὁ δὲ
 Καρποφόρος ὡς εὐλαβῆς, τοῦ μὲν ἰδίου ἔλεγεν ἀφειδεῖν,
 τῶν δὲ παραθηκῶν φροντίζειν· πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀπ-
 εκλαίοντο λέγοντες, ὅτι τῷ αὐτοῦ προσχῆματι ἐπίστευσαν
 5 τῷ Καλλίστῳ, ἃ πεπιστεύκεισαν· καὶ πεισθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν
 ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτόν.

Ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχων ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδράσκειν
 μὴ δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι, τέχνην θανάτου
 ἐπενόησε· καὶ σαββάτῳ σκηψάμενος ἀπιέναι ὡς ἐπὶ
 10 χρεώστας, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 συνηγμένων, καὶ στὰς κατεστασίαζεν αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ
 καταστασιασθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐνυβρίσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ
 πληγὰς ἐμφορήσαντες, ἔσυρον ἐπὶ τὸν Φουσκιανὸν
 ἔπαρχον ὄντα τῆς πόλεως. Ἀπεκρίναντο δὲ τάδε·
 15 Ῥωμαῖοι συνεχώρησαν ἡμῖν τοὺς πατρώους νόμους

4. Cod. τῷ αὐτῷ. 8. Cod. φθορεῖσθαι. 9. Cod. σκεψάμενος.

20. Pro vitiosâ lectione Codicis συνηλείφθαι restituendum συνειλήφθαι,
 confusio orta ex syllabarum ὁμοφωνίᾳ, uberrimo fonte mendarum, quibus
 libri scatent præsertim recentiores, qualis hic est Codex Parisinus.

4. αὐτοῦ. Sic Miller. Codex αὐτῷ.

lingering, Callistus, being in the ship, saw his master from a distance, and perceiving himself to be caught, hazarded his life, and, thinking that all was now over with him, he threw himself into the sea. But the sailors having leapt into the boats took him up against his will. And while those who were on the shore set up a loud shout, he was delivered to his master and brought back to Rome : where his master shut him up in the *pistrinum* (of runaway slaves).

But in course of time, as is wont to be the case, certain brethren came to Carpophorus and besought him to release his runaway slave from punishment, saying that he declared that he had money vested in the hands of certain persons. Carpophorus, like a P. 287 pious man, said that he did not care for his own money, but that he was anxious for the deposits ; for many bewailed themselves to him, saying that it was by reason of his name that they confided to Callistus what they had entrusted to him ; and being thus persuaded, he ordered them to bring him out of prison.

But having nothing to pay, and not being able to run away again, on account of being watched, he devised a plan for his own destruction. On a Saturday, under pretence of going away to his debtors, he went to the Synagogue of the Jews, who were assembled in it ; and he stood there and made a tumult against them. And they being thus disturbed abused him and beat him, and dragged him before Fuscianus, prefect of the city. And thus they answered,—“The Romans have given us leave to read

δημοσίᾳ ἀναγινώσκειν οὗτος δὲ ἐπεισελθὼν ἐκώλυε καταστασιάζων ἡμῶν, φάσκων εἶναι Χριστιανός. Τοῦ δὲ Φουσκιανοῦ πρὸ βήματος τυγχάνοντος, καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' Ἰουδαίων λεγομένοις κατὰ τοῦ Καλλίστου ἀγανακτοῦντος, 20 οὐκ ἔλιπεν ὁ ἐπαγγείλας τῷ Καρποφόρῳ τὰ πρασσόμενα. Ὁ δὲ σπεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τοῦ ἐπάρχου ἐβόα· Δέομαι, κύριε Φουσκιανέ, μὴ σὺ αὐτῷ πίστευε, οὐ γάρ ἐστι Χριστιανός, ἀφορμὴν δὲ ζητεῖ θανάτου χρήματά μου πολλὰ ἀφανίσας, ὡς ἀποδείξω. Τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων 25 ὑποβολὴν τοῦτο νομισάντων, ὡς ζητοῦντος τοῦ Καρποφόρου ταύτῃ τῇ προφάσει ἐξελέσθαι αὐτὸν, μᾶλλον ἐπιφθόνως κατεβόων τοῦ ἐπάρχου. Ὁ δὲ κινηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μαστιγώσας αὐτὸν, ἔδωκεν εἰς μέταλλον Σαρδωνίας.

30 Μετὰ χρόνον δὲ ἐτέρων ἐκεῖ ὄντων μαρτύρων θελήσασα ἡ Μαρκία ἔργον τι ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσασθαι, οὕσα

18. Cod. φοσκιανοῦ.

22. Cod. μὴ ἔαντῷ.

16. De Judæis Romæ patria sacra liberè colentibus Cæsareanorum edictorum indulgentia videri potest Joseph. Antiqq. xix. 10, quæ vim obtinuisse videntur usque ad Severum Septimum, qui "Judæos fieri sub gravi poenâ vetuit," teste Spartiano, c. 17; non tamen ille Judæis ipsis jam hereditariâ vel patriâ successionem religioni suæ publicum exercitium interdicens. Post Severi dominationem Judæis favebat Elagabalus. Lamprid. c. 3, et Severus Alexander Judæis privilegia reservavit. Lamprid. c. 22.

28. Fodinis ferri celebrem fuisse Sardiniam satis notum ex Rutilii Itinerario, lib. I. "Quæ de Sardoo cespitate massa fluit." Hinc hodie "Ferraria" urbs Sardiniae, de quâ Cluverius ii. c. xi. Sardiniam pestifero aëre infamem fuisse tradit Claudianus, B. Gild. v. 514, monente Cluverio. Huc Martyras fuisse deportatos ex Chronicis et Martyrologiis constat. Catalog. Felician. § 6. "Eodem tempore Pontianus Episcopus (Romæ) et Hippolytus presbyter exilio sunt deputati (deportati) ab Alexandro in Sardiniam, insulam Bucinam (nocivam)." Id quod Anastasius de vitis Pontif. in v. Pontiani factum fuisse tradit, Severo et Quintiano Coss. h. e. A.D. 235, Maximino

the Law of our Fathers in public. But this man here P. 287 came in and interrupted us, making an uproar against us, saying that he is a Christian." Fuscianus being seated on the bench, and being exasperated by what the Jews said against Callistus, tidings did not fail to come to the ears of Carpophorus. He hastened to the tribunal of the Prefect, and exclaimed, "I entreat thee, my Lord Fuscianus, do not believe him, for he is not a Christian, but seeks an occasion of death, having embezzled much money of mine, as I will show." But the Jews thought this was a subterfuge, as if Carpophorus desired to extricate him by this plea, and clamoured more vehemently in the ears of the Prefect. And he, being urged by them, scourged Callistus, and sentenced him to the mines in Sardinia.

But after a time, there being other Martyrs there, Marcia the concubine of (the Emperor) Commodus,

Thrace annum jam primum imperante, quo anno Pontianus in Sardinia mortem obiisse dicitur, iv. Kal. Octobres.

31. De Marcia, Commodi Imperatoris concubinâ, Dio Cassius, lxxii.
 4. *Μαρκία τις, Κουδράτου τῶν τότε φονευθέντων ἐνὸς παλλακῆ, καὶ Ἐκλεκτος πρόκοιτος, ὃ μὲν καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου πρόκοιτος, ἣ δὲ (Μαρκία) παλλακῆ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Ἐκλέκτου μετὰ ταῦτα· γυνῆ, καὶ ἐπέϊδε καὶ ἐκείνους βιάως ἀποθνήσκοντας· ἱστορεῖται δὲ αὕτη πολλά τε ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν σπουδάσαι καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς εὐεργετηκέναι ἅτε καὶ παρὰ Κομμόδῳ πᾶν δυναμένη.* Marciam, Commodi Imperatoris concubinam, deinde interfetricem, ab Hippolyto vocari *φιλόθεον* fortasse mireris: sed hoc, ut opinor, et uti jam docuit censor Arnoldianus (p. 591), *εἰρωνικῶς* scripsit noster, ut, de Callisto loquens, *ἐμαρτύρησεν* p. 285. Quo, quæris, animo? eodem fortasse quo Carpophorum pium hominem sed tamen feneratorum, et Hyacinthum presbyterum sed tamen spardonem, dixisse videtur, ut Ecclesiæ disciplinam tum temporis nutantem tacitè notaret.

φιλόθεος παλλακὴ Κομόδου, προσκαλεσαμένη τὸν
 P. 288 μακάριον Οὐϊκτορα, ὄντα ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατ'
 ἐκείνο καιροῦ, ἐπηρώτα τίνες εἶεν ἐν Σαρδονίᾳ μάρτυρες.
 Ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀναδούς τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸ τοῦ Καλλίστου
 οὐκ ἔδωκεν, εἰδὼς τὰ τετολμημένα παρ' αὐτοῦ. Τυχούσα
 5 οὖν τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἡ Μαρκία παρὰ τοῦ Κομόδου, δίδωσι
 τὴν ἀπολυσίμην ἐπιστολὴν Ἐτακίνθῳ τινὶ σπάδοντι
 πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὃς λαβὼν διέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σαρδονίαν,
 καὶ ἀποδοὺς τῷ κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρο-
 πεύοντι, ἀπέλυσε τοὺς μάρτυρας, πλὴν τοῦ Καλλίστου.
 10 Ὁ δὲ γονυπετῶν καὶ δακρῶν ἰκέτευε καὶ αὐτὸς τυχεῖν
 ἀπολύσεως. Δυσωπηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἐτακίνθος ἀξιῶ τὸν
 ἐπίτροπον φάσκων θρέψας εἶναι Μαρκίας, τασσόμενος
 αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον. Ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἀπέλυσε καὶ τὸν
 Κάλλιστον· οὗ παραγενομένου ὁ Οὐϊκτωρ πάνυ ἤχθητο
 15 ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ εὖσπλαγχνος ἦν, ἡσύχασε·
 φυλασσόμενος δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὄνειδον (οὐ γὰρ ἦν
 μακρὰν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τετολμημένα), ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ
 Καρποφόρου ἀντιπίπτουτος, πέμπει αὐτὸν καταμένειν ἐν
 Ἀνθείῳ, ὀρίσας αὐτῷ μηνιαῖόν τι ἐκτροφάς.

32. Cod. παλακῆ. 4. Cod. τὰ τολμημένα. 19. "Fort. Ἀντίφ.
 Certe *Antium* dicere videtur." Miller. ib. "Erat a prima m.
 ἐκτροφῆ's. Corrigendum εἰς τροφάς." Miller.

32. Cæterum hic lector meminerit quid in tali re statuerit Ecclesia,
 Hippolyto nostro coætanea; nisi interpolatricem manum passa sit in
 illo capite παράδοσις Ἀποστολικὴ διὰ Ἰππολύτου, p. 254, ed. Fabr.
 Παλλακὴ τίνος ἀπίστου δούλη ἐκείνῳ μόνῃ σχολάζουσα προσδεχέσθω, εἰ
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ἀσελγαίνει, ἀποβαλλέσθω. . . .

6. Spadones (ἄφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐνούχισθέντας) ad sacros ordines promovendi
 postea vetitum Canon. Apostol. 21. Conc. Nicæn. c. 1. Arelat. ii. 7.
 Sed, ut supra monui, Hippolytus tacite innuit hoc epitheto disciplinam
 Ecclesiæ Romanæ fuisse luxatam.

12. Codicis lectionem φάσκων θρέψας εἶναι Μαρκίας, vitiosam censent
 Millerus et Bunsenius (i. p. 130), hic legendum conjiciens φάσκων

being a religious woman and desirous of doing a good work, having sent for Victor, of blessed memory, who was then Bishop of the Church, inquired of him what martyrs were in Sardinia. He gave her all their names, but did not present to her the name of Callistus, knowing the crimes that had been perpetrated by him. Marcia having obtained her suit from Commodus, gives the letter of release to a certain Hyacinthus, an eunuch, a presbyter, who having received it, sailed to Sardinia, and having delivered it to the then Governor of the Island, released the martyrs,—except Callistus. P. 288'

But he fell down on his knees before him, and wept and prayed that he might be released. Hyacinthus then being moved, desires the Governor to set him free, saying that he himself had brought up Marcia, and promising him indemnity. He, being persuaded, liberated Callistus also. But when he reached Rome, Victor was much distressed by what had taken place, but, being a kind-hearted man, he held his peace; but guarding against the obloquy from many, (for the crimes of Callistus were recent,) and because Carphorus still urged his charge (against Callistus), he sent him (Callistus) to stay at Antium, settling on him a monthly allowance for his maintenance.

ἐαυτῷ μὲν τοῦτο ἐπιτρέψαι Μαρκίαν τὸ τασσόμενον, αὐτῷ δὲ εἶναι ἀκίνδυνον. Sed Codicis lectio est prorsus sanissima. Participium θρέψας Μαρκίας dicitur pro nomine substantivo τροφῆς Μαρκίας, ut θρέψας αὐτῶν in cippo sepulchrali apud Schaefer ad Greg. Corinth. p. 614. Vide etiam Lobeck. ad Soph. Ajac. 358, p. 277, qui exemplorum affatim dabit.

19. Ἀνθείω, *i. e.* Antio, quod Antheia vocatur a Stephano Byzantio,

20 Μεθ' οὐ κοίμησιν Ζεφυρίνος συναράμενον αὐτὸν σχῶν
 πρὸς τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ κλήρου ἐτίμησε τῷ ἰδίῳ κακῷ,
 καὶ τοῦτον μεταγαγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθείου εἰς τὸ κοιμητήριον
 κατέστησεν. Ὅτι αἰεὶ συνῶν, καὶ καθὼς φθάσας προεῖπον
 ὑποκρίσει αὐτὸν θεραπεύων ἐξεφάνισε μῆτε κρίναι τὰ
 25 λεγόμενα δυνάμενον μῆτε νοοῦντα τὴν τοῦ Καλλίστου
 ἐπιβουλήν, πάντα αὐτῷ πρὸς ἃ ἤδετο ὀμιλοῦντος.

Οὕτω μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ζεφυρίνου τελευτὴν νομίζων
 P. 289 τετυχηκέαι οὐ ἐθρηάτο, τὸν Σαβέλλιον ἀπέωσεν ὡς μὴ
 φρονοῦντα ὀρθῶς, δεδοικῶς ἐμὲ καὶ νομίζων οὕτω δύνασθαι
 ἀποτρίψασθαι τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας κατηγορίαν, ὡς μὴ
 ἀλλοτριῶς φρονῶν. Ἦν οὖν γόης καὶ πανοῦργος καὶ ἐπὶ

20. Cod. κόμησιν. ib. Cod. Ζεφυρίνον . . ἀράμενον, "duabus literis
 exesis, quarum prior σ fuisse cognoscitur : συναράμενον." Miller.

stadia CCLX. ab Ostia distans, XXXVIII. M.P. ab urbe Româ,
 meridiem versus in litore maris Tyrrheni, hodiè *Porto d'Anzo*; de eo
 Horat. I Od. xxxv.

19. *μηνιαῖον*. Auctor Parvi Labyrinthi (idem qui noster Hippolytus)
 apud Euseb. v. 28. ἀνεπίσθη ὁ Νατάλιος ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σαλαρίῳ ἐπίσκοπος
 κληρωθῆναι ταύτης τῆς αἵρέσεως ὥστε λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν μηνιαῖα
 δηνάρια ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα.

ib. Pro ἐκτροφὰς legere mallet εἰς τροφάς. Literæ K et IS (*i. e.*
 IC) sæpe in MSS. confunduntur.

20. *κοίμησιν*,—confer infra, v. 32, Ζεφυρίνου τελευτὴν, unde satis
 liquet Zephyrinum non martyrio animam efflâsse, quod contrâ recentiores
 Martyrologiorum Romanorum consarcinatores monere fas sit.

ib. αὐτὸν ad Carpophorum refert vir eruditus in *Censurâ Arnoldianâ*,
 p. 592. Sed ad Callistum potius retulerim, ut αὐτὸν et αὐτῷ duobus
 suprâ versibus de Callisto indubiè dictum. Quod τοῦτον μεταγαγὼν
 de Callisto quoque addiderit id non sine ludibrio factum—*hunc*
hominem!

22. De cœmeteriis Christianorum non tantum inhumationis causâ
 usitatis, sed ad divina officia peragenda, et sacros cœtus celebrandos,
 ideòque ad scholas habendas, vide Baronium ad A.D. 226. 258. 260.

After Victor had fallen asleep in death, Zephyrinus having had him (Callistus) as a coadjutor for the control of the Clergy, honoured him to his own damage, and, having transferred him from Antium, set him over the Cemetery. And Callistus, being always with him, and, as I said before, courting him with hypocrisy, eclipsed him being incapable of forming any judgment on the arguments used, and not perceiving the stratagem of Callistus, who accommodated all his language to his taste.

Thus it came to pass, that after the death of Zephyrinus, Callistus presuming he had gained that to which he aspired, cast off Sabellius as heterodox, P. 289 through fear of me, and supposing that he might thus be able to wipe off the reproach to which he was exposed in the eyes of the Churches, as if he were not of unsound belief. In good truth he was a juggler

262. De *Callisti* Coemeterio in Viâ Appiâ videri potest Aringhi Roma Subterr. iii. c. xi. § 1. Ruggieri, p. 397.

24. Cod. ἐξεφάνισε. Legendum ἐξηφάνισε.

1. De Callisto, Zephyrini Episcopi Romani successore, hæc leguntur in libro Damasi, p. 608, Labbe, "Callistus natione Romanus ex patre Domitio de regione urbis Ravennatum sedit annos v, mens. ii, dies x. Fuit temporibus Macrini et Heliogabali a consulatu Antonini et Alexandri. . . . Fecit cœmeterium Viâ Appiâ ubi multi sacerdotes et martyres requiescunt, quod appellatur usque in hodiernum diem *cœmeterium Callisti*."

2. Hippolytus noster c. Noët. § 1. τότε τοῦτον ἐλέξαντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐξέωσαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, quo quidem ex loco satis patet, ut id obiter notemus, jus excommunicationis, Hippolyti ætate penes fuisse Presbyterorum Collegium,—Episcopo, (dubitari nequit,) præsidente et omnia moderante. Noëtum a Papâ Victore damnatum ait auctor libelli Synodici a Pappo editi c. 20. a Tranquillo Episcopo Chalcedonensi, scribit Auctor Prædestinati, c. 36. Theodotum majorem τὸν σκυτῆα ab Episcopo Victore ἀφωρίσθαι narrat Hippolytus. Routh. ii. 9—23.

5 χρόνῳ συνήρπασε πολλούς. Ἔχων δὲ καὶ τὸν ἰὸν ἐγκείμενον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ εὐθέως μηδὲν φρονῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ αἰδούμενος τὰ ἀληθῆ λέγειν, διὰ τὸ δημοσίᾳ ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντα εἰπεῖν δίθειοι ἐστέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαβελλίου συχνῶς κατηγορεῖσθαι ὡς παραβάντος τὴν
 10 πρῶτην πίστιν, ἐφεύρεν αἵρεσιν τοιάνδε, λέγων τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν, αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα, ὀνόματι μὲν καλούμενον, ἐν δὲ ὃν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀδιαίρετον· οὐκ ἄλλο εἶναι πατέρα, ἄλλο δὲ υἱὸν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τὰ πάντα γέμειν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος τὰ τε ἄνω καὶ
 15 κάτω, καὶ εἶναι τὸ ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ σαρκωθὲν πνεῦμα οὐχ ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν πατέρα, ἀλλὰ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ εἰρημένον “Οὐ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί;” Τὸ μὲν γὰρ βλεπόμενον,

12. Cod. οὐκ ἄλο.

14. Cod. γεμείν.

17. Joann. xiv. 11.

6. εὐθέως. Sic Miller; sed Codex, quem inspexi, clarè habet εὐθέος, quemadmodum conjecerat vir eruditissimus Robertus Scott, Decanus nunc Roffensis, in Censurâ Arnoldianâ, ii. p. 538.

9. παραβάντος Codex : mallem παραβάντα. In MSS: \bar{a} et $\bar{o}\bar{s}$ (i. e. $\bar{o}\bar{c}$) sæpissime confundi notum est.

11. ὀνόματι μὲν καλούμενον Cod. Ante καλούμενον excidisse videtur ἄλλο.

ib. ὄντα. Sic Bunsenius rectè pro Codicis lectione ὃν τό.

18. Vide has Noëtianorum exceptiones recitantem Hippolytum c. Noëtum, § 7, locum huic nostro planè gemellum. οὐ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ κ.τ.λ. καὶ θέλουσι λέγειν (οἱ Νοητιανοὶ) διὰ τοῦτο κρατύνεσθαι τὸ δόγμα αὐτῶν. Vide etiam quæ his regerit ipse Hippolytus c. Noët. c. xiv. ed. Fabr. ii. 15, ubi τὸν Λόγον Deum prædicat, *duos autem* Deos se agnoscere disertè negat. ταύτην τὴν οἰκονομίαν παραδίδωσιν ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης ἐν Εὐαγγελίῳ μαρτυρῶν, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ΛΟΓΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ὁμολογεῖ οὕτως λέγων· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. Εἰ δὲ οὖν ὁ Λόγος πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Θεὸς ὦν, τί οὖν φήσειεν ἂν τίς δύο λέγειν Θεοὺς; δύο μὲν οὐκ ἐρῶ Θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἢ ἓνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίαν δὲ τρίτην, τὴν χάριν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ εἷς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο ὅτι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς, τὸ δὲ

and impostor, and in process of time drew many along P. 289 with him. And harbouring the venom in his bosom, and having no rectitude of mind, and at the same time being ashamed to profess sound doctrine because he had before calumniated me in public and said "You are a Ditheist," and because also he was often charged by Sabellius with having swerved from his first faith, he invented such a heresy as follows. He said that the Word is the Son and is also the Father, being called by a different name, but that the indivisible Spirit is one; and that the Father is not one thing and the Son another, but that they both are one and the same thing, and that all things are full of the Divine Spirit, both things above and things beneath, and that the Spirit which was Incarnate in the Virgin was not different from the Father, but one and the same, and that this was the meaning of our Lord's saying, "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?" (John xiv. 10;) for that

τρίτον τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Unde satis refellit Bunsenii suspicio ex his Noëtianorum argutiis colligentis vel Meiero colligenti adstipulantis, *duorum* Deorum dogma respuentium, de *tertiâ* sacrosanctæ Trinitatis Personâ nihil adhuc innotuisse, ideòque Hippolyti ætate de Sancti Spiritûs Deitate nihil fuisse definitum. Reclamat hic ipse Hippolytus, reclamat, inquam, in sermone c. Noëtum, § 8. ἀνάγκη ὁμολογεῖν Πατέρα Θεὸν Παντοκράτορα καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Θεοῦ, Θεὸν ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον, ᾧ πάντα Πατὴρ ὑπέταξε παρεκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, καὶ τούτους οὕτως εἶναι Τρία, et alio in loco c. Noët. 14. ὁ γὰρ κελεύων Πατὴρ, ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων Υἱὸς, τὸ δὲ συνετίζον Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ὁ ὢν Πατὴρ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν πᾶσιν. Ἄλλως ἢ να Θεὸν νομίσαι οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐὰν μὴ ὄντως Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι πιστεύσωμεν. Adde locum c. Noët. § 9. et doxologiam in fine, p. 20, ed. Fabr. Cæterum cum his conferas quæ scripsit Tertullian. c.

ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ
 20 υἱῷ χωρηθὲν Πνεῦμα τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν πατέρα· οὐ γὰρ,
 φησὶν, ἐρῶ δύο θεοὺς, πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν, ἀλλ' ἓνα. Ὁ
 γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος πατήρ, προσλαβόμενος τὴν σάρκα
 ἐθεοποίησεν ἐνώσας ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἓν, ὡς καλεῖσθαι
 πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν, ἓνα θεὸν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ὄν πρόσωπον μὴ
 25 δύνασθαι εἶναι δύο, καὶ οὕτως τὸν πατέρα συμπεπονθῆναι
 τῷ υἱῷ· οὐ γὰρ θέλει λέγειν τὸν πατέρα πεπονθῆναι, καὶ
 ἐν εἶναι πρόσωπον, ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν εἰς τὸν πατέρα βλασ-
 P. 290 φημίαν, ὃ ἀνόητος καὶ ποικίλος, ὃ ἄνω κάτω σχεδιάζων
 βλασφημίας, ἵνα μόνον κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας λέγειν δοκῇ,
 ποτὲ μὲν εἰς τὸ Σαβελλίου δόγμα ἐμπίπτων, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς
 τὸ Θεοδότου οὐκ αἰδεῖται.

Τοιαῦτα ὁ γόης τολμήσας, συνεστήσατο διδασκαλεῖον
 κατὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας οὕτως διδάξας, καὶ πρῶτος τὰ πρὸς

25. Cod. συμπεπονθῆναι.

Prax. 13. "Duos tamen Deos et duos Dominos nunquam ex ore nostro proferimus," ubi illorum insaniam quos "vanissimos Monarchianos (c. 13)" appellat, respondet. Idem argumentum tangit Novatianus, de Trin. c. 28. Vide et c. 29, qui quidem loci his Hippolyti nostri sententiis lucem affundunt.

19. ἄνθρωπος. Sic Miller; sed Codex habuit, ut opinor, ἀνθρώπινον. Litura est in voce.

26. Hæc sunt referentis ipsa Callisti verba vocesque in vulgus sparsas, ad se suamque ipsius hæresim tuendam.

Cæterum Callisti orthodoxiam, ideòque Hippolyti hæreticam pravitatem, ex his verbis evincere pro virili nititur vir doctissimus nobisque amicissimus Ignatius von Döllinger, in libro celeberrimo *Hippolytus und Kallistus*, pp. 218—236; quibus viri egregii conatibus reponere satis est, Hippolytum a Catholicâ Ecclesiâ inter primores suos doctores unanimiter esse receptum, licet Callistum hæreseos arguerit, eique strenuè restiterit.

27. ἐκφυγεῖν. Sic Cod. "Ante ἐκφυγεῖν quædam ommissa esse apparet" ait Miller. . . . Legendum fortasse ἐκφυγῶν. Callistus profitebatur *se evasisse* blasphemiam illam in quam alii inciderant. De re

which was seen, that is man, was the Son ; but the Spirit which was contained in the Son, was the Father. For, said Callistus, "I will never speak of two Gods, the Father and the Son, but One God. For the Father being in Him, having taken human flesh, divinized it by uniting it to Himself, and made it one, so that One God is called Father and Son ; and this being One Person cannot be two." And so he said that the Father had suffered with the Son ; for he does not like to say that the Father suffered and was One Person, because he has escaped from the blasphemy against the Father, he (forsooth) who is so infatuated and versatile, and extemporizes blasphemy P. 290 hither and thither, in order only that he may appear to speak against the truth, and is not ashamed of falling at one time into the dogma of Sabellius, and at another into that of Theodotus.

This deceiver having ventured to do such things, set up for himself a school against the Church, teaching these doctrines. And he was the first to devise

ipsâ vide Tertullian. c. Prax. 29. "*Directam blasphemiam in Patrem veriti, diminui eam hoc modo sperant, si Filius quidem patitur, Pater vero compatitur. . . Times Patrem dicere passibilem quem dicis (Filio) compassibilem.*"

4. De Theodoto Byzantio, qui ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον χριστὸν dixit, supra 257, infra 328. 1—13. Confer item quæ de Theodoto scripsit noster, c. Noët. § 3, et quæ scripturus est infra, lib. x. p. 330. 58. de Callisto, qui dicitur ποτὲ μὲν τῷ Νοητοῦ δόγματι περιρρηγνύμενος, ποτὲ δὲ τῷ Θεοδότου, μηδὲν ἀσφαλὲς κρατῶν.

5. συνεστήσατο διδασκαλεῖον, *scholam*, non *Ecclesiam*. Simili loquelâ utentem vide Hippolytum nostrum c. Noët. c. 1. εἰς τοῦτο φύσιμα ἠνέχθη (Νοητὸς) ὡς διδασκαλεῖον συστήσαι. Vide infra p. 96.

τὰς ἡδονὰς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συγχωρεῖν ἐπενόησε, λέγων
 πᾶσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφίεσθαι ἁμαρτίας. Ὁ γὰρ παρ' ἐτέρω
 τινὶ συναγόμενος καὶ λεγόμενος Χριστιανὸς εἶ τι ἂν
 10 ἁμάρτη, φασὶν, οὐ λογίζεται αὐτῷ ἡ ἁμαρτία, εἰ προσ-
 δράμοι τῇ τοῦ Καλλίστου σχολῇ· οὐ τῷ ὄρω ἀρεσκόμενοι
 πολλοὶ συνείδησιν πεπληγότες, ἅμα τε καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν
 αἰρέσεων ἀποβληθέντες, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ καταγνώσει
 ἔκβλητοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι, προσχωρή-
 15 σαντες αὐτοῖς, ἐπλήθυναν τὸ διδασκαλεῖον αὐτοῦ.

Οὗτος ἐδογμάτισεν ὅπως εἰ ἐπίσκοπος ἁμάρτοι τι, εἰ
 καὶ πρὸς θάνατον, μὴ δεῖν κατατίθεσθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτου
 ἤρξαντο ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι δύγαμοι
 καὶ τρίγαμοι καθίστασθαι εἰς κλήρους. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐν
 20 κλήρῳ ὢν γαμοίη, μένειν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὡς μὴ
 ἡμαρτηκότα· ἐπὶ τούτῳ φάσκων εἰρηῆσθαι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἀποστόλου ῥηθὲν, “Σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην;”

7. Cod. συγχαρεῖν. 9. “Leg. ὁ τι ἂν.” Miller. rectè. 14. Cod.
 ἐκκλητοί. 20. Cod. ὢν γνώμη. 22. Rom. xiv. 4.

9. Vide locum Tertulliani infra citandum, et quæ adnotavit doc-
 tissimus Antistes, Joannes Kaye, in Tertullian. p. 239. 257.

11. Videtur esse quædam antithesis inter Χριστὸς et Κάλλιστος et
 inter Χριστιανὸς et Καλλιστιανός. Christiani, inquit, quantopere
 peccatores, peccatorum suorum reatu scilicet sunt soluti, si modo fiant
 Callistiani!

14. ἔκβλητοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι. Notandum igitur
 nostrum Episcopalem auctoritatem sibi vindicare.

17. Ἐπὶ τούτου, *i. e.* illo Episcopatum obtinente. Vide p. 279. 39.
 τούτων κατὰ διαδοχὴν de Zephyrino ejusque successore Callisto; et 279.
 30. Ζεφυρίνου διέπειν νομίζοντος τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, et 284. 78. Κάλλιστος
 θηρώμενος τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον, et 288. 96. μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ζεφυρί-
 νου τελευταίην νομίζων τετυχηκέναι οὐ ἐθηρᾶτο.

18. Tertullian. ad Uxor. c. 7, “disciplina Ecclesiæ et præscriptio
 Apostoli digamos non sinit præsidere.” Vide ad 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i.
 6. De Exhort. Cast. c. 7, “Quosdam memini Digamos loco dejectos,

also to gratify men in their lusts, saying that all men's P. 290 ✓
sins were forgiven by himself. For whatever sin any
one commits who is a member of another man's con-
gregation and is called a Christian, his sin (they say)
is not imputed to him if he runs off to the school of
Callistus. And many persons being delighted with
this man's decree, who were wounded in their con-
sciences, and had also been thrown off from many
sects, and some cast out of the Church by me after ✓
judicial sentence, flocking to them, swelled his school.

This man promulgated as a dogma, that if a Bishop
should commit any sin, even if it were a sin unto
death, he ought not to be deposed. In his time
Bishops, Priests and Deacons, digamists and triga-
mists, began to be enrolled in the Clergy.

And if any one being in the clerical body should
marry (he determined) that such a person should re-
main in the clergy as not having sinned, saying that
the words of the Apostle were spoken with a view to
this matter: "Who art thou that judgest another

de suis Montanistis testatur de Pudicit. c. 1. 'Digamos' (i. e. etiam
laicos) 'foris sistimus, eundem limitem liminis mœchis quoque et
fornicariis figimus.' De iis autem quos ipse Psychicos pro suo arbitrio
vocat, audi exclamantem de Monogam. c. 12. 'Quot enim et digami
præsident apud vos!' Digamorum quorundam exempla in nonnullis
Ecclesiis ad Episcopale fastigium provectorum videas apud Bingham.
iv. v. § 4. Hæc et cætera Callisti acta sibi tuenda suscepit vir eru-
ditissimus Ignatius Döllinger, pp. 150—154; quo successu viderint alii.
Equidem in Hippolyti nostri verbis quædam Novatianismi gliscentis
semina deprehendi minimè infitior: de quâ re plura inferius dicturus sum.

19. εἰς κλήρους : de hâc locutione vide Euseb. vi. 43.

20. Super hâc re consulenda egregia doctissimi Henrici Whartoni
diatribe, *De Cleri Calibatu*, Lond. 1688.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ παραβολὴν τῶν ζιζανίων πρὸς τούτῳ ἔφη λέγεσθαι· “Ἀφετε τὰ ζιζάνια συναύξειν τῷ σίτῳ,”
 25 τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας. Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Νῶε εἰς ὁμοίωμα Ἐκκλησίας ἔφη γεγονέναι, ἐν ἧ καὶ κύνες καὶ λύκοι καὶ κόρακες, καὶ πάντα τὰ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα· οὕτω φάσκων δεῖν εἶναι ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμοίως· καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοῦτο δυνατὸς ἦν
 P. 291 συνάγειν οὕτως ἠρμήνευσεν, οὗ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ ἡσθέντες τοῖς δόγμασι διαμένουσιν ἐμπαίζοντες ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ πολλοῖς, ὧν τῷ δίδασκαλεῖῳ συρρέουσιν ὄχλοι. Διὸ καὶ πληθύνονται γανριώμενοι ἐπὶ ὄχλοις διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς, ἅς οὐ
 5 συνεχώρησεν ὁ Χριστὸς, οὗ καταφρονήσαντες οὐδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν κωλύουσι, φάσκοντες αὐτῷ ἀφίεναι τοῖς εὐδοκοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπέτρεψεν εἰ ἀνανδροὶ εἶεν καὶ ἡλικία τε τε καίοντα ἐναξία ἢ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἦν

24. Matt. xiii. 30. 2. Cod. ἐμπέζοντες. 3. Cod. διδασκαλειῶν. 7, 8. “Ita hæc scripta sunt in codice. Nisi gravior corruptio inest, post ἐπέτρεψεν supple ἀμαρτεῖν (scilicet assumendo σύγκοιτον), et scrib. ἡλικία καίοντο αἱ ἐν ἀξία, τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἦν (sive potius εἰ) μὴ βούλοιντο καθαιρεῖν.” Miller.

29. Quæ hic vituperat noster, post Hippolyti ætatem, docuerunt Catholicæ Patres; S. Cyprian. de Unit. Eccles. p. 111, et Epist. liv. p. 99, Fell. “Etsi videntur in Ecclesiâ esse zizania, non tamen impediri debet aut fides aut caritas nostra, ut, quoniam zizania in Ecclesiâ cernimus, ipsi de Ecclesiâ recedamus. Nobis tantummodo laborandum est, ut *frumentum* esse possimus.” Fulgent. de fide, ad Petrum, c. 42, et S. Aug. Epist. cv. 16. “Ecclesiam Catholicam agrum suum Dominus docet tanquam zizania inter triticum.” S. Aug. c. Faust. lib. xii. 15. “Cuncta animalium genera in Arcâ clauduntur. Sicut in Ecclesiæ sacramentis et boni et mali versantur.” Sed venia detur Hippolyto nostro alia rigidius statuenti. Illi enim nondum, cum hæc scriberet, contigerat videre quæ postea deliraverunt Novatiani et ‘pars Donati.’ Sed “oportebat hæreses esse, ut probati essent manifesti.” Oportebat schismata oriri, ut disciplinæ Christianæ leges melius dispingerentur, et ut veritas “de permixtâ Ecclesiâ” a Catharis

man's servant?" (Rom. xiv. 4;) and he said that the parable of the tares was spoken with reference to him: ✓
 "Let the tares grow together with the wheat" (Matt. xiii. 30), that is, let sinners remain in the Church. Besides, he said that the Ark of Noah was made for a figure of the Church, and that in it were dogs and wolves and ravens, and all clean things and unclean; affirming that it ought to be likewise so in the Church. *Parable of the Tares*

As many passages for this purpose as he was able P. 291
 to collect he expounded in this manner; and his disciples being pleased with his doctrines remain, deluding themselves and others, and crowds flock to their school. Hence they are increased, vaunting their multitudes, on account of pleasures which Christ did not permit, and in despite of Him they restrain from no sin, professing that they themselves forgive the sins of their own votaries. For he also gave permission to women, if they had no husband, and were enamoured of a comrade unworthy of them-

in dubium vocata, piis Sanctorum Episcoporum, Cypriani, Optati, et præcipuè Augustini laboribus feliciter vindicaretur, et in perpetuum solidaretur. Interea fas sit monuisse, hæc et plurima similia, quæ lector paullo attentior ipse per se animadvertet, luculenta afferre testimonia quibus hujusce libri *αὐθεντία* et *γνησιότης* corroborentur. Cæterum his placitis Novatianismum redolentibus renuntiâsse postea nostrum et saniora docuisse infrâ videbimus. Vide Capp. ix. et x.

6. Cod. *αὐτῷ*. Legendum videtur *αὐτοί*, vide suprâ p. 290. 32.

8. Sic Cod. Legit Bunsenius, i. p. 134. *καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐν ἀξία ἐπέτρεψεν εἰ ἄνδρῳ εἶεν καὶ ἡλικία γε ἐκκαλοῦντο, τηρεῖν ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἢν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαίρειν*. Audaciusculè. Sed in loco salebroso dandum aliquid licentiæ. Age, nos quoque symbolam afferamus. Locum integrum sic repræsentandum conjecerim, *καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνδρῳ εἶεν, καὶ ἡλικιώτη τινὶ καλοῦντο ἀναξίῳ, ἢ ἑαυτῶν*

μὴ βούλονται καθαίρειν. Διὰ τοῦτο νομίμως γαμηθῆναι
 10 ἔχει ἓνα ὃν ἂν αἰρήσωνται σύγκοιτον, εἴτε οἰκέτην, εἴτε
 ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τοῦτον κρίνειν ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς μὴ νόμου
 γεγαμημένην. Ἐνθεν ἤρξαντο ἐπιχειρεῖν πισταὶ λεγό-
 μенаι ἀτοκία περιδεσμεῖσθαι καὶ φαρμάκοις πρὸς τὸ τὰ
 συλλαμβανόμενα καταβάλλειν, διὰ τὸ μήτε ἐκ δούλου
 15 βούλεσθαι ἔχειν τέκνον, μήτε ἐξ εὐτελοῦς διὰ τὴν συγγέ-
 νειαν καὶ ὑπέρογκον οὐσίαν.

Ὅρατε εἰς ὄσπην ἀσέβειαν ἐχώρησεν ὁ ἄνομος μοιχείαν
 καὶ φόνον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ διδάσκων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς
 20 τολμήμασιν ἑαυτοῦς οἱ ἀπηρυθριασμένοι καθολικὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσι, καὶ τινες νομίζοντες εὖ
 πράττειν συντρέχουσιν αὐτοῖς. Ἐπὶ τούτου πρῶτως
 τετόλμηται δεύτερον αὐτοῖς βάπτισμα.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Κάλλιστος συν-
 εστήσατο, οὗ διαμένει τὸ διδασκαλεῖον φυλάσσειν τὰ ἔθη

12. Cod. ἤρξαντο. 19. Cod. τολμήσασιν. ib. Cod. ἀπερυθρ.
 22. Literæ ὄλμ in codice exesæ. ib. Cod. βάπτισμα.

ἀξίαν μὴ βούλονται καθαίρειν, διὰ τοῦτο νομίμως γαμηθῆναι ἐκείνῳ ὃν ἂν
 αἰρήσωνται σύγκοιτον. Secundum τε corruptum puto, nam Codex cum
 accentu habet. De καίονται ἡλικιώτη conferas Horatiana 4 Od. xi. 33.
 “calebo foeminâ;” 3 Od. ix. 5. “non aliâ arsiisti;” Epod. xix. 9.
 “arsisse Bathyllo.” De γαμηθῆναι, *nubere*, vide Lobeck. Phryn. p. 742.
 Iren. v. 9. ἡ νόμῳ γαμῆσαι οὐ δύναται, γαμηθῆναι δὲ δύναται.

9. Etiam hæc Callisti facinora tueri studet vir doctissimus Ignatius
 Döllinger, pp. 170—184; sed, me quidem iudice, parùm feliciter.

11. νόμῳ γεγαμημένην. Conferas quæ in Traditione Apostolicâ διὰ
 Ἰππολύτου statuuntur, p. 254. πιστὸς ἂν ἔχη παλλακὴν, ἂν μὲν δούλην,
 παυσάσθω, καὶ νόμῳ γαμείτω, εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέραν, γαμείτω αὐτὴν νόμῳ.

13. Pro ἀτοκία legendum videtur ἀτόκια (et sic Codex, quem nunc
 inspexi), i. e. ligaturas abortum efficientes; et ante vocem φαρμάκοις sup-
 plendum ἐπιχειρεῖν.

17. De Episcopo quodam, Romanæ, ut videtur, Ecclesiæ (nomen
 non liquet) similia narrat Tertullianus, jam Montanista, de Pudicitia

selves, or did not wish to degrade their own dignity, P. 291 that therefore they might lawfully marry any one whom they chose as a consort, whether a slave or free, and that she who was not married to him lawfully, might regard him as a husband. Thence it was that women, called believers, began to venture to bandage themselves with ligaments to produce abortion, and to deal with drugs in order to destroy what was conceived, because they did not like to have a child from a slave or a mean person, on account of their kindred, and haughtiness of wealth.

Behold to what impiety this lawless person proceeded, teaching adultery and murder at the same time! And yet after all these enormities these men are lost to all sense of shame, and presume to call themselves a Catholic Church! And some persons thinking to fare well resort to them. In his time, first it was dared by them to administer a second baptism.

These things this most admirable Callistus contrived, and his school still survives preserving its

c. 1. "Audio Edictum esse propositum et quidem peremptorium; Pontifex scilicet Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum, dicit, Ego et mœchiae et fornicationis delicta poenitentia functis dimitto."

22. In ipsam Romanam Ecclesiam iterationem baptismi inductam fuisse non asserit noster (quod quidem esset falsissimum, uti ex Stephani Episcopi Romani Epistolis ad Sanctum Cyprianum apparet), sed Callisti tempore, eoque non obnitente, invasisse Christi Ecclesiam, quod verum est, et sub Agrippino Episcopo Africano fieri coeptum est. Vide Augustin. de Baptismo, ii. 12; Döllinger, p. 191.

24. οὗ διαμέρει—Καλλιστιανοί; et per orbem terrarum diffusam esse, dum hæc scriberet, testatur noster. Hinc colligas librum hunc confectum fuisse, et non paucis annis, post Callisti mortem A.D. 223.

25 καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν, μὴ διακρίνουσιν τίσι δεῖ κοινωνεῖν, πᾶσιν ἀκρίτως προσφέρων τὴν κοινωσίαν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν τοῦ
 P. 292 ὀνόματος μετέσχον ἐπὶ κλησίῳ καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν πρωτοστατήσαντα τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων Κάλλιστον, Καλλιστιανοί.

Τούτου κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον διηγηθείσης τῆς
 5 διδασκαλίας, ἐνιδὼν τὴν πραγματείαν ἀνὴρ δόλιος καὶ ἀπουσίας γέμων, Ἀλκιβιάδης τις καλούμενος, οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, γοργότερον ἑαυτὸν καὶ εὐφύστερον ἐν κυβείαις κρίνας τοῦ Καλλίστου, ἐπῆλθε τῇ Ῥώμῃ φέρων βίβλον τινὰ, φάσκων ταύτην ἀπὸ Σηρῶν τῆς Παρ-
 10 θίας παρειληφέναι τινὰ ἄνδρα δίκαιον Ἡλχασαῖ, ἣν παρέδωκε τινὶ λεγομένῳ Σοβιαῖ χρηματισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου, οὗ τὸ ὕψος σχοινίων κδ δ γίνεται μίλια ζε· τὸ δὲ πλάτος αὐτοῦ σχοινίων δ, καὶ ἀπὸ ὤμου εἰς ὦμον σχοινίων ε· τὰ δὲ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
 15 μῆκος σχοίνων γ ἡμίσεις· ἃ γίνεται μίλια δεκατέσσαρα· τὸ δὲ πλάτος σχοίνου ἐνὸς ἡμίσεως, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἡμισχοίνου. εἶναι δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ θήλειαν, ἣς τὰ μέτρα κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα εἶναι λέγει· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄρσενα υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν δὲ θήλειαν καλεῖσθαι ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ταῦτα
 20 τερατολογῶν, νομίζει ταρασσεῖν τοὺς μωροὺς, λέγων τοῦτον εὐηγγελίσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καινὴν ἄφεσιν

6. Cod. ἀλκιβιάδης.
 λέγων, λέγων. λέγων λόγον R. Scott.

9. Cod. ἀποσηρῶν.

20. Cod.

Cæterum notandum est nostrum Callisti gregem *Ecclesie* nomine indignum existimare, et *scholæ* tantum in loco habere: quæ quidem clarissimè indicant, ut mihi videtur, Hippolytum in Novatiani partes futurum fuisse propensum. Sed de hâc re plura alias dicturi sumus. Capp. ix. et x.

25. τίσι δεῖ. Ita Miller; sed δεῖ in Codice non extat.

practices and its tradition, not making any distinction as with whom it is fit to communicate, but offering communion indiscriminately to all, from whom his scholars derived their appellation, so as to be called, P. 292 on account of him who took the lead in these matters,—namely, Callistus,—Callistians.

When his teaching had been noised through the whole world, a person full of subtlety and madness, called Alcibiades, dwelling in Apamea in Syria, deeming himself a more august person, and more adroit in jugglery, than Callistus, came to Rome, bringing a Book, which he said that a certain just man, called Elchasai, had received from the Seres of Parthia, which he gave to a certain Sobiāi, being delivered by an Angel.

8. Vide Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. ii. 7. Epiphan. Hær. xix. c. 5. Cæterùm hanc Helcesaitarum hæresim, non adeo immutatam, nostrâ ætate recoctam vidimus ab iis qui se Mormonitas appellant, et suam disciplinam a Libro quodam portentoso, divinitus dato, hausisse se profiterentur.

ἀμαρτιῶν, ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ βασιλείας τρίτῳ, καὶ βάπτισμα
 ὀρίζει, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ διηγῆσομαι, φάσκων τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ
 ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ μiasμῶ καὶ ἀνομήμασιν ἐμφυρέντας, εἰ καὶ
 25 πιστὸς εἶη, ἐπιστρέψαντα καὶ τῆς βίβλου κατακούσαντα
 καὶ πιστεύσαντα, ὀρίζει βαπτίσματι λαμβάνειν ἄφεσιν
 ἀμαρτιῶν.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἐτόλμησε τεχνάσαι τὰ πανουργήματα ἀπὸ
 τοῦ προειρημένου δόγματος ἀφορμὴν λαβὼν, οὗ παρ-
 30 εστήσατο Κάλλιστος. Ἑδομένους γὰρ κατανοήσας
 P. 293 πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ ἐπαγγελίᾳ εὐκαίρως ἐνόμισεν
 ἐπιχειρεῖν. Καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἀντιστάντες, οὐκ εἰδάμεν
 ἐπιπολὺ πλανηθῆναι, πολλοὺς ἐλέγξαντες εἶναι τοῦτο
 πνεύματος νόθου ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἐπίνοιαν πεφυσιωμένης
 5 καρδίας, καὶ τοῦτον λύκου δίκην ἐπεγηγερμένου πλανω-
 μένοις προβάτοις πολλοῖς [ἀ] ἀποπλανῶν διεσκόρπισεν
 ὁ Κάλλιστος.

309 Δοκεῖ μὲν ἡμῖν ἰκανῶς τὰ πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ
 βαρβάρων δόγματα ἐκτεθεῖσθαι, μηδὲν δὲ ἀπολελοιπέναί
 μήτε τῶν φιλοσοφουμένων μήτε τῶν ὑπὸ αἰρετικῶν φ[ασ-
 κο]μένων ἀναπόδεικτον. Οἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκτεθέντων
 5 φανερὸς γεγένηται ὁ ἔλεγχος ἢ κλεψιλογησάντων ἢ τινὰ
 ἔρανισαμένων αὐτὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων πεπονημένα παρα-
 θεμένων ὡς θεῖα.

Διὰ πάντων οὖν διαδραμόντες καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου

23. Cod. αὐτῷ. 24. Cod. ἀσεγεία. 25. "Vocis πιστὸς literæ στο
 exesæ. Addendum videtur τis." Miller. ib. Cod. ἐπιτρέψαντα.
 26. Cod. ἄφεσιν ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν. 1. Cod. ἐνόμησεν. 3. Sic
 codex; sed post πολλοὺς distinguendum videtur. ib. Cod.
 ἐλλέγξαντες. 6. Addidi ἄ. 2. Cod. ἐκτεθῆσθαι. ib. Cod.
 ἀπολελυπέναί. Miller ἀπολελειπέναί. 3. "Literæ suppletæ lacunam
 exacte implent; supersunt vestigia literarum α et κ." Miller.

These artifices he ventured to contrive, having taken occasion from the dogma aforesaid, which Callistus adopted. For having perceived that many P. 293 were pleased with such promises (of indulgence), he imagined that he made the attempt at a favourable opportunity. And I resisting him did not suffer the heresy to spread wide, convincing many that this was the working of a spurious spirit, and the imagination of a proud heart, and that he had risen up like a wolf to ravage the numerous sheep whom Callistus had led astray and scattered.

The dogmas of the Greeks and Barbarians appear P. 309 to have been now sufficiently expounded, and we seem to have left nothing undeclared, either of Philosophical systems, or of the assertions of Heretics, who have been clearly convicted, by what has been propounded, of having either plagiarized their systems, or of having gathered them (like banquets made by contributions) from different quarters, and served up things that have been prepared by Heathens, as if they were divine.

Having run through all these, and having with much

3. ἐπιπολὸν πλανηθῆναι. Sic MS. Pro ΠΛΑΝΗΘΗΝΑΙ mallet ΠΛΑΤΥΝΘΗΝΑΙ, *i. e.* latè diffundi.

ἐν ταῖς ἐννέα βίβλοις τὰ πάντα δόγματα ἐξειπόντες,
 10 πᾶσί τε ἀνθρώποις ἐφόδιον ἐν βίῳ μικρὸν καταλιπόντες,
 καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐκ ὀλίγοις χαρᾶς καὶ θυμηδίας φιλο-
 μάθειαν παρασχόντες, εὐλογον ἡγοούμεθα ὥσπερ κορυφὴν
 τοῦ παντός [τὸν] περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον ἐπενέγκαι, καὶ
 τοῦτον ἐν μιᾷ βίβλῳ τῇ δεκάτῃ περιγράψαι, ὅπως ὁ
 15 ἐντυγχάνων μὴ μόνον ἀνατροπὴν τῶν τετολμηκότων
 αἰρέσεις συστήσασθαι ἐπιγνοὺς καταφρονήσῃ τῶν
 ματαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας δύναμιν ἐπιγνοὺς,
 ἀξίως Θεῷ πιστεύσας σωθῆναι δυνηθῇ.

Lib. X.
 P. 333

Τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ λόγου κρατήσαντες μαθηταὶ
 Ἕλληνες, Αἰγύπτιοι, Χαλδαῖοι καὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων
 τί τὸ Θεῖον καὶ ἡ τούτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία παρ' ἡμῶν
 τῶν φίλων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ κομπολόγω τούτο ἡσκηκότων,
 5 ἀλλ' ἢ ἀληθείας γνῶσει καὶ ἀσκήσει σωφροσύνης εἰς
 ἀπόδειξιν αὐτοῦ λόγους ποιουμένων.

P. 334 Θεὸς εἰς ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος καὶ ἰπάντων ποιητῆς καὶ

9. Cod. τοῖς. II. Cod. θυμίδας. 13. "Addidi τόν." Miller.
 3. "Post ἡμῶν vel alio loco hujus periodi excidisse videtur ἔλαβον.
 4. Fort. κομπολόγως." Miller. I. Titulus rubricatus in codice :
 Ὀριγένης καὶ Ὀριγένους δόξα.

10. ἐφόδιον ἐν βίῳ μικρὸν καταλιπόντες. Legendum videtur οὐ μικρὸν.
 Vide suprâ, Philosoph. p. 3, 57. οὐδὲ γὰρ μικρὰν τινα βοήθειαν τῷ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ καταλείψομεν. Anne huc respexerit Nicephorus
 Callisti, iv. 31, de *Hippolyto* scribens, quem reliquisse memorat σύν-
 ταγμα πρὸς πάσας τὰς αἰρέσεις βιωφελέστατον?

11. ὀλίγοις. An legendum ὀλίγης?

I. τούτου τοῦ λόγου κρατήσαντες μαθηταὶ Ἕλληνες. Legendum
 μάθετε, ut rectè Harius apud Bunsenium. Confer Hippolyti locum
 simillimum in Libro περὶ τοῦ παντός, Fabr. i. p. 221. ἔλελυμένα ὀρῶντες,
 ἀπιστεῖτε, Ἕλληνες, μάθετε μὴ ἀπιστεῖν.

Cæterum hanc perorationem ad *Nationes* apprimè Hippolyti personæ
 convenire facile agnoveris, qui "Nationum Episcopus" appellatus

labour displayed in our Nine Books all their theories, and having bequeathed no small viaticum of life to men, and having afforded to our contemporaries a love of learning, of no slight pleasure and intellectual gratification, we deem it reasonable to add, as the sum of the whole, a discourse concerning the Truth, and to include this in one book the Tenth, so that the reader, not only recognizing a Refutation of those who have presumed to fabricate Heresies may contemn their vanities, but recognizing also the power of Truth, may be saved by worthy Faith in God.

Making yourselves masters of this argument, learn P. 333
O ye Greeks, Egyptians, Chaldæans, and all the race of men, what the Deity is, and what is His well-ordered creation, from us the friends of God, not handling this matter in sounding speeches, but uttering our words in the knowledge of truth, and in the exercise of sobriety, for the demonstration of Him.

God, One, the First and only One, and Maker and P. 334

fuisse, et in Portu Romano, Nationum peregrinarum Emporio, vixisse, et Ecclesiam rexisset, videtur.

3. ἡ τούτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία. Vide infra, p. 338. Sic Hippolytus, in ejusdem libri fragmento Barocciano, quod ad calcem hujusce voluminis inveniet lector, et quod cum hoc Epilogo libenter comparabit, διὰ τῆς τοῦ εὐτάκτου νομοθεσίας.

4. κομπολόγη. Ita Millerus; sed legendum videtur κομψῶ λόγη. Cr. inf. Ἕλληνες κομψῶ τῶ λόγη.

1. In hâc Hippolyteâ veri enarratione perlustrandâ meminert lector eam non pro concione ad clerum, imo neque ad populum Christianum fuisse enuntiatam, sed Sancti Præsulis et Martyris orationem nunc ad *Ethnicos* converti; eam igitur ἐξωτερικοῖς potius quàm ἐσωτερικοῖς λόγοις venerandi Doctoris esse annumerandam. Quare si qua hic desi-



κύριος, σύγχρονον ἔσχεν οὐδὲν, οὐ χάος ἄπειρον, οὐχ
 ὕδωρ ἀμέτρητον ἢ γῆν στερρὰν, οὐχὶ ἀέρα πυκνὸν, οὐ πῦρ
 θερμὸν, οὐ πνεῦμα λεπτὸν, οὐχ οὐρανοῦ μεγάλου κυανέαν
 5 μορφήν· ἀλλ' ἦν εἰς μόνος ἑαυτῷ, ὃς θελήσας ἐποίησε τὰ
 ὄντα οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον, πλὴν ὅτε ἠθέλησε ποιεῖν ὡς
 ἔμπειρος ὢν τῶν ἐσομένων. Πάρεστι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ
 πρόγνωσις, διαφόρους τε τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἀρχὰς πρότερον
 ἐδημιούργει, πῦρ καὶ πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν, ἐξ ὧν
 10 διαφόρων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κτίσιν ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ μὲν, μονοούσια,
 τὰ δὲ, ἐκ δύο, τὰ δὲ, ἐκ τριῶν, τὰ δὲ, ἐκ τεσσάρων συν-
 εδέσμη. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἑνὸς, ἀθάνατα ἦν· λύσις γὰρ οὐ
 παρακολουθεῖ. Τὸ γὰρ ἓν οὐ λυθήσεται πώποτε, τὰ δὲ
 ἐκ δύο, ἢ τριῶν, ἢ τεσσάρων, λυτὰ, διὸ καὶ θνητὰ
 15 ὀνομάζεται. Θάνατος γὰρ τοῦτο κέκληται, ἢ τῶν
 δεδεμένων λύσις.

Ἴκανὸν οὖν νῦν τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι, οἱ εἰ
 φιλομαθήσουσι καὶ τὰς τούτων οὐσίας καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς
 κατὰ πάντα δημιουργίας ἐπιζητήσουσιν, εἴσονται ἐντυ-

deraveris ad Christianæ religionis mysteria, et ad fidei capita disertius
 declaranda, ea a reliquis S. Hippolyti scriptis jam superstitionibus colligas,
 quæ quamvis laciniosa, et tanquam divitum stragulorum fimbriæ, tamen
 ad omnes istiusmodi defectus supplendos abundè sunt suffectura.

2. Gemellus locus, quem vide apud Hippol. c. Noëtum, § 10, θεὸς
 μόνος ὑπάρχων καὶ μηδὲν ἔχων ἑαυτῷ σύγχρονον, ἐβουλήθη
 κόσμον κτίσαι.

4. οὐρανοῦ κυανέαν ΜΟΡΦΗΝ. Ita MS. Mallem ΟΡΟΦΗΝ, *laquear*,
 "the azure vault," usu loquendi Hippolyteo, qui poeticas notiones et
 poeticas locutiones sectari solet, ut Irenæi discipulum facile agnoscas.
 Sic cælum dixit οὐράνιον δίσκον Hippolytus in Theophan. p. 261, et
 Theophilus Antiochenus (cujus ad Autolyicum libros legisse videtur
 Hippolytus), τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τρόπον ἐπέχοντα ΟΡΟΦΗΣ. Sed
 hanc conjecturam jam occupavit vir eruditissimus R. Scott in Censurâ
 Arnoldianâ, p. 541, cujus lucubrationes post hæc exarata vidi; et qui
 insuper recte animadvertit hæc lyricum colorem præ se ferre, et
 fortasse ab hæretico vel ethnico hymno hausta videri.

Lord of all, had nothing coeval with Himself, not P. 334
 infinite Chaos, nor immeasurable Water, nor solid
 Earth, nor thick Air, nor hot Fire, nor subtle Breath,
 nor the azure vault of the vast Sky. But He was
 alone with Himself. He by His Will created the
 things that exist, which did not exist before, but when
 He willed to create them, as having foreknowledge of
 what would be. For Prescience is present with Him.
 He also first created divers Elements for the things
 that were to be, namely, Fire and Air, Water and
 Earth, from which divers elements He formed His
 own Creation; and some things He made of one
 element, some He combined of two, some of three,
 some of four. And those things which are of one
 element are immortal: they have no concomitant
 solubility; for what is one will never be dissolved.
 But those which are of two elements, or three or four,
 are soluble, and are therefore called mortal. For this
 is called Death, the solution of what is bound.

Let then this answer now be given, which will
 suffice for the intelligent, who, if they are desirous of
 further information, and would investigate the essence
 of these things and the causes of the Universal Crea-

6. Act. xv. 18.

7. Millerus post *ἐσομένων* plenè interpungit: quod incuriâ factum videtur. Sed rationum, quas mihi præscripsi, memor, nihil mutavi, satius ducens sententiam meam interpretatione et notis explicare, quàm in textum intrudere.

17. *ἵκανόν οὖν νῦν τοῖς ἐδ̄ φρονούσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι*. Ita MS. Vix rectè. Vel post *ἀποκεκρίσθαι* adjiciendum *δοκεῖ*, vel pro *ἀποκεκρίσθαι* legendum videtur *ἀποκεκρίσθω*.

20 χόντες ἡμῶν βίβλω περιεχούση περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς
 οὐσίας· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἱκανὸν εἶναι ἐκθέσθαι τὰς αἰτίας, ἃς οὐ
 γνόντες Ἕλληνες κομψῶ τῷ λόγῳ τὰ μέρη τῆς κτίσεως
 ἐδόξασαν τὸν κτίσαντα ἀγνοήσαντες· ὧν ἀφορμὰς σχόντες
 οἱ αἰρεσιάρχαι ὁμοίοις λόγοις τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων προειρημένα
 25 μετασχηματίσαντες, αἰρέσεις καταγελάστους συνεστή-
 σαντο.

Οὗτος οὖν μόνος καὶ κατὰ πάντων Θεὸς, λόγον πρῶτον
 ἐννοηθεὶς ἀπογεννᾷ οὐ λόγον ὡς φωνήν, ἀλλ' ἐνδιάθετον
 P. 335 τοῦ παντὸς λογισμὸν. Τοῦτον μόνον ἐξ ὄντων ἐγέννα·
 τὸ γὰρ ὄν, αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἦν, ἐξ οὗ τὸ γεννηθῆναι αἴτιον
 τοῖς γινομένοις. Λόγος ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ φέρων τὸ θέλειν τοῦ
 γεγεννηκότος, οὐκ ἄπειρος τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐννοίας· ἅμα
 22. Cod. γνῶντες. 24. Cod. τὰ ὑπέκεινα. 4. Cod. γεγεννηκότος.

20. De quo libro (“*de Universo*”) vide quæ dedimus suprâ, cap. iv.,
 et Fabricii Hippolytea, i. p. 220, et ἀποσμάτιον quod Fabricio nondum
 compertum ad finem hujus libri adjicietur.

21. Supplendum δοκεῖ vel νομίζω.

24. Eâdem locutione utitur noster p. 94. 27, unde forsân hîc legendum
 ἀφ' ὧν. Deinde pro ὁμοίοις mallet ἀνομοίοις.

27. λόγον. Codex habet τὸν λόγον. Conferas Hippolyti nostri locum
 c. Noët. c. 10. θεὸς μόνος ὑπάρχων ἐβουλήθη κόσμον κτίσαι· ὁ κόσμον
 ἐννοηθεὶς θελήσας ἐποίησε.

28. Theophil. Antioch. p. 129. πρὸ τοῦ τι γίνεσθαι Πατὴρ Λόγον
 εἶχε σύμβουλον ἑαυτοῦ Νοῦν ὄντα, ὅποτε δὲ ἠθέλησε ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι ὅσα
 ἐβουλεύσατο τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης
 κτίσεως. Novatian. de Trin. 31. “Est Deus Pater omnium Institutor
 et Creator, solus originem nesciens, unus Deus. Ex quo quando Ipse
 voluit, Sermo Filius natus est, qui non in sono percussi aëris aut tono
 coactæ de visceribus vocis accipitur, sed in substantiâ prolata a Deo
 virtutis agnoscitur. Hic cum sit genitus a Patre semper est in Patre.”

1. Τοῦτον μόνον ἐξ ὄντων ἐγέννα. Quæ quidem verba vertit
 Bunsenius, “Him alone of all things He begat,” adeoque evidentissimi-
 mum nostri de Filii ὁμοουσίῳ testimonium obscuravit. Quod autem dicit
 Hippolytus hoc est : Pater ex nihilo cætera fecit, VERBUM autem ex
 substantiâ jam existente generavit,—hoc est ex SEIPSO ; velut in alio

tion, may learn them by referring to my Work, containing an Essay "*On the Essence of the Universe.*" For the present it seems enough to expound the causes, which the Gentiles not knowing, with all their ornate diction glorified the parts of Creation, being ignorant of the Creator. From whom the Heresiarchs derived occasions for their Heresies, and having travestied their systems in similar words, have composed Heresies which are ridiculous.

This One and Supreme God generates the Word first in His own mind ; He generates the Word, not as a Voice, but as the Indwelling Ratiocination of the Universe. Him alone He generated of what exists. P. 335 For the essence of things is the Father Himself, from whom is the cause of generation to what is generated. The Word was in the Father : The Word, bearing the will of Him Who begat the Word, and not unconscious of His Father's cogitation. For simultaneously

loco c. Noët. § II. πάντα διὰ Λόγου, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ἐκ Πατρὸς, unde clarum lucramur testimonium contra Arianos creaturam ex nihilo factam Dei Filium somniantes. Miror doleoque Bunsenium, cujus ingenii dotes suspicio, non sine amarulentâ quâdam irrisione dixisse se minimè dubitare, quin orituri sint nonnulli, qui Sanctum Hippolytum de Verbo Dei unigenito ὀρθοδόξως sensisse contendant, quorum quidem conatum temerarium atque adedò frustraneum fore non obscure innuerit. Sed pace viri egregii, ipse sanctum Antistitem perversè intelligendo, ipse Sanctum Hippolytum aliquoties perperam interpretando, præne fecit hæreticum. Sed salva res est. Non eget Hippolytus defensoribus qui ejus ὀρθοδοξίαν propugnent. Absint tantum pravæ interpretationes : ipse pro se loquatur : ipse se tuebitur.

4. Hippol. c. Noët. § IO. τῶν γινομένων ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σύμβουλον καὶ ἐργάτην ἐγέννα Λόγον, ὃν Λόγον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἀράτων τε ὄντα, τῷ κτισομένῳ κόσμῳ ὄρατῶν ποιεῖ, ubi Λόγον appellat τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν, αὐτῷ μόνῳ πρότερον ὄρατῶν ὑπάρχοντα.

5 γὰρ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ γεννήσαντος προελθεῖν πρωτότοκος τούτου
γενόμενος, φωνὴν ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ
ἐννοηθείσας ιδέας, ὅθεν κελεύοντος πατρὸς γίνεσθαι
κόσμον τὸ κατὰ ἐν Λόγος ἀπετελεῖτο ἀρέσκων Θεῶ. Καὶ

5. Cod. τὸ ἐκ.

6. Cod. ἔχειν ἐν.

6. φωνὴν EXEIN ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ (forsan πατρικῷ νῶ) ἐννοηθείσας ιδέας, ὅθεν κελεύοντος Πατρὸς γίνεσθαι κόσμον τὸ κατὰ ἐν Λόγος ΑΠΕΤΕΛΕΙΤΟ ΑΡΕΣΚΩΝ Θεῶ. Sic Codex, manifestâ corruptelâ. Legit Bunsenius φωνή pro φωνήν et sic interpretatur, "For when He (the Word) came forth from Him, being His First-begotten Speech, He had in Himself the ideas conceived by the Father." Sed jam ipse negaverat Hippolytus ΛΟΓΟΝ esse φωνήν. Liqueat, opinor, φωνήν sanum esse, deinde pro EXEIN legendum EXEI, et pro ΑΠΕΤΕΛΕΙΤΟ 'ΑΡΕΣΚΩΝ Θεῶ reponendum 'ΑΠΕΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΟ 'ΑΡΕΣΚΩΝ Θεῶ. Vel potius,—uti nunc inspecto Codice, qui habet ἀπετελειούτο ἀρέσκων Θεῶ, melius puto,—legere malletm 'ΑΠΕΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ, 'ΑΡΕΣΚΩΝ Θεῶ (cf. Euseb. H. E. i. 2, πατρικαῖς ἐπιτάξεσιν ὑπουργῶν). Non enim in his dicebant Patres ἀποτελεῖσθαι sed ἀποτελεῖν. Testis ipse Hippolytus in simillimo loco, indicio catholicæ doctrinæ evidentissimo, c. Noët. § 14. Πατὴρ μὲν εἶς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται, Λόγος 'ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΙ. Hinc S. Irenæi vetus interpres, ii. 47, "hic mundus factus est *apotelesτος* a Deo."

7. κελεύοντος Πατρὸς. Subordinatur enim Filius Patri tanquam sui Auctori et omnium Principio. Ut Fabricii verbis utar (Hippol. ii. p. 15) *mandandi* et *præcipiendi* vocabulo de *Patre*, et *obediendi* de *Filio* sine ullâ offensione usos esse constat non modo *ante* Concilium Nicænum, Clementem, Origenem, Irenæum, Hippolytum, et alios; sed et *post* illud Concilium adversarios et hostes Arianæ hæreseos acerrimos, Athanasium, Basilium. Vide Petav. de Trin. ii. vii. § 7. Georgii Bull. defensionem Fidei Nicænæ, p. 133. 165. 170; iv. 2, et in Epilogo Operis, vol. v. pt. ii. p. 291. Waterland. iii. p. 319, 320. Meminerit lector hâc item uti protestatione Nostrum de *Filio* omnia Patris jussu formante contra hæreticorum illorum somnia, qui ab Angelis vel Æonibus omnia facta fuisse impiè comminiscerentur, de quibus Irenæus, ii. 55; iv. 37. Vide hîc Clem. Alex. Pæd. iii. ad fin. Strom. v. c. 1; vii. c. 2.

Fortasse hîc dixerit quis, Hippolytum nostrum VERBI generationem facere, quod aiunt, *χρονικὴν* sive *temporariam*, non autem *semperiternam*. Quare adolescentes monitos velim, quorum præcipuè causâ hæc commentatus sum, duas Patrum Ante-nicænorum fuisse quasi familias, de

with His procession from Him Who begat Him, being P 335
 His First-born, He has as a voice in Himself the ideas
 conceived in His Father's substance, whence, when
 the Father bade that what was single (or one by one)
 should become a world, the Word executed it, doing
 what was pleasing to the Father.

hoc fidei capite specie diversa loquentes, re tamen idem sentientes ;
 quorum alii quidem Generationem Filii manifestè prædicabant *æternam* ;
 alii verò ut Justinus, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tatianus, Tertullianus,
 inter quos etiam eminebat noster Hippolytus, quùm Deitatem τοῦ Λόγου
 declarâssent, eumque ab *æterno* extitisse in Mente Patris, ἐνδιέθετο
 Πατρὸς Λόγον docuissent, tum verò pergebant dicere Eum *in tempore*
 factum fuisse προφορικόν, et exinde κατ' ἐνέργειαν et per συγκατάβασιν
 προπηδήσαι sive processisse ad Patrem Seseque manifestandum, et ad
 creanda universa. Hanc Ejus προέλευσιν sive processionem ad opus
 Creationis exequendum, aliquoties appellabant *Generationem*, memores
 illius Υἱὸς Μου εἶ Σὺ, Σήμερον ΓΕΓΕΝΝΗΚΑ Σέ (Hebr. i. 5 ; Ps. ii. 7).
 Hæc Ejus Generatio indubie fuit *temporaria*. Qui verò, ut Hippolytus
 noster, τὸν Λόγον ab æterno extitisse statuerant, Eum ab æterno fuisse
genitum agnoverant, ideòque temporariam ejus generationem ad creanda
 universa declarantes, Generationem Ejus *Æternam* minimè abnuebant,
 immò vero validissimè adstruebant. Qui enim ex Patre γεννητὸς et
 Patri συναΐδιος, ἀεὶ συμπαρὼν αὐτῷ καὶ σύμβουλος, Eum ab æterno
 genitum fuisse satis constabat. Rem optimè expressit nostri ferè æqualis
 Novatianus de Trin. 31. “ Hic (Λόγος) cum sit genitus a Patre semper
 est in Patre, semper autem sic dico, ut non innatum sed natum probem.
 Sed qui ante omne tempus est, semper in Patre fuisse dicendus est.
 Nec enim tempus illi æquari potest qui ante tempus est. Semper enim
 in Patre, ne Pater semper non sit Pater. Hic ergo quando Pater voluit,
 processit ex Patre ; substantia scilicet illa Divina cujus Nomen est
 VERBUM per quod facta sunt omnia. Omnia post Ipsum sunt, quia
 per Ipsum sunt, et merito Ipse est ante omnia quando per Illum facta
 sunt omnia, qui processit ex Eo Cujus voluntate facta sunt omnia.”

8. τὸ κατὰ ἓν. Doctissimo Döllingero nequeo adstipulari hæc
 ad Platonicum unitatis dogma trahenti. Non enim ait noster τὸ ἓν
 (*unum*), sed τὸ καθ' ἓν, quod prorsus diversum est : ὁ καθ' ἑἑς *singulus*
 significat, sic τὸ καθ' ἓν *unumquodque singulatim*. Vide Novatian.
 de Trin. p. 5. ‘Ideas,’ cum Platone, et Clemente Alexandrino et aliis,
 in mente divinâ extitisse, quasi typicas creaturarum formas, censet noster.

τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ γενέσει πληθύνοντα, ἄρσενα καὶ θήλεα
 10 εἰργάζετο· ὅσα δὲ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ λειτουργίαν, ἢ
 ἄρσενα ἢ θηλειῶν μὴ προσδεόμενα, ἢ οὔτε ἄρσενα, οὔτε
 θήλεα. Καὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων πρῶται οὐσίαι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων
 γενόμεναι, πῦρ καὶ πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ, οὔτε ἄρσενα
 οὔτε θήλεα ὑπάρχειν ἐκάστη τούτων δύνται προελθεῖν
 15 ἄρσενα καὶ θήλεα, πλὴν εἰ βούλοιοτο ὁ κελεύων Θεὸς ἵνα
 Λόγος ὑπουργῇ. Ἐκ πυρὸς εἶναι ἀγγέλους ὁμολογῶ, καὶ
 οὐ τούτοις παρεῖναι θηλείας λέγω. "Ἡλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην
 καὶ ἀστέρας ὁμοίως ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ οὔτε
 ἄρσενας οὔτε θηλείας νερόμικτα, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ζῶα νηκτὰ
 20 εἶναι θέλων καὶ πτηνὰ ἄρσενα καὶ θήλεα· οὕτω γὰρ
 ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θελήσας Θεὸς, γόνιμον εἶναι τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν.
 Ὅμοίως ἐκ γῆς ἐρπετὰ καὶ θηρία καὶ παντοδαπῶν ζῶων
 ἄρσενα καὶ θήλεα· οὕτως γὰρ ἐνεδέχετο ἡ τῶν γεγυότων
 φύσις. "Ὅσα γὰρ ἠθέλησεν, ἐποίει ὁ Θεός. Ταῦτα λόγῳ

11. "Medium ἢ delendum videtur." Miller. 14. "Fort. ὑπάρχει·
 ἐκάστης τούτων δύνται. Aut, si malis, ὑπάρχουσιν οὔτε." Miller.
 16. Cod. ὑπουργεῖ, mutatum in -ῆ. Miller.

9. ἐπὶ γενέσει Miller. Mallem unâ voce ἐπιγενέσει, *i. e. continuâ serie procreationis*; et sic (ut nunc video) Codex.

ib. ἄρσενα καὶ θήλεα. Sic Miller; sed Codex habet ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ.

11. *i. e. mascula tantum sine feminâ*; quod propter Millerum monerim delentem ἢ, et propter Bunsenium ejicientem ἢ ἄρσενα.

13. οὔτε ἄρσενα οὔτε θηλέα ὑπάρχειν ἐκάστη (imo uti credo inspecto Codice, ἕκαστα) τούτων δύνται προελθεῖν ἄρσενα. Sic MS. mendosè. Millerus ὑπάρχει· ἐκάστης τούτων δύνται. Prætulerim ὑπάρχει· ἕκαστα τούτων δύνται κ.τ.λ.

15. Junge εἰ βούλοιοτο ἵνα Λόγος ὑπουργῇ. Novatian. de Trin. 31. "Filius nihil ex arbitrio suo gerit, nec ex consilio suo facit, nec a se venit, sed imperiis paternis omnibus obedit, ut quamvis probet illum nativitas Filium, tamen morigera obedientia asserat illum paternæ voluntatis ex quo est Ministrum, ita quamvis sit et Deus unum tamen

And some things which were to multiply by successive generation He made male and female ; but whatsoever were for ministry and service, He created either male, or not needing any female, or neither male nor female. For their first elements being produced of nothing, such as Fire and Air, Water and Earth, are originally neither male nor female, but each of these may come forth either male or female, provided God, Who bids, so will that the Word should minister in making it. I profess that the Angels are of Fire, and say that to them there are not females. I believe that the Sun and Moon and Stars are likewise of Fire and Breath, and are neither male nor female ; believing that swimming and flying animals are of water, male and female, for so God commanded, Who willed that the moist element should be generative. In like manner from the earth are creeping things and beasts, and male and female of all kinds of creatures, for so the nature of what was born allowed. For whatsoever He willed, He made. He created by

Deum Patrem de obedientiâ suâ ostendit." Inter recentiores qui hoc argumentum tractaverunt satis erit nominasse Bull. Def. Fid. Nicæn. § iii. 5. 1, et iii. 8. 4. Waterland, vol. i. 2. p. 114. 134—140. 288 ; vol. iii. p. 100. 268—274. 296. ed. Van Mildert. Oxon. 1823, et p. 200, 1, de Hippolyto confitente unum Deum in tribus Personis, Patre Filio et Spiritu Sancto.

19. ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ζωὰ νηκτὰ εἶναι θέλω. Sic MS. Bunsenius θέλω, sic vertens "I conceive that from water have come swimming and flying animals, male and female." Confer sup. Philos. p. 258. 77. τοῦτον γεγονέναι αὐτὸν θέλουσιν, de Theodoti *placitis*.

24. ὅσα γὰρ ἠθέλησεν. Conferas similem Hippolyti nostri locum c. Noët. c. 10. (Fabric. ii. p. 13.) ἐποίησεν ὡς ἠθέλησεν, θεὸς γὰρ ἦν.

25 ἐδημιούργει, ἑτέρως γενέσθαι μὴ δυνάμενα, ἢ ὡς ἐγένετο.
 "Ὅτε δὲ (ἦ) ὡς ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐποίησεν, ὀνόματι καλέσας
 ἐσήμηεν.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν πάντων ἄρχοντα δημιουργὸν ἐκ
 P. 336 πασῶν συνθέτων οὐσιῶν ἐσκεύασεν· οὐ θεὸν θέλων ποιεῖν
 ἔσφηλεν, οὐδὲ ἄγγελον (μὴ πλανώ), ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον. Εἰ
 γὰρ θεὸν σε ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι, ἐδύνατο· ἔχεις τοῦ Λόγου
 τὸ παράδειγμα· ἄνθρωπον θέλων, ἄνθρωπόν σε ἐποίησεν·
 5 εἰ δὲ θέλεις καὶ θεὸς γενέσθαι, ὑπάκουε τῷ πεποιηκότι,
 καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε νῦν, ἵνα ἐπὶ τῷ μικρῷ πιστὸς εὐρεθῆς
 καὶ τὸ μέγα πιστευθῆναι δυναθῆς. Τούτου ὁ Λόγος
 μόνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ· διὸ καὶ θεὸς, οὐσία ὑπάρχων Θεοῦ. Ὁ
 δὲ κόσμος ἐξ οὐδενός· διὸ οὐ θεός· οὗτος ἐπιδέχεται καὶ
 10 λύσιν ὅτε βούλεται ὁ κτίσας. Ὁ δὲ κτίσας Θεὸς κακὸν
 οὐκ ἐποίει οὐδὲ ποιεῖ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὁ

26. "Ex præcedentibus male repetitum ἢ quod post ὅτε δὲ legitur."
 Miller. 6. Matt. xxv. 21.

28. Clem. Rom. ad Cor. i. c. 33. ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ ἐξοχώτατον
 καὶ παμμεγεθὲς κατὰ διάνοιαν, ἄνθρωπον ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἀμώμοις χερσὶν
 ἔπλασεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνας χαρακτῆρα.

ib. δημιουργόν. Sic Miller. In Codice vox non plenè scribitur sed
 compendiosè. δημιουργῶν rectè Bunsenius.

1. Vide Phot. Bibl. Cod. 48, qui Scriptorem de Natura Universi,
 quem Hippolytum esse vidimus, sic disserentem proponit, δοξάζει συγ-
 κείσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἔτι ἐκ πνεύματος,
 hoc est ἐκ πασῶν σύνθετον οὐσιῶν. Pro συνθέτων legit σύνθετον vir
 doctissimus R. Scott. fortasse rectè. Simillima habet Hippolytus
 noster c. Noëtum, c. 10.

2. ΜΗ ΠΛΑΝΩ, eadem loquendi formulâ utitur Scriptor Demonstra-
 tionis de Christo et Antichristo, quem ex indiciis cum extrinsecis tum
 intrinsecis eundem ac nostri hujusce libri Auctorem eumque Sanctum
 Hippolytum, Episcopum Portuensem satis, ut opinor, liquet. Vide
 suprâ p. 165, sive § 2. vol. i. p. 5. ed. Fabric. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἰδίας δυνάμεως
 ἐφθέγγοντο, (οἱ προφήται) ΜΗ ΠΛΑΝΩ.

6. ἐπὶ τῷ μικρῷ πιστὸς respicit S. Luc. xvi. 11.

the Word these things, not having a capacity to be otherwise than as they were. But when He made them as He willed, calling them by name He marked them by signs.

Over these, when fashioning the master of all (man), He formed him of all essences blended together. He did not fail, desiring to make a god or an angel (be P. 336 not deceived), but a man. For if He had desired to make thee a deity, He could have done so. Thou hast the example of the Word. Willing thee a man, —He made thee a man. But if thou desirest to become even a deity, hearken to Him Who made thee, and do not resist Him now, in order that having been found faithful in that which is little, thou mayest be able to be entrusted also with what is much. The Word alone is of God—of God Himself. Wherefore He is God, being the Substance of God. But the world is of nothing; wherefore it is not God: the world is liable to dissolution also, when He wills Who created it. But God, Who created it, neither made nor doth make evil: He makes what is beautiful and

7. Λόγος igitur Hippolyto Deus, isque Patri *ἁμοούσιος* idemque *συναΐδιος*. Cæterum de re ipsâ confer Tertullian. c. Prax. c. 5. Sibi Filium fecit Sermonem suum, c. Marcion ii. c. 27. Sermonem quem ex semet ipso *proferendo* Filium fecit.

10. Θεὸς κακὸν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ ποιεῖ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν. Sic MS. Bunsenius, Θεὸς κακὸν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν οὐ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν. Sed levioere negotio res transigenda. Interpunge post *ποιεῖ*, deinde iterandum *ποιεῖ*. Cæterum his comparari merentur Novatianus de Trinitate, cap. 1—4, de Deo Mali non auctore, et qui expressisse Hippolytum, Hieronymo dicitur auctore, in Hexaëmero Ambrosius, c. 8. Argumentum, *πόθεν τὸ κακόν*, in singulari libello, ut lemmata operum statuæ dorso inscripta satis docent, ipse tractavit Hippolytus.

ποιῶν. Ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, ζῶον αὐτεξούσιον ἦν, οὐκ ἄρχον, οὐ νοῦν ἔχον, οὐκ ἐπινοία καὶ ἐξουσία καὶ δυνάμει πάντων κρατοῦν, ἀλλὰ δούλον καὶ πάντα ἔχον τὰ
 15 ἐναντία· ~~ὅς τῳ~~ αὐτεξούσιον ὑπάρχειν, τὸ κακὸν ἐπιγεννᾷ, ἐκ συμβεβηκότος ἀποτελούμενον μὲν οὐδὲν, εἴαν μὴ ποιῆς. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ θέλειν καὶ νομίζειν τι κακὸν, τὸ κακὸν ὀνομάζεται, οὐκ ὄν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπιγιγνώμενον. Οὐ αὐτεξουσίῳ ὄντος, νόμος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ὠρίζετο, οὐ μάτην· οὐ
 20 γὰρ μὴ εἶχεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ μὴ θέλειν τι, καὶ νόμος ὠρίζετο. Ὁ νόμος γὰρ ἀλόγῳ ζῳῷ οὐχ ὀρισθήσεται, ἀλλὰ χαλινὸς καὶ μᾶστιξ, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ ἐντολὴ καὶ πρόστιμον τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ προστεταγμένον καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν· τούτῳ νόμος ὠρίσθη διὰ δικαίων ἀνδρῶν
 25 ἐπάνωθεν. Ἐγγιον ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ προειρημένου Μωϋσέως,
 14. Cod. κρατῶν. ib. Cod. ἔχοντα ἐν. 18. "Vox οὐ prorsus evanida." Miller. 22. Cod. μᾶστιγξ. 25. Cod. Μωϋσέως, sed cum liturâ.

12. Magistrum suum S. Irenæum hic sequi videtur noster, adv. Hær. iv. 9. "Homo rationalis et secundum hoc similis Deo, liber in arbitrio factus et suæ potestatis ipse sibi causa est ut aliquando quidem frumentum aliquando autem palea fiat." Vide et Tertullian. c. Marcion ii. 5, 6, quem citavit Grabijs.

13. οὐκ ἄρχον οὐ νοῦν ἔχον οὐκ ἐπινοία καὶ ἐξουσία καὶ δυνάμει πάντων κρατοῦν ἀλλὰ δούλον καὶ πάντα ἔχον τὰ ἐναντία. Sic Codex. Bunsenius legit οὐκ ἄρχοντα νοῦν ἔχον. Deinde καὶ πάντα ἔχον τὰ ἐναντία ita vertit "having all sorts of contraries in him." Parum grammaticè, et contra sensum Scriptoris, qui sic videtur ratiocinari: "*Homo libero arbitrio præditus, non tamen dominio supremo donatus est; rationem habuit divinitus inditam, non tamen vi rationis omnia potuit moderari, sed servi loco positus, et à variis elementis conflatus* (vide suprâ, p. 335) *omnes contrarietates in se complexus est.*" Quare, ut brevi rem præcidam, pro οὐκ ἄρχον ΟΥ νοῦν ἔχον levissimâ mutatione corrigendum arbitror οὐκ ἄρχον ΟΝ, νοῦν ἔχον,—

14. Similiter Novatianus de Trinitate, p. 3. "Liber esse debuerat homo ne incongruenter Dei imago serviret, et Lex addenda." Planè inter Hippolytum nostrum et Novatianum commercium quoddam doctrinæ, et disciplinæ, intercessisse videtur.

good, for He Who maketh is good. Man who was P. 336
born was a creature endued with free will, but not
dominant; having reason, but not able to govern
every thing with reason, authority, and power, but
subordinate, and having all contrarieties in himself.
He, in having free will, generates evil accidentally, but
not in any degree taking effect, unless thou doest it.
For in the volition or cogitation of evil, evil receives
its name, and does not exist from the beginning, but
was subsequently generated.

Man being endued with free will, a Law was given
him by God; with good reason; for if man had not
the faculty of volition and non-volition, wherefore
was a *Law* given? For *Law* will not be given to an
irrational creature; but a bit and a whip. But to *man*
is given a precept and a penalty, for doing or not
doing what is commanded. To him a Law was given
from the first by the ministry of righteous men. In

15. τὸ κακὸν ἐπιγεννᾷ, ἐκ συμβεβηκότος. Ita Miller. et Bunsenius,
sed jungenda videntur ἐπιγεννᾷ ἐκ συμβεβηκότος. Malum enim non
directè vel ex necessitate oriri dicit, sed mediatè et quasi per accidens,
et “peccatum” (ut cum Augustino loquar) “non est natura, sed *vitium*
naturæ.” Quare sic reddidi.

17. Præclare S. Irenæus, iv. 72, ταῦτα πάντα (*i. e.* dispositiones Dei
per Legem et Prophetas) τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὸ
συμβουλευτικὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀποτρέποντος μὲν τοῦ ἀπειθεῖν αὐτῶ ἀλλὰ μὴ
βιαζομένου.

18. οὐ MS. εἰ cum Millero reponendum videtur, vel οὐ, *ubi*.

20. θέλειν τι, καὶ νόμος ὀρίζετο. Sic Miller. Sed parùm feliciter.
Equidem mallet θέλειν, τί καὶ νόμος ὀρίζετο; et in Codice (quem
nunc inspexi) distinctè post θέλειν interpungitur, et τί clarè legitur; et
jam video virum doctissimum R. Scott. idem ex conjecturâ voluisse.

22. Vide Ps. xxxii. 9.

23. πρόστιμον. Vide ad Clem. Roman. c. 41.

ἀνδρὸς εὐλαβοῦς καὶ θεοφιλοῦς, νόμος ὠρίζετο πλήρης
 σεμνότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης. Τὰ δὲ πάντα διοικεῖ ὁ
 Λόγος ὁ Θεοῦ, ὁ πρωτόγονος πατὴρ παῖς, ἡ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου
 P. 337 φωσφόρος φωνή· ἔπειτα δίκαιοι ἄνδρες γεγένηται φίλοι
 Θεοῦ· οὗτοι προφήται κέκληνται διὰ τὸ προφαίνειν τὰ
 μέλλοντα. Οἷς οὐχ ἑνὸς καιροῦ λόγος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ
 πασῶν γενεῶν αἱ τῶν προλεγομένων φωναὶ εὐαπόδεικτοι
 5 παρίσταντο· οὐκ ἐκεῖ μόνον ἠνίκα τοῖς παροῦσιν
 ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ πασῶν γενεῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα
 προεφήναντο· ὅτι μὲν τὰ παρωχημένα λέγοντες, ὑπε-
 μίμνησκον τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα· τὰ δὲ ἐνεστῶτα δεικνύντες,
 μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν ἔπειθον· τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα προλέγοντες, τὸν
 10 κατὰ ἓνα ἡμῶν ὀρῶντας πρὸ πολλοῦ προειρημένα ἐμφόβους
 καθίστων, προσδοκῶντας καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα. Τοιαύτη ἡ
 καθ' ἡμᾶς πίστις, ᾧ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, οὐ κενοῖς ῥήμασι
 πειθομένων, οὐδὲ σχεδιάσμασι καρδίας συναρπαζομένων,
 οὐδὲ πιθανότητι εὐπεείας λόγων θελγομένων, ἀλλὰ
 15 δυνάμει θείᾳ λόγοις λελαλημένοις οὐκ ἀπειθούντων. Καὶ

11. Cod. καθιστῶν.

27. Ut præclare dixit Hippolytus noster, c. Noët, §§ 11, 12, οὗτος
 (ὁ Λόγος) ἔδωκεν Νόμον καὶ Προφήτας, καὶ δοὺς διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου
 ἠνάγκασεν τούτους φθέγγεσθαι ὕπως τῆς Πατρῴας δυνάμεως τὴν ἀπό-
 πνοιαν λαβόντες τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸ βούλευμα τοῦ Πατρὸς καταγγέλωσιν·
 ἐν τούτοις τοῖνυν πολιτευόμενος ὁ Λόγος ἐφθέγγετο περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἤδη γὰρ
 αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ Κήρυξ ἐγένετο.

28. Ex Psalmo cx. 3, ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά Σε, unde
 citat Hippolytus c. Noët. c. 16.

3. De Prophetarum veterum officio vide eodem fere dicendi tenore
 disserentem Hippolytum, de Antichristo, § 2, οἱ μακάριοι προφήται
 ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, οὐ μόνον τὰ παρωχηκότα εἰπόντες, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα καὶ μέλλοντα λέγοντες, ἵνα μὴ μόνον πρόσκαιρος εἶναι ὁ
 προφήτης δειχθῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσαις γενεαῖς προλέγων τὰ μέλλοντα, ὡς
 προφήτης εἶναι νομισθῆ.

times nearer to our own, a Law full of sanctity and justice was given by the instrumentality of that Moses who has been already named, a devout man dear to God. But the Word of God regulates all things, the First-born Son of the Father, the light-bearing Voice before the Morning Star. Afterwards just men were P. 337 born, dear to God, who are called Prophets, because they foretold the Future.

To them came the Word, not of one time only ; but through all generations the voices of things spoken before were manifestly present, not only in that spot when they made replies to those persons who resorted to them, but they predicted what would happen through all ages. Sometimes uttering what was past they reminded mankind ; and displaying the present they persuaded men not to be remiss ; and foretelling the future they inspired us with awe, when we saw events each of them long since foretold, and thence expected also the future (*which was foretold, to be fulfilled also*).

Such, O all ye men, is the faith of us who do not listen to idle words, nor are carried away by improvisations of the heart, nor bewitched by the beguilements of eloquent speeches, and do not disobey words spoken by divine power.

5. τοῖς παροῦσιν, *i. e.* præsentibus, qui eos consulturi adibant. Prophetas Veteres cum Oraculis Ethnicorum comparat, quæ non edebant vaticinia suâ sponte, sed responsa tantum sciscitantibus dabant.

7. ὅτι Codex. Mallet *ὅτ'ε*, cum R. Scott.

9. τόν. Sic Miller ; sed compendiosè habet Codex, fortasse τὰ.

10. ἔνα. Sic Miller ; sed Codex, ut puto, ἔν. Scriptio Codicis ad finem libri est intricatissima.

ταῦτα Θεὸς ἐκέλευε Λόγω. Ὁ δὲ Λόγος ἐφθέγγετο λέγων, δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφων τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ παρακοῆς, οὐ βία ἀνάγκης δουλαγωγῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκουσίῳ προαιρέσει καλῶν. Τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἐν ὑστέροις
 20 ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Πατὴρ οὐκέτι διὰ προφήτου λαλεῖν, οὐ σκοτεινῶς κηρυσσόμενον ὑπονοεῖσθαι θέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτοφρεῖ φανερωθῆναι τοῦτον λέγων, ἵνα κόσμος ὁρῶν δυσωπηθῆ οὐκ ἐντελλόμενον διὰ προσώπου προφητῶν, οὐδὲ δι' ἀγγέλου φοβούμενα ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παρόντα τὸν
 25 λελαληκότα. Τοῦτον ἔγνωμεν ἐκ παρθένου σῶμα ἀνειληφότα, καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ καινῆς πλάσεως πεφορηκότα, ἐν βίῳ διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐληλυθότα, ἵνα πάση ἡλικίᾳ αὐτὸς νόμος γενηθῆ καὶ σκοπὸν τὸν ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιδείξῃ
 30 παρῶν, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλέγξῃ ὅτι μηδὲν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς
 P. 338 πονηρόν· καὶ ὡς αὐτεξούσιος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔχων τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ μὴ θέλειν δυνατὸς ὢν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις· οὐ τὸν

18. ἐκουσίῳ MS. ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκουσίῳ προαιρέσει R. Scott, et sic, ut nunc vidi, Codex.

19. Post ὑστέροις supple καιροῖς.—ἀπέστειλεν. Sic Miller. Codex, uti reor, ἀπέσταλκεν; sed scriptio est ambigua. Mallem ἀπέστειλεν, et pro λαλεῖν prætulerim λαλῶν.

26. τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ καινῆς πλάσεως ΠΕΦΟΡΗΚΟΤΑ. Sic Codex et Bunsen. qui sic vertit, "to have put on the old man through a new formation." Sed mendam subesse suspicor. Neque enim veterem Adamum *sumpsit et gessit* Christus sine peccato conceptus, sed veterem *refinxit et renouavit*, ut nos protinus essemus in Eo καινῆ κτίσις, vel καινὸν ΦΥΡΑΜΑ. I Cor. v. 7. Vide etiam S. Iren. v. 14—16. Neque leges loquendi dicere sinunt φορεῖν διὰ πλάσεως. Legere mallem ΠΕΦΥΡΑΚΟΤΑ. Vide inf. v. 3, φυράματος. Φυρᾶν apud LXX et Patres Ecclesię passim legitur. Vide Hippol. c. Noët. § 17, καθ' ἃν τρόπον ἐκηρύχθη, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ παρῶν ἐφάνερωσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, Καινὸς ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον ἔχων τὸ πατρῶον ὡς Λόγος, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγειον ὡς ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ἀδὰμ διὰ παρθένου σαρκούμενος. Vide etiam Scholion Hippolyti in Daniele (p. 205, Mai). Λόγον πρωτότοκον ἐκ Θεοῦ. . . . πρωτότοκον

These things God gave as mandates to the Word, and the Word uttered them by His Voice, turning man thereby from transgression, not leading him captive by the force of necessity, but calling him to liberty voluntarily with free choice. This Word the Father has sent in the latter days no longer by a Prophet; and not willing that being obscurely preached He should only be surmised, but bidding Him be manifest face to face, in order that the world might reverence Him when it saw Him not giving His behests by the person of a Prophet, nor alarming the soul by an Angel, but beholding Him Who had spoken, present in Person.

We know that He took a body from a Virgin, and fashioned the old man by a new creation, and that He passed through every age in life, in order that he might be a Law to every age, and by His presence might exhibit His own Manhood as a pattern to all men, and thereby (by Himself) might convince man that God made nothing evil, and that man is endued P. 338 with free will, having the power of volition or non-volition in himself, and being able to do both. Him

ἐκ Παρθένου ἵνα τὸν πρωτόπλαστον Ἀδὰμ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναπλάσσων δειχθῆ ὁ Λόγος ἐκ καρδίας (Πατρὸς) πρὸ πάντων γεγενημένος· ἐπιγείων βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐγεννήθη ἀναπλάσσων δι' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀδὰμ. Eadem ferè leguntur apud nostrum, de Antichristo, § 26, unde Scholium Vaticanum corrigatur, ἀναπλάσσων δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἀδὰμ. Cf. S. Iren. v. 6. “Glorificatur Deus in suo plasmate conforme illud et consequens suo Puero adoptans. Per manus enim Patris, id est per Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, fit homo secundum similitudinem Dei.”

27. Hæc ab Irenæo mutuatus est ii. 39, Irenæi errorem devitans ad annum ferè quinquagesimum Christi in terris vitam prorogantis.

2. Codex οὗ τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι εἰς μὲν. Benè Miller. τοῦτου, optimè Bunsenius ἴσμεν, *novimus*, pro εἰς μὲν.

- ἄνθρωπον εἰς μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς φυράματος γεγονέναι. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρξε, μάτην νομοθετεῖ
 § μιμῆσθαι τὸν διδάσκαλον. Εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος
 ἑτέρας ἐτύγχανεν οὐσίας, τί τὰ ὅμοια κελεύει ἐμοὶ τῷ
 ἀσθενεῖ πεφυκότι, καὶ πῶς οὗτος ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος;
 ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἕτερος παρ' ἡμᾶς νομισθῆ, καὶ κάματος
 ὑπέμεινε, καὶ πεινῆν ἠθέλησε, καὶ διψῆν οὐκ ἠρνήσατο,
 10 καὶ ὑπνω ἠρέμησε, καὶ πάθει οὐκ ἀντείπε, καὶ θανάτῳ
 ὑπήκουσε, καὶ ἀνάστασιν ἐφάνέρωσεν, ἀπαρξάμενος ἐν
 πᾶσι τούτοις τὸν ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα σὺ πάσχων μὴ
 ἀθυμῆς, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον σεαυτὸν ὁμολογῶν, προσδοκῶν
 καὶ σὺ ὁ τούτῳ παρέσχες.
- 15 Τοιοῦτος ὁ περὶ τὸ Θεῖον ἀληθῆς λόγος, ὃ ἄνθρωποι
 9. Cod. διψεῖν.

10. Christum, Dominum Nostrum, humanum Corpus verè sumpsisse et humanam animam, ψυχὴν λογικὴν, et splendidissima documenta dedisse τῆς ἀνθρωπότητός τε καὶ τῆς θεότητος, eloquentissimè docet Hippolytus in nobili illâ peroratione sermonis sui contra Noëti deliramenta, quem integrum ferè exscribere operæ pretium duxissem, nisi plerisque obvium fecisset et notis adornâsset vir sacrâ eruditione non minùs quàm annis venerabilis M. I. Routh. Eccl. Opusc. i. pp. 48—94.

13. ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον σεαυτὸν ὁμολογῶν, προσδοκῶν σὺ ὁ τούτῳ παρέσχες. Sic MS. Corrigit Bunsen. προσδοκῶς καὶ σὺ ὁ τούτῳ πατήρ παρέσχεν, audaciusculâ mutatione et à tenore sententiarum aliquantum deviâ. Consolationis fontem indicat Hippolytus in τῇ τοῦ Λόγου ἐνσαρκώσει. Suspice, inquit, Incarnatum jam glorificatum. Deinde teipsam aspice. Vidisti tuam ipsius carnem, quam à te assumpsit, cœlo admotam, imò in cœlo regnantem, Deitate insolubiliter consociatam διὰ παθημάτων δεδοξασμένην. Macte, igitur, homo, bono sis animo! Passiones tuæ terrenæ tibi viam sternunt ad gloriam cœlestem! Si compateris Christo, cum Christo regnabis. Tu carnem Eī dedisti. Tu carnem ab Eo accipies gloriæ consortem. Vide Irenæum, v. 32, de hoc argumento disserentem. Sed quid cum ἀλλ' faciendum? Est enim ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον, ut opinor, mendosum. Vide igitur ne pro ΑΛΛ' ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΟΝ reponendum sit

we know to have been a Man of the same nature with P. 338 ourselves.

For if He was not of the same nature, He in vain exhorts us to imitate our Master. For if that Man was of another nature, why does He enjoin the same duties on me who am weak? And how then can He be good and just? But in order that He might be known to be not different from us, He underwent toil and consented to feel hunger, and did not decline thirst, and rested in sleep, and did not refuse His Passion, and became obedient to Death, and manifested His Resurrection, having consecrated as first fruits in all these things His own manhood, in order that when thou sufferest thou mayest not despond, acknowledging thyself a man of like nature with Christ, and thou also waiting for the appearance of what thou gavest to Him.

Such is the true doctrine concerning the Deity, O

'AMANΘΡΩΠION, *i. e.* hominem connaturalem cum Christo Deo. Quare sic interpretatus sum. 2 Pet. i. 4. Commentarii vicem expleat Tertullianus de Resurr. Carnis, c. 51. "Quum sedeat Jesus ad dextram Patris, homo etsi Deus, Adam Novissimus etsi Sermo primarius, idem tamen et substantiâ et formâ quâ ascendit talis etiam descendurus. . . . Quemadmodum enim nobis arrhabonem Spiritûs reliquit, ita et à nobis arrhabonem *carnis accepit*, et vexit in cœlum pignus totius summæ illuc quandoque redigendæ." Vide et Apostoli cohortationes, Eph. ii. 6. Phil. iii. 20, 21. Col. iii. 1—4. Tit. ii. 13.

15. Hanc Sancti Antistitis *παράλυσιν* non ad fideles esse directam, sed ad Christianis mysteriis nondum initiatos, jam suprâ monuimus. Quare ne expectet lector quæ cum *ἀμύθησις* communicari non licebat. Ne, inquam, requirat disertam et specialem Christianæ veritatis articulorum enarrationem. Verùm enimverò recordetur, plura in animo habere Hippolytum, quàm quæ palam ore proferat. Has igitur Præsulis venerandi sententias interpretari non aliter possit quis, quàm

Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι, Χαλδαῖοί ε καὶ Ἀσσύριοι,
 Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Λίβυες, Ἴνδοί τε καὶ Αἰθίοπες, Κελτοί
 τε καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες Λατῖνοι, πάντες τε οἱ τὴν
 Εὐρώπην Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην κατοικοῦντες, οἷς
 20 σύμβουλος ἐγὼ γίνομαι, φιλανθρώπου Λόγου ὑπάρχων
 μαθητῆς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, ὅπως προσδραμόντες
 διδαχθῆτε παρ' ἡμῶν τίς ὁ ὄντως Θεὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦτου
 εὐτακτος δημιουργία, μὴ προσέχοντες σοφίσμασιν ἐν-
 τέχνων λόγων, μηδὲ ματαίοις ἐπαγγελίαις κλεψιλόγων
 25 αἰρετικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀληθείας ἀκόμπου ἀπλότῃ σερμῇ, δι'
 ἧς ἐπιγνώσεως ἐκφεύξεσθε ἐπερχομένην πυρὸς κρίσεως
 ἀπειλὴν, καὶ ταρτάρου ζοφερὸν ὄμμα ἀφώτιστον, ὑπὸ
 Λόγου φωνῆς μὴ καταλαμφθὲν, καὶ βρασμὸν ἀενάου
 P. 339 λίμνης γεννήτορος φλογός, καὶ ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων
 κολαστῶν ὄμμα ἀεὶ μένον ἐν ἀπειλῇ, καὶ σκώληκα σώματος

26. Cod. ἐκφεύξεσθαι.
 λαμφέν.

27. Cod. ζοφερόν.

28. Cod. κατα-
 μένων.

1. Cod. γεννητρος sine accentu.

2. Cod. μένων.

oculo intentè fixo in arcana Christianæ fidei mysteria. Quod ideo monendum duxi, quia quàm hic labi proclive sit, monstravit in his Anglicè reddendis (i. 185—192) vir eruditus de quo jam verba fecimus.

24. κλεψιλόγων αἰρετικῶν, “of delusive heretics,” Bunsen. Sed vide Philos. p. 5. 3, et p. 92, 91, ubi eandem vocem (κλεψίλογος) usurpat Noster, quâ hæreticos plagii reos agat, utpote placita sua à Philosophis Ethnicis suffuratos. Cp. suprâ, p. 98, l. 5.

27. ταρτάρου. Hanc Ethnicis familiarem vocem quasi consecraverat Apostolus, 2 Pet. ii. 4, σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταράσας. Præiverant LXX Interpretes, modo sana sit lectio, Hiob. xl. 15; xli. 24.

28. His similia habet Hippolytus noster in libro “contra Platonem de Universo” (vide titulum libri in statuâ Hippolyti) apud Fabric. p. 220, Lagarde p. 68. ὁ ἄδης τόπος ἐστὶν χωρίον ὑπόγειον ἐν ᾧ φῶς κόσμου οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει· φωτὸς τοίνυν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ μὴ καταλάμπωντος κ.τ.λ.

ib. ἀενάου. Lege ἀενάου.

ye Greeks and Barbarians, Chaldæans and Assyrians, Ægyptians and Africans, Indians and Æthiopians, Celts and ye army-leading Latins, and all ye that dwell in Europe, Asia, and Africa, whom I exhort, being a disciple of the man-loving Word, and a lover of men, come ye and learn from us, who is the Very God, and what is His well-ordered workmanship, not giving heed to the sophistry of artificial speeches, or the vain professions of plagiarist heretics, but to the venerable simplicity of modest Truth, by a knowledge of which ye will escape the coming malediction of the Judgment of fire, and the dark and rayless aspect of tartarus, not irradiated by the voice of the Word, and the surge of the generating flame of the everflowing lake, and the eye of tartarean avenging Angels ever fixed P. 339 in malediction, and the worm the scum of the body,

2. ἀεὶ μένον Miller. Codex μένων.

ib. Lectionem Codicis, quam dedi, Bunsenius ita refingit σκώληκα ἀπαύστως ἐπιστρεφόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκβράσαν σῶμα ὡς ἐπὶ τροφήν, quæ sic vertit, “the worm which winds itself without rest round the mouldering body to feed upon it;” comparari jubens quæ scripsit S. Hippolytus noster de Universo, i. 221. 24, ed. Fabr. σκώληξ ἀπαύστῳ ὀδύνη ἐκ σώματος ἐκβράσων. Hippolytus vermem illum ἀτελεύτητον humani corporis peccato obnoxii et vitiis inquinati naturalem quendam foetum, emanationem, ebullitionem, et quasi despumationem à corrupto fonte scaturientem et gurgitantem cogitare videtur. Quarè sanissima est lectio vulgata ἀπουσίαν. Ἀπουσία enim, (*excrement*) vox medicis usitata, rem denotat ab ipsâ substantiâ (ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας) profluentem, ἀπορροήν, ἀποσπερματισμὸν, quo sensu utitur voce ἀπουσία S. Petr. Alex. ap. Routh. Rel. Sac. i. 47. Hinc in vetusto Glossario apud Labbeum Ἀπουσία *Detrimentum*. Cætera proclivia sunt. Pro ἐπιστρέφων malleμ ἐπιτρέφον. Simili ferè sensu οὐσίαν dixit Noster in opere “de Universo”—ζῶων ἐκβρασσομένη οὐσία, p. 222, ed. Fabr. Minucius Felix, § 35, de igne gehennæ disserens: “Illic sapiens ignis membra

ἀπουσίαν, ἐπιστρεφόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκβράσαν σῶμα ὡς ἐπιστρέφων. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκφεύξῃ, Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα
 5 διδαχθεῖς, ἕξεις δὲ ἀθάνατον τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἅμα
 ψυχῇ βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ἀπολήψῃ, ὁ ἐν γῆ βίου καὶ
 ἐπουράνιον βασιλεία ἐπιγνοῦς, ἔσῃ δὲ ὁμιλητῆς Θεοῦ καὶ
 συγκληρονόμος Χριστοῦ, οὐκ ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ πάθεσι καὶ
 10 νόσοις δουλούμενος. Γέγονας γὰρ θεός· ὅσα γὰρ ὑπέ-
 μεινας πάθη ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ταῦτα δίδου ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἶς·
 ὅσα δὲ παρακολουθεῖ θεῷ, ταῦτα παρέχειν ἐπήγγελται
 Θεός, ὅτε θεοποιηθῆς, ἀθάνατος γεννηθεῖς. Τουτέστι τὸ
 Γνωθὶ σεαυτὸν, ἐπιγνοῦς τὸν πεποιηκότα Θεόν. Τῷ γὰρ
 13. Cod. τὸ γάρ.

urit et reficit, carpit et nutrit, sicut ignes fulminum corpora tangunt, nec absumunt — poenale illud incendium inexasâ corporum laceratione nutritur." Comparari possunt quæ in re diversâ scripsit S. Clemens Romanus, i. 25. σηπομένης σαρκὸς σκώληξ τις γεννᾶται (tanquam ἀπουσία) ὃς ἐκ τῆς ἰκμάδος τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ζῶντος ἀνατρεφόμενος πτεροφυεῖ.

5. Vide Hippolytum nostrum de Resurrectione et Incorruptione, ap. Anast. Sinaït. in Hodeg. p. 356. Hippol. ed. Fabr. i. p. 244, et oratoriâ vi et pulchritudine insignem et lectu sanè dignissimam Homiliam Hippolyti nostri de Baptismo in Theophania, p. 264. ὁ θεὸς ἀναγεννήσας (ἡμᾶς) πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος (lavacro baptismi) ἐνεφύσησεν ἡμῖν πνεῦμα ζωῆς.

8. 2 Pet. i. 4.

9. Dixerant jam Apostoli, homines, Christi corpore insitos, Θεῖας φύσεως εἶναι κοινωνοὺς. Vide 1 Pet. i. 23; 2 Pet. i. 4; Ephes. i. 10; 1 Joh. iii. 9, et similia ex Psalmo lxxxii. 6, traducta vero Gnostico tribuit Clemens, Strom. vi. p. 816. δυνατὸν τὸν γνωστικὸν ἤδη γενέσθαι Θεόν. "Ἐγὼ εἶπα ΘΕΟΙ ἜΣΤΕ, καὶ υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου, τοὺς ἀναγνόντας αὐτὸν υἱοὺς ἀναγορεύει καὶ Θεοὺς," et Pæd. i. 8. Strom. vii. 3; vii. 10. Similiter Origen. in S. Joann. t. xii. § 3. Similiter etiam S. Irenæus, iv. 75. "Non ab initio Dei facti sumus, sed primò quidem homines tunc vero DEI," et v. 2.

10. δίδου. Sic MS. Bunsen. ἐδίδου, vertens "He gave them to thee." Pro ΔΙΑΔΟΥ fortasse legendum ΔΙΑ ΣΟΥ, "per teipsum sunt." Vel, quæ lectio ad compendiosam Códicis scriptionem propius accedere

turning to the Body that foamed it forth, as to that P. 339 which nourisheth it.

These things you will escape, if you learn to know the true God, and you will have your body immortal and incorruptible, together with your soul; you will receive the kingdom of heaven, you who have lived on earth, and have known the King of Heaven; and you will hold converse with God, and be a coheir with Christ, not being enslaved by lust, or passion, or disease. For you have been divinized. Whatsoever sufferings you have endured, these are through yourself, because you are a man; but whatsoever belongeth to God, this God has promised to bestow on you, because you have been divinized, having become immortal.

This is the precept, "Know thyself;"—to know God Who made thee. For the knowledge of himself to

videtur, ταῦτα ΔΙ' ἸΔΙΟΥ, "*these things are through your own proper self.*"

12. ὅτε θεοποιηθῆς. Ita Cod. Bunsenius scribit ὕταν θεοποιηθῆς, reddens "*when thou shalt be deified,*" sed suprā dixerat γέγονας Θεός. Legendum igitur videtur ὅτι ἐθεοποιήθης, et sic R. Scott.

ib. γέγονας Θεός, ἀθάνατος γενηθείς. Ad hæc rectè intelligenda meminerit lector Hippolytum nostrum docere πηγὴν ἀθανασίας sive fontem immortalitatis esse fidelibus et obedientibus Sanctum Baptismum. Vide simillimum locum, qui commentarii instar erit, Hippol. Homil. in Theophania, i. 264, ed. Fabric. εἰ οὖν ἀθάνατος γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, ἔσται καὶ Θεός· εἰ δὲ Θεός δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μετὰ τὴν τῆς κολυμβήθρας (baptisterii) ἀναγέννησιν, εὕρισκεται καὶ συγκληρονόμος Χριστοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν. Vide S. Iren. v. 8; v. 12.

13. τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ Γινῶθι σεαυτὸν ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν πεποιηκότα Θεόν· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιγῶναι ἑαυτὸν, ἐπιγνωσθῆναι συμβέβηκε τῷ καλουμένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Sic MS. teste Millero. Sed lectio ἐπιγνοὺς incertissima est, imò ex Codicis tortuosissimis elementis expiscari videbar ἐπιγῶναι. Deinde pro

ἐπιγινῶναι ἑαυτὸν, ἐπιγνωσθῆναι συμβέβηκε τῷ καλου-
 15 μένω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Μὴ φιλεχθήσητε τοίνυν ἑαυτοῖς, ἄνθρωποι, μηδὲ τὸ
 παλιδρομεῖν διστάσητε· Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ

τὸ γὰρ ἐπιγινῶναι Millerus τῷ γ. ἐ. Dicere videtur Noster, hominem pervenire ad notitiam sui ipsius per notitiam Dei. Quarè sana videtur Codicis lectio, sed distinctione mutatâ explicanda, τὸ γὰρ ἐπιγινῶναι ἑαυτὸν ἐπιγνωσθῆναι, συμβέβηκε τῷ κ. ὑ. α.

16. μὴ φίλεχθήσητε MS. quod Græcum esse negat Bunsenius, qui φιλεχθρήσητε legi jubet, sed ἔχθος non minùs legitur quàm ἔχθρα : et φιλεχθῆς non minùs quàm φίλεχθρος, quare nihil muto.

16. μηδὲ παλιδρομεῖν διστάσητε. Vertit Bunsenius “*Doubt not that you will exist again.*” Mira sanè interpretatio. Quod quidem viri clarissimi παράγραμμα inter alia quibus Bunsenii paginæ scitent, minimè commemorâsem, nisi eum fundamenta fidei, ut mihi quidem videtur, labefactantem, et doctissimorum virorum, et nominatim venerandorum Antistitum, Joannis Pearson Cestriensis et Georgii Bull Menevensis bonam famam deditâ operâ lædentem non sine magno dolore vidissem. Sed hoc piis eorum animabus, hoc causæ veritatis, hoc juventuti præsertim nostræ Academicæ debebatur officium, ut quanti sit facienda Bunsenii ipsius auctoritas, probè perspiciant, et ne ejus effatis commoti maximorum Angliæ theologorum nomina venerari dediscant. Sed de Nostri sensu videamus. Hippolytus, ut Portûs Romani, civitatis maritimæ et commercio deditæ, Episcopus, locutiones à re nauticâ desumptas sectari videtur ; id quod in hoc loco factum vides. Παλιδρομεῖν enim dicitur de eo qui procellâ in mari aperto subito deprensus, in portum, ex quo in altum imprudentiùs provectus est, se illic recipere nititur. Hinc, “*O quid agis? fortiter occuba Portum;*” ipse sibi succinit, et “*nunc iterare cursus Cogor relictos,*” hoc est παλιδρομεῖν, sive ut se ipsum interpretatur noster, Philos. p. 81. ἀφροσύνην τῶν πειθομένων κατηγορήσαντες πείσομεν παλιδρομεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας εὐδιον λιμένα. Vide p. 224, 29. ἐχρῆν τοὺς ἀκροατὰς παραπλεῖν ἐπισητοῦντας τὸν εὐδιον λιμένα, ubi pro ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ θηρῶν lege ΠΑΡΑΞΕΝΩΝ θηρῶν, *monstrosarum ferarum.* Cf. p. 81, et de παλιδρομεῖν Origen. c. Cels. ii. 12, Theodoret., iv. 1222. παλιδρομηῆσαι πρὸς ἡσύχλιαν.

17. Hoc quoque S. Hippolyti testimonium de Christo Deo corruptit Bunsenius, legendum edicens, Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποπλύνειν προσέταξε, neque enim dixisse potuisse Hippolytum, ait Bunsenius, “Christus jussit homines ablueri

have been known by God, is the lot of him who is called by Him. P. 339

Do not therefore cherish enmity with one another, ye men, nor hesitate to retrace your course.

For CHRIST is the GOD Who is over all, Who com-

peccata.” Quare hanc esse sententiam Hippolyti statuit Bunsenius : “Christ is he whom the God of all has ordered to wash away the sins of mankind, renewing the old man.” Nolle factum. Primum enim quidni dixerit Hippolytus Χριστὸν εἶναι κατὰ πάντων Θεὸν, quum in plurimis aliis locis Christum Deum prædicaverit, et cum id ipsum prædicantem Sanctum Paulum legerat (Rom. ix. 25)? Legebat item Hippolytus quæ de hac re scripserat Irenæus, iii. 17. “In principio Verbum existens apud Deum, per Quem omnia facta sunt, Qui et semper aderat generi humano et Hunc in novissimis temporibus passibilem;” sic iii. 18. “Ipse Deus et Dominus et Unigenitus Rex Æternus et Verbum incarnatum, prædicatur à prophetis omnibus et Apostolis.” Quin et ipse dixerat Hippolytus apud Theodoret. Dialog. ii. p. 88. C. τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστοῦς ὁ Θεός. Deinde quidni affirmaverit Hippolytus Christum jussisse homines abluere peccata, quum Christus Baptismum instituerit, ut esset λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας (Ep. Tit. iii. 5) et quum Idem Apostolos ad baptizandas omnes nationes legatos Suos per orbem terrarum miserit, et omnes baptizari jusserit? quapropter his ipsis verbis, quæ sine dubio respexit Hippolytus, usi sunt primores Evangelii Prædicatores, quum ad baptismum recipiendum Christi nomine invitarent, (Acta Apost. xxii. 16,) ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. Quare ipse Hippolytus alio loco sic scripsit, de Antichristo, § 3. εἰς ὃ Θεοῦ παῖς δι’ οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς τυχόντες τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀναγέννησιν. Sic etiam Hippolytus noster contra Noëtum, § 6, ubi notandum citare eum, ad Christi Deitatem adstruendam Apostoli verba Rom. ix. 5. Χριστοῦς—ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Quod autem à Bunsenio (i. p. 340) video allegatum, Hippolytum in ἀποσπασματίῳ quodam à Cardinali Mai (Collect. Vat. i. P. ii. p. 205) nuper edito, Patrem vocare Christi δεσπότην id ab hac re est sanè alienum, ut quod maximè. Ibi enim Hippolytus enarrans vaticinium Danielis, vii. 13, loquitur de Christo *Filio Hominiis*, ut ibidem dudum monuit ipse Cardinalis Angelus Mai, minimè autem de Verbo Patris *δμοουσίῳ*. Quare huc illa Hippolyti verba non erant violenter trahenda. De Hippolyti doctrinâ in hoc fidei articulo satis jamdudum dixerat vir

πάντων Θεός, ὃς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποπλύνειν προσέταξε, νέον τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελών, εἰκόνα
 20 τοῦτον καλέσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ τύπου τὴν εἰς σέ ἐπι-
 δεικνύμενος στοργῆν, οὗ προστάγμασι ὑπακούσας

21. Cod. οὐ προστάγμασιν.

eruditissimus Daniel Waterland, Vol. iii. pp. 41. 105, ed. Van Mildert, (A Second Defence of some Queries, Qu. ii.,) cujus verba candido lectori attentius consideranda liceat commendare. Sarta igitur et tecta manet Codicis Parisini lectio, Bunsenii rationibus inconcussa; et nobilissimum affert catholicæ veritatis contra hæreticos neotericos, sive Socini assectæ sint, sive Baptismi efficaciam in dubium vocantes, testimonium.

Rem fortasse non injucundam lectori fecero, si alium Hippolyti locum huc apprimè facientem, mantissæ loco, subjecero. Quod quidem facio lubentiùs, quia emendatricem manum adhuc expectare videtur. Fervidioris animi ingenio fræna dans, et Asiatico more exultans, Ecclesiam Navi comparat Hippolytus, mundi, tanquam Oceani, fluctus sulcanti. Ipsum audiamus; (De Antichristo, § 59,) θάλασσά ἐστιν ὁ Κόσμος, ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ὡς Ναὺς ἐν Πελάγει, χεϊμάζεται μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπόλλυται· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τὸν ἔμπειρον κυβερνήτην ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ (nihil adhuc de *Petro* Ecclesiæ clavum tenente), φέρει δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ τὸ τροπαῖον κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου, ΩΣ ΤΟΝ σταυρὸν τοῦ Κυρίου βαστάζουσα. Ubi pro ΩΣ ΤΟΝ legendum conjecerim ἸΣΤΟΝ, *i. e. ferens Crucem Domini quasi navis MALUM*; Ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῆς πρῶρα μὲν ἡ ἀνατολή, πρύμνα δὲ ἡ δύσις, τὸ δὲ κοῖλον (ita rectè Gudius pro κύκλον) μεσημβρία. Mallem Ἡ μεσημβρία. Οἷακες δὲ αἱ δύο Διαθηκαὶ σχοινία δὲ περιτεταμένα ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ σφίγγουσα τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Πλοῖον δὲ ὃ φέρει μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἀνανεούσης τοὺς πιστεύοντας, (cp. σκάφην Act. Apost. xxvii. 16, 30, 32,) *i. e. scapha venò, quam portat secum, inest lavacrum regenerationis*, ὅθεν δὴ ταῦτα λαμπρά· πάρεστιν, ὡς πνεῦμα, τὸ ἀπ' οὐρανῶν, (sc. Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα) δι' οὗ σφραγίζονται οἱ πιστεύοντες τῷ Θεῷ. Ubi reponendum videtur ὅθεν δὴ ταῦτα ΤΑ λαμπρά, *unde hæc gloriosa effunduntur munera; adest, sicuti ventus, SPIRITUS ille caelestis*· παρέπονται δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄγκυραι σιδηραῖ, αὐταὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγαίαι ἐντολαὶ δυναταὶ ὡς σιδηρός· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ναύτας δεξιούς καὶ εὐωνύμους ὡς ἀγίους ἀγγέλους παρέδρους. Legerem potiùs, *voculâ transpositâ*, ἔχει δὲ ναύτας, δεξιούς καὶ εὐωνύμους, τοὺς ἀγίους ἀγγέλους παρέδρους, δι' ὧν αἰεὶ κρατεῖται καὶ φρουρεῖται ἡ Ἐκκλησία. Κλίμαξ ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς ὕψος ἀνάγουσα ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ εἰκὼν σημείου πάθους

manded us to wash away sin from man, regenerating P. 339
 the old man, having called man His image from the
 beginning, and thus showing by a figure His love to
 thee ; and if thou hearkenest to His holy Command-

Χριστοῦ, ἔλκουσα τοὺς πιστοὺς εἰς ἀνάβασιν οὐρανῶν· ΨΗΦΑΡΟΙ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ Αἴ'ΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ τάξις προφητῶν μαρτύρων τε καὶ ἀποστόλων, εἰς βασιλείαν Χριστοῦ ἀναπαυομένων. De his verò quid statuendum? Equidem locum vexatissimum sic emendandum puto : ΨΗΦΑΡΑ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ Αἴ'ΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΑ τάξις προφητῶν. Sed quid, inquires, sunt ψηφάρá? Hippolytus ut apud Latinos loquens λατείνει, et à Latinis auctoribus explicandus. Veniat igitur Tertullianus, veniat Minucius : uterque ad eandem rem collineans. Hic ait Octav. p. 287. "Signa ipsa et vexilla castrorum, et vexilla quid aliud quàm inauratæ Cruces sunt et ornatæ? Signum sanè Crucis naturaliter visimus in navi cùm velis tumentibus vehitur, cùm expansis palmulis labitur, et cùm erigitur jugum, Crucis signum est." Sed propius ad rem Tertullianus, Apologet. cap. xvi. "In signis monilia crucum sunt; SIPHARA illa vexillorum et cantabrorum stola Crucum sunt." Vides nostri ψηφάρá. Similiter ad Nationes, 12. "In cantabris atque vexillis SIPHARA illa vestes crucum sunt." Memineris SIPHARA fuisse coloribus vivis picta, et formis heròum insignita, ut erat nobilissimus ille peplus Panathenai-cus. Ecclesiæ cogita SIPHARA sublime suspensa, in aërem supra navem Ecclesiæ elata, Martyribus et Apostolis, quasi ibi intertextis, insigniter decorata in regno Christi acquiescentibus. Κέρασ de mali apice hic dici persuadent quæ suprâ scripserat κλίμαξ ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ ἀνάγουσα.

In hâc tam curiosè elaboratâ Ecclesiæ descriptione nullam facit S. Hippolytus Pontificis Romani mentionem, qui nunc omnia in Ecclesiâ moderari vult.

Locum integrum S. Hippolyti, pro virili parte, a me recensitum sic Anglicè repræsentandum reor. *The World is a Sea, in which the Church, as a Ship on the deep, is tossed by storms, but is not wrecked. For she bears with herself that skilful helmsman CHRIST, and in her midst she has the trophy of his victory over Death, bearing the Cross of her Lord as her mast. The East is her prow, the West her stern, and her hold the South. Her rudders are the Two Testaments. Her ropes, which are extended about her, are the Love of Christ, which binds the Church together. The boat which she bears with her is the font of regeneration whence are these glorious benefits : there is present with her as a breeze, the Spirit from heaven, by whom they who believe are sealed ; and she has on board anchors*

σεμνοῖς, καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος μιμητῆς, ἔση ὅμοιος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμηθεῖς. Σοῦ γὰρ πτωχεύει Θεὸς καὶ σὲ θεὸν ποιήσας εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ.

of iron, the holy commandments of Christ, which are strong as iron ; and she has sailors (rowers), on the right hand and on the left, the holy Angels, by whom the Church is always strengthened and guarded. Her ladder which leads up to her sail-yard is the likeness of the sign of the Passion of Christ, which draws the faithful upward to mount to heaven ; and the streamers which are hung aloft to the sail-yard are the quire of Prophets and Martyrs and Apostles, who are at rest in the Kingdom of God.

Ex hâc Hippolytei ingenii scaturigine hortulos suos irrigâsse videtur Auctor non indisertus Operis Imperfecti in Matthæum, Hom. xxiii. (ap. S. Chrysost. tom. vi. p. cv. ed. Montfaucon.) “Quamvis infestatione Inimici Ecclesia vel sæculi tempestatibus laborat, quibusvis

ment, and becomest an imitator in goodness of Him P. 339.
 Who is good, thou wilt be like Him, being honoured
 by Him. For God has a need and craving for thee,
 having divinized even thee for His Glory.

tentationum fluctibus pulsetur, naufragium facere non potest, quia
 FILIUM DEI habet GUBERNATOREM. Navigat enim fidei Gubernaculo,
 felici cursu per hujus sæculi mare, habens DEUM GUBERNATOREM,
 ANGELOS REMIGES, portans Choros omnium Sanctorum, erectâ in
 medio ipsâ salutari arbore (*i. e. ἱστῶν*, Italicè *albero*) CRUCIS, in quâ
 evangelicæ fidei vela suspendens, flante SPIRITU SANCTO vehitur ad
 portum Paradisi et securitatem quietis æternæ;” ad quam nos perducere
 dignetur Pater misericordiarum per Salvatorem Nostrum Unicum,
 Dominum Nostrum, Jesum Christum. *Amen.*

Δόξα τῷ Θεῷ.

CHAPTER VII.

The Author's Narrative concerning the Church of Rome.—Objections considered.

ON reference to the foregoing narrative, the reader will see that the Author begins with describing a particular heresy, the NOETIAN. This consisted mainly in a denial of the distinct Personality of God the Father and God the Son, and in an assertion, that the words Father and Son were merely different appellations assigned to the same Divine Being accordingly as He existed in different relations, or manifested Himself in different modes.¹ Hence, its promoters were called *Patripassians*; in other words, they were charged with affirming that it was the *Father Who suffered* in fact, although He whose Passion is described in Holy Scripture is called the Son. Hence, also, they were regarded as originators of the heresy which afterwards became more notorious under the name of Sabellianism, from its principal promoter SABELLIUS, who followed in the track of Noetus.²

¹ See Philosoph. pp. 284, 285.

² Sabelliani (says S. Aug. de Hæres. XLI.) a Noeto defluxisse

Our Author traces the course of Noetianism from Smyrna to Rome. It is said by him to have made its appearance at Rome when Zephyrinus was Bishop of the Church there. It was not altogether a new dogma at Rome, for, according to Tertullian, a heresy had been there propagated by Praxeas, who afterwards passed over into Africa, which resembled that of Noetus. Perhaps it was received at Rome with less suspicion,³ because Praxeas had made himself conspicuous by the part he took against the Montanist heresy, which was obnoxious to the Roman Church, and which was combated by the Roman presbyter Caius, in the time of Zephyrinus.⁴

However this may be, our Author relates,⁵ that the Noetian heresy obtained great success at Rome. Its principal teacher, Cleomenes, organized a congregation there, and attracted numerous disciples. At

dicuntur, nam et discipulum ejus quidam perhibent fuisse Sabellium.

S. Augustine says that in his days the name of Noetians was almost obsolete (*de Hæres. XLI.*). Noetiani difficile ab aliquo sciuntur, Sabelliani autem sunt in ore multorum. Nam et Praxeas eos a Praxeâ quidam vocant, et Hermogeniani vocari ab Hermogene potuerunt: qui Praxeas et Hermogenes eadem sentientes in Africâ fuisse dicuntur. Nec tamen istæ plures sectæ sunt, sed ejusdem sectæ plura nomina . . .; and of the Sabellians he says, *Patripassiani quam Sabelliani pluries nuncupantur.*

³ Tertullian, *adv. Praxeam I.*, Praxeas Episcopum Romanum agnoscentem jam prophetias Montani . . . coëgit literas pacis revocare. Ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit: prophetiam expulit et hæresim intulit. Paracletum fugavit et Patrem crucifixit.

Praxeas and Noetus are mentioned as distinct persons by Philastrius *de Hæresibus LIII., LIV.*

⁴ See above, chap. iii.

⁵ See the narrative above, chap. vi.

length, partly by persuasion, partly by corruption, he won over the Bishop of Rome, Zephyrinus, whom our Author represents as covetous and illiterate ; and so he obtained Episcopal sanction for the heresy of Noetus.

The principal agent in this unhappy work of apostasy, according to our Author's relation, was Callistus. He represents Callistus as an ambitious person, aspiring to the Episcopal chair at Rome. He exhibits him as the confidential counsellor of Zephyrinus, and as exercising a dominant influence over his mind. In a word, he intimates that Zephyrinus was Bishop only in name, while, in fact, Callistus administered the affairs of the Roman Church.

Our Author next introduces an episode concerning the early career of Callistus ; which the reader may see, in the Author's words, in our foregoing chapter.⁶

During the Episcopate of Zephyrinus, according to our Author's narrative, there were two parties in the Roman Church ; one the orthodox, the other consisting of those who inclined to the opinions of Sabellius, who, it seems, was then at Rome. Our Author describes his own intercourse with Sabellius, and he had (as he informs us) almost prevailed on him to renounce his errors, and to embrace the truth. But Callistus stood in the way. He, to increase his own influence, and to promote his own designs, communicated with both parties, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with both. With the orthodox he professed

⁶ Chapter vi. pp. 74—97.

orthodoxy, and with the Sabellians he was a Sabellian. Callistus inveighed with great virulence against our Author,⁷ who (it appears) stood almost alone on the opposite side, and publicly denounced him with slanderous appellations, calling him a *Ditheist*, or believer in *two Gods*. So great, however, was the address of Callistus, and so successful were his manœuvres in dealing with both parties, and in gaining them over to his own interests, that on the death of Zephyrinus, when the See became vacant, Callistus (to use our Author's words) "presumed that he had attained the object of his ambition," which, we learn from another passage, was no less than the Episcopal chair at Rome.⁸

Upon this, "Callistus threw off Sabellius as heterodox, through fear of me (says our Author), and because he supposed that he would thus be able to wipe off the stain of obloquy to which he was exposed in the eye of the churches,⁹ as not being of a sound faith."

Being, however, pressed by Sabellius on the one side, and by our Author on the other, and being

⁷ See p. 285, ed. Miller. Above, p. 75. The pages of Miller's edition are given in the margin of chapter vi.

⁸ P. 288, 96, ed. Miller, *μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ζεφυρίνου τελευτῆν, νομίζων τετυχηκέναι οὐδ' ἐθαρᾶτο*, compared with p. 284, 77. *ταύτην τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐκράτυνε Κάλλιστος—θηρώμενος τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον.*

⁹ Perhaps, as was usual with Bishops in ancient times, Callistus had sent missives to other Churches to notify to them his election; and some inquiries or remonstrances may have been addressed by them, and some requisitions may have been made that he should clear himself from the charge of heresy.

ashamed to retract his opinion, and to profess the true faith, Callistus made a compromise, and devised a new Heresy, denying the divinity of the Son as a distinct Person from the Father, and yet not professing that the Father had suffered in the Son.

Our Author proceeds to say, that in the time of Callistus,¹ corrupt doctrine in the Church was accompanied with laxity of discipline ; and he affirms that the popularity of Callistus was due, in a great measure, to the indulgence he gave to the vicious passions of those who were under his charge. And yet, says our Author, they whose life and belief are such, "*presume to call themselves a Catholic Church.*"² Our writer, however, treats them as Heretics. He calls their congregation a *school*, and says that it survived at the time he was writing, which was after the death of Callistus, and that they were named *Callistians*.³

Such is our Author's account of the CALLISTIAN HERESY.

In the perusal of this narrative, two questions arise. We know that from about A.D. 192 to A.D. 223,⁴ the

¹ Above, p. 91.

² Above, p. 95.

³ Above, p. 97.

⁴ Jaffé (Regesta Pontificum, Berlin, 1851,) arranges their Episcopates thus, pp. 4, 5 :—

VICTOR, A.D. 190 or 192 ?—202.

(Euseb. v. 22, 23.)

ZEPHYRINUS, A.D. 202—218.

(Euseb. v. 28 ; vi. 21.)

CALLISTUS, A.D. 218—223.

(Euseb. vi. 21.)

See also Concilia, i. pp. 591—615, Labbe, ed. Paris, 1671.

See of Rome was occupied in succession by Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus ;—

I. Does then the Author intend to convey to his readers the impression, that the CALLISTUS whose Heresy he is describing, was Callistus the BISHOP of ROME who succeeded Zephyrinus ?

II. If so, is this narrative worthy of credit ? could it have been written by Hippolytus, who was a scholar of Irenæus, a Bishop and Martyr, and who is venerated as a saint by the Roman Church, and has ever been regarded by the Universal Church as one of the greatest theologians and Christian teachers in the third century ?

1. As to the former of these two inquiries, it will be observed that the Author nowhere ascribes to Callistus, whom he charges with Heresy—the style and title of *Bishop of Rome*. He appears, in some respects, to regard him rather as a professorial teacher, than as an Ecclesiastical Primate. He calls his disciples “a *school*,” a name often applied to heretical teachers,⁵—but never gives them the name of “a *church*.” This is the more remarkable, because when speaking of Victor, who was Bishop of Rome, from A.D. 192 to A.D. 202, and who was succeeded by Zephyrinus, he uses no such reserve. He openly and

⁵ See Euseb. iv. 7 ; iv. 11, *Μαρκίων ηἰξῆσε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον* ; iv. 29 ; v. 13, and *passim*.

explicitly calls him "the blessed Victor, *Bishop of the Church.*"⁶ And when in the course of his narrative he comes to the death of Zephyrinus, and we expect to hear it recorded, perhaps with an exclamation of sorrow and indignation, that Zephyrinus was succeeded by Callistus the Heretic, we seem to be put off with a vague and equivocal phrase; "After the death of Zephyrinus," we read,⁷ "he (Callistus) *presumed that he had gained* the object of his ambition"—which we learn from another part of the narrative to have been the Bishopric of Rome.

There is something almost mysterious in this seeming ambiguity of language, which at first excites suspicion. *If* Callistus—Callistus the Heretic—was really Bishop of Rome, why does not our Author say so? Why does he seem to decline the assertion? Is it because it was not true? Did he mean to convey the idea that Callistus attained the place to which he had aspired? If so, why this hesitation? Why does he not say plainly,—Victor was succeeded by Zephyrinus, and Zephyrinus was succeeded by Callistus, in the Roman See?

2. In considering these inquiries, let us remember that our Author's narrative was written after the death of Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome. He mentions that event.⁸ Our Author, living at Rome, must have known that a Callistus had succeeded Zephyrinus in the Roman See. And, if Callistus the Heretic was

⁶ Above, p. 85.

⁷ Above, p. 85.

⁸ Above, p. 85.

not Callistus the Bishop, he would have taken good care that no one should confound the two. But he has not done this. On the contrary, he produces the impression on his reader's mind, that they are one and the same person. He speaks of the succession of Zephyrinus and Callistus ;⁹ he mentions that on the death of Zephyrinus, Callistus thought he had attained the object of his wishes. He thus intimates that, however Callistus might be regarded by others, he presumed himself to be Bishop of Rome.

3. Again, he uses the expression—"such events took place under¹ him," that is, in the time of his rule, meaning the rule of Callistus ; and the events which he is describing are Episcopal Consecrations and Ordinations of Priests and Deacons ; by which he seems to indicate that Callistus exercised Episcopal and Metropolitan jurisdiction. And, he affirms that the adherents of Callistus were the majority of Rome, and he says that they called themselves "a Catholic Church."¹

4. Besides, *if* Callistus the Heretic was not Callistus the Bishop, then, living at Rome as he did after Zephyrinus, he lived under Callistus the Bishop ; for Callistus succeeded Zephyrinus, A.D. 218 ; and Callistus the Heretic propagated his Heresy under him. And no mention whatever occurs of any opposition being made to Callistus the Heretic by Callistus Bishop of Rome. On the other hand, the followers

⁹ Above, pp. 65, 85.

¹ Above, pp. 89—95.

of Callistus are represented as forming a majority at Rome.

5. On the whole then we may conclude that,—according to our Author,—Callistus the Heretic was Callistus Bishop of Rome. And this opinion is now generally accepted by all, whether Roman Catholics (such as the learned Dr. von Döllinger) or others.

But why then does our Author use such an ambiguous expression as this, “Callistus deemed that he had attained the object of his ambition”? Why does he not say that he did actually attain it?

6. To this question we may answer,—No one doubts, we suppose, that Zephyrinus—the Zephyrinus mentioned by our Author—was Bishop of Rome. No one questions that he succeeded Victor, and sat in the See of Rome for about seventeen years. No one doubts that our Author intends us to understand that the Zephyrinus of whom he is speaking, was Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome, and no other.

Now, what we may here observe is, that our Author uses almost the same term when he is speaking of Zephyrinus, as that which he uses when he is speaking of Callistus. “Zephyrinus,” he says, “*presumed* that he governed the Church (of Rome) at that time.”² And “Callistus (he says) *presumed* that he had attained the object of his wishes,” which he had before told us was “the Episcopal Chair.”

Each of these two expressions illustrates the other. Zephyrinus *presumed* to be Bishop, and he *was* Bishop

² P. 279.

of Rome. Callistus *presumed* to have attained the Bishopric, and he also *was* Bishop of Rome.

7. But why did our Author say that they *presumed* themselves to be Bishops? why did he use such expressions as these?

The reason, probably, was this: He wished to contrast the orthodox Victor with his unworthy successors. He therefore calls *him* "Victor of blessed memory, *Bishop of the Church.*" But, according to our Author, Zephyrinus and Callistus were heretics. They *presumed* themselves to be Bishops. But our Author, when speaking of their false teaching, would not call them *Bishops*. He would not give the title of Bishop to patrons of heresy, who denied the Divine Personality of Christ.

8. Such would be our reply to the first question proposed. Let us offer some further remarks in support of this explanation.

The question of the validity of episcopal and priestly ministrations, when performed by Bishops and Priests in heresy, was a subject which tried the patience, and exercised the charity, of the Christian Church in the next age to that of Hippolytus, particularly in the controverted question of heretical baptism, under St. Stephen of Rome on the one side, and St. Cyprian of Carthage on the other, who, with many bishops of Africa and Asia, denied the validity of baptism administered by heretics. It was afterwards illustrated by the learning of St. Jerome in his disputation with the Luciferians, and was elucidated

by the wisdom and charity of St. Augustine, in his dealings with the Donatists, and has been admirably handled by our own Richard Hooker, in his argument against Puritan allegations, in the third book of his Ecclesiastical Polity. Let me also refer to the statements on this subject in our Twenty-sixth Article, and to the Expositors of it.

This grave question has been debated in later times in our own Church, in her intercourse with opposite parties on both sides ; and it is a topic which requires to be handled with prudence, calmness, and discretion, as has been made abundantly manifest by the evil results which have arisen, on the one side, from latitudinarian laxity which connives at false doctrine in those who hold office in the Church ; and on the other, from unrelenting rigour rejecting the ministrations of some who bear rule in the Church, and denying the validity of the office, when the doctrine of those who hold it is not altogether exempt from serious admixtures of error. I do not now enter into the question whether the opinions broached by our Author in this portion of his work had not a tendency toward Novatianism and Donatism. Let me reserve this question for consideration hereafter.

Our present purpose is to note facts.

9. We were at first somewhat staggered by the manner in which our Author speaks of Callistus. A reason has been suggested for that language. Callistus, and we may add Zephyrinus, are not fully recognized by our Author in this narrative as *legitimate*

Bishops of the Church—because they were abettors of Heresy.

10. Let us now observe, that this language of reserve in speaking of Bishops in heresy, was characteristic of a celebrated school, to which our Author belonged. Dr. von Döllinger, in his work on Hippolytus and Callistus (p. 326), has made some strictures on this statement; but I see no reason to retract it. St. John himself, in the Apocalypse (a portion of Scripture which appears to have been studied by this school with special attention), had said in his address to his own Church of Ephesus, “I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say that they are Apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars.”³

The teachers of this school inculcated the duty of holding communion and fellowship with those who possess, what they termed *the charisma*,—grace or gift,—of *Apostolical succession*,⁴ and they also laid great stress on *succession of sound doctrine*. This is clearly expressed in the following sentences, from the pen of one among the most eminent theologians of that school;—

“Genuine gnosis,” or knowledge—says St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons (whose scholar St. Hippolytus was),⁵

³ Rev. ii. 2.

⁴ S. Iren. iv. 45, ed. Grabe. Ubi charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi oportet discere Veritatem apud quos est ea quæ est ab *Apostolis Ecclesiæ successio*, et id quod est *sanum* et irreprobabile *conversationis*, et *inadulteratum* et *incorruptibile sermonis*, constat.

⁵ S. Iren. iv. 63, ed. Grabe.

—as opposed to the false philosophy of the Gnostics who professed to be the only wise, “is the doctrine of the Apostles, according to the ancient constitution of the Church in the whole world, and the badge of the body of Christ, according to the *succession of Bishops*, to whose care they (the Apostles) delivered the Church in every place : in which ⁶ (Church) has been transmitted to us, guarded without adulteration, the plenary use of Scripture, *admitting neither addition nor curtailment*, and the reading of Scripture without corruption, and legitimate and diligent Preaching, according to the Word of God.”

Again, he says, “We must seek the truth where there is the succession from the Apostles and good conversation and *unadulterated truth*.”⁷ “We must obey those presbyters in the Church, who have the *succession* from the Apostles, and, *together with the Episcopal succession*, have received the *genuine charisma of Truth* ; and we must shun all others ;”⁸ and he compares *heretical* Bishops and Priests to Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, who offered strange fire (Levit. x. 1, 2), whereas *schismatics* are like Korah and Dathan, who were not priests, but usurped priestly functions (Num. xvi.). And again, “Every word will be established to him who has diligently read the Scriptures among those presbyters who are in the Church, and with whom is *Apostolical doctrine*.”⁹

⁶ The reading of the old Latin Version is *quæ* : for which we ought perhaps to read *quâ*, in which.

⁷ S. Iren. iv. 45, ed. Grabe.

⁸ Ibid. c. 43.

⁹ Ibid. c. 52.

Such is the teaching of St. Irenæus, the scholar of St. Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John. ✓

A scholar of St. Irenæus speaks thus as to the grace of ministerial succession from the Holy Apostles, together with sound doctrine: "No one" (he says) "can rightly refute the dogmas of Heretics, save only the HOLY SPIRIT, given in the Church; which Spirit the Apostles first received, and communicated to those *who believe aright*, whose *successors we are*, partakers of the same grace, principal sacerdocy, and doctrine, and watchmen of the Church."¹

Again, he thus speaks in another place:

"Let not a Bishop domineer over the Deacons or Presbyters, or the Presbyters domineer over the People. For the constitution of the Church is formed of them all. Not every one who prophesies is pious, nor every one who casts out devils is holy. Even Balaam prophesied, who was a godless man; and Caiaphas,—*falsely named a high priest*. The Devil himself and his angels reveal many things that are future. A Bishop who is burdened with *ignorance* or *malice*² *is no longer a Bishop,—but is falsely so called.*"

Such is the teaching of a writer of this school: that writer is ST. HIPPOLYTUS.³

¹ St. Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, p. 3, 60.

² ἀγνοία ἢ κακονοία πεπεσμένος. St. Hippolytus seems to refer to his own personal experience in these two terms, ἄγνοια and κακονοία, ignorance and malice; the first was the case of Zephyrinus; the second, of Callistus.

³ In *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, a work embodied in the VIIIth Book of Apostolic Constitutions (Patr. Apostol., ed. Cotelerii, i. p. 391), whence it is

12. Another objection to our narrative is made by an able writer. "Among the bad practices which this work (p. 95) attributes to Callistus, is that of *repeating baptism*. Now, how could this circumstance fail to be mentioned when rebaptism became the subject of dispute with St. Cyprian, who was made Bishop only twenty-five years after the death of Callistus? St. Cyprian is supposed to have been nearly coeval with the century; though not a Christian, therefore, he must have been of mature age in the time of Callistus. How came this circumstance to escape notice, when St. Stephen adduced the unvarying tradition of the Church of Rome as an argument against rebaptism? When St. Cyprian brings Scriptural arguments against the propriety of the usage (Ep. lxxiv. 9, ad Pompeium), and Firmilian objects to the *consuetudo Romanorum* (Ep. lxxv. 19), how incredible is it, that they should fail to notice such a capital objection, as that the practice of Rome itself had not been invariable? Yet how could the events of their own time have been unknown to men like St. Cyprian, who was evidently in continual intercourse

transcribed in Hippolyti Opera, i., ed. Fabricii, p. 247, and it is included in the recent edition of St. Hippolytus by Lagarde, pp. 73—89. See also Præfat. *ibid.* p. vii, and Le Moyne's *Varia Sacra*, p. 1074, and Fabr. Hipp. i. 260. Pearson, *Vind. Ignat. P. i. c. 4.* Dorner, *Person of Christ*, i. ii. p. 452. It is ascribed to Hippolytus in a Vienna and an Oxford MS. The title of such a work upon the Statue of St. Hippolytus, as written by him (see the frontispiece to the present volume), is *περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικῆς παράδοσις*. The mention of its being derived from "Apostolic Tradition" may have commended it to the special regard of the compilers of "the Apostolic Constitutions."

with the capital, and, like Firmilian, whose activity twice led him to visit Antioch, in order to investigate the truth of the reports circulated against its Bishop (Eus. viii. 30)? We have said enough to show the grave doubts which attach to the narrative before us."

This objection is also pressed by another learned critic.⁴ "It is hardly likely that if the fall of Callistus were known in the days of the rebaptizing controversy, it would have escaped the vigilance of Cyprian, or still more, of Firmilian."

These objections have been well answered by Dr. von Döllinger; who pertinently observes (p. 189) that the Author of our Treatise does *not* say that rebaptization was *practised at Rome*, but that in the time of Callistus it first began to be practised by some persons in communion with him; which was true. He implies that he did not protest against it;—as he ought to have done, and as was done by his successor Stephen in his controversy with St. Cyprian.

13. Thus, then, we perceive that those expressions in this narrative, which at first caused us embarrassment, are explained by reference to the teaching of the school in which St. Hippolytus was trained, and to the language used by himself in another place; and thus our difficulties have befriended us, and do in fact confirm the proofs already stated, that the newly-discovered "Refutation of all Heresies" is from the pen of St. Hippolytus.

⁴ Dublin Review, No. lxvi. p. 404.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Author's Narrative concerning the Church of Rome.—Other Objections considered.

LET us now resume the inquiry ;

Whether we are justified in affirming that the narrative contained in the Ninth Book of the Treatise before us, came from the pen of Hippolytus ?

1. In reading that portion of the Treatise, we observe indications of personal animosity : it is characterized by a spirit of sternness, almost of asperity. And it was written and published after the death of Callistus.¹

Supposing the above narrative to be true, are we authorized to believe that Hippolytus, the scholar of St. Irenæus, and a Bishop and Doctor of the Church, who is called, by an ancient writer,² “ a person of very sweet and amiable disposition,” and laid down his life as a Martyr for Christ, would have expressed himself in the language of this Treatise, concerning

¹ See above, pp. 96, 97, and p. 330, ed. Miller.

² S. Chrysostom (?) de Pseudoprophetis, tom. viii. p. 79, ed. Montfaucon. Ἰππόλυτος γλυκύτατος καὶ εὐνούστατος.

Zephyrinus and Callistus, who had been Bishops of the Church, and had now been called away by death, from a world of strife, to render up their accounts to God?

In our Author's narrative there are some symptoms of self-sufficiency, which may appear to be hardly consistent with the character of a Christian Bishop eminent for holiness, as St. Hippolytus is believed to have been. He records his own acts (it may perhaps be said) with something like self-complacency, and even with boastful ostentation. "We (he says) resisted Zephyrinus and Callistus."³ "We nearly converted Sabellius."⁴ "All were carried away by the hypocrisy of Callistus except ourselves."⁵ "Callistus threw off Sabellius through fear of me."⁶

May it not be said that this is the language of vain-glory and egotism? Could it be the language of Hippolytus?

2. Besides, in perusing this history, the reader will not fail to observe that some of the Author's observations have a sectarian tendency. He is vehement in his denunciations of Callistus for laxity of discipline, as well as for unsoundness of doctrine. If his narrative is true, this is not surprising. But then his own arguments, with respect to Church discipline, are open to serious objection. He seems to doubt whether the Church Visible on earth is a society in which there will ever be evil men mingled with the good. He scarcely seems to admit that the Ark, containing

³ Above, p. 67.

⁴ Above, p. 75.

⁵ Above, p. 73.

⁶ Above, p. 85.

clean and unclean animals, was a figure of the Church in her transitory character. He is not disposed to recognize the Church Visible in the Field of Wheat and Tares ;⁷ he seems almost eager to imitate the servants in the Parable, and pluck up the tares before the time of harvest ; and he appears to indulge a hope that the Church on earth can be a field of wheat, and of wheat alone.

Here we see signs of impatience. And we know what evil results followed from the workings of a spirit similar to this in the age of Hippolytus. It produced the schism of Novatian at Rome, who was offended with the facility with which the Roman Church readmitted to communion heinous offenders, and especially the *lapsi*, who had apostatized from Christianity in persecution ; and who procured himself to be consecrated Bishop of Rome, in opposition to Cornelius,⁸ and so (to adopt the language of modern times) became the *first Anti-pope*.⁹ Novatianism propagated itself from Rome throughout a great part of the world, and distracted Christendom. The same spirit displayed itself in feuds and factions, in outrage and bloodshed, among the Donatists who disturbed the African Church, in the fourth and fifth centuries ; and it has never ceased to operate with disastrous energy, and to produce calamitous effects even to this day.

Again—

⁷ See the notes above, chap. vi. p. 92.

⁸ Euseb. vi. 43. 45.

⁹ A. D. 251 ; below, p. 158. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*, p. 8.

3. Suppose this Narrative to have been written and published by Hippolytus. What impression would it have produced at Rome? Here is a Work in which the Author speaks of two Roman Bishops in terms of severe censure. He represents himself as their antagonist. He reprobates them as false teachers. One of them connives at heresy; the other founds an heretical school. Such are the terms which he applies to Zephyrinus and Callistus. Both of them were Roman Bishops. Both have been canonized by the Church of Rome. Both are now venerated in her Breviary as Saints and Martyrs.¹

Can he who writes thus be St. Hippolytus? If so, how is it to be explained that his name has been venerated for many centuries by the Roman Church? Would she have permitted a Statue to be erected in his honour in a public place in one of her own cemeteries? In a word, if two of her Bishops had been denounced by him as heretics, and if, after their death, he had published the history of their heresy to the world,—would she have revered Hippolytus as a Saint?

Let us consider these questions.

¹ See *Breviarium Romanum S. Pii V. jussu editum* in Aug. 26 and Oct. 14. Compare Bianchini in *Anastas. Bibliothec. de Vit. Rom. Pontif.*, where the date of the martyrdom of Zephyrinus is said to have been 26th July, A.D. 217. In some Roman Martyrologies it is placed on 20th Dec., A.D. 218. Concerning Callistus, see *Mansi Not. in Baron. ad A.D. 226*, and *Lumper de Romanis Episcopis Sæc. iii. § ii.* The date of his martyrdom is placed by some authorities on 14th Oct., A.D. 223.

I. As to our Author's demeanour and language towards heretics.

The Apostle and Evangelist St. John was the beloved disciple. The mainspring of his teaching was Love. When in his old age he was brought into the church at Ephesus, the constant theme of his discourse was, "Little children, love one another."² And yet in his Epistles, when he writes concerning heretics, "who abide not in the doctrine of Christ," St. John says, "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds."³ And tremendous are the denunciations of ✓ his Apocalypse against the abettors of heresy and corrupt doctrine, and against those who communicate with them in their errors.⁴

The prevalent opinion of the Church, concerning St. John's sentiments and example with regard to heretics, is well indicated by the record of the incident related by St. Irenæus⁵ concerning the Apostle. He quitted the bath at Ephesus, we are told, when he heard that Cerinthus was there, and exclaimed, "Let us make haste to flee the place, lest the house fall on our heads, since it has under its roof Cerinthus, the enemy of truth."

St. John was full of the Holy Ghost—the Spirit of Truth and Love. He, doubtless, in his own person,

² S. Jerome in Galat. vi.

⁴ *E. g.* Rev. ii. 15. 20—23; xiv. 9, 10.

³ 2 John 10, 11.

⁵ iii. 3, p. 204, Grabe.

combined the Christian graces, Faith and Charity, in harmonious proportion. Among his scholars he numbered St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp. In the Epistles of the one we see love for the Truth ; but love of Unity appears to be the master bias. In St. Polycarp we behold ardent zeal for the Faith, with vehement antagonism to Error. " Knowest thou me ? " said Marcion the heretic to Polycarp, whom he met, as it seems, at Rome, whither Polycarp had come from Smyrna, to visit Anicetus, Bishop of Rome ; " Yes," was the reply, " I know thee well,—the first-born of Satan." ⁶

St. Irenæus, when a boy, had seen " the blessed Polycarp ; " he treasured his sayings in his memory, and has recorded them with affectionate veneration. And in imitation of the frankness of Polycarp, and of his sternness of speech, when dealing with Heretics, he tells Florinus,—the heretic,—that if the holy Polycarp, whom both of them had known in youth, had heard the strange dogmas which Florinus was broaching, he would have stopped his ears, and exclaimed—" O merciful God, to what times hast thou reserved me ! " and would have fled from the spot with execration. ⁷

2. Let us now, for argument's sake, be allowed to suppose that our Author's narrative is true. Let us see whether there is anything in it inconsistent with the character of St. Hippolytus.

⁶ S. Iren. iii. 3. Euseb. iv. 14.

⁷ S. Iren. ap. Euseb. v. 20. Routh, Opuscula, i. p. 32.

St. Hippolytus was trained in this school to which we have referred, as tracing its succession from St. John. He was a disciple of Irenæus, had heard his lectures, and has shown himself to have been a diligent reader of his works. He trod in his steps, and dwelt on the subjects which had been before handled by Irenæus.⁸ He firmly asserted the continuity of spiritual grace, derived by succession from the Apostles in the laying on of Episcopal hands. Thus he affirmed the principle of Church Unity inculcated in the Epistles of St. Ignatius. He possessed also, in abundant measure, the masculine vigour and dauntless courage and fervent zeal of St. Polycarp. He loved the truth; he fought manfully for it; and abhorred Heresy. He had seen its bitter fruits, he beheld it flourishing and dominant, in one of its most hateful forms, making havoc far and wide in the fairest Church of the West. Under such circumstances as these, it required something more than the spirit of an Irenæus, an Ignatius, or a Polycarp—it demanded the spirit of a St. John, the divinely-inspired Apostle and Evangelist, so to contend against Error, as not to violate Charity; and so to resist Heresy, as not to execrate Heretics. And let us bear in mind, that though Zephyrinus and Callistus were dead at the time when our Author wrote, yet their Heresy was *not* dead: Callistus had passed away, but he had left *Callistians* behind him.⁹

⁸ As a comparison of the catalogues of their works respectively will show.

⁹ Above, p. 97, and 329 (Miller), ἀρεσιω ἕως νῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς διαδόχους διαμείνασαν. From the terms in which Sabellius is mentioned in this

Our Author had been engaged in a conflict with Callistus, and was still at war with his disciples. That conflict had been a public one. Callistus and his adherents had denied the Divine personality of Christ as distinct from the Father. Our Author asserted it, and Callistus had reviled him openly as "a worshipper of two Gods."¹ Hence this controversy was a personal one. No one (says a great Father of the Church) should remain patient under a charge of heresy. If Callistus was right, our Author was wrong. If Callistus, Bishop of Rome, did not impose sinful terms of Communion, our Author was a schismatic. If Callistus was orthodox, our Author was a heretic. Nay, he was worse than a heretic; he was a polytheist. He must therefore vindicate himself. He had been accused publicly, he must exculpate himself publicly. And he could not otherwise show that he himself was not heterodox, than by proving Callistus a heretic.

When we consider these circumstances, and that men, however holy, are men, and are liable to human infirmities, especially when agitated by strong passions, or engaged in personal struggles concerning the most momentous articles of the Christian Faith, it will not seem to be improbable that one eminent in the Church, like Hippolytus, should have written as our Author has done.

Treatise (pp. 285, 289, 290), it may be inferred that it was written at a time when the name of Sabellius and of his heresy had become notorious; and, according to our Author, the prevalence of that heresy was due in great measure to Callistus.

¹ Above, pp. 73—75, and p. 87.

3. When we remember also the particular school in which Hippolytus had been trained, and when we add to this the fact, observed by an ancient writer, that Hippolytus gave evidence of a fervid temperament,² and was probably of Asiatic origin,³ we see no reason to think that such a narrative as the present could not have been written by Hippolytus.

4. We do not dispute the fact that there is a tone of self-confidence in this narrative.

But let us remember the circumstances of the case. Our Author, whoever he was, was a learned and eloquent man. Few persons in his age in Christendom, none probably in the West, could have composed the Volume before us. It is rich in human learning as well as divine. The style is somewhat turgid, but it displays solid erudition, as well as luxuriance of language. Let us imagine such a person as this residing at Rome in the second and third centuries. He was well qualified to be "Bishop of the Gentiles" on account of his Greek learning and eloquence, and also to be Bishop of Portus, because it was the principal harbour of the imperial City, and was thronged with strangers, Greeks, Asiatics, and Africans, merchants, shipmen and soldiers, Philosophers, Physicians, Ambassadors, and Astrologers, Christians, Jews, and Pagans flocking to Rome.

² Phot. Cod. 202. *θερμότερας γνώμης*. See also some pertinent remarks by Lardner, *Credibility*, i. p. 488, on the style and character of the Author of the *Little Labyrinth*, *i.e.* on Hippolytus.

³ A learned friend suggests a parallel in the strong language of St. Chrysostom against Eudoxia. Similar instances might be easily collected from every age.

And let us suppose such a person as this associated with such Ecclesiastics—and placed under the rule of such Bishops—as he represents Zephyrinus and Callistus to be : the one illiterate, the other profligate, both promoters of heresy. Let his account of their doings be exaggerated—though it is not easy to say why an Author who writes likes the Author of the *Philosophumena* (and who appears to be no other than St. Hippolytus, a Bishop and Doctor of the Church) should be accused of misrepresentation,—yet this we know, that the Western Church at that time was not endowed with erudition—especially such learning as that in which our Author excelled. He had the misfortune to be placed under Bishops far inferior to himself. And “knowledge puffeth up.” His own superiority was a stumbling-block ; their inferiority was a snare. Suppose such a person as this to have been formerly intimate with the holy and learned Irenæus ; suppose him to have been elated with his ancestral dignity of doctrinal succession, derived through Irenæus and Polycarp from the blessed Apostle St. John,—What a contrast would he see at Rome ! What a severe trial of his temper would be there—what a perilous ordeal to pass through ! Shall we be surprised that under such circumstances as these, expressions of conscious superiority, or even of vituperative indignation, should have escaped the lips of Hippolytus ?

5. But, it may be said, Is there not a sectarian bias in this narrative ? Is not the Author a partisan of Novatianism ? Can this be Hippolytus ?

There is doubtless a strong bias toward Novatianism in this portion of our Author's work. Some of his principles, carried out without reserve or restraint, would no doubt lead to schism. The mild tone in which he speaks of Montanism (p. 275 ; see above, chapter iii. p. 22) which prepared the way for Novatianism is in harmony with this opinion. But, when we consider human frailty, we may perhaps allow, that this might have been expected.

Almost all the evils in the Church are due to excess of reaction. Our Author represents himself as living at Rome when the discipline of that Church was very lax. His remedy lay in severity. The Roman Church had extended the range of communion too widely : he would have restrained it too strictly. Her latitudinarian practice gave a sectarian tendency to his principles. What is there here that does not occur, even in the best times, among the best men ? It is the common course of human affairs. His contemporary, Tertullian, was offended by the same licentiousness in the Ecclesiastical system of Rome, and lapsed into Montanism.⁴ Even Dionysius of Alexandria, in his zeal against Sabellius, is said by St. Basil⁵ to have sown the seeds of Arianism. St. Chrysostom, in his ardour against a barren faith, may have prepared the way for the doctrine of merit ; and St. Augustine, in his strenuous struggle against Pelagianism, may have been a precursor of Calvin.

⁴ S. Hieron. Scr. Eccl. on Tertullian, 53.

⁵ S. Basil, Epist. ix. 2.

But shall we charge those holy men with the consequences which others deduced from their principles after their death? Shall we not rather suppose that those principles would have been modified by them, if they had known the consequences which others would draw from them; and if they had witnessed the results to which those principles might lead?

If, then, we reflect on the religious state of the Roman Church as displayed in this Volume, if we recollect the painful provocations which such disciplinarian laxity and heretical pravity as he describes rarely fail to minister to pious minds, and if we remember that we, living in the nineteenth century, have seen the results of reactions in the opposite direction, we shall not judge our Author from our own circumstances, but shall endeavour to place ourselves in his age and country, and shall attribute his vehement language against laxity of discipline to his zeal for the holiness and purity of the Spouse of Christ.

Further, let us now add, we shall find in these very expressions, to which we have now referred, an additional confirmation of the proof that this Treatise is from St. Hippolytus. But on this point we may say more in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

On Novatianism, and on the Relation of St. Hippolytus to it; and on the Hymn of the Christian Poet Prudentius on St. Hippolytus and his Martyrdom.

IN the year 251 of the Christian era, Novatus, a Presbyter of Carthage, who had formed a schismatical party in opposition to St. Cyprian, Bishop of that City, came to Rome and excited a Roman Priest, Novatian, to follow his example, and to become the leader in a similar schism against Cornelius, recently elected Bishop of Rome.

The plea urged in behalf of that schism was that Cornelius, who was of one accord with Cyprian, had lapsed from the true faith in the time of persecution under the Emperor Decius; and that he had relaxed the penitential discipline of the Church by receiving to communion on easy terms those who had fallen from the truth, and that therefore he ought not to be recognized as a true Bishop of the Church, and that an orthodox Teacher ought to be appointed in his place. Consequently Novatian¹ was elected by some who

¹ Novatian himself was an example of the laxity of discipline in the Church of Rome. He had received only clinical baptism; and did not receive Episcopal imposition of hands after it: and yet he was ordained to the Priesthood by the Bishop of Rome. Euseb. vi. 43.

held these opinions, and was ordained Bishop of Rome by three Bishops, in opposition to Cornelius, and became the first Anti-pope.

A portion of the Laity and some of the Clergy and Confessors of the Church sided with Novatian, who maintained that they who had lapsed in time of persecution could not be restored to Church communion in this life, however penitent they might be; and however it might be hoped that they might obtain pardon from God in the life to come.²

Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom on Sept. 14th, A.D. 252; but the Novatian Schism, which was widely extended, and found favour with learned and devout partisans,³ continued after his death.⁴

We have already adverted to the Hymn of the Christian Poet, *Prudentius*, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century⁵ on St. Hippolytus.⁶

In that Hymn Prudentius says that St. Hippolytus, whose martyrdom he is describing, and for whose memory he expresses deep veneration, had bordered upon,—he uses a remarkable word, *attigerat*, ‘he had approached,’ ‘had nearly touched,’—the *schism of Novatus*, the name often given to *Novatian*—whose name was less tractable in poetry.

That St. Hippolytus had at some time of his life,

² The particulars here stated are gathered from the correspondence of St. Cyprian, Epist. 42. 46. 49. 52. 55; Euseb. vi. 43; Theodoret, Hæret. Fab. iii. 5; Socrates, Hist. Eccl. iv. 28.

³ See Euseb. vi. 44; vi. 46; vii. 5.

⁴ See Tillemont, Mémoires iii. 480, for his history.

⁵ Prudentius was born in Spain, A.D. 348.

⁶ Prudentii Hymni peri Stephanôn, xi. Prudent. ibid. v. 20, ed. Dressel, p. 442.

especially in the Episcopate of Callistus, inclined to the opinions on Church discipline which were broached by Novatian, is clear from his own words, which have been already quoted from the recently-discovered Volume, "The Refutation of all Heresies," and which may be seen in former pages of the present Work,⁷ and to which the reader is requested to refer.

Those passages strongly confirm the narrative of Prudentius.

But that St. Hippolytus, however he may have been opposed to the later discipline of the Bishop of Rome, never by overt acts sanctioned the schism of Novatian, is certain from the fact that in the correspondence of Cornelius Bishop of Rome with St. Cyprian Bishop of Carthage during the schism, where the names of the leaders on both sides are mentioned, that of Hippolytus never occurs. If he had taken an active part on either side, he was too great a man to have not been noticed.

It is not improbable that Prudentius, as an ardent admirer of the Church of Rome, may have placed in as strong a light as he could the protest of Hippolytus, *at his death, against* Novatianism, and his declaration in favour of that Church. Prudentius dwells on the *former* approximation of Hippolytus to Novatianism. He brings it forward somewhat abruptly at the beginning of his poem. He desires the friend⁸ to whom he addresses it, not to be surprised that

⁷ See above, pp. 92—95, and the notes.

⁸ Valerian, Bishop of Zaragoza in Spain.

Hippolytus, who had formerly held a perverse opinion, should be enriched with the prize of the Catholic Faith, the Martyr's crown. For (says the Poet) when he was hurried away by the furious foe to death, and was attended by numerous followers among his loving flock, and was asked "Which way was the better one?" he said, "Fly the execrable schism of the miserable Novatus; return to the Catholic people. Let the one faith thrive, which is built on the ancient temple; which Paul holds fast, and the Chair of Peter. It grieves me to have taught what once I taught. A martyr now, I perceive that to be venerable which once I thought to be far from the worship of God."

Prudentius then proceeds to describe the Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus. He says that when the Roman Governor had arrived at *Portus*, the harbour of Rome, an old man in chains was brought before him, and that this old man was declared to be the Head of the Christians there, and, it was added, that if this old man were killed at once, the people would all worship the Roman gods. Then, adds Prudentius, the crowds clamoured for a new kind of death, in order that others might be terrified by it. "What is his name?" asked the Roman Governor. "Hippolytus," was the reply. "Let him then be a second Hippolytus, and be tied to horses, and be torn in pieces by them."⁹

Some persons have rejected this narrative of Pru-

⁹ As Hippolytus the son of Theseus was said to have been. Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 761; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 265; vi. 737; *Met.* xv. 497.

dentius as fabulous. But in addition to the evidence supplied by the recently-discovered treatise of Hippolytus, to which reference has been made, there are strong reasons for admitting its veracity.

Prudentius mentions two things which confirm his statements. He himself saw the circumstances of the Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus delineated in a fresco which he describes very minutely,¹ and which was on a wall near the tomb and chapel of St. Hippolytus at Rome, which he himself had visited. He adds also, that this tomb and chapel were frequented annually by a devout concourse of pilgrims, flocking to it from different parts of Italy on the anniversary of the Martyrdom of Hippolytus, the ides of August, viz. the 13th of that month.

This picture, and these annual visits of affectionate friends, must have served to keep alive the record of the facts of the history, and were not unreasonably relied upon by Prudentius,² who was born in the next century after the death of Hippolytus.

On the whole, I am strongly inclined to agree with the learned Benedictine, Theodoric Ruinart, in his valuable work "*Acta Martyrum sincera*,"³ who says, "It is a common opinion that Prudentius has confounded three persons who bore the name of St. Hippolytus. But inasmuch as this opinion cannot be confirmed by any ancient testimony, I hope that no

¹ See his description, *ibid.* v. 125, and following.

² See the circumstantial description, *ibid.* vv. 184—232.

³ Ed. 2nda, Amst. 1713, p. 168.

one will be displeased if I prefer the authority of Prudentius, a writer distinguished by his integrity, learning, and sincerity, to the conjectures of modern writers."

To this let me add the words of Ruggieri, who (in his learned work on the Episcopal See of Hippolytus⁴) corrects one statement of Ruinart, and sums up an elaborate argument as follows: "No other conclusion seems possible, than that the Hippolytus of Portus who is celebrated by Prudentius was Bishop of that City." At the same time it ought to be added that Ruggieri (who had not our recently-discovered treatise) does not accept the opinion that Hippolytus ever inclined to Novatianism.

And now let us mention another interesting circumstance connected with the same place and person, and leading to the same conclusion.

In the year 1551, during the excavations made near the ancient chapel of St. Hippolytus described by Prudentius,⁵ was brought to light the celebrated Statue, already described (p. 29), the frontispiece of the present volume. It is a sculptured representation of the Author of the recently-discovered Treatise, the "Refutation of all Heresies," St. Hippolytus; and was doubtless placed there near the tomb of that holy Bishop and Martyr, the eloquent and learned Teacher of the Bishop of the Western Church, with reverential

⁴ P. 400 in P. G. Lumper's Church History, vol. viii. ed. 1791.

⁵ See Dressel's introductory note on the Hymn of Prudentius on St. Hippolytus, p. 441, and *ibid.* on v. 215.

affection, like that which guided the hand of the painter of the ancient fresco representing his Martyrdom, and which Prudentius saw and described; and like that which inspired Prudentius himself when he wrote the hymn still extant on his Martyrdom, and which animated the crowds that flocked year after year from various parts of Italy to visit his grave on August 13th.

As to the year of his Martyrdom, I am inclined, on the whole, to believe that it is correctly placed by the Roman Martyrology under the Emperor Valerian, and that it took place on August 13th, A.D. 258.⁶ All agree that St. Hippolytus died the death of a Martyr. If he was inclined to favour Novatianism, which arose in A.D. 251, he could not have suffered before Valerian; Dr. Gieseler, Church History, says (§ 68), "Hippolytus suffered Martyrdom at Portus Romanus under Valerian." Prudentius describes him as an old man when he suffered.

It may be asked, Could Hippolytus, if he suffered Martyrdom in 258, have been a scholar of St. Irenæus, as Photius says he was? Yes. It has been shown by Massuet⁷ that Irenæus suffered Martyrdom, and if this was the case, he died probably about A.D. 208.

The persecution under Valerian began in A.D. 257, and came to an end A.D. 260, when he was captured

Martyrol. Rom., ed. Baronii, Romæ, 1586, p. 362. It describes the manner of the Martyrdom in the "Ager Veranus," *i. e.* near the site of the Church of St. Lawrence, near which the Statue of St. Hippolytus was found in 1551.

⁷ De S. Irenæi Vita, Diss. ii. c. 31.

by the Persians, to whom he was betrayed by Macrianus, the officer who had excited him to persecute the Christians, especially their leaders; and his son Gallienus issued an edict proclaiming liberty of worship, and restoring the cemeteries to the Church.⁸

Toward the middle of the year 258 the Emperor Valerian, who had just set out on his expedition against the Persians, sent a rescript to the Roman Senate, in which he commanded that the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Church should be condemned to capital punishment; and that the Roman Knights and Senators⁹ who were Christians should also suffer the same fate.¹

The veracity of Prudentius has recently been impugned by a formidable adversary, Dr. Döllinger. Dr. Döllinger refers² to the authority of an ancient Roman Calendar having this record: "Eo tempore (A.D. 235) Pontianus Episcopus et Yppolitus presbyter exoles sunt deportati in Sardiâ, Insulâ nocivâ, Severo et Quintino Cons." He supposes St. Hippolytus to have been an Anti-pope, and to have been banished in company with the legitimate Bishop of Rome, Pontianus, to the

⁸ Euseb. vii. 13.

⁹ St. Hippolytus is called "*urbis Romanæ Senator*" by S. Jerome, Epist. 84.

¹ See S. Cyprian, Epist. 82, ed. Pamelii, on this fierce persecution. See also Tillemont, Mémoires, tom. iv. 1—23, ed. Paris, 1701.

² Pp. 69—72. Dr. Döllinger supposes the words of the ancient Calendar, "in eâdem Insulâ Pontianus Episcopus *discinctus* est (iiii. Kal. Oct.)," to imply that Pontian *resigned* his Episcopate; but I conceive that the word *discinctus* must mean that he was deprived of it. See Du Cange *in voce*, and Valesius in Euseb. vit. Const. ii. 20.

Island of Sardinia by the Emperor Maximin, A.D. 235, and to have died there, after they had been reconciled. Dr. Döllinger thinks it incredible that such a ruthless punishment (as that which Prudentius describes as having been suffered by Hippolytus) should ever have been inflicted by a Roman Governor on an aged Ecclesiastic, even in the hottest persecution. Dr. Döllinger does indeed refer to the manner of the Martyrdom³ of St. Lawrence, Archdeacon of Rome, burnt alive on a gridiron, probably in the same persecution, in the year 258, under the Emperor Valerian, and probably only three days before the Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus, August 13.

A Governor who was capable of condemning St. Lawrence at Rome to that horrible torture⁴ would not have scrupled to do what Prudentius describes as done to St. Hippolytus at Portus. Besides, an Imperial Governor could condemn a delicate Christian woman, Blandina, at Lyons, to be tossed in a net by a wild bull;⁵ and an Imperial Governor could condemn another delicate Christian woman, Perpetua, to be goaded by a wild cow⁶ at Carthage. Tortures even more cruel than these are recorded as having been inflicted in the presence of Emperors themselves at Nicomedia.⁷ Is it therefore improbable that an

³ Döllinger, *Hippolytus und Kallistus*, pp. 58—67.

⁴ S. Ambrose *de Officiis*, i. 41, and the noble Hymn of Prudentius on the Martyrdom of S. Lawrence, *Peri Steph.* ii.

⁵ Euseb. v. 1.

⁶ "Feroeissima vacca,"—Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, p. 101.

⁷ Eusebius, *H. E.* viii. 5, and see *ibid.* c. 7—13.

Imperial Governor, urged on by an infuriated mob, should have sentenced Hippolytus (whose name suggested such a punishment) to be torn in pieces by horses, as Prudentius describes ?

The same learned writer, Dr. Döllinger, rejects the narrative of Prudentius as incredible,⁸ because the Poet says that Hippolytus suffered martyrdom at the harbour of Rome, Portus, and that his remains were buried by his faithful friends in the suburb of the City of Rome, fifteen miles off.⁹ Those cherished remains, he says, would have been reserved by his friends for burial at the place where he was martyred.

But is this certain ? At first sight, no doubt, there is something strange in the poet's narrative. But even its strangeness would have deterred Prudentius from inventing it.

Let us remember also that the celebrity of Rome would impart a dignity to Hippolytus, and would attract more pilgrims to his grave. Besides, it appears that Hippolytus was interred near the burial-place of St. Lawrence,¹ where the Church bearing his name now stands, and near which the Statue of St. Hippolytus was found in the year 1551.

If now our St. Hippolytus was the same Hippolytus

⁸ Hippolytus, &c., p. 65.

⁹ Prudent. v. 151 :—

Ostia linquant,

Roma placet, sanctos quæ teneat cineres.

¹ See Anastasii Bibliotheca, in Hadriano 1mo ; “Cœmeterium Bea Hippolyti juxta S. Laurentium renovavit.” And see Ruggieri, De sede Hippolyti, p. 474, and Mr. Augustus Hare's Walks in Rome, ii. 142, and Bunsen's Rom., iii. 117.

as was martyred on August 13th, A.D. 258,² and whose name was very famous in the Church, and who suffered martyrdom the third day after the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, who suffered, and was buried, at Rome, it is not surprising that two such noble comrades in suffering for Christ should be interred in the same cemetery. And if St. Hippolytus had formerly been disposed to favour Novatianism, but had protested against it at his death, as Prudentius affirms he did, then there was something very reasonable and appropriate in this union of St. Hippolytus the Bishop of Portus with St. Lawrence the Archdeacon of Rome, who had followed to death his beloved master the revered Bishop of Rome, St. Xystus, after an interval of three days.³

The Bishop of Rome, St. Xystus, was martyred on August 6th. The Archdeacon of Rome, St. Lawrence, was martyred on August 10th, and St. Hippolytus (I believe) on the 13th; and St. Cyprian was martyred at Carthage on the 14th of September of the same year.

And here we have another incidental confirmation of the veracity of Prudentius.

² Cp. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, iv. p. 599. Le nom de S. Hippolyte Martyr honoré le 13 d'aoust est fort celebre dans l'Eglise. Il est dans le calendrier de Bucherius, dans celui de l'Eglise de l'Afrique, dans celui de P. Fronto, dans les martyrologes de Saint Jerome, dans le sacramentaire de Saint Grégoire où il y a une preface propre, et dans le missel romain donné par Thomasius. Le P. Mabillon dit que celui qui est dans l'Eglise de l'Afrique est celui dont parle Prudence.

³ See S. Ambrose de *Officiis*, i. 41, and the grand hymn of Prudentius, *Peri Stephanôn*, ii. 27—30, p. 308 Dressel.

Novatian, the schismatical Bishop of Rome, the first Anti-pope, died about the same time.⁴

If, as we have reason to believe, Hippolytus was martyred August 13th, A.D. 258, the see of Rome was vacant at the time of his martyrdom by the death of Xystus, and remained vacant for nearly a year, to July 22nd, 259, when Dionysius succeeded in the Episcopate.

At that critical juncture the question, which Prudentius says was put to Hippolytus by the Christians just before his martyrdom, “quænam secta foret melior?”⁵—which party they should follow,—was very pertinent and seasonable; and Prudentius says that to it St. Hippolytus replied, “Flee the schism of Novatus, and return to the Catholic Church.”

The narrative of Prudentius receives confirmation also from the Ecclesiastical Historian Nicephorus,⁶ who, though a late writer, is often of great service, because he has preserved records from books now lost. He says that Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus Romanus (the harbour of Rome), flourished in the time of Severus, and published many wise works, among which he specifies the “Refutation of all Heresies” (the newly-discovered treatise), and others; some of which are enumerated on the Statue of Hippolytus. He then

⁴ Socrates Scholasticus, *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 28, who says that he died under Valerian, *i. e.* not later than A.D. 260. Socrates, even in the time of the younger Theodosius, writes with a favourable bias to the disciplinarian system of Novatian.

⁵ Prudent. *Peri Steph.* xi. 28.

⁶ Nicephorus, *Callisti*, iv. 31.

adds, that there were "some things in his writings which might be taken hold of as *reprehensible* (ἐπιλήψιμα), but that afterwards, being consummated by Martyrdom for Christ, he wiped off the stain of ignorance in these respects."

Some persons have been perplexed by the application (in this hymn) of the name "Presbyter" to Hippolytus, who was a Bishop. But there is no difficulty here; though a Presbyter is not called a Bishop by ancient authors, yet a Bishop, especially one who was a learned and eloquent Teacher of the Church, as Hippolytus was, is often called Presbyter;⁷ and Prudentius declares in this hymn that the Martyr Hippolytus, whose death he describes, was a Bishop, by saying, that he was the *Head* of a Christian Church (v. 80).

A pertinent question has been asked. If St. Hippolytus at his Martyrdom gave a public testimony against Novatianism (as Prudentius affirms that he did), how are we to explain that St. Cyprian in his Epistles never refers to that protest? The answer is, St. Cyprian himself was martyred about the same time, probably about a month after St. Hippolytus.

A great man, St. Dionysius, became Bishop of Rome in the following year, A.D. 259, and in his

⁷ *E.g.* Irenæus is twice called μακάριος πρεσβύτερος in this treatise, pp. 202, 222, and never Ἐπίσκοπος: see also Clem. Alex. Pædag. iii. p. 291, ed. Potter, and Strom. vii. p. 830, notes, where it is shown that in the second century Bishops were sometimes called Presbyters. See also Euseb. iii. 23, where a Bishop is so called; and Dr. Döllinger (Hippolytus, pp. 338—341) clearly shows that *Presbyter* was a title of honour given to Bishops as Doctors of the Church. He refers to Irenæus, v. 20.

Episcopate the energies of the Church were drawn off from the struggle with the Novatian schism, and were concentrated in vigorous resistance to the Sabellian heresy; against which St. Hippolytus had (as he himself tells us in the 'recently-discovered treatise) contended strenuously, when it was favoured by Callistus, Bishop of Rome.

Perhaps it was at that time that the Statue was erected over his grave.⁸ Perhaps some who erected it venerated him the more because he had stood firm against the Sabellian heresy, patronized by two Bishops of Rome. When, soon after the death of Hippolytus, Sabellianism (the natural growth of Noetianism) became widely dominant in Christendom, and made great ravages in the Church, perhaps through the previous example and influence of Zephyrinus and Callistus, as described in the narrative before us, then that other Bishop of Rome, the learned Dionysius (A.D. 259—269) came forward to stay the plague. He vindicated the true faith from the

⁸ Baron Bunsen places its erection later (p. 223), viz. at some period between the age of Constantine and the sixth century; but there is good reason to agree with Dr. Döllinger in thinking it earlier. The Paschal Calendar inscribed upon it, dates from A.D. 222; and as Turrianus observes (ap. Fabricium, Hippol. i. pp. 164—171), and after him Ideler (Chronol. ii. p. 22), the Calendar appears to have been inscribed there for contemporary use; and could not have been long in use, on account of certain imperfections in its construction. After the lapse of very few of its cycles of years, it would have been superseded, and no one would have been at the pains to engrave it. If this reasoning is correct, the Statue is of more interest and value, as being almost a contemporary monument, set up in a sacred place of Rome, and a contemporary tribute at Rome to St. Hippolytus.

aggressions of Sabellianism on the one side, and of Tritheism on the other.⁹ Then probably the services that had been rendered by Hippolytus to the cause of Christianity by his gallant resistance to a pestilent heresy, first by his eloquent denunciations of Noetus¹ (and of Callistus), and by his antagonism to Sabellius, were gratefully appreciated by the Church and Bishop of Rome. Then his name was beloved, and his memory revered by her. Thousands flocked to the tomb of one who had contended for the honour of Christ in his life, and had glorified Him in his death. Then perhaps this Statue was erected. Then the infirmities of temper, the vehemence of language, the scornful sarcasm, and bitter altercation were forgotten. The schism had been healed by death, and the memory of passionate conflicts was buried in the Martyr's grave.

⁹ For a summary of his history in this respect, see Bp. Pearson, *Dissert. i. c. 10. 5.* See also Coustant, *Epist. Rom. Pont.* p. 271, ed. Paris, 1721; Tillemont, iv. pp. 237—242; Routh, iii. 373—403; Neander, ii. p. 369. Fragments of the work of Dionysius called *Ἀνατροπή*, or Refutation, are preserved by St. Athanasius de decretis Synodi Nicænae, § 26, and are contained in Routh, *Reliquiæ*, iii. 373—377. ὁ μὲν Σαβέλλιος βλασφημεῖ αὐτὸν τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι λέγων τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἔμπαλιν· οἱ δὲ τρεῖς θεοὺς τρόπον τινὰ κηρύττουσιν, εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ξένας ἀλλήλων παντάσῃ κεχωρισμένας διαιροῦντες τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα (p. 373).

¹ The treatise of St. Hippolytus against Noetus (Routh, *Scr. Eccl. i. 49—80*) is copied by St. Epiphanius in his description of the Noetian heresy (*Adv. hæc. 57, c. 1*), as has been observed by Tillemont (iv. p. 238).

CHAPTER X.

Further Remarks on Novatian and Novatianism ; and on the Relation of St. Dionysius the Great, Bishop of Alexandria, to them and to St. Hippolytus.

THE name of Novatian holds an unhappy place in Church history, as connected with a deplorable schism. But there were extenuating circumstances in that dissension. Ecclesiastical Discipline was administered at Rome with remissness, which produced feelings of sadness and distress among many good men, such as Fabius Bishop of Antioch¹ and others, who were therefore inclined to favour Novatianism. Let it also be remembered, that although Novatian held erroneous opinions on penitential discipline, and was guilty of schism in making those erroneous opinions to be a reason for setting himself in opposition to Cornelius, the legitimate Bishop of the Roman Church, yet he showed himself zealous for Catholic doctrine, in opposition to heretical corruptions, and entitled himself to the gratitude of his own and future generations by his treatise still extant on the doctrine of the

¹ Eusebius, vi. 42—44.

Blessed Trinity,² in which, as has been already observed in the notes to our Author's narrative concerning the Roman Church, there are many things which remind us of St. Hippolytus. On that account, perhaps, he was endeared to so strenuous a champion of orthodoxy as Hippolytus was. Novatian was also eminent for his ability, eloquence, and learning; for which reason he was appointed by the Church of Rome to write a letter, still extant, in its name to the African Church on the subject of indulgence to the lapsed.³

Above all, it ought not to be forgotten that questions concerning penitential discipline and Church Unity had not then been fully discussed as afterwards they were, especially in the time of the Donatistic⁴ Con-

² See S. Jerome de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, c. 70.

³ See S. Cyprian, Epist. 31, 32, and 52.

⁴ An apology for S. Hippolytus in his leaning towards Novatianism is supplied by the following excellent remarks of S. Augustine in Psal. 54. *Multa latebant in Scriptoribus, et cum præcisi essent hæretici, quæstionibus agitaverunt Ecclesiam Dei. Aperta sunt quæ latebant: et intellecta est voluntas Dei. Numquid enim perfectè de Trinitate tractatum est, antequam oblatrarent Ariani? Numquid perfectè de pœnitentiâ tractatum est, antequam obsisterent Novatiani? Sic non perfectè de baptisate tractatum est, antequam contradicerent foris positi rebaptizatores. Nec de ipsa unitate Christi enucleatè dicta erant quæ dicta sunt, nisi posteaquam separatio illa urgere cœpit fratres infirmos. Ut jam illi qui noverant hæc tractare atque dissolvere, ne perirent infirmi sollicitati quæstionibus impiorum, sermonibus et disputationibus suis obscura legis in publicum deducerent. And de Civ. Dei, xvi. 2. Multa quippe (says Augustine) ad fidem Catholicam pertinentia, dum hæreticorum callida inquietudine exagitantur, ut adversus eos defendi possint, et considerantur diligentius, et intelliguntur clarius, et instantius prædicantur, et ab adversario mota quæstio discendi existit occasio.*

troversy. It had not been clearly determined whether separation from an Apostolic Church was justifiable by reason of errors of doctrine tolerated in it, and of prevalent laxity of discipline. It had not been settled as yet, as a fixed principle, that voluntary and wilful separation from an Apostolic Church cannot be excused; and that nothing can justify separation from such a Church, except the imposition of heretical terms of Communion by it; and that then the guilt of the schism (and wherever there is schism, there is guilt) lies with the Church which *imposes* such heretical terms of Communion, and not with those who do not, and cannot, accept them. ✓ NB

If Callistus imposed his own heretical dogmas as terms of Communion with himself, Hippolytus could not have communicated with him; but Cornelius, the contemporary of Novatian, was a very different man from Callistus, and separation from him could not be justified.

On the supposition that the narrative of Prudentius is true,—and there seems to be no good reason for doubting its truth,—it becomes an interesting subject for inquiry, “By what means was St. Hippolytus induced to renounce opinions favourable to Novatianism?”

May I offer a conjecture in reply to this question?

There was one man at that time who held a high position, as the most celebrated theologian of the East; he was eminent for soundness of doctrine, courage in maintaining it, far-reaching sympathies,

and universal charity, and he will hereafter be numbered among those of whom it was said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." This was St. Dionysius, deservedly called the Great, Bishop of Alexandria. He was a man of noble family; had held important civil offices before he was a Bishop, and was distinguished by his love of literature, secular and sacred. He was married and had children, and lived a domestic life in honour and peace.⁵ He was won over to Christianity by reading the Epistles of St. Paul, and became a friend of Origen and of Heraclas the head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, whom he succeeded in that position, and also in the Episcopal See of that City, in the year 248.

In the year 250, in the Decian persecution, Dionysius was a valiant Confessor of the faith, and was delivered from death by an extraordinary providence of God.⁶

The persecution of the Church came to an end before the death of the Emperor Decius, which took place in November or December 251. Cornelius had been elected Bishop of Rome in the summer of that year, and wrote to Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, a letter concerning the state of the Roman Church, then distracted by the schism of Novatian.

This letter produced a reply to Cornelius, and also a letter from Dionysius to Novatian⁷ which deserves

⁵ See the authorities in Tillemont, iv. 243.

⁶ Euseb. vi. 40, 41. 46; vii. 11.

⁷ Euseb. vi. 46.

careful attention. In that letter Dionysius addresses Novatian in terms of affection as a brother—"If, as you say, you were raised to the Episcopal office against your will, you will prove the truth of your words by resigning it. Men ought to be ready to suffer anything in order to avoid the rending of the Church by schism. Martyrdom to shun idolatry is less glorious than Martyrdom to shun schism. In the former case a man suffers on behalf of his own soul ; in the latter he suffers on behalf of the whole Church. And now if you would persuade or constrain the brethren to return to unity, your good deed would be greater than your former fault ; the latter will be no longer imputed to you, the former will be commended. But if you can prevail nothing with the unruly, save your own soul. I wish you health, so long as you embrace peace in the Lord." Dionysius, who on many occasions showed tender consideration for the *lapsed*, and eloquently pleaded their cause,⁸ laboured earnestly to appease the schism. Eusebius says⁹ that he wrote several Epistles "on *Repentance*" (the subject debated in the Novatian schism) to the brethren in Egypt, at Hermopolis, and in Armenia ; and that he had been invited to a Synod at Antioch to appease that schism ; and that he wrote to the brethren at Rome concerning repentance, and to the Confessors at Rome who had espoused the cause of Novatian. He was not successful with

⁸ Euseb. vi. 42 ; vi. 44 ; vi. 45.

⁹ Euseb. vi. 46.

Novatian himself, but, in conjunction with others, he prevailed on the Confessors who had sided with Novatian, to return to the unity of the Church.¹

Perhaps the letters of Dionysius to the Roman Church, and to Novatian, may have been seen by Hippolytus. Cornelius himself, and sixty Bishops assembled with him in Synod at Rome, offered terms of reconciliation and peace.²

To the counsels of such a person as Dionysius, venerable for his age, piety, holiness, learning, and eloquence, it may be supposed that Hippolytus would have been willing to defer.³

Among the Epistles of St. Dionysius to the brethren at Rome, one was extant in the days of Eusebius,⁴ which was sent “*by Hippolytus,*” and entitled *διὰ Ἰππολύτου διακουικῆ*, and St. Jerome (de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, 69) says, that he wrote “*ad Romanos per Hippolytum alteram Epistolam de pœnitentiâ.*”

We are startled by these words *διὰ Ἰππολύτου*, “*per Hippolytum ;*” our attention is arrested by the introduction of the name *Hippolytus* thus briefly, as if it were well known ; and we are led to ask, Can it mean any other person than the celebrated Hippolytus?

¹ Euseb. vi. 46.

² Euseb. vi. 43. Nicephor. vi. 5. Fronto Ducæus in his note to Nicephorus refers to Hippolytus.

³ Another labour of love which was performed by St. Dionysius with wisdom, learning, personal energy, and success, was the allaying of the *Millenarian* Controversy. This was in the years A.D. 254, 255. See Euseb. vii. 24. And may I refer to my note on Rev. xx. 6, p. 268.

⁴ See Fabricius, Hippolyt. i. 244. 247.

It would certainly have suggested him to the readers of Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth and fifth centuries. Just as the ancient expressions *διδασκαλία διὰ Ἰππολύτου*, and *περὶ χειροτονιῶν δι' Ἰππολύτου*⁵ suggested, and were generally supposed to suggest him. And Eusebius himself thus introduces the name *Hippolytus*, simply and abruptly, without any epithet or other qualifying accompaniment, when he is speaking of *our* Hippolytus in his history (Lib. vi. 22).

But what then is the meaning of *διακονικὴ*? The critics are in doubt. Goar thinks that it means a synodical Epistle; Ruffinus translates it "de ministeriis;" Valesius and Tillemont conjecture that it signifies "on the duties of deacons." But all these interpretations are questionable. Perhaps the adjective *διακονικὴ* is equivalent to *εἰρηνικὴ*, and a *diaconic Epistle* is equivalent to an *Eirenikon*, a message of peace. The Prayer for Peace in the ancient liturgies at the Holy Eucharist was appointed to be said by the *Deacon*, and was therefore called *τὸ διακονικόν*,⁶ and a *Diaconic Epistle* may have been a prayer for peace, and an exhortation to peace; and being addressed to the Church of Rome, was it intended to heal the Novatian schism, and restore peace? In this opinion also we are confirmed by St. Jerome's testimony, who says that the Epistle which St. Dionysius wrote to the Romans by Hippolytus, "per Hippolytum," was "de Pœnitentiâ," "on repentance," the question at issue

⁵ See Fabricius, Hippolyt. i. 244. 247.

⁶ See Suicer, Thesaurus, i. 864. 1035, ed. Amst. 1682.

in the Novatian Controversy. It was of the same tendency as that which he wrote to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, who favoured Novatian.

May I therefore be allowed to offer a conjecture? Did St. Hippolytus, the most learned Bishop of the West, repair to Alexandria in order to confer with St. Dionysius, the greatest Bishop of the East, on the course to be pursued with regard to Novatianism?

If so, this absence may perhaps account for the non-appearance of his name in the correspondence with St. Cyprian at that time;—or did he, being at Portus, remain in a state of neutrality, and did St. Dionysius address his letter of mediation and reconciliation to the Roman Church *through him*?

In either case Dionysius, the greatest Bishop of the East, corresponding with the most eloquent, learned, and celebrated Bishop of the West, Hippolytus, and endeavouring to promote the welfare of the Church by his means, would have shown gracefulness of tact, and delicate refinement, blended with Christian wisdom and Christian love, which could hardly fail to exercise a happy and holy influence on the contending parties, and to join them together in faith and love, in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace.

CHAPTER XI.

Silence of Church Historians.—Objections from it considered.

WE have already considered some of the various questions which occur to the reader when he first peruses our Author's narrative concerning Zephyrinus and Callistus.

Let us now proceed to examine some others.

I. We see in that narrative two Bishops of Rome, the greatest Church in the West, not only charged with Heresy, but with patronizing and propagating it. And they are represented as disparaging those who were orthodox, and as assailing them publicly with calumnious appellations, and other contumelious indignities. If this had been the case, we feel disposed to ask, Would not the whole Church have sounded an alarm? Would not the world have rung with the fame of such doings as these? Let us consider some parallel cases. What a stir was made in Christendom, when Liberius, Bishop of Rome, lapsed into Arianism in the fourth century. And with what surprise and consternation did the Church Universal

receive the intelligence, that Pope Honorius, in the seventh century, had communicated with the Monothelites? Notwithstanding all the extenuating circumstances pleaded in their favour, the names of Liberius and Honorius have been branded with the stigma of infamy (the latter by Popes themselves), and have been generally regarded with sorrow mingled with abhorrence by a great part of Christendom, from their own times even to this day.¹

2. But who knows the name of Zephyrinus as connected with heretical doctrine? Who knows the name of Callistus as the founder of a sect? And if our Author's narrative is true, they were not only Heretics, but Heresiarchs. Would they not, therefore,

¹ Especially Pope Honorius: anathematized as a heretic *even by Popes themselves*, on their accession to the Papacy. See the "*Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*" (ed. Paris, 1680), used in the eighth century at the consecration of Roman Bishops, who then made a solemn public declaration as follows: "*Auctores novi hæretici dogmatis Sergium, Pyrrhum, Paulum et Petrum Constantinopolitanos, unà cum Honorio, qui pravus eorum assertionibus fomentum impendit . . . cum omnibus hæreticis scriptis atque sequacibus nexu perpetui anathematis devinxerunt. Cum suprâ fatis hæreticis, Sabellium, Paulum Samosatenum, Marim Persam, Montanum, Donatum, . . . execramur ac condemnamus.*" The reader may see a full and clear statement as to this remarkable document in Routh, *Scr. Eccl.* ii. pp. 145—163, ed. Oxon. 1858.

It is certain that *Popes* then affirmed themselves to be *not* infallible. For not only did the *Popes* declare that *Pope Honorius had fallen into Heresy*, but their Profession of Faith goes on to say, "*Unde et districti anathematis interdictioni subjicimus, si quis unquam, seu Nos, sive est alius, qui novum aliquid præsumat contra hujusmodi evangelicam traditionem et orthodoxæ fidei Christianæque religionis integritatem.*"

What would the *Popes* of the first eight centuries have said to the decree of the Vatican Council, July 18, 1870, affirming that the *Pope* is infallible? And can *Popes* be *infallible*, since they *contradict* one another as to their own *fallibility*?

have taken their place as such in the pages of Church History? Would not Eusebius have recorded their acts? Would not St. Jerome? Would they not have been enumerated in the copious Catalogues of Heretics, drawn up by the laborious diligence of Epiphanius, Philastrius, Augustine, and Damascene? If Liberius and Honorius attained such unhappy notoriety, surely some records would survive of the more miserable apostasy of two Bishops of Rome in succession—Zephyrinus and Callistus,—who propagated heresy, and proscribed those who were orthodox.

Such surmises as these have doubtless occurred to the reader of this narrative, and they have been propounded by some as objections to its credibility.

Let us consider them.

If in previous Chapters it has been shown to be certain, that the Work before us is a work of Hippolytus, if we have seen reason for believing that the narrative in the Ninth book is from his pen, then we have good ground for saying, that the narrative is deserving of credit. For it comes from a person of unimpeachable character, who was a Bishop of the Roman Church in the age of Zephyrinus and Callistus. Therefore we are bound to say, History is *not silent* on the subject of their apostasy. On the contrary, our Author informs us, that the Heresy patronized by Callistus produced “a very great confusion in the minds of all the faithful in all the world.”² It did make a great noise: it excited a great com-

² Above, p. 65.

motion. It did not escape the notice of History. St. Hippolytus is its Historian.

But, it may be said, these considerations do not remove the difficulty. For if our Author is Hippolytus, if this narrative is from his pen, how is it that the facts narrated by him did not become generally known? If Zephyrinus and Callistus acted and taught, as our Author says they did, and if our Author was a Bishop of the Roman Church, how is it to be explained that the name and narrative of St. Hippolytus did not give notoriety to them?

Such questions, we may first observe, appear to proceed from a lack of adequate discrimination of times and seasons in the Church. They seem to arise from a habit of mind formed under the influences, literary and theological, *subsequent* in time to the epoch at which our Author wrote. The eyes of men have been so much dazzled with the splendour with which the Church of Rome has been invested since the tenth century, and they are so much impressed with the grandeur and magnificence which she displayed in mediæval times, that they are hardly able to see clearly what she was in the *first* ages of Christianity. They reflect their own ideas back from the thirteenth century to the third. But it is for the calm and thoughtful student of History to emancipate his mind from the thralldom of such delusive impressions.

Each age has its own character. The ante-Nicene period is different from the Nicene. The Christian-

What does he do?

ization of the Empire introduced a new era in the history and fortunes of the Church. *If* such events as our Author describes had taken place in the fourth or fifth centuries instead of the third, then indeed they would have been noised throughout the world, and the echo of them, sounding far and wide, would have been heard distinctly at this day.

If, again, the Scene of such events as these had been in the *East*, instead of the West, then it is probable the world would have heard much of them for some time. The Eastern Church, even then, was eminent for learning. But Rome was barren in Theological Literature. Noetus, an Eastern Smyrna, was well known to the Church. But there were few comparatively in the world to record the acts of the Roman Callistus. Let us, then, bear in mind the place and time at which the events in this narrative are represented to have occurred,—Rome, in the beginning of the third century. Rome at that time did not contain more than forty-six Presbyters,—not more than many of our own Cathedral cities.³ It was still almost a heathen city. St. Jerome affirms (Ep. 96, ad Princip.) that many Priests at Rome in his age fell into Origenistic heresies, through the simpleness of the Bishop of Rome, and were set right by a woman. It has been asserted by Æneas Sylvius, who afterward became a Bishop of Rome as Pius II. (A.D. 1458), that “⁴ before the Council of Nicæa little

³ Euseb. vi. 43.

⁴ Epist. 31, ad Martinum Mayerum. “Ante Nicænam Synodum

regard was paid to the Church of Rome, and that every one in Christendom looked after their own affairs," and cared little for the sayings or doings of Roman Bishops. This is a strong statement; but we should be involved in serious error, if we estimated the importance of Rome and her Bishops in the third century by the influence which they afterwards acquired.⁵ In external respects, there was almost as much difference between Callistus and Innocent III., as there was between Servius Tullius and Augustus Cæsar. And it was not more strange that Callistus, the Slave of Carpophorus, should become a Roman Bishop, than that Servius, the Slave of Tanaquil, should become King of Rome.

We may pursue the parallel further. To us the History of the Roman Church in the beginning of the third century has been hitherto almost an unexplored region. It has been what the history of Heathen Rome is under her Kings—almost barren of facts, and peopled with fables of a later age. We have had few materials whereby to form an accurate judgment concerning it. And in this consists the value of the

unusquisque sibi vixit, et parvus respectus ad Romanam Ecclesiam habebatur."

⁵ Neander justly observes, ii. 483, "Important as the Church of Rome *became* . . . yet it was from the beginning comparatively barren in respect to all theological science. . . . Two individuals only appear to have distinguished themselves as ecclesiastical authors among the Roman Clergy, the presbyter Caius the opponent of Montanism, and Novatian, whom Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, calls *ὁ δογματιστής*," Euseb. vi. 43, a name which, Neander remarks, suggests that such a phenomenon was rare at Rome. Tertullian's home was Carthage.

present narrative in the recently-discovered Treatise. If it is genuine, if it is authentic, it may almost be called an historical revelation. It aids us in filling up a chasm in a very interesting period of Church History. The rescue of this single Volume from the monastic cloister of Mount Athos, is a more important event than the disinterment of a chest of ancient "Libri Pontificum," composed under Kings of Rome.

There is extant an ancient Dialogue of a Christian Author, written in Latin, distinguished by perspicuity and elegance of style, and dating as it would seem from nearly the same period as the recently-discovered Treatise on Heresy. And it is observable, that the Scene of that Dialogue is laid at Ostia—within a very short distance of our Author's residence Portus.⁶ The reader will anticipate the name of Minucius Felix. This Dialogue, entitled "Octavius," from the name of the Christian interlocutor, who prevails on his heathen friend Cæcilius to renounce paganism for Christianity, affords no information with regard to the doctrinal or disciplinarian condition of the Roman Church at that time. But it seems to show that it was then a poor and despised community, or, as Cæcilius calls it, a "latebrosa et lucifugax natio"⁷—a "Church of the Catacombs."

⁶ It begins with a reference to the Temple of Serapis, which stood at Portus. See the ancient inscription in Spon. *Miscell. erudit. Antiquit.* Lugd. 1685, p. 329: M. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρώων Νεωκόρος τοῦ ἐν Πόρτῳ Σεράπιδος.

⁷ Minuc. Felix, p. 75, ed. Lug. Bat. 1672. See also p. 102, *Pars vestrum major et melior egetis, algetis, fame laboratis.*

The History of the Western Church in the second and third centuries is, as we have said, almost a *terra incognita*. Let us consider some causes of this.

The Christians at that time were engaged in acting and suffering, and had but little leisure for writing. Apologies for Christianity against Paganism, Vindications of the Catholic Faith, and Refutations of Heresy, were their Literature. Being exposed to the peril of martyrdom, they had little means or inclination for the collection of materials for History. And even if Church Histories had been written in the second and third centuries, they would probably have been destroyed in the Decian and Diocletian persecutions. Church History is the product of Peace. We may thank Constantine for it.

But it may be said, Have we not Church Historians who profess to describe the early period of the Roman Church? Have we not Eusebius? Have we not St. Jerome? Was not he secretary to Pope Damasus? and must not he have known the early history of the Roman Church? We have indeed such writers, and we have reason to be thankful for them. But let us consider their circumstances. Eusebius, who brings down his history to A.D. 325, informs us, that he was the *first* who attempted to write a Church History. His words are remarkable. He claims indulgence because he is "the first to engage in this enterprise, and because he is enter-

ing on a desert and untrodden road, and is not able to find any print-marks of persons who had preceded him.”⁸ Eusebius lived a century *after* Hippolytus. Besides, Eusebius was an *Eastern*; he knew little of Latin;⁹ his accounts of the early history of the Roman Church are very meagre. And St. Jerome, though a Western by birth, was an Eastern by residence in his maturer years, and did not much more for Church History than transcribe from the work of Eusebius.

Let us here notice some other instances. Eusebius, it is clear, did not know who was the Author of the “Little Labyrinth,” from which he quotes a long extract.¹ We know that it was written by Hippolytus.²

Eusebius mistakes Novatus for Novatian,³ and never mentions Lactantius or Minucius Felix. Theodoret never mentions St. Cyprian,⁴ and does not

⁸ Enseb. i. 1.

⁹ “Eusebius Latinæ linguæ perexiguam habuit cognitionem.” See Vales. and Heinichen in Euseb. i. 13; ii. 2; ii. 25; iv. 8; viii. 2. “Eusebius” (says Bp. Pearson, Annal. Cyprian. Præf.) “scriptor in rebus *Occidentis parum accuratus.*” Again: “Eusebiana Pontificum Romanorum Chronologia merito suspecta,” says Bp. Pearson, Dissert. Posth. i. c. 10, p. 101. Again: “Eusebio res Occidentalis imperii parum cognitæ,” says Dodwell, Dissert. p. 110.

¹ v. 28. See below, chap. xii.

² Ruggieri says very truly, p. 497, *Recentiores* Scriptores *multa* sciverunt quæ *Eusebio* et *S. Hieronymo* fuerunt incomperta, and he adduces various instances in proof, pp. 497—505.

³ Euseb. vi. 43. 45, and the Variorum Notes, pp. 511. 534, ed. Oxon. 1842; and as to Lactantius, see the notes on viii. 6.

⁴ “Theodoretus Cypriani utpote *Latini* nusquam meminit,” says Bp. Pearson, Annal. Cyprian.

appear to have known the See of Hippolytus, nor does he mention his martyrdom.⁵

Eusebius has fallen into errors in the history of Bishops of Rome in the age of Hippolytus. For example, he gives to Stephen an Episcopate of only two years (Euseb. vii. 6) instead of four; to Xystus eleven years (vii. 27) instead of two; to Futychianus ten months (vii. 32) instead of eight years.

If then Church-Historians did not know such facts in the History of Popes, and of so celebrated a person as Hippolytus,—is their silence or the silence of others, with regard to any events in his life, or in the History of the Western Church in his age, to be regarded as of sufficient weight to set aside, or countervail, positive testimony from a credible source? Assuredly not.

When Ruffinus, presbyter of Aquileia, wished to give to Western Christendom a History of the early Church, he did not compose an original work, but translated the History of Eusebius. Sulpicius Severus, and Orosius writing in the West, show how little was known by Occidental Christians concerning their own early Church History; Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, are Orientals.⁶

⁵ He calls him *ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυρ* in several places—iv. 54. 130. 282, and in each of these cases he quotes him after Ignatius and Irenæus, whose sees he mentions, but he never mentions that of Hippolytus.

⁶ How little have we heard of Rome except through the medium of Greece! What should we have known of the Scipios if Livy had not been preceded by Polybius? The names of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Appian, Dio Cassius, and other Greek writers suggest similar reflections.

Hence it has come to pass, that we have hitherto been obliged to study the early History of the West, in the pages of the East. The Easterns were not acquainted with the early History of the Roman Church, and we cannot learn from them what they did not know.

Therefore (we may repeat), no argument can be derived against the credibility of the present Narrative from any silence of Church Historians.

Let us here notice two parallels to the events recorded in our narrative.

A Bishop of Rome at the end of the third century, Marcellinus, who afterwards suffered Martyrdom, is said to have fallen away in the time of persecution from the Christian faith, and to have sacrificed to the gods of the heathen. This is generally stated by Roman writers, who have composed the lives of Roman Bishops.⁷ But Eusebius says nothing of it; nor any Historian of that age.

Again; A Bishop of Rome in the second century was induced to favour Montanism: he acknowledged the prophecies of Prisca and Maximilla, and communicated with Montanist congregations. And how do we know this? From a single passage of Tertullian;⁸ if that had been lost, we should have heard nothing of this important fact. And to this day it has not been determined by learned men, *who* that Montanizing Bishop of Rome was.⁹ But no one doubts

⁷ *E. g.* Anastasius, and Platina.

⁸ Tertullian c. Prax. c. 1.

⁹ Valesius in Euseb. v. 4, thinks it was Eleutherus. So does

the fact. Whether it made a noise at the time, we cannot say, but

Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura.

These circumstances are important, as showing that,

Bp. Pearson, Diss. ii. 9. Neander asserts that it was Anicetus (on Tertullian, p. 486); in another place he seems to lean to Eleutherus, Eccl. Hist. ii. 258; Baronius, that it was Anicetus. H. Dodwell affirms, with good reason, that it was Zephyrinus himself, Dissert. (ad A.D. 173) de Rom. Pont. Successione, xiv. § 9. Dodwell argues this from the close of the Catalogue of Heresies at the end of Tertullian's Præscriptiones, "*Post hos omnes, i. e. post Theodotum Argentarium (who was certainly under Zephyrinus, Euseb. v. 28) etiam Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit quam Victorinus corroborare curavit.*" Now, from Tertullian c. Praxeas, c. 1, it appears that Praxeas did *two* things at Rome at one and the same time: one was, he induced the Bishop of Rome to revoke the letters of communion he had given to the Montanists; the second was, he broached his own heresy, *i. e.* the Patripassian heresy, which resembled that afterwards brought to Rome by the followers of Noetus, and encouraged by Zephyrinus. "*Duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit; prophetiam expulit, et hæresim intulit. Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit.*"

The words "*Praxeas hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit,*" have caused some perplexity. Who was this "*Victorinus?*"

Gieseler proposes "*Victor*" (§ 60, notes 5 and 7), supposing a reference to *Victor*, Bishop of Rome, who excommunicated the Theodotians, and therefore might be represented by some as favourable to the opposite heresy, that of Praxeas.

The sentence bears a remarkable resemblance to the words of S. Hippolytus speaking of Noetianism in our Treatise, as favoured by *Zephyrinus*, p. 279, 29, Κλεομένης ἐκράτυγε τὸ δόγμα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ Ζεφυρίνου διέπειν νομίζοντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, and p. 284, 77, ταύτην τὴν ἀίρεσιν ἐκράτυγε Κάλλιστος . . . τὸν Ζεφυρίνον . . . πείθων δόγμασι . . .

Perhaps, then, the true reading may be *Zephyrinus*.

A learned friend communicates a conjecture first made by Dr. Allix (see Waterland, v. 227. Judgt. of Primitive Churches, chap. vi.), that the List of Heretics at the end of Tertullian's Præscriptiones is only a Latin Translation of the βιβλιδάριον of Hippolytus, seen by Photius. If this is the case, then the supposition above mentioned would be more probable.

because Bishops of Rome erred in the third century, it does not necessarily follow, that a clear and circumstantial account of their errors is to be expected from the Church Histories which we now possess, or that, when we have such an account in a single writer of credit, we should look upon his narrative as apocryphal.¹

But we are understating the argument. Our Author is not alone in recording the errors of Callistus. In two Roman Councils held A.D. 314 and 342 (cap. 2) there are decrees against a Callistus who "in his pride separated the persons of the Trinity." Does not this refer to Callistus,² Bishop of Rome? ✓

Theodoret, the Ecclesiastical Historian and Bishop

¹ It is observable that Hippolytus in his Catalogue of Heretics never mentions *Praxeas*. Nor does Tertullian mention *Noetus*. Yet who doubts the existence of either?

² Concilia (ed. Labbe, i. p. 1408) de vitâ Sylvestri ex libro Pontif. Damasi. In urbe Româ Papa congregavit Episcopos 277 et damnavit iterum et *Calixtum* et Arium et Photinum et Sabellium. Ibid. p. 1542. Concil. Rom. sub Sylvestro A.D. 324 damnavit tam *Callistum* quàm Arium et Photinum atque Sabellium. We find also there, p. 1548. Cap. ii. primo arbitrio Callisti damnari corroboretur examen, qui *se* Callistus ita docuit *Sabellianum*, ut arbitrio suo sumat *unam personam esse Trinitatis*, non enim cœquante Patrem et Filio et Spiritu Sancto. Cardinal Baronius receives these Acts as genuine. Annal. Eccl. A.D. 324. Num. 126. damnavit primæ actionis exordio *Callistum Sabellii hæresi* maculatum: and adds, Quisnam autem hic fuerit, ignoratur. In earlier times it was no strange thing for one Roman Pontiff to condemn another Pope as a heretic, although long defunct,—as may be seen in the "liber diurnus" of the Roman Pontiffs, in which (to adopt Dr. Routh's words, Præf. Eccl. Script. Opusc. p. viii.) "*Honorium* urbis Romanæ Episcopum *successores* ejus anathemate nominatim feriunt;" see above, p. 182, note.

of Cyrus in the fifth century, in his compendious account of Heresies, adds to his article on Noetus a shorter one, entitled "On *Callistus*,"³ as follows,—

"*Callistus* took the lead in propagating this Heresy after Noetus, and devised certain additions to the impiety of the doctrine."⁴

Here then is another witness. It is evident, as will be shown hereafter, from a comparison of Theodoret's Account of Heresies with the newly-discovered Treatise,⁵ that Theodoret, in composing his own work, used our Author's Volume, and derived materials from it. He regarded Callistus, Bishop of Rome, as a heretic, and placed him in his catalogue of heretics. It is certain that the newly-discovered Treatise was written before the time of Theodoret; and that he regarded our Author as trustworthy, and followed him as such.

Let us also recollect the character of the Callistian Heresy, as described by our Author. It had no elements of permanence. For it arose from a compromise due to personal and local circumstances. It was an attempt to reconcile two incompatible systems—the system of Noetus and Theodotus. It was not therefore likely to make any great stir after the death of Callistus. It would soon be obsolete and

³ It is headed, in the Roman edition of Theodoret, *περὶ Καλλίστου*.

⁴ Hæret. Fab. Comp. iii. 3, tom. iv. pt. i. ed. Hal. 1772, p. 343.

⁵ See below, APPENDIX B. to this Volume.

forgotten.⁶ It would be absorbed in Sabellianism, as even the more consistent theory of Noetus was soon merged in that Heresy. "The Noetians," says St. Augustine,⁷ "are scarcely known by any one now ; ✓ but the Sabellians are in many people's mouths." No wonder that the world soon forgot the Heresy of Callistus.

It may be here observed, that Theodoret states that no vestige even of Sabellianism remained in his age.⁸ He is speaking of the East. And probably it was almost extinguished at Rome, by Dionysius, Bishop of that Church, in the middle of the third century.⁹ Can we then be surprised that the doctrines and acts of Zephyrinus and of Callistus, should not have found a prominent place in the annals of the Church ?

If History had been silent with respect to them, there would not therefore have been much cause for surprise. But, as we have seen, History is not silent. And let us proceed to observe that there are also various scattered notices in ancient ecclesiastical writers, which, though not directly adverting to the events recorded in this narrative, yet throw light upon them, and are illustrated by them.

Thus the laxity of discipline with which our Author

⁶ Sabellius is called a disciple of Noetus by Philastrius, Hæres. 54. See also S. Aug. Hæres. 41.

⁷ Aug. de Hæres. xli. Noetiani difficile ab aliquo sciuntur, Sabelliani autem sunt in ore multorum.

⁸ Hæret. Fab. Comp. ii. xi. : οὐ βραχὺ τούτων διέμεινε λείψανον.

⁹ See above, chap. ix. p. 171.

taxes the Church of Rome in his own age is described in very similar terms by his contemporary, Tertullian.¹

Again, a passage has been preserved by Eusebius, which was written by St. Hippolytus.² It is from the "Little Labyrinth," a work directed against the Heresy of Artemon and Theodotus, who affirmed our Blessed Lord to be a mere man.

These heretics had alleged, that their own opinions had been sanctioned by the Church of Rome, "*till the age of Victor, but that from the time of Zephyrinus,*³ his successor, the truth had been corrupted."

Here, then, it was affirmed, that, under the Episcopate of Zephyrinus, a *change had taken place* in the doctrine of the Roman Church.

Now, if (as the Author of our Treatise states) Zephyrinus lapsed into Noetianism, which was indeed the opposite extreme to the heresy of Artemon, as well as contrary to orthodoxy, then indeed there was a change in the teaching of Rome, and the truth was corrupted from the date of his Episcopate.

Thus the assertion of Artemon and his followers confirms this narrative, and is explained by it.

But this, it may be said, was an assertion of heretics.

¹ The passages may be seen quoted above, p. 94, in the notes to the translation of that portion of the "Refutation of all Heresies."

² See Euseb. v. 28, and Theodoret, Haeret. Fab. ii. 4, ii. 5. The ground of its ascription to St. Hippolytus is that its Author claimed as his own *the Book on the Universe*, which is known, from the statue of Hippolytus, to have been written by him. And the date of the Author and his subject and style are confirmatory of this evidence.

³ ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίνου παρακεχαράχθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

True ; but let us observe, How does Hippolytus himself meet the charge in the passage quoted by Eusebius ?⁴ Does he deny the accusation, by asserting the orthodoxy of Zephyrinus ? If Zephyrinus had been sound in faith, and had been acknowledged as such, he could hardly have failed to repel so grave an impeachment by an indignant appeal to the conscience of the Roman Church. But he does not thus speak. No ; he uses the following words : “ This charge would ” (he allows) “ perhaps *have been probable* ”⁵—this is a remarkable confession ; it would perhaps *have been probable, if* something else had not been the case. And what was that ? Does he say,—*If* Zephyrinus had not been orthodox, and known to be such ? No ; he urges no such plea, he makes no such affirmation ; but, waiving that question, he says, *If* the doctrines of Artemon were not contradicted by Scripture, and if the Divinity of Christ had not been taught by the *primitive* Church.

He therefore almost seems by implication to admit the charge against Zephyrinus, as countenancing an innovation in the doctrine of the Church ; and this admission, if such it be, is explained by the narrative before us. And let us add, that, in the extract from St. Hippolytus, quoted by Eusebius, there is also an invective against an heretical Bishop, Natalius, who had lapsed into heresy through *avarice*, and there is an animadversion on and against “ the vice of *covet-*

⁴ Euseb. v. 28.

⁵ ἢν δ' ἂν τυχόν πιθαιὸν τὸ λεγόμενον.

ousness, as working the ruin of *the majority of men,*"⁶ a remark which was perhaps suggested by the besetting sin of Zephyrinus,⁷ as displayed in the Narrative before us.

We have been reviewing certain passages of ancient writers which incidentally reflect light on the Roman narrative of our Author, and receive light from it; and, in this manner, afford guarantees of our Author's veracity. More such illustrations might be added, and will probably suggest themselves to the reader, who may find profitable employment in observing such undesigned coincidences as these.

Let us now pass on to notice an objection, which has, in all probability, already occurred to his mind. How can it be explained, that a narrative of so much interest and importance as the present, contained in a work composed by so eminent a person as Hippolytus, should have escaped the notice of the world? How may we account for the fact, that it has been reserved to a felicitous enterprise in the middle of the nineteenth century to call it forth from the grave in which it had lain buried for 1600 years?

One reply, and one only, as it would seem, is to be made to this question. It has pleased Divine Providence that it should be so. The preservation, the

⁶ τῇ πλείστοις ἀπολλυούσῃ αἰσχροκερδεῖα.

⁷ Where Zephyrinus is represented as having fallen into heresy through avarice. See the Refutation of all Heresies, above, p. 65, Ζεφυρίνου ἀνδρὸς αἰσχροκερδοῦς, and κέρδει προσφερομένῳ πειθόμενος, and above, p. 73, Ζεφυρίνον ὄντα δωρολήπτῃν καὶ φιλάργυρον.

discovery, and lastly the publication of this Volume, demand our grateful acknowledgment. It may not be presumptuous to say, that the same Divine Power which sealed up the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii in their graves of lava for seventeen centuries, and then raised them from the tomb and revealed them to our sight, that we might see in them a faint image of the sudden destruction from fire which will one day overtake the World while engaged in its business and its pleasures, has had some purpose in view, in the burial and resurrection of this interesting Work. He Who allowed the copies of His Holy Word to be destroyed, and Who hid one authentic copy in his Sanctuary, may have had some wise and benevolent design, while He permitted the other transcripts of this work to perish, in concealing one copy in safe custody in the monastic cloister of Mount Athos. Perhaps, also, it may be said, that the form of the question ought to be modified. The real ground for surprise is not so much that the other transcripts should have perished, as that this one Manuscript should have been preserved.

Of the works written in the third century how small a residue survives! Of how many ecclesiastical authors, who lived at that period, we have little more than the names! Let us cast our eyes over the pages of Dr. Routh's "*Reliquiæ Sacræ*;" how many writers do they present to us of the Antenicene age, how many titles of works, and how few are the fragments there gathered together. In that Sacred

Reliquary, in that spiritual catacomb of the Primitive Church (if we may be permitted so to call it), a little dust—precious indeed as gold—in a few sepulchral urns, is what now remains.⁸

The reason of this is clear; the Christians of that age were dispersed by the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian. Their churches were burnt; their houses were spoiled; they themselves were swept away by fire and sword. The Church was scattered to the winds. The rage of Diocletian was specially directed against Sacred Books. The Volumes which escaped from the perils of those days were like brands plucked from the fire.

If the work upon heresy now in our hands had been published in the fifth or the sixth century, when the storm of persecution had passed away, then, indeed, we might have been surprised that it should not have been known to subsequent ages, but now, we repeat, we ought perhaps rather to be surprised—that any copy remains.

Let us observe, also, our Author's position as writer.

He was an Eastern writing in the West. He wrote at Rome in the language of Greece. And he published his work when the use of the Greek language was becoming less common in Western Christendom.

⁸ ————— βραχὺ
 σμῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-
 τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί-
 ζον λέβητας εὐθέτους.

Æschyl. Agam. 430.

As the Church of Rome grew in importance, so the language of Rome became more and more the language of the Western Church. In the third century, particularly by the influence of Tertullian and Cyprian, the Western Church began to possess a Literature of its own. Under such circumstances as these, the demand for our Author's work was not likely to be large. How little should we now possess of his master Irenæus, if his Work on Heresy had not been very early translated into Latin. How very scanty are the remains of any early Greek ecclesiastical writings that were first published in the West. Tertullian's Greek works are lost. A few paragraphs are all that remain of Caius. The genuine Hermas survives only in Latin.⁹ Clement of Rome owes the preservation of his Epistle to its having been sent into Greece. Our Author's Treatise being published in the West, but not in the language of the West, would soon cease to be transcribed. It would be superseded by other works on Heresy, such as those of Philastrius and Augustine, written in Latin, and would soon sink into oblivion.

Besides, let us now revert to the fact already mentioned before, as established by the testimony of Photius, that a *smaller* work, *written* also by Hippolytus, as a Refutation of Heresy, was once in existence. (See above, pp. 46—59.)

Now, let us observe, the newly-recovered Treatise on Heresy appears to have been either *anonymous*,

⁹ See Dressel's edition, p. xliv.

or at least not to have retained the name of *Hippolytus*, and it is a much *larger* work than the *biblaridion* seen by Photius, and described by him as a Treatise of Hippolytus on Heresy.

It is very probable that the smaller work did much to throw the larger work into the shade.

Isaac Casaubon has well shown, in the admirable dedication prefixed to his edition of Polybius,¹ that the making of Epitomes has tended to the destruction of the works epitomized. Justin has extinguished Trogus. The Excerpta made from Polybius have destroyed a great part of Polybius. It is not too much to say, that the learned Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus innocently and unconsciously perpetrated a massacre of ancient Historians, by ordering their works to be abridged. Henceforth no one would purchase, no one could transcribe them. The imperial Abstracts superseded the voluminous and costly originals.²

If a *small* Work and a *large* Work, bearing the name of the same Author and treating on the same subject, were extant in ancient times, the chances of vitality were greatly in favour of the smaller. It was more portable, and less costly. It was first observed

¹ Casaubon, Dedicatio ad Polyb. p. 18, vol. iii. ed. Amst. 1670. Accessit pestis alia, Compendiorum et Epitomarum confectio, quod genus scriptionis publicè noxium et magnis scriptoribus semper fuit exitiosissimum.

² "Epitomes" (says Lord Bacon) "are the moths of History, which have fretted and corroded the sound bodies of many excellent Histories;" and, we may add, of many excellent works on Theology and Philosophy also.

by Casaubon³ that Eustathius, the Archbishop of Thessalonica, in his vast Homeric Commentary, rarely quotes from the *entire* work of Athenæus, but generally uses the *Epitome* of that Author; and Bentley has shown that Eustathius appears *never even to have seen* the entire Athenæus, but *always* to have used the *Epitome*.⁴ Similarly it may be remarked, that Epiphanius wrote two works on Heresy, his “Panarium,” a very voluminous one, and an *Epitome* of it, called “Anacephalæosis,” or Recapitulation. St. Augustine has left us a work on Heresies, and he refers to Epiphanius; he copied from the “Recapitulation,” but does not appear to have known the “Panarium.”⁵

Our Author wrote two treatises on Heresy. The smaller, it is probable, superseded the larger, the more so because the smaller bore his name prefixed; the larger seems to have been without it. Four MSS. have been preserved of the First Book, which has been published long ago,⁶ and we have this newly-discovered MS. of seven other Books. But not one of these five MSS. bears the name of Hippolytus.

Hence, it came to pass, that the narrative contained in the Ninth Book concerning the Roman

³ Casaubon in Athenæum, i. 1.

⁴ Bentley, Dissertation on Phalaris, p. 95, ed. Lond. 1777.

⁵ “Anacephalæosis sola sine Panario venit in manus Augustini,” say the Benedictine Editors, viii. p. 47, ed. Paris, 1837, and see Lardner, i. p. 583.

⁶ In the Benedictine edition of Origen. See above, p. 18.

Church, did not attract the attention that otherwise it would have done.

Nor is this all. Not only did a *smaller*, and *separate*, Treatise on Heresy by Hippolytus exist, which interfered with the circulation of the Larger Work ; but the *Larger Work* itself was *epitomized* in the *Tenth Book*: and this Tenth Book, being a Recapitulation, had a tendency to supplant the other Nine.

There appears to be good reason for believing, that, as St. Augustine used only the Summary of Epiphanius, so likewise Theodoret, in his work on Heresy, used only this Recapitulation by Hippolytus.⁷

And this Recapitulation, describing the Heresy of Callistus (p. 330), does *not* style him *Bishop of Rome*, but merely refers to the narrative of his doings already given in the Ninth Book.

Hence this summary also conduced to the same result as the "Little Book" of Hippolytus. It sheltered Callistus, and helped him to escape from the notice of History.

Further, may we not say, that such a book as this, published in the West, and containing such a narrative as that in the Ninth Book, concerning the Roman Church, was not likely to be regarded with favour in the region of Rome, where it was composed and published ? It displays a picture, which no member, and especially no presbyter or Bishop, of that Church, could otherwise regard than with feelings of sorrow

⁷ See below, Appendix B.

and shame. They would not be eager to transcribe it, or to purchase copies of it.

It is remarkable that this work—one of the most voluminous written by St. Hippolytus—is *not mentioned* in the inscription on the *Statue*, which was erected to his memory at Rome, and gives a list of the titles of his works.

All who are familiar with the History of ancient MSS., know well how soon a book perished, which was not often transcribed. And therefore the wonder is, not that the other copies of this work were lost, but that one copy was saved. Probably an early copy of it may have been transported by some friendly Greek from the West to the East, and lodged in a cell of Mount Athos. And now a more recent transcript has come forth from its place of refuge, and has been brought by a Greek from the East to the West, and it speaks to the World.

On the whole, it appears, that this Narrative concerning the Roman Church in the early part of the Third Century, was written by St. Hippolytus, a scholar of St. Irenæus, an eminent Bishop, Doctor, and Martyr of the Church. He was an eye-witness of what he relates,—his relation, therefore, is entitled to credit; it is to be received as true.

No valid objection can be raised against this conclusion from the silence of History. History records facts corroborating this narrative, which is itself a most credible History, as coming from Hippolytus.

And many causes contributed to render this Narrative less generally known. The *place* of its original publication, the *time* of its appearance in the world, the character of the Narrative itself, were unfavourable to its circulation. It was antecedent to Church History, and Church History was of *Eastern* growth, and knew little of the *West*. And Persecution soon followed the publication of this Narrative, and diverted the mind of the Church in another direction, and destroyed much of her Literature. The Work in which this Narrative is contained, and in which it lies almost obscured, had other literary rivals to contend with. *Other* Histories of Heresy, written in Latin, superseded it. Its own Author did much to supplant it. First, his smaller work, described by Photius; and, secondly, his own Summary in the Tenth Book, sufficed for the public demand: the rest was rarely transcribed, and was soon forgotten. The Heresy of Callistus had vanished from the world, and was of little interest to it. Thus the memory of him and his doings died away. And, in the course of a few centuries, Callistus, the promoter of heresy, became a Saint and a Martyr in the Calendar of the Roman Church.

Therefore, the silence of Church Historians—such as Eusebius and others, writing in the East, in the fourth century, and in later times—suggests to us another cause of thankfulness for the remarkable discovery of the Treatise in which this Narrative

concerning the Roman Church is contained. It reminds us how much we have gained by this discovery. For this Narrative affords to us new and effective means for the successful resistance and refutation of novel and dangerous errors, and for the firmer establishment and maintenance of Scriptural and Catholic Truth.

CHAPTER XII.

Works ascribed to St. Hippolytus.

IN the year 1716-18, an edition of the works, or fragments of works, ascribed to St. Hippolytus, and then known to be extant, was published at Hamburg, by Dr. John Albert FABRICIUS¹ of Leipsic, in two thin folio volumes; a great part of which was occupied with dissertations on the Paschal Chronicle, and other subsidiary matter.

The works collected by Fabricius, and published under the name of Hippolytus, had been attributed to him in ancient Manuscripts, and had been, for the most part, received as genuine by some eminent critics and divines. But others had expressed a

¹ S. HIPPOLYTI Episcopi et Martyris Opera non antea collecta et partem nunc primum e MSS. in lucem edita Græcè et Latinè; accedunt Virorum Doctorum Notæ et Animadversiones.

The Second Volume, as far as it relates to St. Hippolytus, derives its value principally from the Homily against Noetus, in the Greek original, supplied by Montfaucon from a transcript of a MS. in the Vatican. In the former Volume the Homily had been given only in a Latin Translation by Francis Turrianus. This has been reproduced with some additions by P. A. de Lagarde, Lipsiæ, 1858. But a complete, critical edition of St. Hippolytus is a desideratum, which, we may hope, will be supplied by one of our Universities.

doubt whether any of these writings, ascribed to St. Hippolytus, are really his.

Dr. Mill, the learned Editor of the Greek Testament, who had purposed to publish an edition of them, has intimated² an opinion that none of them are genuine, except perhaps the work upon Antichrist. H. Dodwell spoke with much hesitation. Dr. Grabe was scarcely more confident.³ The Benedictine Editors of St. Ambrose seem to have thought that all the writings of St. Hippolytus were lost.⁴

Such being the opinions of some distinguished men concerning the writings ascribed to St. Hippolytus on the authority of some ancient MSS., and inserted as such in the edition of Fabricius,⁵ no arguments have been founded upon them in our inquiry concerning the Authorship of the newly-discovered "*Refutation of all Heresies.*" I have abstained from deductions of this kind, as being of a precarious character, and liable to exception. And the question of Authorship has been examined on independent grounds.

But now at this stage of the investigation, when we have been brought by other considerations to the conclusion,—that the newly-discovered Treatise is rightly

² Proleg. in N. T., n. 655. See Lardner, *Credibility*, i. p. 499. Dr. Dorner (*Person of Christ*, i. ii. p. 449) is far more favourable.

³ Note on Bp. Bull, Def. Fid. Nicæn. c. 8. These passages were collected by Lardner. Bp. Bull, Def. F. N., iii. 8. 4, p. 596, and Waterland, iii. p. 102, are in favour of them.

⁴ *Temporum iniquitate perierunt.*

⁵ See above, chap. iv.

ascribed to St. Hippolytus,—it becomes a reasonable and interesting subject of inquiry ;—

Whether the other writings attributed to Hippolytus on a certain amount of presumptive evidence, and inserted in an edition of his works, bear marks of being from the same hand as the “Refutation of all Heresies?”

If this is found to be the case, then we shall obtain a twofold result,

1. We shall be confirmed in our previous conviction that the newly-discovered Treatise is from Hippolytus. And

2. We shall also be disposed to give credence to the opinion of those who have accepted the other works—to which we have referred—as genuine.

The evidence here applicable is partly external, and partly internal.

I. The Author of the “Refutation of all Heresies” affirms, that he wrote a Book on the *System of the Universe*.⁶ St. Hippolytus wrote a work bearing that title, as appears from various testimonies, and particularly from the Catalogue on his Statue, where it is described as being written “against the *Gentiles*,⁷ and against *Plato*, or on the *Universe*.” It was, in all probability, intended to be a Christian System of Cosmogony, contrasted with that propounded by Plato in his dialogue bearing a similar title—“*On the Universe*, or *Timæus*,”⁸ which had been rendered

Plato ✓
⁶ Above, p. 105. ⁷ πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἢ περὶ τοῦ Παντός.

⁸ Platonis Opera, vii. pp. 234–372, ed. Bekker, London, 1826. The

familiar to the Roman literary world through the translation made by Cicero, of which some portions remain.

One very interesting fragment, from a Work having this title, “On the Universe,” and bearing the name of St. Hippolytus, was discovered in a MS. in an Italian Library, and thence first printed by David Hoeschel, in a note to Photius,⁹ and subsequently by Stephen Le Moyne, in his *Varia Sacra*,¹ and by Fabricius, in his edition² of Hippolytus.³

On examining this fragment, we find much resemblance, both of thought and language, between it and the latter part of the recently-discovered “Refutation of all Heresies.”⁴ They mutually illustrate each other.

remains of Cicero’s translation are in his Works, vii. p. 930, and are entitled “*Timæus, seu de Universo*,” ed. Oxon. 1810.

⁹ P. 923.

¹ P. 1119.

² i. p. 220.

³ And also (in some respects more correctly) in the *Sacra Parallela* bearing the name of John Damascene, ii. pp. 755. 788, ed. Lequien, where a portion of the fragment is attributed to Meletius, and a portion to Josephus (Ἰώσηπος).

⁴ The subject of both is the condition of departed spirits in another world. Some of the parallels are as follows concerning the place and punishment of the wicked:—

Fragments from the work “On the Universe,” p. 220.

χωρίον ὑπόγειον ἐν ᾧ φῶς κόσμου οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει· φωτὸς τούνου τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ μὴ καταλάμποντος . . . ἐφ’ ᾧ κατεστάθησαν ἄγγελοι φρουροὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστων πράξεις διανέμοντες τὰς τῶν τρόπων προσκαίρους κολάσεις . . . ἐν τούτῳ τόπος ἀφώρισταί τις λίμνη πυρὸς ἀσβέστου.

“*Refutation of all Heresies,*” p. 339. Above, p. 121.

ἐκφεύξεσθε ταρτάρου ζοφερὸν ὄμμα ἀφώτιστον ὑπὸ Λόγου φωνῆς μὴ καταλαμψθὲν, καὶ βρασμὸν ἀενάου λίμνης γεννήτορος φλογὸς, καὶ ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν ὄμμα ἀεὶ μένον ἐν ἰπτειλῆ.

And thus the proof that the "Refutation" is from Hippolytus, strengthens the belief that the Fragment has been rightly ascribed to him: and the ascription of the Fragment by ancient Manuscripts to St. Hippolytus, corroborates the proof that the Treatise is also from him.

This Fragment is of great value. It describes the place of departed Spirits, which it terms "Hades;"

P. 221. οἱ ἄδικοι εἰς ἀριστερὰ ἔλκονται ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν, μετὰ βίας ὡς δέσμοι ἐλκόμενοι, οἷς οἱ ἐφεστῶτες ἄγγελοι διαπέμπονται ὀνειδίζοντες καὶ φοβερῶ ὄμματι ἐπαπειλοῦντες, τῆς γεέννης ἔγγιον ἔντες τοῦ βρασμοῦ ἀδιαλείπτως ὑπακούουσι.

Other resemblances between the Treatise "on the Universe" and the "Refutation," indicating their common origin, and, by consequence, showing that the author of the "Refutation" is Hippolytus, may be seen in the notes accompanying the translation inserted above in chapter vi. An argument might also be adduced in confirmation of the Hippolytean origin of this fragment from its similarity to the language of Irenæus on the same subject. See Iren. ii. 63, 64, on "the Bosom of Abraham:" "*dignam habitationem unamquamque gentem percipere, etiam ante Judicium.*"

This Fragment on the Universe (Hippol. Fabric. p. 221) speaks of the constituent parts of the dead body, decomposed and dissolved as in a crucible (*χωνευτήριον*), and all its elements, though mouldered into dust or scattered to the winds, to be gathered again together at the Resurrection. This passage has been printed among the fragments of St. Irenæus (p. 468, Grabe), whence, in one place, it may be emended. The Author is speaking of the union of the body with the soul in this world, and their reunion in the next: and he compares that union to the marriage tie, in the mutual affection which the body and soul ought to have for each other: *ψυχὴ συγχαρήσεται καθαρὰ καθαρῶ παραμείνασα, ᾗ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ νῦν δικαίως συνοδεύουσα.*—For *ἰνὺν δικαίως* the MS. of Irenæus supplies the beautiful words *νυμφίῳ οὐκαίῳ*.

and it portrays the condition of the Souls, both of the wicked and the righteous, on their separation from the body by death. The former, it is there said, pass immediately into a state of misery, in which they suffer great pain, and have gloomy forebodings of the still greater and interminable woe and shame to which they will be consigned in Hell, at the general Resurrection and last Judgment, when their bodies will be reunited to them, and when they will receive their full and final sentence from the lips of their Everlasting Judge.

The Author of this work teaches also the following doctrine concerning the spirits of the righteous on their deliverance from the burden of the flesh. They then pass, he says, into a place of rest and refreshment, which is called "Abraham's Bosom,"⁵ they there join the society of other holy and blessed spirits, and enjoy a foretaste of the still greater bliss of which they will have a full fruition after the General Resurrection and Universal Judgment, in the glories of heaven, and which will be for ever theirs.

This Fragment is of a great doctrinal importance. It contains—

1. A protest against the doctrine of those who imagine a sleep of the soul, in the interval between Death and Judgment.

⁵ The doctrine and language of the Eighth Book of the Constitutions, cap. 41 (p. 423, ed. Coteler.), bears much resemblance to that of our Author; thus another proof arises, that portions of the Eighth Book are derived from Hippolytus. See above, p. 144, note.

2. A no less clear warning against the Romish Doctrine of Purgatory.

3. A refutation of a popular error, which supposes that the *souls* of the righteous, immediately on the departure from the *body*, are admitted to the enjoyment of full felicity in *heaven*, and which thus sets at nought the transactions of the general Resurrection, and the Universal Judgment of quick and dead.

4. A proof that the notion of a Millennial reign of Christ on earth before the Resurrection, had no place in our Author's system. This is the more observable, because St. Hippolytus belonged to a theological school—that of Irenæus—in which Millenarian opinions had previously shown themselves;⁶ and it may therefore be concluded, that careful examination of Scripture, and subsequent discussion and closer scrutiny of the subject, under the influence of St. Dionysius of Alexandria (see above, p. 178), had deterred him from adopting those opinions. Perhaps his master, Irenæus, had seen reason to revise his own sentiments in this respect after the publication of his work on Heresy, in which they are broached. However this may be, it appears that those opinions gradually died away.

⁶ See on Irenæus, v. 34. Baron Bunsen well observes, p. 256, that St. Hippolytus did not fall into another error of his master Irenæus, *i.e.* concerning the duration of our Lord's ministry, which Irenæus imagined to have extended beyond His fortieth year (Iren. ii. 39, ed. Grabe, p. 161). Lumper, who has noticed this, well adds that St. Hippolytus did more than this. St. Hippolytus (in Daniel, num. iv.) says that our Lord suffered in His thirty-third year. See Lumper, viii. 177. As to Millenarianism, cp. below, p. 220.

5. A testimony to the Doctrine of the Church, concerning the state of departed souls, as declared in our own liturgical formularies, particularly in our Burial Office, and in the writings of our ablest Divines.⁷

The Writer also speaks clearly⁸ concerning the Divinity and Proper Personality of Christ, as the Word of God, and Judge of Quick and Dead. “All men, both just and unjust, will be brought before the Divine Word: for to Him hath the Father given all judgment, and He Himself, executing the counsel of the Father, is coming as Judge, Whom we call Christ, God Incarnate.”

In referring to this Fragment, “On the Universe,” we feel no small satisfaction in the assurance, that we there read the words of one of the greatest Doctors of Antiquity, St. Hippolytus.

Another important Fragment from the same work, “On the Universe,” is contained in a Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, but was not printed by Fabricius. It will be found at the close of the present Volume;⁹ and the reader will see that it resembles the latter portion of the “Refutation of all Heresies.”

⁷ See, for instance, Bishop Bull’s two learned Sermons on the State of the Soul after Death. Sermons II. and III., vol. ii. pp. 23—82, ed. Burton, Oxf. 1827. Compare also Justin Martyr, Dial. c. Tryp. § 5. Tertullian. de Resurr. § 43.

⁸ Ap. Joh. Damascen. ii. p. 775. πάντες δίκαιοι καὶ ἄδικοι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἀχθήσονται· τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Πατήρ τὴν πᾶσαν κρίσιν δέδωκε, καὶ αὐτὸς βουλήν Πατρὸς ἐπιτελῶν Κριτῆς παραγίνεται, ὃν Χριστὸν προσ-αγορεύομεν Θεὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα.

⁹ Below, Appendix A.

It also contains a valuable statement of the Doctrine of Repentance ; and shows that St. Hippolytus did not agree with Novatian in that respect.

II. Let us now advert to another Fragment, not included in the edition of Hippolytus by Fabricius.

The Author of a Work, which was written in the age of Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome, against those heretics who denied the Divinity of Christ, and which was called the "*Little Labyrinth*," referred in that work, as we have seen (chap. iii.), to the Treatise "*On the Universe*," as written by himself.

An Extract from the "Labyrinth" has been preserved by Eusebius,¹ and, as we have also seen, it reflects light on the Narrative concerning the Church of Rome, contained in the newly-discovered Treatise. We find, also, some similarity of manner between that fragment and the relation just mentioned.

The fragment is itself a narrative ; it concerns the state of Ecclesiastical affairs, during the Episcopate of Zephyrinus ; and it may be regarded as introductory to the history contained in the Ninth Book of the "Refutation of all Heresies." It bears a strong resemblance to the "Refutation" in the general view that it takes of Heresies. It represents them as derived from ancient schools of Heathen Philosophy ;

¹ Euseb. v. 28, and in Routh's Reliq. Sacr. ii. 129—134. See there p. 143, where Dr. Routh says, "probabiliter contendere quis possit opus, de quo agimus, Parvum Labyrinthum, ascribendum Hippolyto esse." Dr. Routh was, I believe, the first to ascribe the Labyrinth to Hippolytus ; and time has shown the soundness of his conjecture.

and affirms, that they owe much more to the teaching of the Portico, the Lyceum, and the Academy, than to that of the Scriptures and the Church.

There is also a resemblance between the diction of this fragment and the works of Irenæus.²

In a doctrinal point of view it is valuable, as affirming (in opposition to the assertions of the Theodotian heretics), that the Divinity of Christ, the Word of God, is taught in Holy Scripture, and had been

² *E.g.* γραφὰς θέλας βεραδιουργήκασι, sc. hæretici. Compare St. Irenæus, Preface, βεραδιουργοῦντες τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Let me take this opportunity of noticing a passage in the Proœmium or Preface of St. Irenæus which appears to have caused perplexity. He is speaking of the strange tenets of the Valentinian Gnostics, which he promises to disclose to his reader. ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην μηνύσαι σοι τὰ τερατώδη καὶ βαθέα μυστήρια ἃ οὐ πάντες χωροῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντες τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ΕΞΕΠΤΥΚΑΣΙΝ. The latter phrase has not been explained. It has been thought to mean men who have not *spit out their brains* (by sneezing). The word ἐξεπτύκασιν is corrupt, and ought, probably, to be corrected into ΕΞΕΠΤΙΚΑΣΙΝ (from ἐκπίττω), and the sense would be, "I have thought it necessary to expound to you these portentous and profound mysteries, which all men do not comprehend, because (forsooth, to adopt their expression) men have not *sifted their brains*." St. Irenæus alludes to the Gnostic notion derived from the ancient medical theories that the brain is separated from the nasal organs by a thin membrane like a *sieve*, which is called by physiologists "lamina cribrosa" (see Plin. N. H. xi. 49. Aristot. Hist. Animal. i. 16, de part. animal. ii. 7, quoted by Stieren), and that in order that the intellectual faculties may be rightly exercised, the brain must be cleansed (what Shakspeare called finely *bolted*) by the discharge of phlegmatic humours through this nasal membrane as through a sieve, and thus the mind be clarified, and be competent to understand subtle speculations. This they called ἐκπίττειν or διαπίττειν τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, *to sift the brain*. The same correction is to be made in Ælian. Hist. Animal. xvii. 31, ἐκπτυσσόμενον ἄερα (i. e. *the air sifted out*), Perizon. p. 949, where the Medicean MS. has very nearly preserved the true reading ἐκπίττισόμενον. It has ἐκπίττισόμενον. The false reading διαπτήσαντες λεπτὰ for διαπίττισαντες still remains in some editions of Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. ix. 17.

✓ continually and constantly maintained by the Church from the first.³

This Fragment—not inserted in the edition published by Fabricius—ought to find a place in future collections of the works of St. Hippolytus.

III. Let us now pass on to another work ascribed to St. Hippolytus.

This is a CHRONICLE ; or, rather, a Chronological Epitome, which exists (as far as is known) only in Latin, and was first printed at Ingolstadt, in 1602,⁴ from two Paris Manuscripts ; whence it was transferred into the edition of Fabricius.⁵ It does not bear the name of Hippolytus. But since it is apparent from internal evidence, that it was composed in the age of Alexander Severus (when Hippolytus flourished), and is continued to A.D. 235, and since the Catalogue on the Statue of Hippolytus attests that he had composed such a work ; therefore it has been attributed to him by some learned persons.⁶

³ *E.g.* ἀδελφῶν ἐστὶ γράμματα πρεσβύτερα τῶν Βίκτορος χρόνων ἐν οἷς ἅπασι θεολογεῖται ὁ χριστός· ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ψῆδα ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσθαι τὸν ΛΟΓΟΝ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ ὕμνοισι θεολογοῦντες.

⁴ In Canisii Antiquarum Lectionum, tom. ii. p. 179. It was also printed by Labbe, Bibl. Nov. MS. p. 298, Paris, 1657, from a third MS.

⁵ i. pp. 49—59.

⁶ It is entitled by Fabricius “Chronicon Anonymi quod ad S. Hippolytum viri docti referunt; certè scriptum illâ ætate,” p. 49. Bp. Pearson, Dissert. Posthuma, i. cap. x. § 1, calls the author “quidam anonymus.” So also Dodwell, Diss. c. xiv. § xix., doubts whether it is by S. Hippolytus. Bianchini argues that it cannot be a work of Hippolytus from certain discrepancies between it and the Paschal Canon on the Statue. Dissert. cap. iii. § vii.

The discovery of the present Treatise appears to remove all doubt on this subject.

Our Author informs us⁷ that he had written a chronological work, and refers his readers to it. He then introduces an abstract of his chronological system, in regard to Jewish History. Suffice it to say, that the details in the Treatise harmonize in language and substance with those contained in the Chronicle.⁸ They seem to be from the same hand.

Thus, then, the recently-discovered "Refutation" strengthens the evidence already existing, that the work in question is by Hippolytus.⁹

IV. Another writing, attributed in Manuscript copies to Hippolytus, and inserted in the edition of Fabricius, comes next under consideration. It is entitled, "*Concerning Antichrist.*"¹ Such a work was written by St. Hippolytus, as we know from the testimony of St. Jerome² and Photius;³ Andreas, of Cæsarea, and Arethas, refer to it in their comments on the Apocalypse.⁴

⁷ P. 331, 81.

⁸ Compare Refutation, pp. 331—333, with the Chronicon in Fabricius' edition of Hippolyti Opera, i. pp. 50—53.

⁹ Henry Dodwell supposes, with good reason, that the Chronology of St. Hippolytus with regard to the succession of Roman Bishops is embodied in the work of Syncellus, Dissertat. de Rom. Pont. Success. c. xiv.

¹ I. p. 4. It was first published by Marquard Gudius, from two French MSS., at Paris, 1661, and after him by Combefisius, in a Catena on Jeremia ii. p. 449.

² De Viris Illustr. 61.

³ Phot. Bibl. Cod. 202.

⁴ On the Revelation, xii. 18; xiii. 1; xviii. 10.

On comparing this work with the Treatise on Heresy, we see good reason to believe that they are from the same hand ;⁵ and, therefore, it being granted that our Treatise is by Hippolytus, we are confirmed in the persuasion, that the Work on Antichrist is from him; and the ascription of *a* Work on Antichrist to Hippolytus by Ancient Authors, Jerome and Photius, and of *this* particular Work on Antichrist to him by ancient MSS., is a further proof that the "Refutation of all Heresies" is by Hippolytus.

There is also considerable similarity in some passages of this Work to certain sections of the Work on Heresy by St. Irenæus, the master of St. Hippolytus, especially in those portions where our Author treats on the Apocalyptic prophecies.⁶ Upon these, however, the reader may remark, that the Author appears studiously to have avoided any approximation to Millenarian tenets, favoured in some degree by his predecessor and teacher, St. Irenæus. Indeed, he inculcates doctrines wholly at variance with Millenarian notions.⁷ What has been

- | ⁵ E. g. <i>Work on Antichrist.</i> | <i>Refutation of all Heresies.</i> |
|---|---|
| p. 5, c. 2. μή πλανῶ, used parenthetically. | p. 336. 18. μή πλανῶ, used parenthetically. |
| p. 5, c. 2. Description of Ancient Prophecy; also p. 16, cap. 31. | p. 337. 46. Description of Ancient Prophecy. |
| p. 5, c. 3. Λόγος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Παῖς. | p. 336. 44. Λόγος ὁ Θεοῦ, ὁ πρωτόγονος Πατὴρ Παιῖς. |
| p. 6, c. 3. εἰς ὃ τοῦ Θεοῦ Παῖς. | |

⁶ Compare p. 25, c. 50, on the name of the Beast in the Apocalypse, with Irenæus v. 30.

⁷ See particularly cap. 44—46, on the Two Advents of Christ, and

already said⁸ with regard to the Author of the Treatise on the Universe, in this respect is applicable here.

This Treatise was not a public address, but was transmitted privately to a certain Theophilus, and was accompanied with expressions of reverential fear,⁹ and with a strict charge of secrecy, reserving and limiting it to the use of holy and faithful men, and prohibiting any communication of it to Unbelievers.

One reason for such caution appears to have been as follows. The Author identifies the Fourth Monarchy of Daniel with the Roman Empire;¹ and he also identifies the Babylon of the Apocalypse with the City of Rome.² And, since the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse, as he interprets them, describe the utter destruction of the Fourth Monarchy, and portend the total extinction of the mystical Babylon, his expositions would have been very obnoxious to such Roman readers as did not look with pious hope beyond the subversion of the Roman Empire, and the fall of the Roman City, to the full and final victory of Christ.³

cap. 64, on the Second Advent, represented as contemporaneous with the General Resurrection, and Judgment, and Conflagration of the Earth.

⁸ Above, p. 212.

⁹ c. 29, ταῦτά σοι μετὰ φόβου μεταδίδομεν.

¹ P. 14, c. 25; p. 16, c. 32. θηρίον τέταρτον—τίνες οὗτοι ἀλλ' ἢ Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ σιδηρός, ἡ νῦν ἐστῶσα βασιλεία;

P. 16, c. 34. ἤδη κρατεῖ σιδηρός.

² P. 18, c. 36.

³ Thus incidentally the author explains St. Paul's reserve in 2 Thess. ii. 6. May I refer to my note on that passage?

Photius, in his Comment ⁴ on this Treatise of St. Hippolytus on Antichrist, remarks that it resembled the Exposition by the same Author of the Book of Daniel,⁵ and that both writings evinced somewhat of

⁴ Photius, Cod. 203, prefers the exposition of Theodoret to that of Hippolytus; from whom, however, Theodoret appears to have derived benefit. Such persons as may be disposed to renounce the exposition from events for that of the Fathers, with regard to prophecies *unfulfilled in their age*, and would thus elevate the *Fathers* into *Prophets*, may be invited to reflect on the judicious observations of Photius, contained in his article on this Treatise of Hippolytus. And such persons as may be tempted to imagine that they can form a harmonious system of interpretation from the works of the Fathers with respect to such Prophecies as had *not* been fulfilled in their age, may read with benefit the article in Photius (Cod. 203), on the Exposition of Daniel by Theodoret, as contrasted with that of St. Hippolytus. "Many are the *discrepancies* between them," says Photius. No "*school of prophetic interpretation*" can be formed from such elements as these. And they who appeal to the Fathers for guidance in such matters, do much to invalidate the authority of the Fathers in regard to prophecies which *had been fulfilled* in their age; and also in matters of Christian doctrine, where their authority is of great weight. They thus also forfeit the privilege which Providence has given to themselves of living in a later age, and of reading prophecy by the light of history. Time is the best Interpreter of Prophecy.

⁵ Cod. 202. Fabricius appears to have been led in one instance to mistake the one for the other. He quotes St. Germanus, Archbishop of Constantinople, asserting that Hippolytus supposed that Antichrist would appear in the five hundredth year after Christ: * and he imagines that St. Germanus is quoting from the Treatise on Antichrist. No such assertion, however, occurs in that Treatise. But this assertion was contained in the Exposition on Daniel by Hippolytus, as appears from Photius, Cod. 202, who adds that Hippolytus reckoned 5500 from the Creation to Christ. M. Bunsen infers that Hippolytus wrote the Treatise in a time of *peace*, because he placed the appearance of Antichrist at about 300 years *after* his own time.

But, with all deference be it said, this reasoning seems to be

* The MS. of St. Germanus has ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ πεντακοσίῳ ἔτει: but the true reading, I conceive, is ἐκ χριστοῦ πεντακοσίῳ ἔτει. The reason of this will appear from what is said in the note above.

a fervid and confident spirit, in the speculative attempts there made to determine *how* and *when* the *unfulfilled* prophecies of Scripture *would be* fulfilled. But as far as this Treatise records the judgment of the Church concerning the true interpretation of prophecies which *had been fulfilled* in that age, it is of great value, particularly if it be supposed, which appears to be most probable, to have come from the pen of Hippolytus, the scholar of Irenæus, and a Bishop of the Roman Church. If this is a work of Hippolytus, then this Treatise is also of importance to Sacred Philology. For it cites a large portion of the Apocalypse. In these citations we have perhaps⁶ the readings of the manuscript used by Hippolytus, the third in order from St. John.⁷

It is also an important witness of primitive doctrine. ✓

It teaches, in the most explicit manner, the Divinity and Humanity of Christ, the Word of God,⁸ by Whom we, says the Author, have received the Regeneration effected through the Holy Ghost.⁹ It

fallacious. Hippolytus placed the appearance of Antichrist at A. D. 500, because he supposed with many of the Fathers, that the world would last for *six* millenary periods (cf. ad S. Iren. v. 28), which, according to his chronological calculations, would have expired then.

⁶ "Perhaps,"—because the reading in Hippolytus *may* have been altered to suit a text of the Apocalypse.

⁷ In Rev. xvii. 8 this MS. had *καὶ παρέσται*, and Rev. xviii. 5 *ἐκολλήθησαν*. Both these readings have disappeared from most recent MSS., and from many editions; but they are preserved in the Alexandrine MS., and appear to be the true readings, and have been restored by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and others as such.

⁸ c. 61. *χριστὸν, παῖδα Θεοῦ, Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καταγγελλόμενον.*

⁹ c. 3.

Hippolytus
a witness
to ancient
doctrine
preserved

represents the Church as a ship tossed on the waves of this world, agitated by storms, but never wrecked, having CHRIST as her Pilot, and the Cross of Christ as her mast, and the Word of God as her rudder, and the precepts of Christ as her anchor, and the laver of regeneration with her, and above her the Divine Author of these blessed privileges, the Holy Spirit, breathing as the wind upon her sails, and wafting the Vessel in its course to the harbour of eternal peace.¹

V. Another Work ascribed to St. Hippolytus is a Homily on "the ² THEOPHANIA," or Baptism of our Blessed Lord. This is a Sermon addressed to Catechumens, inviting them to Baptism. It represents to them, in glowing language, the privileges to which they would be introduced through that Holy Sacrament, and the blessings to which they would be led by the Divine Love, if they lived a life corresponding to their baptismal obligations. This interesting and beautiful Homily has some points of resemblance to the exhortation at the close of the newly-discovered Treatise. But there is, in one respect, a wide difference between them. The Homily was addressed to those who had been previously trained under Christian Instruction. But the peroration of the "Refutation

¹ See the notes on this passage above, pp. 126—128.

² Hippolytus, ed. Fabric. i. 261. A recent critic translates this title "a (baptismal) Sermon on *Epiphany*," which conveys an incorrect idea. On the word, *θεοφάνεια*, see Casaubon, Exc. Baron. ii. sect. xi.

of all Heresies" was addressed to those who had had no such previous training.

The former is to Catechumens: the latter to Heathens. This difference of occasion has necessarily produced a difference of treatment of the subject in these two compositions respectively; as is sufficiently evident from the fact that in the last two pages of the Homily there are *twenty-five* direct quotations from Holy Scripture, but in the peroration to the "Refutation of all Heresies" there is not *one*. The reader, therefore, will not expect to find in *that* peroration an exposition of Christian Doctrine.

It has, however, been called by some³ "the Confession of Faith" of St. Hippolytus.

But this is an unhappy appellation. It might rather be termed his "Apology." We should fall into a great error, and do much injustice to St. Hippolytus and his cause, if we were to judge him and his Creed from a speech made to Idolaters.

The Homily on the Theophania was supplied to Fabricius, for his edition, by Roger Gale, from a

³ By M. Bunsen, who, it is to be regretted, has not attended to these considerations. M. Bunsen's Fourth Letter, from p. 139 to p. 195, treats of this peroration to the *Heathen*, and bears the following title: "*Hippolytus' own Confession.*"

It is also to be deplored that M. Bunsen, in framing a "Confession of Faith" for St. Hippolytus, has paid little or no regard to the various heresies which Hippolytus refutes in his Treatise on Heresies. From the many-sided opposition of Hippolytus to the different forms in which heterodoxy showed itself in the Heresies before and in his own times (*e. g.* in the Heresies of Cerinthus, Ebion, Theodotus, Apelles, Noetus, and Callistus), his own orthodoxy comes forth in a very precise and definite form.

MS. in the valuable library of his father, Thomas Gale.⁴

It is ascribed in that MS. to St. Hippolytus, and this ascription appears to be confirmed by the internal evidence, particularly by its similarity in thought and diction to the recently-discovered Treatise.⁵ Thus it may be regarded as supplementary to that other address, and may aid us in ascertaining from St. Hippolytus what he himself would have recognized as his own "Confession of Faith."

In corroboration of this assertion, let me adduce some paragraphs from the conclusion of this Homily.

Here we have a document, among the Patristic remains of the Antenicene age, which states in a short compass and clear terms the doctrine of the primitive Church concerning the Sacrament of Holy Baptism.

The Author is speaking to the candidates for Baptism, and thus expresses himself: "Give me your attention, I beseech you with earnestness, for I desire to recur to the fount of life, and to see the well-spring of healing flowing forth. The Father of Immortality sent forth His immortal SON and WORD into the World. He came to wash man with Water and the Holy Ghost, and having regenerated him to incorruption of soul and body, breathed into us the breath of

⁴ It is now among the Gale MSS. in the Library of Trin. Coll., Cambridge, where it is marked O. 5. 36. Cf. Fabric. Hippol. i. p. 261.

⁵ Some evidences of this may be seen in the Notes to the Translation above, chap. vi. p. 122, 123.

Life, having clothed us with the armour of Immortality. If then man has become immortal, he will also be divinized;⁶ and if he is divinized through Water and the Holy Spirit after the Regeneration of the baptismal font, he will also be fellow-heir with Christ after the Resurrection from the dead. . . . Come, therefore, and be born again to the adoption of God.”

He then warns his hearers not to delude themselves by imagining that these baptismal privileges can be enjoyed otherwise than by a renunciation of sin, and by holiness of life. “Come to the adoption of sonship to God. . . . And how? you may ask. . . . As follows—If you do not commit adultery, or murder, or idolatry.⁷ If you are not the slave of pleasure, if pride is not master over you, if you wipe off the stain of impurity, and cast off the burden of iniquity. If you put off the armour of Satan and put on the breastplate of Faith; as saith Isaiah,⁸ *Wash ye and seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge*

⁶ ἔσται καὶ Θεὸς, εἰ δὲ Θεὸς δι’ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μετὰ τὴν τῆς κολυμβήθρας ἀναγέννησιν γίγνεται, καὶ συγκληρονόμος χριστοῦ εὐρίσκεται.

See Refutatio, p. 239 (above, chap. vi. p. 128), γέγονας γὰρ Θεὸς . . . σοῦ πτωχεύει Θεὸς, καὶ σὲ Θεὸν ποιήσας εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ.

⁷ A negative argument against Infant Baptism has been derived by some from the silence of St. Hippolytus in respect to it. But, it must be remembered, St. Hippolytus had to deal mainly with adult idolaters. Nothing can be clearer than that he dates the origin of spiritual life from Baptism; and therefore, according to his teaching, they who have the charge of infants and children are bound to bring them to Baptism, if they would not have the blood of their souls required of themselves by Him Who instituted Baptism as the laver of the new Birth.

⁸ Is. i. 16.

the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now, let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red as crimson, they shall be as wool; if ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land.

“You see, beloved, how the Prophet foretold the purifying efficacy of Baptism. For he who descends with faith into the laver of Regeneration renounces the Devil, and dedicates himself to Christ; he rejects the Enemy, and confesses that CHRIST is GOD. He puts off slavery, and puts on sonship. He comes forth from Baptism bright as the sun, and shedding forth the rays of righteousness; and, what is most of all, he comes forth a son of God, and fellow-heir with CHRIST. To HIM be Glory and Power, with His all-holy and good and life-giving SPIRIT, now and ever. *Amen.*”

VI. Another important document for ascertaining the Doctrine of its Author is found in the Homily against Noetianism, contained in the works of St. Hippolytus. This Homily is ascribed to him in the ancient Vatican MS., from which it was transcribed by Montfaucon, and first printed by Fabricius.⁹ It has generally been received as his, and the points of resemblance in thought and language, between that Homily and the Ninth Book of the recently-discovered “Refutation of all Heresies,” are so numerous and striking, that they greatly strengthen the proof, that

⁹ S. Hippol. Opera, ii. 5—20.

they are from the same person,—and that this person is Hippolytus.¹ This homily has most appropriately been included by the late learned Dr. Routh in his valuable collection of the shorter writings of Ecclesiastical Authors.

The whole of this homily is so valuable and instructive, as a witness of Christian teaching in the earlier part of the third century, that it would be difficult to make extracts from it. But as it has unhappily been alleged by some² that Hippolytus has not spoken clearly on the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, and as it has been thence inferred that this doctrine was not taught in the Christian Church in his age, it may not be amiss to indicate one or two passages relevant to that subject.

Having stated that Christ is the Word by Whom all things were made,³ and having quoted the beginning of St. John's Gospel in proof of this assertion, he proceeds to say, that we "behold the Word Incarnate in Him; we understand the Father by Him; we believe the Son; we worship the Holy Ghost." Hippolytus then encounters the argument of the Noetians, who charged the orthodox with belief in two Gods because they maintained that the Father is God, and the Son God. Hippolytus replies, "I will not speak of two Gods,⁴ but one God, and two Persons.

¹ Portions of this Homily have been adopted by Epiphanius in his article on Noetus. *Hæres.* lvii. pp. 479—489.

² By M. Bunsen, i. pp. 297. 302—304.

³ S. Hippol. in Noet. c. 12, ed. Fabric. ii. p. 14.

⁴ c. 14.

For the Father is one ; but there are two Persons, because there is also the Son, and the third Person is the Holy Ghost.⁵ The Father is over all things ; the Son through all things ; the Holy Ghost in all things. We cannot otherwise acknowledge one God, except we believe really in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost." And he adds that "the Word of God, Christ, having risen from the dead, gave therefore this charge to His disciples,⁶ *Go and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, showing that whosoever omits one of these, does not fully glorify God. For through this TRINITY the Father is glorified. The Father willed, the Son wrought, the Holy Ghost manifested. All the Scriptures proclaim this." And having in an eloquent peroration,—one of the most eloquent that are extant in ancient homilies,—described the human acts and sufferings, as well as the divine miracles, of Christ, he concludes with saying,⁷ This is He "Who ascended on a cloud into heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and will come again to judge the quick and dead. This is He Who is God, and Who was made Man for our sakes, to whom the Father subjected all things. To HIM be Glory and Power with the FATHER and the

⁵ Compare also *ibid.* cap. 9 : "Whatsoever the Holy Scriptures declare, let us learn ; and as the Father wills to be believed, let us believe ; and as He wills the Son to be glorified, so let us glorify Him ; and as He wills to give the Holy Spirit, so let us receive."

⁶ Matt. xxviii. 19.

⁷ c. 18.

HOLY SPIRIT, in the Holy Church, now and for ever.
Amen.”

VII. Fragments of other works of St. Hippolytus, especially from his Commentaries on portions of Holy Scripture, are inserted in the edition of Fabricius; and additions to them have been made by the learned labours of Cardinal Mai, and have been reprinted in the edition of some of the writings of Hippolytus by Paul Antony de Lagarde.

Sufficient has now been said to show the value of the newly-discovered Treatise, with regard to those other Works ascribed to St. Hippolytus.⁸ The learned World has been hitherto divided and in doubt concerning the genuineness of those Works. Henceforth these doubts may be considered as at an end. If the newly-discovered Treatise is generally received as the work of Hippolytus (as there is little doubt it will be), then it will also be allowed that those other works were rightly ascribed to him. And the independent ascription of those other works to him strengthens the conviction that this Treatise is his.

The recent discovery, therefore, of this MS. in the

⁸ It has not been the design of this Chapter to notice all the works assigned to Hippolytus; particularly the work “*De Consummatione Mundi*,” printed by Fabricius in an Appendix to the First Volume among “*Dubia et Supposititia*,” is not mentioned here. It appears to have been attributed to Hippolytus, because it is formed in a great measure from his work on Antichrist; but it contains many evidences of a different hand and a later age. See the authorities in Ceillier, ii. p. 368. Lumper, viii. 109.

Monastery of Mount Athos, is not only valuable in itself, but it adds to our former possessions. It is an accession of a new treasure, and a recovery of what was old. It does, in a considerable degree, for Hippolytus, what was done for his mythical namesake, who, after he had been torn in pieces, was again brought to light and life.⁹ It restores Hippolytus to himself.¹

Thus, also, a gain has accrued to the cause of Christianity. Henceforth we may appeal to these works with confidence, as authentic witnesses of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Christian Church, in the earlier part of the Third Century after Christ.

⁹ Virg. vii. 761.

¹ It is to be hoped that a new and complete Edition of the remains of St. Hippolytus will be undertaken, and be accompanied by an edition of the works of his forerunner and master, St. Irenæus, with supplements and amendments, by the aid of the newly-discovered "Refutation of all Heresies."

CHAPTER XIII.

On ancient Lists of the Works of St. Hippolytus.

THE Statue of St. Hippolytus discovered in Rome in the year 1551 near the Church of St. Lawrence, on the road to Tivoli, exhibits in a fragmentary condition, the earliest extant catalogue of his works.¹ It is engraved in the frontispiece of the present volume.

The following is a representation of it in cursive characters, with some words [in brackets] supplied by conjecture.

- 1 [πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδα]ίους·
 [περὶ παρθε]νίας·
 [εἰς τοὺς ψ]αλμούς·
 [εἰς τὴν ἐ]γγαστρίμυθον·
5 [ἀπολογία] ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάνην
 εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως·
 περὶ χαρισμάτων
10 ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις·
 χρονικῶν·

¹ The Inscription is given in the Berlin Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum (ed. A. Kirchhoff, 1857), iv. 8613. Gruter, 140. Fabricius, Opera S. Hippolyti, i. p. 36. Cave, Hist. Lit. i. p. 104, ed. Basil, 1741. De Rossi, Inscr. Christ. p. lxxix. Salmon, Hermathena, No. 1, 1873.

- πρὸς Ἑλληνας
καὶ πρὸς Π(λ)άτωνα
15 ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός·
προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς σεβήρειαν·
Ἀπόδε(ι)ξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα
20 κατὰ [τὰ] ἐν τῷ πίνακι·
ῥῥαί· (εἰς) πάσας τὰς γραφάς·
περὶ θῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως·
25 περὶ τὰ γαθοῦ, καὶ πόθεν τὸ κακόν ;

Or in English translation, adopting the proposed conjectures,

Against the Jews.

On Virginity (?).

On the Psalms.

On the Ventriloquist [the Witch at Endor].

Defence of the Gospel according to St. John and the Apocalypse.

On Spiritual Gifts : Apostolic Tradition.

Annals.

Against the Heathen, and against Plato, or on the Universe.

A hortatory Address to Severina.

Demonstration of the Times of Easter according to the Order in the Table.

Hymns : On all the Scriptures.

Concerning God and the Resurrection of the Flesh.

Concerning Good, and the Origin of Evil.

A few notes on the above may be added.

In *v. 1* of the Greek the conjecture εἰς Ἰουδαίους, "in Judæos," has been adopted, such a topic being com-

monly handled by the sub-apostolic writers, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian; and not unlikely to be treated of by St. Hippolytus. See the editions of the works of Hippolytus, Fabricius (ii. 2) and Lagarde (p. 63, where are extracts from a treatise with this title, "Against the Jews," by Hippolytus). Cardinal Mai's Script. Vet. i. 223; ii. 439—448.

In *v. 2* I would suggest *περὶ παρθενίης*, or "de Virginitate," for a similar reason.

But the letters NI in NIAΣ, *v. 2*, are not certain, and may perhaps be M (Mai, Script. Vet. nova Coll., vol. v. pp. 70—73). Smetius reads VI. We might conjecture *εἰς τὰς παροιμίας*, "on the *Proverbs*." We know from St. Jerome that St. Hippolytus wrote a commentary on that Book, and fragments of that Commentary have been published by Lagarde (p. 196). Or it may be *περὶ οἰκονομίας*, "on the Dispensation, or Incarnation;" see below, p. 240.

v. 3. *εἰς τοὺς ψαλμοὺς* is certain; see extracts from this work of St. Hippolytus in Lagarde, pp. 187—195.

v. 4. *On the Witch of Endor*. See Fabricius, pp. 81 and 267.

v. 5. In the list of the works of Hippolytus by Ebed-Jesu, Bibl. Oriental. Assemani, iii. Pt. 1, 15, is "Apology for the Apocalypse of John the Apostle and Evangelist, and Chapters against Caius."

As to the relation of Hippolytus to the Apocalypse and to Caius, who seems to have impugned it, see above, chapter iv. p. 39.

v. 9. *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, "on Spiritual Gifts," especially

such as are bestowed on Bishops, Priests, and Deacons at ordination, and their consequent duties. See above, pp. 143, 144, and Fabricius, pp. 83 and 245, and Lagarde, p. 73.

v. 11. *χρονικῶν*. See the edition of St. Hippolytus by Fabricius, p. 49.

v. 12. *πρὸς Ἑλληνας κ.τ.λ.* A fragment from this work is printed by Fabricius, p. 220, and by Lagarde, p. 68.

v. 16. *προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς σεβήρειαν*. The Severina here mentioned was probably Severa, wife of the Emperor Philip (A.D. 243—249), who was a loyal Christian (Euseb. vi. 34). Origen wrote a letter to her (Euseb. vi. 36). He had instructed Mammæa, mother of Alexander Severus, in the doctrines of the Gospel (Euseb. vi. 21). Cp. Tillemont, iii. 242, 243; and so Le Moyne in Fabricius, p. 88. Dr. Döllinger with less probability, as it seems to me, identifies her with Julia Aquileia Severa, second wife of Elagabalus. Fabricius (p. 92) and Lagarde (p. 90) have printed an extract of an Epistle of Hippolytus to a certain *Queen*. If she was the same as Severa, Hippolytus must have been alive in A.D. 244.

The name *Severa* (a rather ill-omened one) would not unnaturally be softened into *Severina*: Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, is also called Fabianus by Eusebius; and Novatian is called Novatus.

v. 18. *Demonstration of the Times of Easter according to the Order in the Table* (on the Statue). See Fabricius, p. 38.

v. 21. *ὥδαί*. It is probable that *ὥδαί* is correct, and that it is a title of an integral work, and that Hippolytus, who was an eloquent orator, and writes sometimes as a poet even in his prose, composed sacred songs, ὩιΔΑΣ, such as he himself describes as having been written in honour of Christ (ap. Euseb. v. 28), *ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ὩιΔΑΙ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφείσαι τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες*. Cp. Pliny, Epist. x. 97.

For a specimen of a primitive anapaestic *ὥδή* to Christ,—and also one in iambic verse, to which perhaps Hippolytus was referring,—see Clemens Alexandr., Pædagog. iii. at the end, and Potter's note there, p. 312.

Then “*εἰς πάσας τὰς γραφὰς*” is another distinct title, *i. e.* “In omnes Scripturas,” “On all the Scriptures,” according to the common mode of expression for designating expositions of Scripture by means of the preposition *εἰς*. See instances in Nicephor. Callist. iv. 31, in his account of Hippolytus, *e. g.* *εἰς τὸ Ἄισμα τῶν ἀσμάτων—εἰς μέρη τοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ*.

v. 23. *περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως*. A fragment of a work of Hippolytus *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* is printed by Fabricius, p. 244, and Lagarde, p. 90.

v. 25. *On Good, and the Origin of Evil*. See Fabricius, p. 89. Probably against the heresy of Florinus, who imagined God to be the Author of Evil. Euseb. v. 20. See also Euseb. v. 27, where he says that Maximus wrote a treatise *περὶ τοῦ πολυθρυλήτου παρὰ τοῖς αἵρεσιάρχαις ζητήματος*, “*πόθεν ἡ κακία;*”

On the titles of the works on the Statue generally, see the edition of Hippolytus by Fabricius, pp. 79—89, and Cave's *Hist. Lit.* i. pp. 104—6.

The second ancient list of the works of St. Hippolytus is that of Eusebius, who says, "Hippolytus, together with many other writings, composed a work *concerning Easter*; in which, having set forth a chronological series, and also having propounded a certain canon of sixteen years for determining Easter, he brings his *Chronicle* down to the first year of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222). Of his other writings, those which have come into my hands are these: *On the Six Days' Work of Creation*; *on the Things after Creation*; *against Marcion*; *on the Song of Solomon*; *on Portions of Ezekiel*; *against Heresies*; and you may find many more of his works among many other persons."

St. Jerome (*de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, Art. lxi.) makes large additions to the list of Eusebius. "Hippolytus composed a *Calendar for Easter* and a *Chronicle* to the first year of Alexander Severus, and invented a cycle, which the Greeks call ἑκκαίδεκαετηρῆς, of sixteen years.

"He wrote some *Commentaries on Scripture*, of which I have seen, *On the Six Days' Creation*; *on Exodus*; *on the Song of Songs*; *on Genesis*, and *Zechariah*; *on the Psalms*; *on Isaiah*; *on Daniel*; *on the Apocalypse*; *on the Proverbs*; *on Ecclesiastes*; *on Saul and the Witch of Endor*; also *on Antichrist*; *on the Resurrection*; *against Marcion*; *on Easter*; *against all Heresies*; and πρὸς ὀμιλιῶν, *on the Praise of our*

Blessed Lord and Saviour, in which he intimates that he is speaking in the Church in the presence of Origen."

What is to be said of these last words? For *πρὸς ὁμιλιῶν* I am disposed to think with Dr. Routh that we should read *προσομιλίαν*, "a *Conference*" or "homiletical address." Cp. Nicephor. Callisti, iv. 31, where he translates these words. Origen was at Rome for a short time in the Episcopate of Zephyrinus (Euseb. H. F. vi. 14).

Another list of the works of St. Hippolytus is given by Nicephorus Callisti, who copies Eusebius and St. Jerome, and adds something from other sources (Eccl. Hist. iv. 31) as follows:—

"In the times of Severus flourished Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus Romanus (the harbour of Rome), and composed many wise works, among which he wrote a *treatise on Easter*, in which having set forth a chronological series, and having also propounded a certain canon of sixteen years for determining Easter, he brings his Chronicle down to the first year of Alexander.

"The following are his writings:—

On the Six Days' Work of Creation; a Refutation of Marcion; on the Song of Songs; on Parts of Ezekiel; concerning Easter; a most profitable Treatise against all Heresies; on the Coming of Antichrist; on the Resurrection, and very many more; on Zechariah; on the Psalms; on Isaiah; on Daniel; on the Apocalypse; on the Proverbs; on Saul and the Witch of Endor; concerning the Praises of our Lord Jesus Christ; which

he preached (ὠμίλησε) in the presence of Origen. And whereas some of his writings may be taken hold of for censure, he being afterwards consummated by Martyrdom for Christ, wiped off thereby the stain of ignorance."

In the Catalogue by Ebed-Jesu of works ascribed to Hippolytus by the Syro-Chaldæans,² are the following words: "St. Hippolytus, Martyr and Bishop, wrote a book on the *Dispensation* (οἰκονομία or *Incarnation*), an *Exposition of the lesser Daniel and Susanna*; *Chapters against Caius*, and an *Apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of John the Apostle and Evangelist*."

² Assemani Bibl. Oriental. iii. pt. i. p. 15.

CHAPTER XIV.

On the Orthodoxy of St. Hippolytus.

DR. VON DÖLLINGER'S learned work, entitled "*Hippolytus und Kallistus*," has been characterized by Dean Milman (in his *Latin Christianity*, book i. chap. i.) as an "*Apologia pro Callisto*," and in this respect it carried no other conviction to the Dean's mind "but of the author's learning and ingenuity;" and caused him to regret that "so able and in some respects so instructive a book should be written with such a resolute (no doubt conscientious) determination to make out a case."

For my own part, I should have felt less concern in recognizing it as an "*Apologia pro Callisto*," if the defence of Callistus had not involved a condemnation of St. Hippolytus.

The learned Author imputes to Hippolytus a leaning, derived from Platonism, toward the heresy of Valentinus¹ against which his master Irenæus had contended strongly and successfully.

He alleges that the theology of St. Hippolytus, concerning the generation of the Logos from the

¹ *Hippolytus und Kallistus*, pp. 218—220.

Mind of the Father, is akin to the heresy of Valentinus as to the production of the Nous (Mind) or Monogenes (Only-begotten), and according to which, Sigé or Ennoia produced Nous or Mind from Bythos or Monas the primitive original of all.

Other charges against the orthodoxy of Hippolytus occupy several pages of Dr. Döllinger's work.²

The reader will have some means of judging for himself as to the justice of these allegations, by examining the words of Hippolytus in foregoing parts of the present work, together with the notes appended to them.³

And if he will consult the entire work, entitled "The Refutation of all Heresies" by Hippolytus, he will there see that the Author protests in the strongest terms against that very Platonic tendency, and Valentinianism,⁴ which are laid to his charge by Dr. Döllinger. I do not pretend to say that the language of St. Hippolytus concerning the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, and the Eternal Generation of the Son of God, consubstantial, co-eternal, and co-equal with the Father, is precisely that which would have been employed by a Teacher of the Church who had enjoyed all the benefits which accrued to her from her conflict with,—and victory over,—Arianism in the fourth century, and had been familiar from his childhood with

² Hippolytus und Kallistus, pp. 206—218. 226—229.

³ Pp. 65—97.

⁴ See Philos. pp. 177, 178. 198. 319, 320. Cp. Dorner on the Person of Christ, p. 449, who shows that Beron, *against* whom Hippolytus wrote, broached Valentinian tenets.

the terminology of the Nicene Creed. Hippolytus was not an Athanasius. Who would have supposed that he could be ?

As St. Augustine well says, "The Catholic Faith grew in clearness and in strength from its controversies with heresies." The Lion of heresy was slain by the strong Samsons of the Church (and we need not hesitate to reckon Hippolytus as one), and the Church has fed on the sweetness of the honey which came forth from the carcase of the Lion.⁵

The reverence shown for the name and doctrine of Hippolytus by the most celebrated Nicene and Post-nicene Fathers, who possessed all his writings,—which we do not,—is a sufficient guarantee of his orthodoxy. And in later times some who carefully examined his extant works, and were well qualified to pronounce judgment upon them, have shown reason for concurrence in that earlier testimony. I refer specially to Dr. Waterland and to Bishop Bull.

When Dr. (now Cardinal) Newman in his "Essay on Development of Christian Doctrine"⁶—following in the steps of Petavius—alleged against some of the Antenicene Fathers, of whom St. Hippolytus was one, that they ascribed to the Son of God only a generation in time and not from eternity, he cited some words of Dr. Waterland, "The Authors who make the *generation* [of the Son] *temporary*, and speak not expressly of any other, are these following,—Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tatian, Tertullian, and *Hippolytus*."⁷

⁵ Judges xiv. 8, 9.

⁶ P. 13.

⁷ Waterland, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 104.

Who would not have inferred from this allegation of Dr. Newman, that these Fathers were Arianizers before Arius, and that Dr. Waterland acknowledged them so to be?

But what is the fact?

The Antenicene Fathers speak of a *threefold generation* of the Son.

1. His *eternal* generation, as Everlasting Son from Everlasting Father.

2. His *generation in time* (for so it is sometimes called), or condescension (*συνκατάβασις*) to create the world.

3. His filiation, also in *time*, as Man, from the Virgin Mary His Mother.

These two latter generations concern mankind most intimately, and therefore it would be surprising if the early Fathers had not dwelt on them most frequently and earnestly; and it would not be wonderful if they should have said little on the more transcendental question of the *eternal* generation of the Son, before it was *denied* by Arius, when the case was altered, and *then* the Christian Writers became more frequent and copious in their assertion and explication of that truth.⁸

But I would here observe that *this* fact—I mean the habitual inculcation of this doctrine by the *Post-nicene* Fathers—ought to be accepted as a proof of

⁸ Hooker, v. xlii. 6. "Some good the Church hath reaped by the contentions of Arianism, in that they occasioned the learned and sound in faith to explain such things as heresy went about to deprave."

the belief of the *Antenicene* to the same effect. The Creed of Nicæa is the best exponent of the tenets of the Antenicene age.

And let me cite the words of Dr. Waterland :⁹—

“After Arius arose, the Catholics found it necessary to insist much on the *eternal generation*. For the Arians taking advantage of it, that the temporary condescension of the Son to create the world had often been *called* His *generation*, were for looking no higher, but artfully insinuated that this was the *first* production of Him. However, the Arians might have known that the *eternal existence* of the Λόγος (or WORD) was *universally taught*, and even by those who asserted a *temporal* generation.”

Let me now speak of Bishop Bull.

“In his Defence of the Nicene Creed, Bishop Bull hath proved,”¹ says his biographer Robert Nelson, “that some Catholic writers more ancient than the Nicene Council, seem to attribute a certain nativity to the Son of God, as God ; but if their sayings are accurately weighed, saith he, it will appear that they speak of a nativity not real, but figurative ; that is, their meaning was that the Logos, or Divine Word, which from all eternity did exist in and with God the Father, as the co-eternal offspring of His Eternal Mind, then, when He was about to create the World, came

⁹ Waterland, i. 2, p. 114. See also *ibid.* pp. 103. 134—40. 288. On this subject let me invite the student’s special attention to Dr. Waterland’s Defence of some Queries, Query viii. pp. 86—117, and Query xi. pp. 134—140 ; xxv. pp. 268—278. Vol. i. pt. ii., ed. Van Mildert, Oxford, 1823.

¹ Robert Nelson’s Life of Bishop Bull, p. 264.

forth into operation (*κατ' ἐνέργειαν*), and so proceeded to the constitution and formation of all things therein, for the manifesting Himself and His Father to the Creatures, and that by reason of this progression (*προέλευσις*), He is in Scripture called the Son of God, and His First-begotten.

“This Bishop Bull clears up² by a most accurate explication of the opinions of Athenagoras, concerning the Son's eternity and progression, as also of Tatian and Theophilus Antiochenus, whom he proveth as to the main to have been sound and Catholic in this point. The same he hath made out also concerning *St. Hippolytus*, and hath fully represented the sentiment hereupon of Tertullian. . . . He shows by several plain and express testimonies of Justin Martyr, &c. &c., that the better and greater part of the Christian doctors, who lived before the Council of Nice, did openly, clearly, and perspicuously teach the Son's *co-eternal* existence with God the Father.”³

In our own age one of our most learned divines, the late Dr. Martin Routh, when making a selection of theological works for the use of Students of Divinity, made choice of the work of *St. Hippolytus* against Noetus as containing a valuable treatise “on the divine Unity, and on the Person of the Son of God.”⁴ Let me refer the reader to that work.

At the present time there are some who seem to regard the names of our greatest English Divines,

² P. 266.

³ Pp. 264. 266.

⁴ Routh, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, p. vii. pp. 49—80, Oxon. 1858.

such as Bishop Bull and Dr. Waterland, with coldness and suspicion,⁵ as if they were disposed to warp and strain the language of the Antenicene Fathers, so as to fit the Creed of Nicæa. Happily, therefore, in the present case we may refer to a learned writer of large and liberal views, and not of our own country, against whom no such exception will be made. The reader will anticipate the name of Dr. J. A. Dorner, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.⁶ Dr. Dorner has given a full analysis of the doctrine of St. Hippolytus, as far as it came under his cognizance.⁷ St. Hippolytus (he observes) had to contend on the one side against the Noetians and Patripassians, who held that the Father was one with the Son, and suffered in the Son; and on the other he had to resist the heresy of Artemon, Theodotus, and others like them, who looked on Christ as mere Man. He maintained the Unity of the Godhead, and yet affirmed the existence of three divine Persons in the One God; and he claimed divine worship for each of the three.

Hippolytus has done this in his work against Noetus.⁸ His system (as Dr. Dorner remarks) is irreconcilable with Arianism. According to him, the Son is of the same substance with the Father, and is not a

⁵ Not so Dr. Patrick Fairbairn, Appendix to Dr. Dorner on the Person of Christ, English Translation, Edinburgh, 1878, pp. 342—391; he there does ample justice to Bishop Bull and Dr. Waterland.

⁶ Doctrine of the Person of Christ, Berlin, 1851-54, 5 vols.

⁷ Division i. vol. ii. pp. 85—100, and pp. 449—456, English Translation, Edinburgh, 1862.

⁸ Chap. 3. 8. 6. 11. 13. Cp. his Theophan., 10.

creature, but begotten by God before all creation ; and “ Hippolytus never would have affirmed with Arius that there was a time when the Son was not ; he believed that time began with creation, and that the world was created by the Logos, who was not a creature, but a Son.”

That there is some inadequacy in the teaching of Hippolytus as to the eternal generation of the Son, as a Son, and as distinct from the Logos, may be conceded, and that the generation of the Logos by the Will of the Father⁹ might be misconstrued into a supposition that the generation was not eternal. And the doctrine of the *subordination* of the Son as stated by him might lead to assertions of personal inferiority.

But inasmuch as God was never ἄλογος, *i. e.* without the Word (c. Noet. cap. 11), and inasmuch also as the Word is God (cap. 6), and therefore Eternal, the Will of God by which He was generated was as it were an attribute of God, and was exercised from Eternity. And as to the doctrine of *subordination*¹ of the Son of God, it was due to the orthodox doctrine that there is but one ἀρχή, or πηγὴ, or ῥίζα, *i. e.* one principle, fountain, or origin and root of Deity, and that this was in the Father, and consequently, in a certain sense, the Son was *subordinate* to

⁹ c. Noet. c. 16.

¹ Dr. Dörner says, p. 450, that “ he adhered to a harmless form of subordination, the inner inconsistency of which impelled it to the exclusion of all inadequate elements ; and there can be no doubt whatever that when the time arrived for deciding between Athanasius and Arius, he could not possibly feel drawn toward the latter.”

the Father, but not in time (for He was the Eternal Logos of the Father); nor in dignity, for He was God (and what is less than God cannot be God); but so far as that which is generated is subordinated to that which generates it (c. Noet. cap. 13 and 14).

But it is no impeachment of the wisdom and piety of Hippolytus that he did not foresee heresies, especially Arianism, which grew up after his age.

Dr. Dorner does indeed say that in his opinion St. Hippolytus did not teach that, although the essence of the Logos was eternal, He was eternal in *personality*; and that the Only-begotten was indeed perfect *Logos* prior to His Incarnation, but not as yet perfect Son of God; and that His Sonship which was manifested at the Creation of the World was not completed till His Incarnation; and that His Sonship in time was a showing forth of the Logos² which was Eternal.

But to this it may be said with Bishop Bull³ that the Logos had not completed all the *course of filiation*, which was prescribed for Him by the Father, till He had become Son of Man; and that then that course was completed; for, as has been already remarked,⁴ there are three stages (to speak it with reverence) of generation of the Son from the Father: first, from eternity; secondly, at the Creation of the World; thirdly, at the Incarnation; and in *this sense* the filiation was not perfected till that time.

Before parting with Dr. Dorner, we may observe

² Dorner, pp. 88, 89.

³ Defens. Fid. Nic., p. 164. See above, p. 245.

⁴ Above, p. 244.

that we have even more means for maintaining the orthodoxy of St. Hippolytus than he had. Dr. Dorner was not aware that the "Little Labyrinth" was the same work as that quoted by Eusebius,⁵ and that it was written by Hippolytus.⁶

In that work he refers to the Holy Scriptures as testifying the Divinity of Christ, appeals with approval to the writings of Justin Martyr and others, in which "Christ is declared to be God" (*θεολογεῖται ὁ Χριστὸς*), and he also puts this question,—“Who knows not the writings of Irenæus and Melito and the rest, which proclaim Christ to be God and Man; and how many psalms and hymns of brethren, from the beginning, written by faithful men, celebrate the Logos of God, the Christ,—and praise Him as God?” Hippolytus speaks there of Christ as “our Merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ,” and he says that they who affirm Him to be mere man (as Artemon and Theodotus did) are guilty of a godless heresy.

Besides, when Dr. Dorner composed his volumes, the “Refutation of all Heresies” by St. Hippolytus was still lying hid in a monastery, or at least had not been proved to be his. And therefore Dr. Dorner’s estimate of Hippolytus must be supplemented from the present work. In it St. Hippolytus draws a sharp line between true doctrine and every phase of heresy then known. Not only does he refute, in his sixth and seventh books, the various forms of Gnos-

⁵ Euseb. H. E. v. 28.

⁶ See above, chap. xii. p. 196, 210, 216.

ticism, in Simon Magus, Valentinus, Marcus, Basilides, Carpocrates, and others ; not only does he reject, in the seventh book, all the low humanitarian notions of Christ's nature propagated by Cerinthus, the Ebionites, Theodotus, and others, and the dualistic notions of Marcion ; not only does he explode the fantastic theories of the Docetæ in the eighth ; but in the ninth book he grapples also with those who professed to maintain the divine unity, but denied the personality of the Son and Holy Ghost, as was done by Noetus, the Sabellians, and Callistus.⁷

We can hardly say with Dr. Dorner that in the theology of Hippolytus, there was indeed the Logos from Eternity, but not the Son ; for Hippolytus speaks of God as a *Father* from Eternity, and also as *generating* from Eternity.⁸ And where there is generation, there is offspring ; and where the Father was, there was a Son. The Logos is spoken of by our Author as having in Himself the will of Him Who *begat* Him, and as being His *first-born* from the beginning, before the World was ; and is therefore called by him the *first-begotten Son of the Father*.⁹

On the whole, then, there is good reason to concur in the judgment of the ancient Catholic Church, which has declared St. Hippolytus to be one of her greatest Champions of the true faith ; and any attempt to build a vindication of Callistus, Bishop of

⁷ See also Lib. x. pp. 329, 330.

⁸ Pp. 334, 335.

⁹ P. 336 Cp. Contra Noetum, cap. 11.

Rome, from a charge of heresy, by damaging the character of his opponent St. Hippolytus, who resisted and denounced him as an heresiarch, will, I am persuaded, find little favour in the eyes of wise, learned, candid, and generous men.

That St. Hippolytus held and taught the orthodox faith concerning the Blessed Trinity and the divine Person of Christ may be inferred also from the following considerations.

His writings were numerous, and were composed in the Greek language, and were well known in the Eastern Church. The "Refutation of all Heresies" has been brought to light from a Greek monastery in our own day, and was probably familiar to many Eastern writers.

If he had been chargeable with unsoundness in the faith, especially in such grave matters as the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Person of Christ, there is no doubt that the Church (which did take notice of his inclination to Novatianism) would not have allowed his teaching on those more serious subjects to pass unchallenged and uncensured.

Dr. (now Cardinal) Newman—who in his zeal for the Papacy has endeavoured to damage the reputation, and to detract from the authority, of the Antenicene Fathers, as Cardinal Perron and Petavius did before him—has reminded us¹ that Dionysius of Alexandria—who was a contemporary of St. Hippolytus—was afterwards said by St. Basil to have sown the

¹ Doctrine of Development, p. 13.

first seeds of Arianism.² We know that St. Dionysius in his zeal against Sabellius let fall some unguarded expressions, which were misconstrued by some Censors, into expressions derogatory to our Lord's Divine Personality. We know also (which Dr. Newman does not mention) that St. Dionysius of Alexandria addressed a letter to St. Dionysius of Rome, in which he declared his real sentiments, and justified himself in the eyes of the Church; and this vindication is declared by St. Athanasius to have been universally regarded as satisfactory.³

It may be fairly concluded from this, that if St. Hippolytus, the contemporary of Dionysius, had swerved from the line of orthodoxy in cardinal articles of the faith, the Church, which showed itself so sensitive and jealous in the case of Dionysius, would not have been less susceptible in that of Hippolytus. But so far from breathing a single syllable in disparagement of his orthodoxy, the Church has ever regarded him as one of the most strenuous and faithful Champions of true doctrine.

It may perhaps be alleged that the same plea might be urged in behalf of Callistus. If he had been a heretic (it may be asked), would not the Church have protested against his heresy? To which it may be replied that it did so by the voice of Hippolytus. And there was a wide difference between the two cases.

² S. Basil, Ep. ix. 2.

³ See Athanasius de Sententiâ Dionysii, § 14, § 17, and § 19; and see also Bp. Bull, vol. v. pp. 394. 409. 414, ed. Burton; and Waterland, iii. p. 10; and Routh, Reliquiæ, iii. 379—402.

Hippolytus was a voluminous writer in Greek, but as far as we know, Callistus wrote nothing. His Episcopate was a short one—about five years, in the Roman Church early in the third century.

Church History, as we have seen,⁴ was of Eastern origin, and knew little of Western affairs in early times. No one imagined a Bishop of Rome to be infallible, or was greatly astonished by his fall. His strange dogmas, which made some stir in his brief Episcopate, were regarded as of little importance after his death, and were soon forgotten. They were absorbed and lost in the more formidable and better formulated heresy of Sabellius, which then occupied the attention, and exercised all the energies of the Church.

We may, therefore, sum up as follows,—

Callistus is asserted by Hippolytus to have been a heretic. No Church Historian affirms Callistus to have been orthodox. All Church History that has spoken of Hippolytus,—and his name is one of the most celebrated in its annals,—has concurred in bearing witness to the soundness of his faith.

When, therefore, Hippolytus and Callistus are placed before us as antagonists,—the one inculcating the other,—in a trial of sound doctrine, we may fairly say with the Roman orator of old, “*Utri creditis, Quirites?*” and we may leave it to an impartial jury to pronounce the verdict.

⁴ Above, pp. 188—193.

CHAPTER XV.

On the Episcopal See of St. Hippolytus.

RATHER more than a century ago, Cardinal Ottoboni was Bishop of Porto, the ancient Portus Romanus, or harbour of Rome. Portus was situated at the northern mouth of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from Rome, and had enjoyed considerable commercial celebrity in former times.¹ The harbour (Portus), whence the city derived its name and importance, had been constructed by the Emperor Claudius, enlarged by Nero, and improved by Trajan, whence it was called "Portus Trajani;" and possesses an interest in Christian history, as the harbour at which St. Ignatius landed in his way from Antioch to his martyrdom at Rome.² Cardinal Ottoboni had a

¹ See Dio Cass. in Claudio, lib. lx. num. xi. tom. ii. p. 949, ed. Hamburg, 1752, and Sueton. in Claud. 20. Plin. N. H. ix. 6, xvi. 40, and Sir W. Gell's Vicinity of Rome, ii. pp. 174—9, and Contorni di Roma, by Nibby, ii. p. 323, who has published a separate work on Porto. See also Westphal's work on the Campagna, p. 172.

² Martyr. Ignat. § 6, p. 591, ed. 2nd, Jacobson. Pammachius and Fabiola, friends of St. Jerome, erected a Xenodochium there about A.D. 394 (S. Jerome, Epist. 54 and 94). Its importance and extent in the time of Alaric, when it was the greatest emporium of Rome, are evident from the words of Philostorgius (Lib. xii. 3).

noble library, and endeavoured to restore the architectural beauty of his Episcopal City, which in the lapse of ages had fallen into decay.

In his zeal for the restoration of the ecclesiastical edifices of Portus, he did not forget the names of those whom he reckoned among his predecessors. Of these, one stood pre-eminent; one, who had shed lustre not only upon the See of Portus, but on the Western Church, and on Christendom.³ He had been celebrated for holiness and orthodoxy, for learning and eloquence;⁴ he was reckoned among the Saints and Martyrs of the Western Church. He was also venerable for his antiquity; he had flourished in the second and third centuries of the Christian era. He had⁵ been a scholar of St. Irenæus, who, in his youth, had listened to St. Polycarp,⁶ the disciple of St. John. This was St. HIPPOLYTUS.

It was the desire of Cardinal Ottoboni, Bishop of Portus, to do honour to his memory.

The Bishop of Porto,—being a Suffragan of Rome, having the oversight of one of the churches anciently⁷

³ Card. Baron. ad Ann. 229. “De Hippolyto hæctenus, in quo utraque conveniunt ut Orientalis et Occidentalis Ecclesiæ ingens decus meritò dici possit.”

⁴ Hippolytus is called “Vir disertissimus” by St. Jerome ad Iucin. iv. p. 579, ed. Bened. “Sacratissimus et magnus Doctor Veritatisque testis fidelis,” by Anastasius in Collectan. apud Galland. Bibl. ii. p. 469, and a “stream of living waters to the Church,” ποταμὸς τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ ζώντων ναμάτων, by Syncellus, ad A. D. 215, by Zonaras, Annal. p. 468, ἀνὴρ ἱερώτατος καὶ σοφώτατος.

⁵ Phot. Cod. 121.

⁶ Euseb. v. 20.

⁷ See Ruffinus in Canon. Concil. Nicæn. 6, and Notitia Curie

called Suburbicarian, from their vicinity to the *Urbs*, or City of Rome, and one of those who are now designated "Cardinal Bishops," and being among those Prelates, whose office it has been from time immemorial to consecrate⁸ the Bishop of Rome,—exercises considerable influence in the Roman Conclave. Cardinal Ottoboni endeavoured to obtain a Pontifical brief for the sanction of a special Office in honour of St. Hippolytus. Some circumstances, however, had then recently occurred, which obstructed the execution of his design. Many local traditions, it is true, were known to exist at Portus, connecting the name of St. Hippolytus with that city and See. A building, called *Torre di S. Ippolito*, still stands at Porto. (See Nibby, Contorni, ii. p. 320.) The Church at Portus had been called *S. Hippolyti Ecclesia* from time immemorial, *e. g.* in a Bull of Pope Gregory IX, A.D. 1236. He was, and is at this day, regarded as the Patron of the Diocese. And the testimony of those who had applied themselves to the study of Ecclesiastical History, since the revival of letters in Europe, to the end of the seventeenth century, had been almost unanimous in favour of the claim of

Romanæ, ed. 1683, p. 17: "Consecrabant Pontificem Romanum Episcopi vii. ejus Suffraganei nimirum Ostiensis, *Portuensis*, Sylvæ Candidæ sive Ruffinæ, Tusculanus, Prænestinus, Sabinensis, Albanensis, et dicebantur ante Leonis IX. tempora Cardinales Episcopi." These Episcopi Suffraganei were formerly viii.; Eugenius III. reduced them to vi. by uniting the "Ecclesia Veliterna" to Ostia, and "Sancta Ruffina" to Portus. See Onuphr. de VII. Urbis Eccl., c. 1.

⁸ Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum, cap. 2, art. 8: "Episcopus Portuensis dat orationem secundam," δίδωσι προσευχὴν δευτέραν.

Portus to the possession of that inheritance. That St. Hippolytus, the scholar of St. Irenæus, had been Bishop of Portus Romanus, or the harbour of Rome, two miles to the north of Ostia,—had been affirmed by the most celebrated Church Historians and Divines of Rome, such as Cardinals Baronius⁹ and Bellarmine,¹ and by Roman Popes, such as Pius the Fourth, who designated him as *Bishop of Portus* on the pedestal of his statue found in 1551, and had been acknowledged as indubitable by the most learned Theologians of other Churches, as, for example, by Archbishop Ussher,² Henry Dodwell,³ Bishop Beveridge,⁴ and Bishop Bull.⁵

But in the year 1685, a learned Theologian of Holland, Stephen Le Moyne,⁶ published at Leyden his “*Varia Sacra*,” in which he controverted the ancient and generally received tradition concerning St. Hippolytus. He did not deny that Hippolytus was a Bishop: he acknowledged him as a Martyr: he admitted that he had flourished early in the third century. But he would not allow that he had ever sat in the Episcopal See of Portus, near Rome.

⁹ Card. Baron. Ann. ad A.D. 229.

¹ Card. Bellarmin. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, vii. p. 41.

² In notis ad Martyrium S. Ignatii, § 6, p. 570, ed. Jacobson.

³ H. Dodwell, Dissertatio de Rom. Pontif. Success., p. 95, cap. 7, p. 202.

⁴ Cod. Canon. Eccl., lib. ii. cap. 2, § v.

⁵ Def. Fid. Nic., ii. 8. 1, p. 270, ed. Burton.

⁶ Le Moyne, Proleg. in *Varia Sacra*. Vol. ii. p. 29, 30, ed. 2da, Lug. Bat. 1694. Le Moyne was a native of France, but composed this work in his capacity of Theological Professor at Leyden.

Relying on certain notices occurring in some ancient writers, Le Moyne would have transferred St. Hippolytus from the genial clime of Italy and the banks of the Tiber, to the stern wilds of Arabia, and to the shores of the Red Sea. He would have made him a Bishop of the Roman Emporium at Aden, near what are called the Straits of Bab-el Mandeb, on the southern coast of Arabia.⁷

Le Moyne's theory, which was defended with ingenuity and learning, found favour in various quarters. Dr. Cave⁸ adopted it in England, Dupin⁹ and Tillemont¹ in France, Spanheim² and Basnage³ in Holland. Assemann, in Italy,⁴ appeared disposed to do the same. Portus was in danger of being deprived of its most illustrious ornament,—the Bishop and Martyr, St. Hippolytus.

Errors are not without use, as ministering occasions for the firmer establishment of truth. So it fared in the present case. It happened fortunately for the honour of Portus, and for the fame of Hippolytus, that the See of that city was filled at the time to which we refer, by a Prelate eminent for his love of

⁷ Le Moyne, p. 30. Non Episcopus Portus Ostiensis (he appears to confound Ostia and Portus), sed Portus Romani in Arabiâ.

⁸ Cave, *Historia Eccl.*, i. p. 102.

⁹ Dupin, *Biblioth.*, i. p. 179.

¹ Tillemont, *Mémoires*, &c. Vol. iii. p. 104. 310, ed. 1732. See also Lardner, *Credibility*, i. p. 496, ed. 4to. 1815.

² Spanheim, *Epitome Isagogica ad Hist. Eccl.*, p. 131, ed. Lug. Bat. 1689.

³ Basnage, *Annales Polit. Eccles. ad A.D. 222, Roterodami*, 1706.

⁴ Assemann, *Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vatican.*, iii. p. 1, c. 7, p. 15.

literature, and distinguished by zeal and enthusiasm for the past, and by affectionate regard for the memory of his own predecessors, such as Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni. It was also a happy circumstance that his rich Library was under the judicious care of one of the most accomplished Scholars and laborious Antiquarians that Italy could then boast, Constantino Ruggieri.

Ruggieri had been invited from Bologna to settle at Rome, where he was entrusted with the superintendence of the Press of the Propaganda.

Cardinal Ottoboni requested him to explore the archives in his own princely collection, and in other depositories within his reach, for the examination or discovery of documents relating to the See of Portus, and to the history of St. Hippolytus; and he commissioned him to communicate the result of his inquiries in a Dissertation on that subject. A better choice could not have been made. Ruggieri undertook the work, and prosecuted it with vigour and assiduity. In the year 1740 his Dissertation was ready for the press, and it was thought worthy of being printed with the types of the Vatican. It was seen and eulogized by Cardinal Lambertini, afterwards Benedict XIV.⁵ But unhappily before the entire volume could be printed Cardinal Ottoboni died. Ruggieri fell into distress, and then died.⁶ Eighty pages of the work had been printed, but,

⁵ Lambertini, *De servorum Dei Beatificatione*, lib. i. c. iv. n. 10.

⁶ A. D. 1766.

unfortunately, there the impression stopped. The edition was dispersed; a great part of it was consumed in fireworks for the Castel S. Angelo on St. Peter's Day, and, in fine, only five copies were saved. By a fortunate coincidence, one of these five, enriched with Manuscript notes, fell into the hands of a learned Abate of the Diocese of Porto, Achille Ruschi. In the year 1771 he had prepared the Dissertation in a complete form for publication, and it appeared at Rome in that year, sanctioned with the approbation of the Maestro di Sagro Palazzo, and inscribed to the reigning Pontiff, Clement XIV.⁷

This Dissertation of Ruggieri is distinguished by elaborate research, and critical accuracy; and is composed in a clear and flowing style of terse and elegant Latinity. It throws much light incidentally on the history of St. Hippolytus. It also commends itself to the respect and gratitude of Englishmen by the candid spirit and courteous temper with which it appreciates the learned labours of Anglican Divines, especially Bp. Pearson, Dr. Hammond, and Bp. Bull.

It appeared convenient and requisite to refer in this place to this important work, on account of its intrinsic merits; and because, though much has been

⁷ Its title is Constantini Ruggieri De Portuensi S. Hippolyti, Episcopi et Martyris, Sede, Dissertatio postuma, ab Achille Ruschio Portuensis Diocesis absoluta et annotationibus aucta. Romæ 1771, *Præsidium facultate*.

It is inserted in P. G. Lumperi Historia Sanctorum Patrum August. Vindel. 1791, Pars viii., where it occupies 255 8vo. pages.

recently written concerning the See of St. Hippolytus, little mention, if any, has been made of this Dissertation; and it seems almost to have been regarded as a modern discovery, that St. Hippolytus was Bishop of Portus near Rome. But the fact is, this matter was long since set at rest; and to write more upon it now would only be *actum agere*. The work of Ruggieri, published in 1771, exhausted that subject. It refuted in the most triumphant manner the theory of Le Moyne, and established, as it seems to me, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that St. Hippolytus, the scholar of St. Irenæus, the Bishop and Martyr of the third century, whose character and works were held in high esteem and veneration by the Christian Church in his own and succeeding generations, and whose memory is revered in a particular manner by the Church of Rome, was Bishop of Portus, the Roman harbour at the northern mouth of the Tiber, whence he is often called by Ancient Authors, not only "Bishop of Portus, or of the Harbour near Rome," but is designated frequently as "a Roman Bishop," and sometimes as "Bishop of the City," and even "Bishop of Rome:"⁸ for the

⁸ See Nicephor. Callist., iv. 31, and the Authorities in Fabricius, Hippolyti Opera, i. p. viii.—x., and *ibid.* i. 42—47, and Ruggieri, pp. 478—493, (cf. pp. 518. 520. 522. 525,) where numerous examples of these designations are given; Ruggieri sums up the testimony of Christian Antiquity concerning St. Hippolytus as follows, p. 493: "All doubt concerning his Episcopate will vanish, si disertissima Prudentii, Leontii, Anastatii aliorumque qui IV Ecclesiæ Sæculo usque ad Nicephorum XIII. sæculi Scriptorem floruerunt testimonia sedulo perpendere volumus, qui uno ore testantur magnum Hippolytum

ancient Roman Province was sometimes called Rome.⁹

This Dissertation also possesses a peculiar interest, and is entitled to particular regard, on account of its intimate connexion with the Diocese of Hippolytus, and with the See of Rome. It owed its origin to one of the Episcopal successors of Hippolytus; it was completed by one of the Clergy of the Diocese which he had governed; it was commended by one Bishop of Rome, Benedict XIV., and was dedicated to another, Clement XIV. It was produced, therefore, under the sanction of the Bishop of Portus, and under the auspices of the Bishop of Rome. It may be regarded as embodying the judgment of the Roman Church concerning St. Hippolytus. It may be considered as a mark of her respectful homage to his memory, and as a pledge to receive with favour what comes before her with the impress of his name.

In my former edition I wrote what has been printed above. But since the publication of that edition, a very learned person, Dr. Ignatius von Döllinger, has impugned these conclusions, and I must therefore ask permission to say something more on this subject.

Episcopum et Martyrem, vel Portuensis Ecclesiæ Pastorem, vel Romanum, id est Romanæ Provinciæ Episcopum fuisse."

⁹ Ruggieri, p. 522. Veteres "S. Hippolytum Episcopum Romanum vocant; quia Portuensis Episcopus fuit, quæ urbs in Suburbicaria Provincia sita est, quam Græci *Romam* vocant."

Let me state Dr. Döllinger's objections in his own words ;¹ he thus writes :—

1. " I would first point out that Portus Romanus in the third century was no City, while the neighbouring Ostia continued to flourish as such.

2. " That there was no Bishop of Portus before the year 313 or 314.

3. " That a Bishop Hippolytus of Portus was altogether unknown in the West, and likewise in the East till the seventh century.

4. " That the unanimous tradition of the Eastern Church represented Hippolytus as a Roman Bishop.

5. " That the later Byzantine Writers, the Author of the Paschal Chronicle, George Syncellus, Anastasius, and Zonaras, were misled by the spurious Acts of Aurea to make him Bishop of Portus.

6. " That Hippolytus, according to his own assertions, regarded himself as the rightful Bishop of Rome of his time.

7. " That Hippolytus could not have been at the same time a member of the Roman Presbytery and Bishop of Rome."

To take these objections in order.

1. Dr. Döllinger's assertion that Portus was no City in the third century has been contravened by the learned Roman Archæologist Cavaliere de Rossi, in the "*Bullettino di Archeologia*" published at Rome in 1866. He there says (p. 37), " The site and name of Portus are very celebrated in the records of the

¹ Hippolytus und Kallistus, p. 73.

primitive Church. I find the name more frequently commemorated there than that of Ostia." He then proceeds to cite thirteen ancient inscriptions in evidence of its early Christian celebrity.

2. Cavaliere de Rossi also combats Dr. Döllinger's second assertion, that Portus could not have had a Bishop before the beginning of the fourth century. A Bishop of Portus subscribed his name to the decrees of the Council of Arles, A.D. 317 (Concil. Mansi, ii. p. 477. Labbe, i. 1429). But in all probability (says De Rossi) he was not the first Bishop of Portus. The Christian documents which have been lately discovered at Portus prove it to have been a rich and populous city long before the age of Constantine; and there is good reason to believe (adds De Rossi) that it was opulent and thickly peopled in the second and third centuries. The Episcopal Sees (he says) of the primitive Church were numerous, and inasmuch as Christianity flourished in very early times at Portus, there is good reason to believe that it had an Episcopal See, distinct from that of Ostia, before the Council of Arles.

3, 4, 5. On the assertion of Dr. Döllinger that no one in the West knew Hippolytus to be Bishop of Portus, Cavaliere de Rossi pertinently refers (p. 42) to the Hymn of Prudentius early in the fifth century, which speaks of Hippolytus as Head of the Christian Church at Portus. (See above, chapter ix. p. 161.)

The local tradition from time immemorial of Portus

itself (where is a tower and church of St. Hippolytus) is not to be despised. The mention of Portus in the personal narrative of St. Hippolytus (above, chapter vi. p. 76), seems to confirm the belief of his connexion with it.

Dr. Döllinger acknowledges² that Hippolytus was sometimes called by contemporary writers *ἐπίσκοπος ἐθνῶν*, "Bishop of the Nations;" and it has been well observed by Baron Bunsen,³ and by the present Bishop of Durham,⁴ that his residence at Portus, where he was martyred according to Prudentius, qualified him for that office. As was before remarked, Portus, being the harbour of the Imperial City,⁵ was thronged with strangers, Greeks, Asiatics, Africans, Merchants, Shipmen and Soldiers, Philosophers, Physicians, Ambassadors, Astrologers, Christians, Jews, and Heathens flocking to Rome; and his learning and ready eloquence in the Greek language, and perhaps also in Latin, admirably fitted the "Bishop of Portus" to be also "Bishop of the Nations."

Dr. Döllinger also affirms that Hippolytus was never called "Bishop of Portus by any Eastern writer" before the seventh century.

But this, again, is a doubtful assertion.

² Pp. 338—342.

³ Hippolytus and his Age, vol. i. p. 52, where are some excellent remarks; more valuable as coming from one who has done so much for Roman topography.

⁴ Bishop Lightfoot in the Journal of Philology, i. p. 108.

⁵ It is an interesting circumstance that St. Ignatius, when carried by sea to Rome, in the time of Trajan, was landed at *Portus*.

In the Paschal Chronicle (p. 4, ed. Dindorf, 1832) there is a quotation from "Peter, Bishop of Alexandria and Martyr," who died A.D. 311, and that quotation embodies an extract (p. 12) from "Hippolytus, Martyr and Bishop of Portus near Rome."

The concurrent testimonies of persons writing in such different places as Anastasius,⁶ secretary of the Roman Church in the Episcopate of several successive Popes, who had intimate official relations with Rome itself, of George Syncellus,⁷ and Zonaras, and Nicephorus Callisti,⁸ who all agree in designating him as "Bishop of Portus Romanus,"⁹ clearly show that there was a considerable amount of early tradition in favour of that opinion.

May I be pardoned for expressing surprise that Dr. Döllinger should allege that all these writers were led blindfold by such a wretched production as the spurious Acts of Aurea, which carry their own conviction in their face? That any Greek Ecclesiastical Authors should have paid any heed to so despicable a Latin fabrication and absurd tissue of fables, is incredible. Tillemont thus describes them,¹ "Les actes

⁶ Anastasius Ecclesiæ Romanæ Presbyter et Apocrisarius ad Theodotium Gangrensem; in the seventh century, Bibl. Patr. xii. 858.

⁷ Georgius Syncellus in the eighth century, ed. Goar, p. 358. Fabric. Hippol. i. 42.

⁸ Nicephorus Callisti, in the fourteenth century, Eccl. Hist. iv. 31.

⁹ Zonaras, in the twelfth century, says that Hippolytus flourished under Urbanus (Annal. tom. ii. ap. Fabric. Hippol. p. x.). His words are remarkable: Οὐρβανοῦ τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως προεστῶτος καὶ Ἰππόλυτος ἦνθει, ἀνὴρ ἱερώτατος καὶ σοφώτατος Ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ κατὰ Ῥώμην Πόρτου γενόμενος.

¹ Mémoires, iii. 680. Cp. 677. 801.

de Ste. Aurée, ou Aure, qui fournissent grand nombre de Martyrs à Baronius sont pleins de fautes, selon lui-même. L'auteur met Ste. Aure, St. Hippolyte, et les autres de leur compagnie sous l'Empereur Claude ; ils semblent l'entendre du premier, selon ces paroles de St. Censorin, 'Christus temporibus nostris dignatus est venire a Patre.'" The Acts of St. Aurea are probably more recent than the seventh century, and could not have been followed by Anastasius.

4—6. It is alleged by Dr. Döllinger that Hippolytus is designated by the unanimous voice of the Eastern Church as "Bishop of Rome," and that according to his own assertion (in the newly-discovered Treatise), he regarded himself as the rightful Bishop of Rome,—in fact, that Hippolytus was the *first Anti-pope*.

On this allegation it may be observed that Eusebius (vi. 20) did not know of what See St. Hippolytus was Bishop ; and that St. Jerome, who lived in the East, but who had been Secretary of Pope Damasus, says that he could not discover the name of the City of which he was Bishop (de Script. Eccl. 61). If St. Hippolytus had been "Bishop of Rome," if he had been an Anti-pope,—for fourteen years, as Dr. Döllinger supposes,—all this would be unaccountable.

The name of the first Anti-pope was Novatian, and his acts were known everywhere. If Hippolytus had been another Novatian, what a commotion would such an assumption have made in all Christendom ! Ignorance of such a fact on the part of Eusebius and St. Jerome would have been

inexplicable. But it is not extraordinary that Eusebius and Jerome should not have known the name of his See. Eusebius had not much knowledge of Western affairs, as we have seen above (chapter x. p. 189). Hippolytus had another title, "Bishop of the Nations" (as Dr. Döllinger allows), and this general title probably did much to throw his special title into the shade.

Dr. Döllinger says truly that Hippolytus is called by some ancient authors a "Roman Bishop," or "Bishop of Rome." Yes; and this is not wonderful. Portus, being the harbour of Rome, would have been associated in the minds of persons at a distance with Rome itself; it is not surprising that a Bishop of Rome's harbour should have been called a Roman Bishop, or, for shortness' sake, a Bishop of Rome.

Indeed, it was not uncommon for Bishops of Sees near Rome to be called Roman Bishops, or Bishops of Rome: thus the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347, is described as "gathered by the grace of God from Rome, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Africa."² But it is incredible that a Bishop of the *City* of Rome should ever have been called Bishop of Portus, "Bishop of Rome's *harbour*," as Hippolytus (we have seen) often is.

If Hippolytus had been an Anti-pope, certainly no Ecclesiastical writer after his death would have ever deigned to give him the title of Bishop of Rome. Such an ascription would have been an insult to the

² Concil. Labbe, ii. 694. Cp. Ruggieri, p. 518. 525, who says, "Roma pro provinciâ Romanâ, Italia pro provinciâ Mediolanensi usurpatur."

greatest Church of the West, and to the whole Catholic Church. What Ecclesiastical writer ever gave the title of "Bishop of Rome" to the Anti-pope Novatian ?

That Hippolytus opposed two Bishops of Rome in succession, Zephyrinus and Callistus, on the ground of heretical doctrines propagated by them, is abundantly clear from his own narrative ; but there is no evidence whatever in that record to show that he ever assumed to himself the place or title of Bishop of Rome.

Dr. Döllinger's seventh and last allegation, that "Hippolytus could not have been at the same time a member of the Roman Presbytery and Bishop of Rome," is, I believe, directed against Baron Bunsen. As it does not concern anything stated by me, I do not feel called upon to notice it ; and I should have been very thankful to have been spared the necessity of making any other comments than those of assent on what has been said on this subject by a person who is justly regarded by members of the English Church with such deep feelings of veneration and affection, both on public and private grounds, as Dr. von Döllinger.

CHAPTER XVI.

On the Theory of Development of Christian Doctrine, as applied to the Writings of St. Hippolytus.

IN the preceding Chapter, we were led to notice incidentally certain allegations that have been made concerning the doctrine of St. Hippolytus.

It has been affirmed by an eminent person,¹ that St. Hippolytus "makes the generation of Christ *temporary*;" and it is implied, that he did not believe in the existence of the Son, as the Son, from eternity; and he is even charged by him with not teaching the doctrine of His Divinity.²

¹ Cardinal Newman, in his "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine," p. 13, says that "St. Hippolytus speaks as if he were ignorant of our Lord's Eternal Sonship."

² Cardinal Newman says, *ibid.* p. 14, "If we limit our views of the teaching of the Fathers by what they expressly state, St. Hippolytus is a *Photinian*." The doctrine of *Photinus* is thus described by St. Augustine (Hæres. 44, 45): "Christum non semper fuisse dicunt sed Ejus initium ex quo de Mariâ natus est asseverant, nec Eum aliquid amplius quam hominem putant; ista hæresis aliquando cujusdam *Artemonis* fuit." And therefore, in fact, Hippolytus, whom Cardinal Newman calls a Photinian, and who, in his "Little Labyrinth," had contended against the *Artemonites*, had, by anticipation, taken up arms *against* the heresy of *Photinus*.

The inference which is derived from these allegations, is, that the system of Christian Doctrine, now taught in the Church, has been of gradual growth, and that it did not exist in its present form in the primitive ages of Christendom.

The learned writer³ to whom I have referred maintains that the office of guiding and regulating "the Development of Christian Doctrine," is a prerogative appertaining to one Person in the Church, who is regarded by some as her supreme and infallible Head on earth—the Bishop of Rome.

Whether St. Hippolytus held the doctrine of the Personality of the Holy Spirit, and acknowledged the three Divine Persons of the Blessed Trinity, is a question which has been already examined.⁴ Proofs have already been brought to show his doctrine in these respects.⁵

³ Dr. Newman's Essay, chap. ii. sect. ii., "On a developing Authority in Christianity."

⁴ Above, chap. xiv. pp. 242—252.

⁵ A German Roman Catholic Theologian who had examined his works with care thus speaks: "*Castigatissimè loquitur sanctus Hippolytus de mysterio Sanctissimæ Trinitatis apertèque declarat fidem circa unitatem Naturæ et distinctionem Personarum. . . . Sanè nemo posset hisce temporibus magis accuratè loqui de Mysterio Trinitatis. . . . Pari præcisione loquitur sanctus ille Episcopus de Divinitate ac consubstantialitate Verbi.*" P. Gottf. Lumpfer, *Histor. Theol. Critica*, viii. 123—131. Bishop Bull's judgment on the orthodoxy of St. Hippolytus may be seen in his *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, ii. 8. 2, vol. v. p. 270, ed. Burton, and Dr. Grabe's, *ibid.* pp. 279—285, and Dr. Waterland's, iii. 40. 62. 69. 79. 91, &c., ed. Van Mildert, Oxford, 1820. It has been already observed, that the learned President of St. Mary Magdalene College, Oxford, Dr. Routh, made choice of the Homily of St. Hippolytus against Noetus for a sound Exposition of the Catholic

With regard to Dr. Newman's allegation, that the Eternal Generation of the Son is not taught by Hippolytus, this has been fully discussed in another place, and it would be superfluous to say more on that subject here.⁶ To prove that Hippolytus was not a Photinian is happily as needless. (See note, p. 271.)

First then, let it even be supposed, for argument's sake, that St. Hippolytus and other ancient Fathers of the Church had spoken ambiguously or inadequately, or even erroneously, concerning certain Articles of the Faith, now received by the Church, and embodied in her Creeds.

It would not therefore follow that the Christian Faith did not exist, or did not exist in perfect symmetry and fulness, in their age; or that they imagined this to be the case; or that they did not acknowledge that Faith, and acknowledge it as complete; or that a single iota has been added to it since their age.

For let it be remembered that the SCRIPTURES of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT existed in their time; and St. Hippolytus, and the other Catholic Fathers acknowledged the HOLY SCRIPTURES to be Divinely inspired, and to be the sole and all-sufficient Rule of the Christian Faith. They acknowledged and affirmed, that the true Faith, whole and complete, is contained in those Scriptures. Nothing can be more explicit doctrine concerning the Nature of Christ. Routh, *Script. Eccl. Opuscula*, Pref. p. vii. and p. 47. Oxon. 1858.

⁶ See above, chap. xiv. pp. 242—252; and my Letters to M. Gondon, Letter viii. pp. 210—214, ed. 3.

than the testimony of St. Hippolytus, and of his master St. Irenæus, and of other ancient Fathers to this effect.⁷

Next let it not be forgotten that Articles of Faith are confessedly mysterious; and that a careful consideration, collation, and comparison of various texts of Holy Scripture is requisite for the avoidance of

⁷ See, for example, S. Hippol. c. Noet. § 9. εἰς Θεοῦ, ὃν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἐπιγινώσκουμεν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν . . . ὅσοι θεοσέβειαν ἀσκεῖν βουλόμεθα οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἀσκήσομεν ἢ ἐκ τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὅσα τοίνυν κηρύσσουν αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί, ἴδωμεν, καὶ ὅσα διδάσκουσιν ἐπίγνωμεν, . . . μὴ κατ' ἴδιαν προαίρεσιν μηδὲ κατ' ἴδιον νοῦν, μηδὲ βιαζόμενοι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διδόμενα, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον αὐτὸς ἐβουλήθη διὰ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν δεῖξαι, οὕτως ἴδωμεν. See also S. Hippol. ap. Euseb. v. 28, concerning heretics, γραφὰς θείας βραδύουργήκασι . . . καταλιπόντες τὰς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ γραφὰς, γεωμετρίαν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἢ οὐ πιστεύουσιν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι λελέχθαι τὰς θείας γραφὰς, καὶ εἰσιν ἄπιστοι ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἡγοῦνται σοφωτέρους τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος ὑπάρχειν. The statements of St. Irenæus on this subject are also very forcible and clear. See S. Iren. ii. 46, where he describes the doctrines received by the true Christian as ὅσα φανερώς καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως ἐν ταῖς θεαῖς γραφαῖς λέλεκται. See the whole of that eloquent chapter, and particularly iii. 11, where he calls the written Gospel στῦλον καὶ στήριγμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Other testimonies to the same effect are the following:—

Scriptor Anon. ap. Euseb. v. 16, against the Montanist heresy, δεδιῶς μή πη δόξω τισὶν ἐπισυγγράφειν ἢ ἐπιδιατάττεσθαι τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καινῆς διαθήκης λόγῳ, ᾧ μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτ' ἀφελεῖν δυνατόν. S. Athanas. c. Gentes, i. 1, αὐτάρκεις αἱ ἁγίαὶ καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν. Festal. Epist. 39, ἐν τούτοις βιβλίοις μόνον τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεται, μηδεὶς τούτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρέσθω. S. Basil. de Fide, c. 2, φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπιεσάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων. Richard Hooker had good cause to say, Eccl. Pol. ii. v. 4, "To urge anything upon the Church, requiring thereunto that religious assent of Christian belief wherewith the words of the Holy Prophets are received,—to urge anything as part of that supernatural and celestially revealed truth which God hath taught, and *not to show it in SCRIPTURE, this did the ancient Fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable.*"

error, and for the declaration of truth in perfect plenitude and harmonious proportion; and that such consideration, collation, and comparison, is a work of time.

Let it be observed, that men are prone to dwell on specific truths, to the neglect of others equally important. In dealing with Holy Scripture, they are wont to forget the Apostolic precept, to compare Spiritual things with Spiritual; and are apt to fix their eyes on particular texts of Scripture detached from the context; and are often blind to other passages of Scripture, which ought to be viewed in juxtaposition with them; and thus they disturb the balance and mar the proportion of faith.

The Catholic Fathers' protest against this partiality—and no one more forcibly than St. Hippolytus.⁸

The tendency of the human mind is to be driven by an excess of reaction from one error to its opposite extreme. Thus in the primitive ages of the Church, when Idolatry was yet dominant at Rome, the fear of Polytheism tended to produce Monarchianism, and it acted as an obstacle, in certain quarters, to the reception of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, misconceived to be Tritheism. This fear of abandoning the doctrine of the Divine Unity engendered Sabellianism on

⁸ See, for example, c. Noetum, § 3, where he rebukes the Noetians for quoting the Scriptures *μονόκωλα*, *i. e.* piecemeal,—single texts, broken off from the context,—and refutes their false reasoning deduced from isolated texts, by reference to Scripture as a *whole*, *ὀλοκλήρως*, § 4. *ὁπότεν θελήσωσι πανουργεῖσθαι περικόπτουσι τὰς γραφάς· ὀλοκλήρως δὲ εἰπάτω.* So Tertullian c. Praxean. c. 20: *Tribus capitulis totum volunt Instrumentum cedere. Proprium hoc est omnium hæreticorum.*

one side, and Photinianism on the other. So in later times, the dread of Sabellianism drove some into Arianism, and Nestorianism begat Eutychianism.

Thus Heresies arose, and generated one another.

But, under the all-wise and overruling Providence of Almighty God, Heresies were made subservient to the advancement of Truth. They excited the vigilance of orthodox Christian Teachers, and stimulated them to examine with greater diligence what was the teaching of HOLY SCRIPTURE in those particular matters, which "Heresy went about to deprave." Thus the True Faith was seen more clearly, and was expressed more definitely; it was embodied in Confessions, and stereotyped in the Creeds of the Church.⁹

But it must not be imagined, that the Truth was

⁹ This has been admirably stated by the Fathers themselves; e.g. Origen, Hom. ix. in Num. "Si doctrina ecclesiastica nullis intrinsecus hæreticorum dogmatum assertionibus cingeretur, non poterat tam clara et tam examinata videri fides nostra. Sed idcirco doctrinam catholicam contradicentium obsidet oppugnatio, ut Fides nostra non otio torpescat sed exercitiis elimetur." "Illorum error nobis profuit," says St. Ambrose, in De Incarn. i. 6. So St. August. iii. 2056. "Hæretici abundant, et cœperunt fluctuare corda fidelium; jam tam necessitas facta est spiritualibus viris, qui aliquid secundum Divinitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi non solum legerant in *Evangelio*, sed intellexerant, ut contra arma Diaboli Christi arma proferrent." Hence he says, iv. p. 730, "Ex hæreticis asserta est Catholica." See also, iii. 102. 2055; iv. 730. 978; vii. 661; viii. 33. Hence, in the words of the venerable Hooker, v. xlii., "though those contentions (with heretics) were cause of much evil, yet some good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occasioned the learned and sound in faith to explain such things as Heresy went about to deprave."

made by being *elucidated*. No ; not a single article of it was so formed. It had existed, and had existed in its perfect plenitude, even from the beginning, in the pages of HOLY WRIT.

The process here described is similar to what takes place in the World of Nature. The rays of the Sun are often veiled from our sight by clouds. But the Sun is shining behind them. And, when the clouds break and are dissolved, not a single new ray of the sun is created ; but it is seen more clearly, and then “Nube solet pulsâ clarior ire dies.”

So, when the clouds of Heresy were dispersed, no new article of Faith was made ; no new beam of Divine Revelation radiated forth ; but the winds of Controversy had blown away the mists of Heresy,—the Storm had cleared the sky and purified the air, and the Orb of Truth was seen more clearly by the eye of the Church, as that Orb had shone from the first, in the firmament of Holy Writ.

The question now is—

How was this process of elucidation performed ?

Doubtless St. Hippolytus and the other Catholic Fathers admitted and affirmed, that every one is bound to exercise all the faculties which God has given him. But they did not imagine that any one might interpret Scripture as he pleased, or that whatever *seems* to be truth to any man, *is* truth to him. The “Refutation of all Heresies” by St. Hippolytus is a protest against such a notion as that.

Again, St. Hippolytus did not acknowledge the existence of any "developing authority" inherent in the Bishop of Rome, and belonging to that See. If there had been such a power and privilege in that Church in the third century, the Church of Christ would have become Noetian. She would have denied the proper personality of her Divine Head. The struggle of St. Hippolytus against Zephyrinus and Callistus, proves that in his view Bishops of Rome might become heretics, and must not be followed when they fall into heresy. And the Church Universal, by professing his doctrine as true, and proscribing theirs as heretical, has pronounced him to have been right, and them to have been wrong.

How, then, was it to be determined, what the true doctrine of Scripture is ?

By the aid of sound Reason, disciplined and informed by Learning, and exercised with caution, industry, and humility, and enlightened by Divine Grace given to earnest prayer, and controlled and regulated by the judgment and guidance of the Church Universal, to whom Christ has promised His Presence, and the Light of the Holy Spirit to guide her into all truth.

This was the doctrine of St. Hippolytus,¹ and the other Catholic Fathers.

Whatever, therefore, has been *received* by the Church Universal as the true Exposition of Scripture, that *is* the true sense of Scripture. And the *true*

¹ See above, chap. vii.

sense of Scripture,—that, and that alone, *is* Scripture. And, since the Creeds have been so received, we believe them to contain the True Faith as propounded in Scripture. And since the Personality of the Holy Spirit and the Divine Trinity in Unity are taught in the Creeds, we believe that those doctrines are contained in Holy Scripture,—and that they have been in Scripture from the beginning.

Therefore, even if it could be shown that St. Hippolytus, or any other among the ancient Fathers of the Church, had exaggerated a truth through fear of its opposite error; or if, not being gifted with prescience, they did not guard their language against possible misconstruction, in regard to some heresies which did not arise in the Church till some years after they were laid in their graves; or did not fully put forth such transcendental truths as the eternal generation of the Son of God, before those truths had been impugned,—What is all this to us? What is it to the question before us? They received the Holy Scriptures. They received them as the Rule of Faith. They received therefore all that is in the Scriptures. They received all that the Church Universal, the Body and Spouse of Christ—to whom He has committed the Scriptures, and whom He has commissioned to guard and interpret them—could show to be in those Scriptures. They received, therefore, by implication, and by anticipation, the Three Creeds, promulgated lawfully, and generally received by the Church.

We have the Holy Scriptures ; we have the blessing of Catholic teaching, and enjoy the benefits which Almighty God in His mercy has elicited from Heresies, for the victorious vindication and clearer manifestation of His Truth. We have the Creeds. We do not see any new sun, or any single new ray of the sun, in them. But by their means we see the Orb of divine light shining more brightly. By means of the Creeds, the Church Universal,—acting under the governance of her Divine Head, Who has promised to be with her always, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, Whom He has sent to abide with her for ever,—has rendered a greater service to the whole World than that which, in that celebrated speech, the noblest orator of Antiquity² said had been effected by one of his decrees for his own State. The Church, by means of the Creeds, has made the dangers of Heresy, which from time to time have hung over her, to pass away,—like a cloud.

² Demosth. de Coronâ, c. 56, § 4, τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῆ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ νέφος. Longinus, de Sublim. c. 39.

CHAPTER XVII.

Appeal to St. Hippolytus on the Present Claims of the Roman Church to Supremacy and Infallibility.

THE main question on which the controversy between the Church of Rome and the other Churches of Christendom hinges, is that of Papal Supremacy. "What is the point at issue," says Cardinal Bellarmine, "when we argue concerning the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff?" "It is," he replies, "*the sum of Christianity.*"¹

Among the arguments adduced by our Romanist brethren, in behalf of the Papal claim to Supremacy, one is urged by them with frequency and confidence, from a well-known passage of St. Irenæus.²

That great Bishop and Doctor of the Church, who was the disciple of St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, employs, they say, the following words in his Treatise on Heresy.

He is describing "the Church of Rome, as founded

¹ Bellarmin. de Pontifice, vol. i. p. 189, ed. 1615. De quâ re agitur cùm de primatu Pontificis agitur? Brevissimè dicam, *De summâ rei Christianitatis.*

² S. Iren. iii. 3.

by the two most glorious Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul," and he then says, "Ad *hanc Ecclesiam*, propter potentio-rem principalitatem, *necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam*—hoc est, eos qui sunt *undique* fideles, —in quâ semper ab his, qui sunt *undique*, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio."³

Here, it is affirmed by Romanist Theologians, is a declaration from St. Irenæus, one of the most eminent Bishops of the Church in the second century after Christ, that "*it is necessary* for every Church, that is, for all believers everywhere, to *conform* to the Church of *Rome*, on account of its more powerful prin- cipality."

Here is a declaration, they say, of her Supremacy ; and an assertion that it is the duty of all Christians to submit to the Church of Rome. And, since the Bishop of Rome is the head of that Church, therefore all men, they affirm, are bound to pay dutiful homage and filial obedience to him.

This passage may form an introduction to an Appeal on this important question to St. Hippolytus. Let us now examine the context and scope of the words of St. Irenæus.

He is arguing against Heretics. Having first re- futed them by reference to Holy Scripture,⁴ he next ⁵ proceeds to encounter them by the testimony of the Catholic Church.

³ S. Iren. iii. 3.

⁴ iii. 2.

⁵ As was usual with the primitive Catholic writers in his age. Bp. Pearson, Dissert. i. cap. 3, says, "ab Episcoporum successione argu-

How was this testimony to be obtained? "It would be very tedious,"⁶ he tells them, to cite all the Churches of Christendom as witnesses. He will therefore be content with one Church. And since he is writing in the West, the Church, which he will select, shall be a Western Church; it shall be a Church founded by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul—a Church whose succession of Bishops was well authenticated and generally known—the Church of Rome.⁷

St. Irenæus then introduces the passage to which we have just adverted. Unhappily that passage is known to us only through the medium of an old Latin Translation. The original Greek words of

mentari solebant secundi tertiique seculi Patres adversus sui temporis Hæreticos."

⁶ Valdè longum esset omnium Ecclesiarum enūmerare successiones.

⁷ The reader may compare the very similar argument of a contemporary of St. Irenæus, Tertullian, *De Præscr. Hæreticor.* c. 21. *Constat omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspirat, veritati deputandam.* C. 36: *Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsidet, apud quas authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque.*

It is observable that Tertullian dwells on nearness of *time* to the Apostles, as well as identity of place, as a ground for this appeal, so that the appeal would lose its force in course of time, and would ultimately be inapplicable, as now.

"Proxima est tibi Achaia? Habes Corinthum; Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum."

What, we may ask, would the Roman Church say of such an appeal to the Churches of Ephesus and Corinth, whom she now charges with heresy and schism? But if the appeal to Rome is valid, so is that to Ephesus and Corinth.

"Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est."

Irenæus are lost. The Latin version of them is as follows :—

“*Ad hanc* Ecclesiam (sc. Romanam), propter potentio-rem principalitatem, *neesse est omnem con-venire* Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in quâ semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.”

The divines of the Church of Rome interpret these words to mean, that it “is necessary for every Church to conform to this Church, *i. e.* to the Church of Rome;” and thus they deduce a moral obligation on all men to submit to her.

Are these inferences justified by the words of Irenæus?

Certainly not.

They are at variance with the drift of his argument. St. Irenæus is refuting Heretics by an appeal to the witness of the Church Universal. He has selected one Church as an exponent of that testimony. The Church so selected is the Church of Rome. His argument leads him to add that the selection is a fair one; and that, in appealing to one Church, the Church of Rome, he has virtually collected the witness of all.

And how does he show this? By reminding them, that the Church of Rome had been founded by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, whom they knew to have suffered at Rome only about a century

before, and from whom they could trace the succession of Bishops, whose names were well known to them, and which he himself enumerates from the first Bishop of Rome, Linus, to whose charge (he says) those two blessed Apostles committed the Roman Church, down to the then presiding Bishop of Rome, the twelfth in order, Eleutherus.

What does he say, in the words "ad hanc Ecclesiam, propter potentio-rem principalitatem, *nesse est* omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, omnes qui sunt undique fideles?"

As to the *potentior principalitas*, the original words were probably *διὰ τὴν ἰκανωτέραν ἀρχαιότητα*; for in the same chapter of Irenæus in the *Latin* translation the word *potentissima* is the rendering of *ἰκανωτάτη*, and is applied to an *Epistle*, and means "very considerable or sufficient." And "*principalitas*"⁸ signifies priority of time as opposed to *posterioritas*.

As to what follows, he does *not* say that every one, *then* and for *ever after*, *must submit* to the Church of Rome. No. If that had been true, then he would not have said, that, "*because it would be tedious* to appeal to *all Churches*," he would therefore appeal to *one Church*—the Church of Rome. Such a statement

⁸ *Principalitas*, in the old Latin version of Irenæus (as Stieren has shown), is used in the same sense as in Tertullian, for priority of time (see S. Iren. v. 14. v. 21), and is opposed to *posterioritas*. The argument may be illustrated by Tertullian's reference (see above, p. 283, note) to *Ecclesiæ originales et matrices*. The Church of Rome was the only Church in the West that was known to have been founded by Apostles. It had therefore a *potentior principalitas*, "a more august primitiveness."

would have been absurd, if Rome had been supreme over all Churches, and if all Churches were bound to conform to her.

No one would say, It would be a tedious process to ascertain the opinions of all the Peers of the Realm—we will therefore appeal to the Crown. What, then, do his words mean? They signify this: That, on account of the more august priority of Rome—"potentior principalitas"—it may *be taken for granted* that every Church coincides with Rome, and is represented by her; that is, that all believers, from all quarters, agree with her; or, in other words, every Church (he says) in which the tradition from the Apostles has been preserved by those who exist everywhere, *i. e.* by true Catholics, as opposed to heretics, who existed only in particular places. Hence, then, he means to say, his reference to Rome is a just one; and by appealing to that Church he has virtually appealed to all Churches, whose testimony may be supposed to be embodied and involved in hers.

Let it be observed, further, that St. Irenæus, so far from countenancing in this passage the doctrine of Papal Supremacy, as taught by Romish Divines, does in fact, by implication, overthrow the foundation on which they make it rest.

They base that doctrine on the words of our Blessed Lord to St. Peter;⁹ whom they affirm to be the Rock on which the Church is built. And they

⁹ Matth. xvi. 18, "On this Rock I will build My Church."

then proceed to say, that the Bishop of Rome is the Rock of the Church, by virtue of his succession to *St. Peter*.

This is their assertion.

But what is the language of *St. Irenæus*?

He refers to the Church of Rome, as founded by the *two* most glorious Apostles, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. He appeals to the Bishop of Rome as succeeding *Linus*, who, he says, was placed in that see by the same *two* Apostles. And thus he shows, in a striking manner, that he knew nothing of the Romish theory which claims infallibility and supremacy for *St. Peter alone*, as Head of the Church, and also claims the same prerogatives for the Bishops of Rome, as *successors of St. Peter*.

In confirmation of the above interpretation, let us revert to the fact, that the words quoted from *St. Irenæus* are not his original words, but are only a Latin Version of them.

This is to be borne in mind.

Since this Old Latin Version is a literal one (as is evident by comparison of it with the Greek in those passages where the Greek has been preserved), it is probable, and almost certain, that where we now read in the Latin "*necesse est*," *St. Irenæus* wrote *ἀνάγκη*.

The Greek word *ἀνάγκη*, it is well known, often implies a *reasonable inference*,—not a *moral obligation*. Such an use is common to all Greek Writers in prose and verse; *πολλή γ ἀνάγκη—πᾶσ' ἐστ' ἀνάγκη*—in the

Greek dramatic writers, and in the Dialogues of Plato, signify simply, "*By all means,*" or, "*it follows of course that it is so, or will be so.*" Similarly our Blessed Lord says (Matth. xviii. 7 ; cp. Luke xvii. 1), "*it is necessary (ἀνάγκη) that offences should come.*" The same is the case in Ecclesiastical Writers. Thus when Theodoret says,¹ ἀνθρώπους ἀνάγκη προσπταίειν ὄντας, he certainly does not intend to assert that it is a moral duty for a man to err—no ; but that "*humanum est errare,*" and that no mortal is free from error. When St. Chrysostom says,² ἀνάγκη τὸν ὁμιλοῦντα θεῷ κρείττονα γενέσθαι θανάτου καὶ πάσης διαφθορᾶς, he does not mean to affirm that it is a *moral duty* for a man, who converses with God, to conquer death and destruction. This would be a presumptuous speech. But he means, that a man who holds habitual intercourse with God by prayer and meditation, does by *natural consequence* become superior to dissolution. So again, when St. Hippolytus says,³ in his description of the lower world, φωτὸς τοίνυν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ μὴ καταλάμποντος, ἀνάγκη σκότος διηνεκῶς τυγχάνειν, he certainly cannot mean to assert any moral necessity for the existence of darkness, but what he means is, that, light not being admitted, darkness is the necessary result.⁴

¹ Eccl. Hist. iv. 5.

² These words are quoted from St. Chrysostom in "Hele's Select Offices of Private Devotion," published by the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," and form the appropriate motto of that excellent Manual, republished by Mr. Joshua Watson.

³ De Universo, p. 220, ed. Fabr.

⁴ Several examples of a similar use of ἀνάγκη may be seen in the

Such then is the signification of the word *ἀνάγκη*, which Irenæus appears to have used, and which is represented by *necesse est* in the passage before us. And we may observe, in confirmation of what has now been said on that point, that the word *ἀνάγκη* is used in this sense by Plato in his *Timæus*, and is translated "*necesse est*" by Cicero.⁵ In like manner Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 737) says,

Penitusque *necesse est*
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris ;

and Milton (*Par. Lost*, xii. 9),

Objects divine
Must needs impair and weary human sense.

On the whole, it is clear that Irenæus did not mean to affirm any moral obligation constraining all men to submit to the Church of Rome.

He knew the Church of Rome well. He knew her to have been founded in the preceding century by St. Peter and St. Paul ; he knew that her first Bishop was placed there by them. He knew her to be an orthodox Church. But he does not state it to be the duty of any other Church to submit to her, even as

fragment of Maximus, who appears to have been contemporary with St. Irenæus, in Routh's *Reliquiæ*, ii. 88. 90. 102. 107.

⁵ The words of Plato are, * *τὸν νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐραστὴν ἀνάγκη τὰς τῆς ἔμφρονος φύσεως αἰτίας πρώτας μεταδιώκειν*, which Cicero renders, "Illum qui intelligentiæ sapientiæque se amatorem profitetur *necesse est* intelligentis sapientis que naturæ primas causas conquirere." At the beginning of his 'De Officiis,' Cicero uses '*oportet*' in the same sense.

* Plato, *Timæus*, 46. D. vol. vii. p. 32. Stallbaum, Leips. 1824. Cp. Cicero, vii. p. 942, ed. Ernesti, Oxon. 1810.

she then was. Much less, not knowing, as he could not know, what she would *become* in future ages, does he lay upon all Churches in coming generations the responsibility of accommodating themselves to her opinions, whatever they may be.

Let us now advance a step further.

We (as was before observed) do not possess the original Greek of St. Irenæus, in this passage. It is lost. We have only the old Latin Version of it.

But the original Greek was extant in the third century; it was in the hands of St. Hippolytus. He was a Scholar of St. Irenæus, and has made frequent use of that Original in the Treatise on Heresy before us.

St. Hippolytus had this passage before him in the original Greek. He had the advantage of personal intercourse with St. Irenæus; he was his pupil, had heard his lectures, and gave an abstract of them to the world. He was formed in his school.

How then did St. Hippolytus understand this passage of St. Irenæus? How did he show that he understood it, by his own practice?

This becomes an interesting topic, not merely as bearing on the passage itself, but as of far more extensive import. For it aids us in deciding aright a question on which the controversy hinges between the Church of Rome and the other Churches of Christendom; viz.—

1. Whether the claim now put forth by the Bishop

of Rome to Spiritual Supremacy is an equitable claim? Was it acknowledged as such by the primitive Church?

2. Whether the Papal claim to Infallibility is a just claim or not? Was it admitted—was it known—in primitive times?

An answer to these inquiries is contained in the newly-discovered Volume before us.

It exhibits the condition of the Church of Rome, and displays the conduct and teaching of two Bishops of Rome in succession, Zephyrinus and Callistus, in the writer's own age, the earlier part of the third century, soon after the decease of St. Irenæus, not more than a hundred years after the death of the last surviving Apostle.

The person who wrote this history, was a scholar of St. Irenæus; he was a Bishop who passed a part of his life near Rome; one who was honoured in his day, and has ever since been honoured, as among the most eminent Teachers of the Church; one, whom the Church of Rome herself now venerates as a Martyr, and commemorates as a Saint, in her Breviary; one, whose Statue she received with honour within the doors of the Vatican, from which it has now been removed to the Lateran Museum—St. Hippolytus.

What then is his testimony with respect to the Bishop of Rome? Did he regard him as Supreme Head of the Church Universal? Did he think it the duty of all men, did he think it his own duty, to submit to him as such? Did he venerate him as

✓ Infallible? Does he give any intimation that the Bishops of Rome were looked upon as Supreme or Infallible by others, or even by themselves? Had the Bishops of Rome put forth any claims to Supremacy or Infallibility in that age?

In replying to these questions, let us make all due allowances. Let us take into consideration the circumstances in which the two successive Bishops of Rome, Zephyrinus and Callistus, were placed. They lived in a semi-heathen city. The clergy and laity of the Roman Church were not gifted with Learning.⁶ The Latin Church had few eminent Teachers then. In controverted questions of Theology, they had not the benefit of dogmatic decisions, such as we possess in the Creeds. They were liable to be swayed by the eager partisanship of heretical teachers, resorting to Rome from Asia,⁷ and bringing with them the restless spirit and dialectic shrewdness of the East,⁸ and bearing down upon them with an array of Scriptural texts torn from their context, and not interpreted by

⁶ Bp. Pearson, Diss. i. c. 13, contrasts the Roman Christians of that age with the Easterns in that respect, "ipsi alumni in eâ urbe nati et educati Christiani (*i. e.* Romani) qui eo tempore propter fidem celebres, propter doctrinam aut literarum scientiam non adeò præclarum testimonium nacti sunt."

⁷ Simon Magus, Valentinus, Marcion, Praxeas, and Sabellius, all came in person to Rome.

⁸ What Juvenal says of Greek and Asiatic Vices, Philosophical Systems and Superstitions, finding their way to Rome and flowing into it,

"Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes"—iii. 62, &c. is true of Heresies discharging their streams from the same countries into the same reservoir.

reference to the general scope of Scripture, but by subtle syllogistic processes, derived from the schools of human Philosophy, and inapplicable to the mysteries of Faith. The Bishops of Rome, in that age, were not a match for such disputants. They had also a dread—a reasonable one—of Polytheism. The City in which they dwelt was crowded with false deities. Wherever they turned their eyes, they witnessed the vicious and debasing effects of Idolatry. They heard the terrible denunciations sounding in Scripture against it. The Unity of the True God must be maintained at any rate against the manifold pretensions of the pagan Pantheon. Hence there naturally existed at Rome a predisposition to what is commonly called the Monarchian System of Theology.

And here we may remark, that, if the Trinitarian doctrine is not true, its maintenance in the primitive Church is unaccountable. All antecedent probability was against it. The doctrine of Three Persons, each of them Divine, could never have risen spontaneously in a Church whose prevailing spirit was a dread of Polytheism.⁹ There was much in the Church at that time to prevent the spread of the doctrine of the Trinity—nothing to produce it. The predisposition to Monarchianism showed itself in two opposite forms.

⁹ The common question with which the Sabellians accosted the orthodox, especially of the simpler sort, when they met them was, *ὦ οὗτοι, ἕνα θεὸν ἔχομεν ἢ τρεῖς θεούς*; Well, my friends, have we one God or three? Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 62.

One was the heresy of Theodotus and Artemon,¹ which denied the Divinity of Christ; the other, the heresy of Noetus, which did not acknowledge the Son of God to be the Word,² and denied the distinct and proper Personality of the Son, and affirmed that the Son is the same as the Father, under a different name.³

Between this Scylla and Charybdis of two Heresies the Catholic Church had to steer her course. To adopt another illustration, of a Scriptural character, supplied by an ancient writer,⁴ who combated both these heresies, the Blessed Son of God was crucified afresh between two malefactors. The one acknowledged Him to be Man, but would not worship Him as God; the other confessed Him to be God and

¹ On the doctrine of Theodotus, see *Philosophumena*, p. 257. Epiphanius. c. Hæres. xxxiv., sive liv. p. 462, ed. Petavii, Colon. 1682.

² The Noetian argument was, that it was a new thing to call the Son the Word, *ξέρον μοι φέρεις, λόγον λέγων υἶον*, S. Hippol. c. Noet. xv. According to the Noetian and Sabellian theology, the man Jesus *became* the Son of God by communication of the Word, which it did not regard as a Person, but as a property of the Divine Nature. To which St. Hippolytus replies from the Apocalypse, xix. 11, "that the Word of God is *He* Who was from the beginning, and has now been *sent* into the World."—c. Noet. xv. *τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦτον ὄντα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ νῦν ἀπεσταλμένον.*

³ On the Heresy of Noetus, see Epiphanius, xxxvii. sive lviii. p. 479. The Article of Epiphanius on Noetus is derived in a great measure from the Homily of St. Hippolytus (ed. Fabr. ii. 5—20), but without any mention of his name. Epiphanius, p. 481, contrasts the heresy of Noetus with that of Theodotus, and shows that they owed their origin to similar causes.

⁴ Novatian de Trin. § 30, "quasi inter duos latrones crucifigitur Dominus, et excipit hæreticorum istorum, ex utroque latere, sacrilega convitia."

Man, but would not acknowledge His Divine Personality.

Each of these Heresies was coupled with a Truth ; each struggled against the other, by means of the Truth it possessed. The Artemonite rightly maintained against the Noetian, that the Son is not the Father ; the Noetian rightly affirmed against the Artemonite, that the Son is God. Between the Artemonite and the Noetian, the Church held her place. She retained the truth, and rejected the error, of each. She affirmed that the Son is God, as well as Man ; and that the Son, Who is God, is a distinct Person from God the Father.

This was the position of the Church ; this was the doctrine of St. Hippolytus.

It does not appear that any Roman Bishop was betrayed into the opinion, which taught heretically that Christ is a mere man in whom the Godhead dwelt in an eminent degree. But it is clear from the recital contained in the Ninth Book of the recently-discovered Treatise on Heresy, that two Bishops of Rome in succession, Zephyrinus and Callistus, fell into the opposite heresy—that of Noetus.⁵

It is not necessary to dwell on the motives of this apostasy, or on the practices with which it was accompanied, or on the results by which it was followed. But it is requisite to state the fact. These two Bishops of Rome lapsed into heresy, in a primary article of the Christian Faith, and in opposition to the

⁵ See above, chap. vi. pp. 73—75. 87—89.

exhortations of Orthodox Teachers. They maintained that heresy, and propagated it by their official authority, as Bishops of Rome. They promulgated publicly a doctrine, which the Church of Rome herself, with all other Churches of Christendom, now declares to be heretical.

Hence it is apparent, that Bishops of Rome may err, and have erred,—that they may err and have erred, as Bishops of Rome—in matters of Faith.

Therefore the Bishop of Rome is not Infallible ; and the Church of Rome, in the Vatican Council on July 18th, 1870, in asserting him to be infallible in matters of faith and of morals, has greatly erred ; and has given another proof that the Church of Rome is not infallible, and has riveted herself in error, by making it almost impossible for herself to recant.

Next with regard to Supremacy.

When Zephyrinus and Callistus fell into heresy, in the earlier part of the third century, and when they endeavoured to disseminate their false doctrine, they were resisted by St. Hippolytus.

He did not imagine that he was bound to conform to them in their doctrine. On the contrary, he stood forth boldly and rebuked them. He has thus given a practical reply to the question, which has been raised concerning the sense of St. Irenæus, his master, in the passage recited above. Hippolytus certainly had never learnt from him that every Church,

and every Christian, must submit to the Bishop of Rome.

Let it not be said, that he merely resisted Zephyrinus and Callistus from a transient impulse of passion, and swayed by the feelings of the moment. His resistance was deliberate; it was a resistance of many years. Not only when Zephyrinus and Callistus were alive, did he think it his duty to contend against them and their heresy; but when they were in their graves, he sate down and committed to writing the history of their Heresy, and of his own opposition to it. And he published that history to the World, in order that none might be deluded by the false doctrine which those Roman Bishops had propagated, and which was disseminated after their death by some who had been deceived by them.

He published that History after the death of Callistus, and probably in the time of his successor Urbanus. He affirms that he wrote his Treatise in the discharge of his duty as a Bishop of the Church.⁶ Nothing occurs in the whole course of the Ten Books to suggest any surmise that he had encountered any Ecclesiastical censure, on the ground of his having opposed the heretical teaching of Zephyrinus and Callistus; or that, by this publication, he contravened the just authority of the Bishop of Rome at the time when he published his work. Nothing exists in it to excite any suspicion, that, however the Church of Rome might regret the facts which his treatise related,

⁶ See Lib. i. p. 3.

she made any remonstrance against the publication, or regarded it as a breach of order and discipline. On the contrary, he promises himself the gratitude of the world for it.⁷ And he seems to have not been disappointed. The veneration in which his memory was held at Rome as a Teacher of Catholic Truth indicates this.

Such was the conduct of St. Hippolytus. Such is his commentary—the commentary of his life—on the teaching of his master, St. Irenæus, concerning the Church of Rome.

It does not appear from the narrative before us, that the Bishops of Rome themselves, in the third century, entertained any idea that they were Supreme Heads of the Church, or that Christians and Churches were bound to submit to them as such.

St. Hippolytus was indeed charged by Zephyrinus and Callistus with being a Ditheist, because he would not say with them that the Father and the Son are one Divine Being under two different names. But we can discover no intimation that they put forth any claim to Supremacy, and much less to Infallibility,⁸ or that he was accused of heresy as one who resisted the Divine Head of the Church, and rebelled against the Vicegerent of Christ on earth, because he opposed the Bishop of Rome.

⁷ See Lib. i. p. 3, and Lib. ix. p. 309.

⁸ Indeed, as we have seen above, p. 182, from the "Liber Diurnus" of the Popes themselves, they had no notion that they were infallible, in the eighth century, and they condemned one of their number as a heretic.

Let not therefore the Divines of Rome censure us as innovators, because we do not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as Supreme Head of the Church; and as Infallible in matters of faith and morals.

We tread in the ancient paths, which we should be deserting for new and devious ways, if we admitted claims—claims urged as of Divine Right and in the name of Christ—but not authorized by Holy Scripture, and unknown to the primitive Church.

But, on the other hand, the Bishops of Rome, by putting forth such claims in Christ's name, and by endeavouring to enforce those claims on all men and on all Churches, as terms of Church-communion, and by presuming to put forth new dogmas, such as that of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin (which contravenes the doctrine of Christ's unique sinlessness), and which one Pope, Pius IX., made to be an article of faith on December 8th, 1854, and which his successor, Leo XIII., reiterated by celebrating on December 8th, 1879,⁹ the first Jubilee of

⁹ The present Pope, Leo XIII., attended by sixteen Cardinals and a large number of Bishops, delivered from his pontifical throne in the hall of the Consistory of the Vatican, an oration on that occasion (Dec. 8, 1879) to the representatives of all the Dioceses of Italy. He then uttered the following remarkable words:—"La Concezione Immacolata ci rivela il segreto della potenza grandissima di Maria sopra il comune nemico (Satan).—Giacchè ne insegna la fede, che Maria fin dai primordii del mondo fu destinata ad esercitare contro il Demonio e contro il suo seme implacabile ed eterna inimicizia, *'inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem,'* e che fin dal primo istante dell' essere suo potè schiacciargli vittoriosamente la superba cervice, *'Ipsa conteret caput tuum'* (Genesis iii. 15)." And thus, on that memorable occasion, the Roman Pontiff, who claims infallibility in matters of Faith, proved himself fallible, and greatly erred, by misinterpreting that divine prophecy,—the first

that promulgation, are chargeable with innovations,—and with such innovations as are contrary to Christian Charity, as well as Christian Truth, and have rent the Church asunder, and are therefore such, that no gifts or graces can compensate for them.¹

If the claims which are put forth by the Bishops of Rome to Infallibility and Universal Supremacy are not just,—we are compelled very reluctantly to say it,—then there is no alternative, they are nothing short of blasphemy. For they are claims to participation in the attributes of God Himself. And if He does not authorize these claims, they are usurpations of His Divine prerogatives. They therefore who abet those claims are fighting against Him. They are defying Him, Who “is a jealous God, and will not give His honour to another,” and Who is “a consuming fire.”² May they therefore take heed in time, lest they incur His malediction! And since they

prophecy in Scripture (Gen. iii. 15), and by ascribing to a *Woman* (the Blessed Virgin) the power which Almighty God there assigns to the *Seed* of the Woman, namely CHRIST. Pope Leo XIII. is reported to be a scholar. How he could venture to adopt *Ipsa* for *IPSE*, if he were not blinded by some mysterious influence, is inexplicable. For further remarks on this perversion of those divine words, may I be allowed to refer to my note on Gen. iii. 15? The same Pope, Leo XIII., in his Encyclic “*Æterni Patris*,” published on August 4th, 1879, ordered all men to take their Theology from Thomas Aquinas. But Thomas Aquinas *rejected the dogma of the Immaculate Conception*. In his *Compendium Theologiæ*, cap. 224, tom. xix. p. 129 ed. Venet. 1787, he says, “*Est ergo tenendum quod cum peccato originali concepta fuit.*” See also his *Summa Theol. Pars iii. c. 27*, tom. xxiv. p. 133. Popes contradict one another, and themselves, and yet claim Infallibility!

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 1—3.

² Exod. xx. 5. Heb. xii. 29.

affirm that their system of Christianity rests on the basis of Papal Supremacy, may they be led to consider whether, instead of being founded on a Rock, they are not building on the Sand! Are they not tempting others to do so? Are they not beguiling them to place their hopes on a false foundation, and so leading them on to everlasting destruction? If this is so, then their house will fall, and "great will be the fall thereof."³

St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, resisted the doctrinal errors of the Bishops of Rome. His resistance to error, and maintenance of the truth, appear to have been signally blessed by the Divine Head of the Church.

In due time, the Heresy, patronized by Zephyrinus and Callistus, was suppressed. In due time, the Truth, maintained by St. Hippolytus, prevailed at Rome. His memory was blessed,—and so much the more, we may believe, because he had rescued the Roman Church from a Heresy, patronized by two Roman Bishops; and because, in defiance of their threats, he held firmly the true faith, though reviled by them as a heretic.

St. Hippolytus has ever been regarded as one of the most learned teachers of Christian doctrine. It is true that in a matter of discipline, he inclined to the rigorous notions of Novatian, as many pious and learned men did. But we have not a tittle of evidence

³ Matth. vii. 27.

discipline

that his orthodoxy as to articles of Faith was ever called in question. Indeed, there is an unanimous and continuous testimony of more than sixteen centuries that he was one of the brightest luminaries of Christendom, and one of the most eminent doctors of the Church.⁴

A marble Statue was erected in his honour soon after his martyrdom. Having been buried for many centuries, it was brought to light three hundred years ago, and was restored by the reverent care of a Cardinal and a Pope. And the opponent of two Bishops of Rome, the Historian of their Heresy, the deliverer of the Church of Rome from the error of her own two Chief Pastors, Zephyrinus and Callistus, was enshrined in the Vatican, and is revered by Prelates, Cardinals, and Pontiffs of Rome.⁴

In this newly-discovered Volume, a solemn caution has been given to the Church, and to the world, at this critical juncture. We need not hesitate to say,

⁴ Cardinal Baronius bears the following testimony to St. Hippolytus (Annales ad A.D. 229):—"To the very great misfortune and detriment of the whole Catholic Church, many writings of this orthodox writer have perished; but, as is agreed by the Eastern and Western Church, he is deservedly called a great ornament of them both." Cardinal Mai thus speaks of St. Hippolytus and his Statue (Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio Vatican. Rom. 1825. Proleg. p. xxxv.), "Hippolyti commentariorum in Danielis Vaticinium, in Vaticanis codicibus pars adhuc mediocris erat inedita quam libenter propter *tanti Doctoris et Martyris reverentiam* luce impertivi. Statuam ejus cum paschali cyclo operumque Catalogo inscripto prope Urbem in agro Verano Marcelli Card. Cervini auspiciis effossam, deinde a Pio IV. in Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ, ubi adhuc asservatur, positam, in fronte libri mei incidendam curavi."

that the warning is providential. Three centuries ago the Statue, to which we have referred, was dug up near Rome ; it bore no name ; but it had a Greek inscription engraven upon it, containing the titles of an Author's Works. By a comparison of these titles with notices in ancient Writers, this Statue was recognized to be a Statue of St. Hippolytus, and as such, it was received into the Papal Library at Rome. It was restored to its pristine form under the auspices of that Pope, Pius the Fourth, who promulgated the Trent Creed, in which the Doctrine of Papal Supremacy is set forth as an Article of Faith. Three hundred years passed away. And now in our own age,—another discovery has been made—in a different quarter. An ancient Manuscript has been brought to light, from a monastic cloister of Mount Athos. On examination, it is found to state that its Author wrote a Work bearing one of the titles mentioned on the Statue—a Work “On the Universe.” Thus the disinterred Statue furnished the first clue for the discovery of the Author of the MS. found three centuries afterwards in the cloistral Library of Mount Athos. Other evidences have accrued ; and it is now firmly established, that the Author of the Treatise is St. Hippolytus.

Great reason there is for gratitude to Almighty God, that He has thus watched over the work of His faithful soldier and servant, the blessed Martyr, Hippolytus.

We of the Church of England may recognize in

this Treatise, a Catholic and Apostolic, yes, and a Roman, Vindication, of our own Reformation. Here a Roman Bishop, Saint and Martyr, supplies us with a defence of our own religious position with respect ✓ to Rome. In his "Refutation of all Heresies," we see a practical Refutation of that great Heresy, which either directly or indirectly, is at the root of many prevalent Heresies—a Refutation of the Heresy of Papal Supremacy, and of Papal Infallibility.

Whenever then we are charged by Romish Divines with Heresy, and Schism, for not acknowledging the Bishop of Rome as Supreme Head of the Church, and Infallible Arbiter of the Faith, we may henceforth refer them to the marble Statue in the Lateran, and bid them listen to St. Hippolytus.

Thankful, however, as we ought to be for this recent discovery, perhaps they who have cause to be most grateful, are the Clergy and Laity of Rome. Truth is to be prized above all things, especially in matters of Faith. Arguments from adversaries, real or supposed, and especially from contemporaneous adversaries, are often regarded with suspicion, and are rejected with scorn. But here the members of the Church of Rome may read a Treatise, written by one whose name they love and venerate, one who has no interests to serve, no passions to gratify; a Bishop, Doctor, Saint, and Martyr, of their own ancient Church.

"He being dead yet speaketh." ⁵

⁵ Heb. xi. 4.

He speaks to them from the grave, he speaks to them from primitive times—from the third century. He sits on his marble chair in the Lateran Museum at Rome, and teaches them there.

One of the wisest Bishops of the Church of England, Bishop Sanderson, declared his deliberate judgment, that the Church of Rome, by enforcing unscriptural and uncatholic terms of Communion, is the main cause of the unhappy Schism by which Christendom is rent asunder.

Nor is this all. The Infidelity now prevalent on the Continent of Europe, and its disastrous consequences, spiritual and social, are due in great measure to the recoil of human intelligence revolting from the false doctrines, superstitious worship, and exorbitant claims, of that form of religion and polity which is presented to it by the Church of Rome.

May it please the merciful Providence which has awakened the voice of Hippolytus from its silence of sixteen centuries, so to bless its accents, that it may promote the Glory of God, the cause of Truth, the peace of Nations, and the Unity of His Church.

APPENDIX A.

THE following is from the Work of St. HIPPOLYTUS "ON THE UNIVERSE," and is an *addition* to the Fragment already printed by Fabricius from that Work. See above, pp. 211—216. It has been supplied from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Baroccian MSS. No. XXVI. See "Hearne's Curious Discourses," Vol. ii. p. 394, Lond. 1773, where it was published with some conjectural emendations by Provost Langbaine. See also Routh, Rel. Sacr. ii. pp. 157, 158. I am indebted for a revised collation of it to the kindness of Mr. Barrow and Mr. Southey, Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford. The MS. contains also the Fragment in Fabricius beginning with 'Ο ἄδης τόπος ἐστίν, p. 220.

Fragmentum S. Hippolyti "De Universo" ex MS. Barocc.
26.

ὁ μετὰ δικαίων ἀριθμὸς διαμέ-
νει ἀνέκλειπτος ἅμα δικαίοις
ἀγγέλοις καὶ πνεύμασι Θεοῦ καὶ
τοῦ τούτου Λόγου ὡς τῶν δικαίων
χορὸς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἀγή-
ρως καὶ ἀφθάρτως διαμένει ὑμῶν
τὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτα προαγόμενον θεὸν διὰ

EN BIΩ

τῆς τοῦ εὐτάκτου νομοθεσίας συνοις
καὶ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις ἀδιάληπτον ὕμνον

*Idem Fragmentum conjecturali
emendatione a nobis restitu-
tum.—Voces asterisco* dis-
tinctas jam suffecerat Lang-
bænius.*

ὁ μέγας δικαίων ἀριθμὸς διαμένει
ἀνέκλειπτος, ἅμα δικαίοις ἀγγέλοις
καὶ πνεύμασι Θεοῦ καὶ τῷ τούτου
Λόγῳ* ὡς ὁ τῶν δικαίων χορὸς*
ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἀγήρως καὶ
ἀφθαρτος διαμένει, ὑμῶν τὸν ἐπὶ
ταῦτα προαγόμενον Θεὸν διὰ τῆς τοῦ
[EN BIΩ] εὐτάκτου νομοθεσίας.
Σὺν οἷς καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Κτίσις ἀδιάλειπ-
τον ὕμνον ἀνοίσει, ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς

ἀνοίσει¹ ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν διανγῆ καὶ καθαρῶ πνεύματος δεδοξασμένη οὐκ ὑπαναγκῆς δεσμός συνχοθήσεται ἀλλὰ ἐλευθερία ζῶσα ἐκούσιον τὸν ὕμνον ἅμα τοὺς ἐλευθερωθεῖσιν πάσης δουλείας ἀγγέλοις τε καὶ πνεύμασιν καὶ ἀνθρώποις αἰνέση τὸν πεποιηκότα τούτους ἐὰν πισθέντες Ἑλλινες καταλείψεται τὴν ματαιότητα τῆς ἐπιγενοῦς καὶ χρημάτων σπόρου σοφίας καὶ μὴ περὶ λέξεις ῥημάτων ἀσχολούμενοι τὸν νοῦν εἰς πλανησοιωητε ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοπνεύστοις προφήταις καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ λόγοις ἐξηγηταῖς ἐνχειρίσαντες τὰς ἀκοὰς Θεοῦ πιστεύσηται ἔσσεσθαι καὶ τούτων κοινωνοὶ καὶ τῶν μελλόντων τεύξασθαι ἀγαθῶν ἀμέτρον τε οὐρανοῦ ἀνάβασιν καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ βασιλείαν ὄψεσθαι φανερώς ἤ² Θεὸς ἃ νῦν σεισιώπηται ἃ οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν οὔτε ἤκουσεν οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη ὅσα ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν ἐφ' οἷς ἀνευρω ὑμᾶς ἐπι τούτοις κρινῶ παρεκαστα βοατο τέλος ἀπαντων ὡς τε καὶ τῷ τα εὐ πεποιηκότι τὸν βίον λήξαντος δε τοῦ τέλος ἐξοκῆλαν³ τῇ πρὸς κακίαν ἀνοητοὶ οἱ πρόσθε πονοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ καταστροφῇ τοῦ δραματος ἐξάθλω γεγόμενω τότε χειρον καὶ ἐπισεσυμένως βιώσαντι πρότερον ἔστιν ὕστερον μετανοήσαντι πολλοῦ χρόνου πολιτείαν

εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν διανγῆ καὶ καθαρῶ πνεύματος δεδοξασμένη· οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκῆς δεσμοῖς συνεχθήσεται, ἀλλὰ ἐλευθεριάζουσα ἐκούσιον τὸν ὕμνον ἅμα τοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖσιν πάσης δουλείας ἀγγέλοις τε καὶ πνεύμασιν καὶ ἀνθρώποις αἰνέσει* τὸν Πεποιηκότα. Τούτοις ἐὰν πισθέντες Ἑλλήνες καταλείψητε τὴν ματαιότητα τῆς ἐπιγείου* καὶ ῥηματοσπόρου σοφίας, καὶ μὴ, περὶ λέξεις ῥημάτων ἀσχολούμενοι, τὸν νοῦν εἰς πλάνησιν ἀνῆτε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Θεοπνεύστοις Προφήταις καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Λόγου ἐξηγηταῖς ἐνχειρίσαντες τὰς ἀκοὰς, Θεῷ πιστεύσητε, ἔσσεσθε καὶ τούτων κοινωνοὶ, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων τεύξεσθε ἀγαθῶν, ἀμέτρον τε οὐρανοῦ ἀνάβασιν καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ βασιλείαν ὄψεσθε· φανερώσει γὰρ θεὸς ἃ νῦν σεισιώπηται, “ἃ οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν οὔτε ἤκουσεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἠτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν”¹ “Ἐφ' οἷς ἂν εὐρω ὑμᾶς, ἐπὶ τούτοις κρινῶ,”² παρεκαστα βοᾷ τὸ τέλος ἀπάντων· ὥστε καὶ τῷ τὸ εὐ πεποιηκότι, τοῦ βίου δὲ λήξαντος τὸ τέλος ἐξοκείλαντι πρὸς κακίαν, ἀνόητοί* οἱ πρόσθε πόνιοι, ἐπὶ τῇ καταστροφῇ τοῦ δράματος ἐξάθλω γεγομένω· τῷ τε χεῖρον καὶ ἐπισεσυμένως βιώσαντι πρότερον, ἔστιν

¹ ανοιση sed corr. in ανοισει.

² Pro εἰ γαρ, ut videtur. φανερώσει Southoio debetur.

³ ἐξόκειλαν· corr. in ἐξοκῆλαν.

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 9.

² Vide Grabe, Spicileg. i. p. 14 et p. 327. Ezek. xviii. 24; xxxiii. 20.

πονηρὰν ἐκνικῆσαι τῷ μετὰ τὴν
μετάνοιαν χρόνῳ ἀκριβείας, δὲ δεῖται
πολλῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς μακρᾶς α σ ω ⁴ πε-
ποιηκόσι

MEN

σώμασι διαιτησ χρια καὶ προσοχης
πλείονος εστιν δυνατον γὰρ ἰσως
ἀθρόως ἀποκόψαι παθης τροφ ⁵ . . .
ἀλλὰ μετὰ θεοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀν-
θρω ⁶ καισias καὶ ἀδελφῶν
βοηθείας καὶ ειλικρινους μετανοιας
καὶ συνεχης μελετης κατορθοῦται
καλὸν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν ἀγαθὸν
δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀμαρτάνοντας μετανοεῖν,
ὥσπερ ἄριστον τὸ ὑγαίνειν ἀεὶ καλὸν
δε καὶ τὸ ἀνασφᾶλαι μετὰ τὴν
νόσον.

τῷ Θεῷ δόξα.

⁴ Ὅσω, sed O in loc. raso rescript.

⁵ τροφ (ut videtur).

⁶ Post ἀνθρω desunt literæ sex vel septem.

ὑστερον μετανοησαντι πολλοῦ
χρόνου πολιτείαν πονηρὰν ἐκ-
νικῆσαι τῷ μετὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν
χρόνῳ· ἀκριβείας δὲ δεῖται πολλῆς·
ὥσπερ τοῖς μακρᾷ νόσῳ* πε-
πονηκόσι. μὲν σώμασι διαίτης
χρεία καὶ προσοχῆς πλείονος· ἔστιν
δυνατὸν γὰρ ἴσως ἀθρόως ἀποκόψαι
πάθης στροφῆν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ Θεοῦ
δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰκεσίας,*
καὶ ἀδελφῶν βοηθείας καὶ ειλικρινουὺς
μετανοίας καὶ συνεχοῦς μελέτης
κατορθοῦται· καλὸν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀμαρ-
τάνειν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀμαρτάνοντα
μετανοεῖν,³ ὥσπερ ἄριστον τὸ ὑγι-
αίνειν ἀεὶ, καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀνασφῆλαι
μετὰ τὴν νόσον.

τῷ Θεῷ δόξα.

³ Hinc liquet Hippolytum nos-
trum Novatiani de poenitentiâ pla-
citis non fuisse mancipatum.

APPENDIX B.

Showing that the recently-discovered Treatise was known to, and used by, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, who died A.D. 457.

Philosophumena, p. 315.

Οἱ δὲ Περᾶται, Ἰ' Ἀδέμης² ὁ Καρύστιος καὶ Εὐφράτης³ ὁ Περαιτικός, λέγουσιν ἓνα εἶναι κόσμον τινὰ, οὕτως καλοῦντες τοῦτον τριχῆ διηρημένον. *Ἔστι τὲ τριχῆς⁴ διαιρέσεως παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἓν μέρος, οἷον ἡ μία⁵ ἀρχὴ καθάπερ πηγὴ μεγάλη, εἰς ἀπείρους τομὰς τῷ λόγῳ τμηθῆναι δυναμένη. Ἡ δὲ πρώτη τομὴ καὶ προσεχεστέρα κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἐστὶν ἡ τριάς, καὶ καλεῖται ἀγαθὸν τέλειον, μέγεθος πατρικόν. Τὸ δὲ δεύτερον μέρος τῆς τριάδος οἰονεὶ δυνάμεων ἀπείρων τι πληθὸς· τρίτον, ἰδικόν· καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγέννητον, ὅθεν διαρρήδην λέγουσι τρεῖς θεοὺς, τρεῖς λόγους, τρεῖς

Theodoret, Hæret. Fab. i. 17.

Ἰ' Ἀδέμης δὲ ὁ Καρύστιος, καὶ ὁ Περαιτικός Εὐφράτης, ἀφ' οὗ Περᾶται προσηγορεύθησαν οἱ τούτων ὁμόφρονες, ἓνα κόσμον εἶναι φασὶ τριχῆ διηρημένον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἓν μέρος, οἷόν τινα πηγὴν εἶναι μεγάλην, εἰς ἅπειρα διαιρεθῆναι τῷ λόγῳ δυνάμενον· τὴν δὲ πρώτην τομὴν Τριάδα προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ καλοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἀγαθὸν τέλειον, μέγεθος πατρικόν. Τὸ δὲ δεύτερον δυνάμεων ἀπείρων τὸ πληθὸς. Τὸ δὲ τρίτον καλοῦσιν ἰδικόν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγέννητον λέγουσι, καὶ ὀνομάζουσι τρεῖς θεοὺς, τρεῖς λόγους, τρεῖς νοῦς, τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους. *Ἄνωθεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας, καὶ τῆς πρώτης

¹ Hunc parallelismum indicavit Bernays apud Bunsen. iv. p. xlv.

² Supra Ἀκέμβης ὁ Καρύστιος. Cod. Καροίστιος.

⁴ Debatat δὲ τῆς τριχῆ διαιρ. Miller.

³ Cod. Ἐφράτης

Περαιτικός.
μία. Miller.

⁵ Fort. οἰονεὶ

νοῦς, τρεῖς ἄνθρωποι. Ἐκάστω γὰρ μέρος τοῦ κόσμου τῆς διαιρέσεως διακεκριμένης, διδύασι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ λόγους καὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Ἄνωθεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πρώτης τομῆς, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου καθεστῆκότος, κατεληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑρῶδου χρόνοις τριφυῆ⁶ τινὰ ἄνθρωπον καὶ τρισώματον καὶ τριδύναμον, καλούμενον Χριστόν, ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ τοῦ κόσμου συγκρίματα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι θέλουσι τὸ εἰρημένον, “Ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σώματι.”⁷ Κατενεχθῆναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων κόσμων ὄψο, τοῦ τε ἀγεννήτου καὶ τοῦ αὐτογεννήτου, εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον, ἐν ᾧ ἔσμεν ἡμεῖς, παντοῖα δυνάμεων σπέρματα. Κατεληλυθέναι δὲ τὸν Χριστόν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ ἀγεννησίας, ἵνα διὰ τῆς καταβάσεως αὐτοῦ, πάντα σωθῆ⁸ τὰ τριχῆ διηρημένα. Ἀ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔστιν ἄνωθεν κατενηγεμένα, ἀνελεύσεται δι’ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηγεμένοις ἀφιεῖ εἰκῆ, καὶ κολασθέντα ἀποπέμπεται. Δύο δὲ εἶναι μέρη τὰ σωζόμενα λέγει, τὰ ὑπερκείμενα, ἀπαλλαγέντα τῆς φθορᾶς· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἀπόλλυσθαι,⁹ ὃν κόσμον ἴδιον καλεῖ. Ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Περᾶται.

Philos. p. 318.

Ὁ δὲ πάνσοφος Σίμων οὕτως

⁶ Cod. τριφυνή.

⁹ Cod. ἀπόλλυσθαι.

⁷ Coloss. ii. 9 ubi σωματικῶς.

⁸ Cod. σωθεῖ.

τοῦ κόσμου διαιρέσεως, παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ κόσμου συντέλειαν, ἐν τοῖς Ἑρῶδου χρόνοις κατεληλυθέναι τριφυῆ τινὰ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τρισώμον, καὶ τριδύναμον, καλούμενον Χριστόν· καὶ διελθεῖν τὸν τε ἀγεννητον κόσμον, καὶ τὸν αὐτογενῆ, καὶ ἔλθειν εἰς τόνδε τὸν κόσμον ἐν ᾧ ἔσμεν. Κατελθὼν δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς, τὰ μὲν ἄνωθεν κατενηγεμένα ἐπανελθεῖν ἄνω παρασκευάσει, τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐπιβουλεύσαντα παραδώσει κολάσει. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀγεννητον κόσμον, καὶ τὸν αὐτογενῆ, σωθήσεσθαι λέγουσι· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὃν ἴδικὸν ὀνομάζουσι.

Theodoret i. 1.

Σίμων δὲ πρῶτος, ὁ Σαμαρείτης

λέγει· ἀπέραντον εἶναι δύναμιν, ταυτην ρίζωμα τῶν ὄλων εἶναι.

Ἔστι δὲ, φησὶν, ἡ ἀπέραντος δύναμις τὸ πῦρ καθ' αὐτὸ,¹ οὐδὲν ἀπλοῦν καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπλῶ λέγοντες εἶναι τὰ (δὲ)² τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπλοῦν εἶναι νενομίκασιν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν φύσιν διπλῆν, καὶ τῆς διπλῆς ταύτης καλεῖ τὸ μὲν τι³ κρυπτὸν, τὸ δὲ φανερόν, κεκρύφθαι δὲ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐν τοῖς φανεροῖς τὸ πῦρ,⁴ καὶ τὰ φανερά τοῦ πυρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν κρυπτῶν γεγονέναι· Πάντα δὲ, φησὶ, νενομίσται τὰ μέρη τοῦ πυρὸς ὄρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα φρόνησιν ἔχειν. Γέγονεν οὖν, φασὶν, ὁ κόσμος ἀγέννητος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου πυρὸς. Ἦρξατο δὲ, φησὶν, οὕτως γίνεσθαι ἐξ ρίζας τὰς πρώτας τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς γενέσεως ὁ ἀγέννητος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκείνου λαβὼν ταύτας γὰρ ρίζας γεγονέναι κατὰ συζυγίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς, ἃς τινὰς καλεῖ νοῦν καὶ ἐπίνοϊαν, φωνὴν καὶ ὄνομα,⁵ λογισμὸν καὶ ἐνθύμησιν.

Philos. p. 326.

Μαρκίων δὲ ὁ Ποντικός καὶ Κέρδων ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀρίζουσιν εἶναι τρεῖς τὰς τοῦ παντός⁶ ἀρχὰς, ἀγαθὸν, δίκαιον, ὕλην· τινὲς δὲ τούτων μαθηταὶ προστιθέασιν, λέγοντες ἀγαθὸν, δίκαιον, ποιηρὸν, ὕλην. Οἱ δὲ πάντα,⁷ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν

ὁ μάγος, τῆς τούτου κακοτεχνίας ὑπουργὸς ἀνεφάνη.

Οὗτος τοῦτον μῦθον ἐγέννησεν. Ἄπειρον τινὰ ὑπέθετο δύναμιν· ταύτην δὲ ρίζωμα τῶν ὄλων ἐκάλεσεν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὴν πῦρ ἔφησε, διπλῆν ἐνέργειαν ἔχον, τὴν μὲν φαινομένην, τὴν δὲ κεκρυμμένην· τὸν δὲ κόσμον γεννητὸν εἶναι, γεγενῆσθαι δὲ ἐκ τῆς φαινομένης τοῦ πυρὸς ἐνεργείας.

Πρῶτον δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς προβληθῆναι τρεῖς συζυγίας, ἃς καὶ ρίζας ἐκάλεσε· καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην προσηγόρευσε νοῦν καὶ ἐπίνοϊαν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, φωνὴν καὶ ἔννοϊαν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην λογισμὸν καὶ ἐνθύμησιν.

Theodoret i. 24.

Μαρκίων δὲ, καὶ Κέρδων ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σίμωνος ἐξαπάτης ἔλαβον τῆς βλασφημίας τὰς ἀφορμὰς, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν ἐκαινοτόμησαν ἀσεβείας ὁδόν.

Ὁ δὲ Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικός, ταῦτα παρὰ Κέρδωνος παιδευθεὶς, οὐκ

¹ Cod. καθ' αὐτόν. ² Dele δὲ, ortum ex δ'. Miller. ³ Cod. μὲν τοι. ⁴ τοῦ πυρὸς. Scott. ⁵ An leg. ἔννοϊαν? ⁶ Cod. τοὺς παντός. ⁷ Leg. videtur οἱ δὲ πάντες. Miller.

οὐδὲν ἄλλως πεποιηκέναι, τὸν δὲ δίκαιον, οἱ μὲν τὸν πονηρὸν, οἱ δὲ μόνον δίκαιον ὀνομάζουσι, πεποιηκέναι δὲ τὰ πάντα φάσκουσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὕλης· πεποιηκέναι γὰρ οὐ καλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀλόγως. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα ὅμοια εἶναι τῷ πεποιηκότη· διὸ καὶ ταῖς παραβολαῖς ταῖς εὐαγγελικαῖς οὕτως χρῶνται λέγοντες· “Οὐ δύναται δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς πονηροῦς ποιεῖν,”⁸ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, εἰς τοῦτο φάσκων εἰρησθαι τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς νομιζόμενα. Τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπέμφθαι ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν, ὃν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον καλεῖ, ὡς ἄνθρωπον φανέντα λέγων οὐκ ὄντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὡς ἔνσαρκον οὐκ ἔνσαρκον, δοκῆσει πεφνηνότη, οὔτε γένεσιν ὑπομείναντα οὔτε πάθος, ἀλλὰ τῷ δοκεῖν. Σάρκα δὲ οὐ θέλει ἀνίστασθαι· Γάμον δὲ φθορὰν εἶναι λέγων κυνικωτέρῳ βίῳ προσάγων⁹ τοὺς μαθητὰς, ἐν τούτοις νομίζων λυπεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, εἰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότων ἢ ὀρισμένων ἀπ-
έχοιτο.

Philos. p. 327.

Κήρινθος δὲ ὁ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἀσκηθεὶς αὐτὸς οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ τὸν κόσμον γεγονέναι ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυνάμεώς τινος ἀγγελικῆς, πολὺ κεχωρισμένης καὶ διεστῶσης τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας, καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα θεόν.

ἔστερξε τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν διδασκαλίαν, ἀλλ' ἠὔξησε τὴν ἀσέβειαν. Τέτταρας γὰρ ἀγεννήτους οὐσίας τῷ λόγῳ διέπλασε. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκάλεσεν ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ ἄγνωστον, ὃν καὶ πατέρα προσηγόρευσε τοῦ Κυρίου· τὸν δὲ δημιουργόν τε καὶ δίκαιον, ὃν καὶ πονηρὸν ὠνόμαξε. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὴν ὕλην, κακὴν τε οὖσαν, καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλῳ κακῷ τελούσαν. Τὸν δὲ δημιουργὸν περιγενόμενον τοῦ κακοῦ, τὴν ὕλην λαβεῖν τε, καὶ ἐκ ταύτης δημιουργῆσαι τὰ σύμπαντα.

Theodoret i. 3.

Κατὰ δε τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Κήρινθος ἐτέρας ἤρξεν αἰρέσεως. Οὗτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλείστον διατρίψας χρόνον, καὶ τὰς φιλοσόφους παιδευθεὶς ἐπιστήμας, ὕστερον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους μαθητὰς ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας προσηγορίας

⁸ S. Matth. vii. 18.

⁹ Corrig. προσάγει. Miller.

Τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν λέγει μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι¹ γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας υἱὸν, ὁμοιον τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ διευνηνοχέαι ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ συνέσει ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς λοιπούς. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κατεληλυθέναι εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς, καὶ τότε κηρύξαι τὸν ἄγνωστον πατέρα καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτελέσαι. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει τοῦ πάθους ἀποπτῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ² πεπονθέαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῆ μεμενηκέαι, πνεῦμα Κυρίου ὑπάρχοντα.

Philos. p. 328.

Ἔτεροι δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα τοῖς προειρημένοις λέγουσιν,³ ἐν μόνον ἐνδιαλλάξαντες ἐν τῷ τὸν Μελχισεδέκ ὡς δυνάμιν τινα ὑπειληφέναι, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν δυνάμιν ὑπάρχειν, οὐ⁴ κατ' εἰκόνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν θέλουσιν.

Philos. p. 329.

Ἔτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν⁵ τῇ τῶν Νοητιανῶν αἵρέσει προσκείμενοι, τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ γύναια καὶ⁶ Μοντᾶνον ὁμοίως δοκοῦσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν

ὠνόμασεν. Ἐδίδαξε δὲ οὗτος, εἶνα μὲν εἶναι τὸν τῶν ὄλων Θεὸν, οὐκ αὐτὸν δὲ εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργόν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τινὰς κεχωρισμένας, καὶ παντελῶς αὐτὸν ἀγνοούσας. Τὸν Ἰησοῦν δὲ, τοῖς Ἑβραίοις παραπλησίως ἔφησε κατὰ φύσιν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς γεγενῆσθαι καὶ γυναικὸς, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ τῆς Μαρίας, σωφροσύνη δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς διαπρέψαι. Τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς ἄνωθεν εἰς αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν, καὶ τηρικαῦτα τὸν ἀγνοούμενον κηρύξαι Θεὸν, καὶ τὰς ἀναγράπτους ἐπιτελέσαι θαυματουργίας. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ πάθους καιρὸν, ἀποστῆναι^a μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸ δὲ πάθος ὑπομεῖναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

Theodoret ii. 6.

Τοὺς δὲ Μελχισεδεκίανους, τμῆμα μὲν εἶναι τούτων φασί, καθ' ἐν δὲ μόνον διαφωνεῖν, τὸ τὸν Μελχισεδέκ δυνάμιν τινὰ καὶ θείαν καὶ μεγίστην ὑπολαμβάνειν, κατ' εἰκόνα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι. Ἦρξε δὲ τῆς αἵρέσεως ταύτης ἄλλος Θεόδοτος, ἀργυραμοιβὸς τὴν τέχνην.

Theodoret iii. 2.

Τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις τῆς θεότητος Σαβελλίφ παραπλησίως ἠρνήσαντο, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγοντες καὶ Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ

¹ Cod. γεγενῆσθαι.

² Ἰησοῦ. Scott. Vide not. Phil. 247, 43—9.

³ Cod. λέγουσι.

⁴ οὐ. Scott.

⁵ Montanistarum sc.

⁶ Pro καὶ fort. κατά. Miller.

^a An ἀποπτῆναι, *avolâsse?*

ὄλων Πατέρα δυσφημοῦσιν, αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν καὶ πατέρα λέγοντες, ὄρατὸν καὶ ἀόρατον, γεννητὸν καὶ ἀγέννητον, θνητὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον. Οὗτοι τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἀπὸ Νοητοῦ τινὸς λαβόντες.

Philos. p. 329.

Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ Νοητὸς τῷ μὲν γένει. ὢν Συμυρναῖος, ἀνὴρ ἀκριτόμυθος καὶ ποικίλος,⁷ εἰσηγήσατο τοιάνδε αἵρεσιν ἐξ Ἐπιγόνου τινὸς εἰς Κλεομένην χωρήσασαν, καὶ οὕτως ἕως νῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς διαδόχους διαμείνας, λέγων ἕνα τὸν Πατέρα καὶ Θεὸν τῶν ὄλων· τοῦτον πάντα πεποιηκότα, ἀφανῆ μὲν τοῖς οὐσι γεγονέναι ὅτε ἠβούλετο· φανῆναι δὲ τότε ὅτε ἠθέλησε· καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀόρατον ὅτε μὴ ὄραται· ὄρατὸν δὲ, ὅταν ὄραται· ἀγέννητον δὲ, ὅταν μὴ γενῶται· γεννητὸν δὲ, ὅταν γενῶται ἐκ παρθένου, ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀθάνατον, ὅταν μὴ πάσχη μῆτε θνήσκη· ἐπὶ δὲ πάθῃ προσέλθῃ, πάσχει καὶ θνήσκειν τοῦτον τὸν πατέρα· αὐτὸν υἱὸν νομίζουσι κατὰ καιροὺς καλούμενον πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα.

Τούτων τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐκράτυνε Κάλλιστος, οὗ τὸν βίον ἐκτεθείμεθα ἀσφαλῶς,⁸ ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς αἵρεσιν

ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, παραπλησίως τῷ Ἀσιανῷ Νοητῷ. Κατὰ τούτων συνέγραψεν Ἀπολιναρίος, ὁ τῆς κατὰ Φρυγίαν ἱερῶς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος γεγωνὸς, ἀνὴρ ἀξίειπαινος, καὶ πρὸς τῇ γνώσει τῶν θείων καὶ τὴν ἕξωθεν παιδείαν προσειληφώς. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδης, καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ ἕτεροι συγγραφεῖς. Κατὰ δὲ Πρόκλου τῆς αὐτῆς αἵρέσεως προστατεύσαντος συνέγραψε Γαῖος, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν.

Theodoret iii. 3.

Ὁ δὲ Νοητὸς, Συμυρναῖος μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος, ἀνευώσατο δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἦν Ἐπίγονος μὲν τις οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπεκύησε πρῶτος, Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐβεβαίωσε. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς αἵρέσεως τὰ κεφάλαια. Ἔνα φασὶν εἶναι Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα, τῶν ὄλων δημιουργόν· ἀφανῆ μὲν ὅταν ἐθέλῃ, φαινόμενον δὲ ἡνίκα ἂν βούληται· καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀόρατον εἶναι καὶ ὁρώμενον, καὶ γεννητὸν καὶ ἀγέννητον· ἀγέννητον μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, γεννητὸν δὲ ὅτε ἐκ παρθένου γεννηθῆναι ἠθέλησε· ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀθάνατον, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸ παθῆτὸν καὶ θνητόν. Ἀπαθῆς γὰρ ὢν, φησὶ, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάθος ἐθέλησας ὑπέμεινε. Τοῦτον καὶ Υἱὸν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Πατέρα, πρὸς τὰς χρείας τοῦτο κάκεινο καλούμενον. Νοητιανοὶ προσηγορεύθησαν οἱ τήνδε τὴν αἵρεσιν στέρξαντες.

Ταύτης μετὰ τὸν Νοητὸν ὑπερ-

⁷ Cod. ποικίλος.

⁸ Fort. ἐκτεθείμεθα σαφῶς. Miller.

ἀπεγέννησεν· ἐξ ὧν ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν ἓνα εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ θεὸν τοῦτον δημιουργὸν τοῦ παντός, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι υἱὸν ὀνόματι μὲν λεγόμενον καὶ ὀνομαζόμενον, οὐσία δὲ [ἐν⁹] εἶναι, πνεῦμα γὰρ, φησὶν, ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἕτερόν ἐστι παρὰ τὸν λόγον ἢ ὁ λόγος παρὰ τὸν θεόν· ἐν οὖν τοῦτο πρόσωπον ὀνόματι μὲν μεριζόμενον, οὐσία δὲ οὐ. Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἓνα εἶναι θεὸν ὀνομάζει καὶ σεσαρκῶσθαι λέγει. Καὶ τὸν μὲν κατὰ σάρκα ὀρώμενον καὶ κρατούμενον υἱὸν εἶναι θέλει,¹ τὸν δὲ ἐνοικοῦντα πατέρα, ποτὲ μὲν τῷ Νοητοῦ² δόγματι περιρρηγνύμενος,³ ποτὲ δὲ τῷ Θεοδότου, μηδὲν ἀσφαλὲς κρατῶν. Ταῦτα τοίνυν Κάλλιστος.

Philos. p. 330.

Ἐρμογένης δὲ τις καὶ αὐτὸς θελήσας τι λέγειν, ἔφη τὸν θεὸν ἐξ ὕλης συγχρόνου καὶ ὑποκειμένης τὰ πάντα πεποιηκένας· ἀδυνάτως γὰρ ἔχειν τὸν θεὸν μὴ οὐχὶ ἐξ ὄντων τὰ γενόμενα ποιεῖν.

Philos. p. 330.

Ἔτεροι δὲ τινες ὡς καινὸν τι παρεισάγοντες ἐκ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἐρανισάμενοι ξένην βίβλον σκευάσαντες Ἑλλησασαί⁴ τινος ἐπονομαζομένην, οὗτοι τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς τοῦ παντός ὁμοίως ὁμολογοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, Χριστὸν δὲ ἓνα οὐχ

ἤσπισε Κάλλιστος, ἐπιθήκας τινὰς καὶ οὗτος ἐπινοήσας τῇ δυσσεβείᾳ τοῦ δόγματος.

Theodoret i. 19.

Ὁ δὲ Ἐρμογένης ἐξ ὑποκειμένης ὕλης καὶ συναγεννίτου τὸν Θεὸν ἔφη δημιουργῆσαι τὰ πάντα. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὑπέλαβεν ὁ ἐμβρόντητος καὶ τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὄλων, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων δημιουργεῖν.

Theodoret ii. 7.

Οἱ δὲ Ἑλκεσαῖοι, ἕκ τινος Ἑλκεσαῖ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἄρχαντος τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβόντες, ἐκ διαφόρων αἱρέσεων μύθους ἐρανισάμενοι, τὴν οἰκείαν συντεθείκασιν πλάνην. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν συμφωνοῦσιν ἡμῖν. Ἔνα γὰρ ἀγέννητον

⁹ Addidimus ἔν. Miller. ¹ Cod. θέλειν. ² Cod. Νοητῷ. ³ Cod. περιρηγνύμενος, duabus literis evanidis. ⁴ Titulus rubricatus Ἑλλησασαῖται.

ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τὸν μὲν ἄνω ἕνα, αὐτὸν δὲ μεταγγιζόμενον ἐν σώμασι [πολλοῖς⁵] πολλάκις, καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὁμοίως [π]οτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ πνεῦμα γεγονέναι, ποτὲ δὲ ἐκ παρθένου, ποτὲ δὲ οὐ. Καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετέπειτα αἰεὶ ἐν σώμασι μεταγγιζέσθαι καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς κατὰ καιροὺς δείκνυσθαι.

Χρῶνται δὲ ἐπα[οι]δαῖς καὶ βαπτίσμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμολογίᾳ. Σεσόβηται δὲ περὶ ἀστρολογίαν καὶ μαθηματικὴν, καὶ μαγικοῖς.⁵ Προγνωστικούς δὲ ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν.

λέγουσι, καὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἀπάντων καλοῦσι δημιουργόν. Χριστὸν δὲ οὐχ ἕνα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνω, τὸν δὲ κάτω. Καὶ τοῦτον πάλαι πολλοῖς ἐνφικῆναι, ὕστερον δὲ κατεληλυθέναι· τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν, ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι φησὶ, ποτὲ δὲ πνεῦμα καλεῖ, ποτὲ δὲ παρθένον ἐσχηκέναι μητέρα. Ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ συγγράμμασιν οὐδὲ τοῦτο. Καὶ τοῦτον δὲ πάλιν μετενσωματοῦσθαι, καὶ εἰς ἄλλα ἵεναι σώματα λέγει, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον καιρὸν διαφόρως δείκνυσθαι. Ἐμφωδαῖς δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσεσι καὶ οὗτοι κέχρηται, καὶ βαπτίσμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμολογίᾳ. Ἀστρολογίαν δὲ, καὶ μαγικὴν, καὶ μαθηματικὴν ἡσπάζοντο πλάνην, καὶ Προγνωστικούς ἑαυτοὺς προσηγόρευον. Τὸν δὲ ἀπόστολον παντελῶς ἠρνήθησαν· καὶ βίβλον δὲ τινα συντεθείκασιν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔφασαν πεπτωκέναι. Ταύτης τὸν ἀκηκοῦτα ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαμβάνειν παρ' ἧν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδωρήσατο.

⁵ Vocis πολλοῖς vestigia exstant sed non prorsus certa. Miller. ⁶ Literæ ἀστρ plane evanidæ. Post μαγικοῖς excidit fortasse ἐπτόνηται. Miller.

APPENDIX C.

On the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp.

THE mention of St. POLYCARP, the disciple of St. John, and Bishop of Smyrna and Martyr, whose name occurs not unfrequently in the foregoing pages, suggests an occasion for submitting a question to the consideration of the reader, in reference to the History of his Martyrdom, as narrated in the contemporary LETTER of the Church of Smyrna, and transcribed by Caius, supposed by some (e. g. by Ussher) to be, perhaps, Caius the Roman Presbyter (mentioned above, chap. iii.), from the copy of St. Irenæus, who had conversed with St. Polycarp. (See Eccl. Smyrn. Epistola de S. Polycarpi Martyrio in Patr. Apostol. Coteler. ii. p. 204, Amstel. 1724, or in Bishop Jacobson's edition of the Apostolic Fathers, ii. p. 604, ed. 1863.)

In that interesting narrative of St. Polycarp's Martyrdom it is related (cap. 16), that the body of the venerable Bishop not being consumed by the fire which was kindled by the heathen officers, in order that he might be burnt therein, orders were given to the executioner to pierce him with a short sword. The original words of the Letter are as follows, *πέρας οὖν ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι οὐ δυνάμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον.* The Letter then proceeds to say,—according to the received reading of the passage,—*καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος, ἐξῆλθε ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ πλήθος αἵματος, ὥστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ, i. e.* “a Dove came forth, and a stream of blood, so as to quench the fire.”

The old Latin version is as follows, “Quumque hoc ita fuisset

effectum, ecce subito fluente sanguinis copia COLUMBA processit de corpore, statim sopitum cruore cessit incendium." But the DOVE, which is so strangely combined in this passage with the stream of blood, appears to owe its origin to an *erroneous reading*. Eusebius had it not in his copy. He has transcribed the LETTER, nearly verbatim, into his History, and writes thus (Euseb. iv. 15), ἐκέλευσαν κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξίφος, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος ἐξήλθε πλῆθος αἵματος. Nor had Nicephorus any mention of the Dove in his MS. of the LETTER. His words are (iii. 35) ἐκέλευόν τινα νύξαι ξίφει τὸν ἄγιον ἐξωθεῖν οὐ δὴ γενομένου πλῆθος αἵματος ἐξερῥύη, ὡς ικανῶς ἔχειν καταμαραίνειν τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ πυρός.

If the Dove had been mentioned in the Letter, as read by Eusebius and Nicephorus, it is not likely that they would have omitted to notice so singular a circumstance. See Bishop Jacobson's note, pp. 645, 646, who enumerates various conjectures on the passage, by Le Moyne, Dr. Jortin, Ruchat, Whiston, and Allan.

In short, the words ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ' ΚΑΙ' appear to be corrupt, and ought, probably, to be amended to ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΥ'ΡΑΚΑ, i. e. *about the haft*. "No sooner did the executioner pierce the body with his steel, than a stream of blood flowed *upon the haft* of the weapon, so as to quench the fire." The word *στύραξ* signifies *ξύλον τοῦ ἀκοντίου* (Ammon. Valckenaer, p. 133), and sometimes means the handle of a smaller weapon,—as here.

This correction has now been approved and accepted by Lagarde (rel. jur. Eccl. Græc. p. 84), and by Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn (Patr. Apostol. Martyr. Polyc. p. 157, ed. 1876).

On a Passage in St. Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.

Let me pass from St. Polycarp's Martyrdom to an incident in the history of St. Justin, who suffered as a Martyr at Rome about the same time as St. Polycarp at Smyrna.

At the close of that interesting Dialogue—the most interesting that has been preserved to us from early Christian Literature—the Dialogue of St. Justin with Trypho the Jew at Ephesus, Trypho expresses the

pleasure and profit he had derived from the colloquy on the claims of Christianity to be regarded as the fulfilment of the Mosaic dispensation, and says that he would be thankful for more frequent opportunities of such edifying intercourse, but that he must be content with asking Justin to bear him in his friendly remembrance, inasmuch as Justin was on the point of departing on a voyage to another country. The original words, as they are now read in all the editions, are, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῇ ἀναγωγῇ εἶ (i. e. *inasmuch as you are on the point of embarking*) καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ΤΙ ΛΟΓΙΕΙΣΘΑΙ προσδοκᾶς, μὴ ὄκνει ὡς φίλων ἡμῶν μεμνήσθαι. For ΤΙ ΛΟΓΙΕΙΣΘΑΙ (which is manifestly a corrupt reading) Thirlby conjectured ναυτιλεῖσθαι, *to set sail*; the Benedictine Editor Maran would read πλοῦν γενέσθαι, which Otto approves; at the same time he suggests πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι. All agree that the words mean *since you are in daily expectation of being on the sea, do not deem it irksome to remember us as friends*. None of the above conjectures appear to be quite satisfactory. May I be allowed to offer another? For προσδοκᾶς ΤΙ ΛΟΓΙΕΙΣΘΑΙ, I would suggest προσδοκᾶς ΠΕΛΑΓΙΕΙΣΘΑΙ, i. e. *you expect to be on the high seas*. Πελαγίεσθαι is the future infinitive of πελαγίζομαι, which, as well as πελαγίζω, is used in this sense. See D'Orville's Chariton, viii. 6, p. 697, ναῦς ἔχων μεγάλας ἐπελαγίζετο. St. Justin soon after this Dialogue with Trypho left Ephesus, probably for Rome, where he suffered Martyrdom, about A.D. 167.

THE END.

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