

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

De Veteri Testamento.

THE old Testament is not contrary to the new ; for both in the old and new Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth ; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called moral.

TESTAMENTUM vetus novo contrarium non est, quandoquidem tam in veteri quam in novo, per Christum, qui unicus est Mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et homo, æterna vita humano generi est proposita. Quare male sentiunt, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt. Quanquam Lex a Deo data per Mosen (quoad ceremonias et ritus) Christianos non astringat, neque Civilia ejus præcepta in aliqua republica necessario recipi debeant, nihilominus tamen ab obedientia mandatorum (quæ Moralia vocantur) nullus quantumvis Christianus est solutus.

SECTION I.—HISTORY.

THE Article, as it now stands, is compounded of two of the Articles of 1552, namely, the sixth and the nineteenth. The sixth ran thus :—

“The old Testament is not to be put away, as though it were contrary to the new, but to be kept still ; for both in the old and new Testaments everlasting life is offered to mankind only by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises.”

The nineteenth was as follows :—

“The Law, which was given of God by Moses, although it bind not Christian men, as concerning the ceremonies and rites of the same, neither is it required that the civil precepts and orders of it should be received in any commonweal : yet no man (be he never so perfect a Christian) is exempt and loose from the obedience of those commandments which are called moral ; wherefore they are not to be hearkened unto, who affirm that Holy Scripture is given only to the weak, and do boast themselves continually of the Spirit, of whom (they say) they have learned such things as they

teach, although the same be most evidently repugnant to the Holy Scripture."

I. We may first consider, what persons have denied the doctrine contained in the original sixth Article, which forms the *first* part of our present Article; and then, who have been opposed to the statements of the original nineteenth Article, of which the substance is contained in the latter part of our present seventh Article.

First then, some early heretics held, that the old Testament was altogether contrary to the new.

The Gnostic sects, who believed in the malignity of matter, would not allow that the Creator of the world could be the Supreme God. Marcion especially appears to have distinctly taught, that the old Testament was contrary to the new, the former being the work of the Demiurge or Creator, the latter of the Supreme and invisible God. He is said to have composed a work called *Antitheses*, because in it he set, as it were, in opposition to each other, passages from the old and new Testaments, intending his readers to infer from the apparent disagreement between them, that the Law and the Gospel did not proceed from the same author. Tertullian wrote a work against Marcion, in the fourth book of which he exposes the inconsistency of this attempt.¹ Similar opinions prevailed, more or less, among the Valentinians and other Gnostic sects; all of whom attributed the creation to inferior beings, and consequently rejected the old Testament.

The Manichees in like manner, who believed in two principles eternally opposed to each other, as they had views similar to the Gnostics concerning the evil of matter, so they resembled them in their disrespect to the old Testament Scriptures.² And in this they were very probably followed by those mediæval sects of heretics, the Bulgarians, Cathari, and others, who appear to have been infected with Manichean heresy.³

It is most probable, however, that the framers of this Article, both in the earlier and in the latter part of it, had in view some of the fanatical sects of the period of the Reformation, especially the Antinomians, who denied the necessity of obedience to the Law

¹ Tertull. *Adv. Marcion*, Lib. iv. Bp. 46, Tom. viii. p. 16. See also Socrat. *H. E.* c. 22; Epiphan. *Hæres.* 66, c. 48; Lardner, *Hist. of Manichees*, III. ch. LXIII.

² Deum, qui Legem per Moysen dedit, et in Hebræis prophetis locutus est, non esse verum Deum, sed unum ex principibus tenebrarum. — August. *De Hæres.*

³ See Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* Cent. xi. pt. II. ch. v. §§ 2, 3; Cent. xii. pt. II. ch. v. § 4.

of God, and the Anabaptists, who referred all things to an internal illumination; and both of whom were likely to have denied the value and authority of the old Testament.

The opinion that the fathers looked only for transitory promises, has been held, not only by heretics and fanatics, but, more or less, by some, in the main, orthodox Christians. Bishop Warburton, in his famous work, *The Divine Legation of Moses*, has endeavoured to prove that Moses studiously concealed from the Hebrews all knowledge of a future state; and this forms one of the arguments by which he strives to prove the inspiration and Divine authority of the Books of Moses. Though he allows that the later Jews, during and after the Captivity, had a gradually increasing knowledge of the immortality of the soul, yet as regards the earlier times of the Jewish commonwealth, he appears to have denied any such knowledge, even to the patriarchs and prophets.¹

II. By looking at the wording of the original nineteenth Article, it will appear plainly that the latter part of our present Article is chiefly directed against fanatics, who affirm "that Holy Scripture is given only to the weak, and do boast themselves continually of the Spirit, of whom, they say, that they have learned such things as they teach."

This claim to inward illumination, and consequent neglect of the teaching of Scripture, has constantly characterized fanatical sects in all ages. Those against whom the words of the Article were directed are generally supposed to be the Antinomians and the Anabaptists, who sprang up soon after the rise of the Reformation in Germany. The Antinomians were the followers of Agricola, who carried the doctrine of Justification by faith to the length of rejecting the necessity of moral obedience altogether.² The Anabaptists were a constant source of annoyance to the Lutheran reformers. As their name implies, they rejected Infant Baptism, and rebaptized adults. But with this they combined a variety of noxious and fanatic doctrines, which rendered them dangerous both to Church and State. Claiming a high degree of internal illumination, they appear to have sanctioned and committed a number of excesses and crimes, under pretence of special direction and command of God.³

¹ See Warburton's *Divine Legation*, Book v. §§ 5, 6.

² Mosheim, Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. pt. ii. ch. i. § 25.

³ See a history of them, Mosheim, Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. pt. ii. ch. iii. Mosheim also, in the preceding chapter, gives an account of a sect of Libertines

It seems that this Article also incidentally alludes to some persons, who would have retained, not only the moral, but the ceremonial part of the Mosaic Law. This of course must have been true of all the early Judaizing Christian teachers. In the history given of the doctrine of the first Article, we have seen that some part of the Eastern Church was materially corrupted with these Judaizing tendencies. The observance of the Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday, the quartodeciman mode of calculating Easter, and similar observances, have been already mentioned as examples of this kind.

As regards the belief that Christian commonwealths ought to be regulated after the model of the Jewish polity and according to the civil precepts of the old Testament, it seems likely that the Anabaptists of Munster, who seized on that city and set up a religious commonwealth among themselves, endeavoured to conform their regulations in great measure to the laws of the Jewish economy.¹

In later times, in Great Britain, the Puritans, at the period of the Great Rebellion, were constantly using the language of the old Testament, as authority for their conduct in civil affairs, and as a guide for the administration of the Commonwealth.

It is highly probable that, at the period of the Reformation, the whole question concerning the agreement of the old with the new Testament was a good deal debated. The prominent manner in which the subject of Justification was then brought forward naturally suggested topics of this kind. When men were told, in the strongest terms, that there was not, and could not be, any hope of salvation to them but by faith in Christ; and that this was altogether independent of any merits of their own, and could not be obtained by works of the Law; it obviously and naturally occurred to them to inquire, How then were the fathers under the old Testament saved? *They* had never heard of Christ, and could not be saved by faith in Him. They had only a law of works for their guidance. Can then the old Testament be contrary to the new?

calling themselves Spiritual Brothers and Sisters, who sprang up among the Calvinists in Flanders, and against whom Calvin wrote. They held, that religion consisted in the union of the soul with God, and that such as had attained to such a union were free from

the restraints of morality. All ages have been more or less infected by such fanatics. They naturally flourished in a time of such religious excitement as the Reformation.

¹ See Mosheim, as above.

SECTION II. — SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

IN endeavouring to show the correspondence of this Article of our Church with the truth of Scripture, it will be desirable to consider the subjects of it in the order already adopted in speaking of their history.

I. First, we may consider the statement, that eternal life is offered to mankind, in the old as well as in the new Testament, through Jesus Christ; and that the fathers looked for more than transitory promises.

II. Secondly, we may treat of the questions concerning the abrogation of the civil and ceremonial, and concerning the permanency of the moral Law.

I. Now we shall find it more convenient to treat the first division of our subject in the following order: —

1. To consider the nature of the Law of Moses, and the reason why eternal life is not more clearly set forth as one of its promises.

2. To speak of the promises, in the old Testament, of a Mediator and Redeemer.

3. To show, that under the old Covenant there was a hope among the pious of a future state and life eternal.

1. The character of the Law of Moses was peculiar to itself. God chose the people of Israel to be His own kingdom on earth. There were reasons, some known only to God, others revealed to us, why for two thousand years it pleased Him to preserve His truth amid surrounding idolatry, by committing it entirely to one chosen race. That people He constituted His own subjects, and ruled over them, as their Sovereign and Lawgiver. The Jewish commonwealth, therefore, was neither a Monarchy under the Kings, nor an Aristocracy under the Judges, but it was always a Theocracy. The people had properly no king but God. Moses was His vicegerent; so was Joshua; and after them the Judges exercised, from time to time, more or less of the same delegated authority. In the time of Samuel, the people, in a spirit of unbelief, asked for the presence of a visible king, and thereby greatly sinned against God, as dissatisfied with His invisible empire, and rebelling against the government which He had established over them. He however consented to grant them a

temporal ruler, an earthly king. Yet the king so appointed did not rule in his own name, but as the viceroy and lieutenant of the LORD of Hosts, the God of the armies, the King of the kingdom of Israel.

All the laws then were ministered in His name. All the sanction of those laws had reference to Him, as Ruler and Law-giver. The Tabernacle, and afterwards the Temple, were not simply places of worship; they were rather the Royal Palace, as Jerusalem was the city of the Great King. In the Temple His throne was the mercy-seat, and between the attendant Cherubim He was present in the cloud of glory, to be approached with the homage of incense and prayer, and to be consulted as to His pleasure by His chief minister, the High Priest, with the Urim and Thummim.

Accordingly, the Law given by Moses was the constitution and statute-book of the Theocratic commonwealth. It was indeed a guide for the life and manners of the people; but it was their guide, especially as they were subjects of the temporal government of the Lord. The Almighty is, in His own nature and His own will, unchangeable; and therefore the laws which regulate morality must ever be the same. Hence, when for a time He assumed the government of a temporal kingdom, murder, theft, adultery, and other crimes against justice, mercy, truth, and purity, were forbidden and punished, as a thing of course. But, over and above this, when God became the King of the nation, certain sins against Him became, not only moral, but civil offences. Idolatry was high treason, and direct rebellion. It was not, therefore, as in general, left to the judgment of the hereafter, but was proceeded against at once, as a state crime of the highest magnitude, and punished immediately with temporal death.

The like may be said concerning the destruction of God's enemies, the Amorites, the Amalekites, the Philistines, and others. They were the foes of the King of Israel, and were to be exterminated accordingly.

So again, much of the ceremonial of the Law constituted the state ceremonial of the Invisible King. The earthly sovereign, the priests and the Levites, were His court and His ministers. Custom and tribute were paid to Him, as they would have been naturally paid to the rulers in all the kingdoms of the world.

Now such being the case, we may understand at once why all the sanctions of the Law are temporal, and not eternal. In many instances, indeed, the punishments denounced were to be executed

by the civil magistrate. There were rules laid down as to the administration of justice by the inferior officers in the commonwealth of Israel. But in other cases the vengeance denounced is to be executed, not by the inferior magistrate, but by the supreme Head, the King of Israel Himself. Yet still the principle is the same. Whether the King Himself is to be the judge, or the priest, or the magistrate, the reason for the judgment is the same. And accordingly God, who was their King, interfered, not as in other nations by an ordinary Providence, but signally and manifestly, by direct, obvious, miraculous interposition. The obedient subject was rewarded by his bountiful Sovereign with long life and peace and prosperity; the disobedient was smitten with sickness, afflicted with poverty, or struck down by death.

If at any time the nation became generally disobedient, Prophets were sent to it, who were messengers from the King, to exhort His subjects to preserve their allegiance and return to their duty. Even they, like the Law itself, spoke to the people, for the most part, as subjects of the temporal kingdom of the LORD, and admonished them of the danger of not submitting themselves to their lawful Sovereign.

Whether then we look to the Law or to the Prophets, we can see good reason, why neither eternal life nor eternal death should be the sanction set forth, and the motives pressed upon the people. The Jewish dispensation was in every way extraordinary. We often mistake its nature, by viewing it as if it were the first full declaration of God's will to man; whereas the patriarchal religion had already existed for full two thousand years before it, and the Law was "added" (*προσέτεται*, Gal. iii. 19) to serve only for a time, and for a peculiar purpose. Its object, at least its direct and apparent object, was, not to set forth the way of eternal life, but to be the statute-law of the Theocracy, and to subserve the purposes of a carnal and preparatory dispensation, wherein the knowledge of God, and the hopes of a Messiah, were preserved amid the darkness of surrounding heathenism, till the day dawned, and the day-star arose.

The Jews, indeed, who were contemporary with Christ and His Apostles, vainly supposed that the Law of Moses had in it a life-giving power. They stumbled at that stumbling-stone, for they sought eternal salvation, "not by faith in Christ, but as it were by the works of the Law" (Rom. ix. 32). Whereas, the Law was not given for that purpose, but with an object remarkably different from that. "If, indeed, a law had been given, which was capable

of giving life, then would righteousness (or justification) have been by the Law."¹ But law, though essential for the regulation of manners, is, of its own nature, incapable of giving eternal salvation; for he who obeys its ordinances can, at most, but deserve to escape from its penalties. And this is still more emphatically true of men polluted by sin and compassed by infirmity. For law provides no propitiation, and offers no spiritual aid. There must therefore have been something more than law to save men from eternal ruin; and the Jew, by imagining that the Law could do this, failed altogether of the righteousness of faith.

Even the sacrifices under the Law had but a temporal efficacy. They served "for a carnal purifying" (*πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθάρωσιν*, Heb. ix. 13). They satisfied for offences against the temporal Majesty of the Great King, and screened from the temporal punishment due to all transgressions of the Law, which He had enacted. But there was no profession, no promise whatever, that they should satisfy for the sin of the soul. Indeed, for the heavier offences there was no propitiation set forth at all; whether these offences were against the King, or against his subjects. For murder and adultery, for idolatry and blasphemy, there was nothing left "but a certain fearful looking for of judgment." "The blood of bulls and of goats could never take away sin;" "could never make the worshipper perfect as pertaining to the conscience."

2. But beyond all this, there was still another purpose for which the Mosaic economy was designed. "The Law was a school-master to bring us to Christ." It was a dispensation professedly preparatory, and imperfect. It was, therefore, so constructed by Infinite Wisdom that there should be an inward spirit vastly dissimilar from the outward letter of the Law. Accordingly, the whole dispensation, as it was preparatory, so it was typical. The kingdom of Christ was the great antitype of the old Theocracy. The Church is a theocracy now, as much as Israel was then. And so all the ordinances of the temporal kingdom were types and images of the blessings of the spiritual kingdom. To this end, as well as to their *immediate* object, served the priests and the temple, the altar and the sacrifices, the tribute and the incense, and all the service of the sanctuary. The *letter* then of the Law could never offer salvation: but the *spirit* did. Nay, the letter of the Law was necessarily condemnatory, as it gave more light and brought more obligations; but neither satisfied for trans-

¹ Gal. iii. 21. Εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως ἂν ἐκ νόμου ἦ ἡ δικαιοσύνη.

gressions, nor gave inward sanctification. And so it is written, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life" (2 Cor. iii. 6). The letter brought no promise of immortality, but left men under condemnation; but the spiritual meaning of the Law led men to Christ, and so gave them life.

It will not be necessary to go through the promises of the old Testament and the types of the Law; to show that there was a promise of a mediator, and of redemption from the curse which Adam had brought upon us. The promise to Adam of the seed of the woman, — the promise to Abraham that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed, — the promise to David concerning his son, who should sit upon his throne, — the types of the passover, the scape-goat, the sacrifices on the day of atonement, the consecration of the high priest, the prophecies of David, of Isaiah, of Daniel, of Zechariah, of Malachi, — all readily occur to us as containing predictions, or exhibiting figures, which set forth to the enlightened understanding the hope of future deliverance, and of a Redeemer, who should turn away iniquity.

It is said most truly, that all this was involved in much obscurity; and it can never be denied, that the Jew had a much less clear understanding, a much more partial revelation of "the truth as it is in Jesus," than the least instructed member of the Christian Church. Nay, "the least in the kingdom of Heaven," *i. e.* in the Gospel dispensation, "is greater" in knowledge "than he who was greatest" before the coming of Christ. But it should not be forgotten that during the patriarchal ages God had revealed Himself to Adam and Enoch, to Noah and Abraham, and perhaps to many besides. We are not to suppose that the light of such primeval revelation, which guided men for more than twenty centuries, was of a sudden quenched in utter darkness. The traditional knowledge concerning a promised Mediator was no doubt carefully cherished, and served to enlighten much which in the Law, and even in the Prophets, might have been otherwise unintelligible. And hence, the Mediator, though but faintly shadowed out, was yet firmly believed in. We have our Lord's assurance, that "Abraham rejoiced to see His day; he saw it and was glad" (John viii. 56). We have St. Paul's assurance, that the same Abraham, having received the promise of the Redeemer, believed in it, and was justified by faith.¹ And we may well suppose that the faith which guided Abraham guided others, both before and after him.

¹ Rom. iv. 1-20. Gal. iii. 6-9, 14-19.

At first indeed, and whilst patriarchal tradition yet survived, the intimations of a Mediator in the ancient Scriptures are less distinct and less intelligible. But among the later prophets, when that early tradition may have had less weight, and when the day of Christ was more nearly approaching, the promises may be read more plainly, and the Gospel-history be almost deciphered in the sacred emblems of prophecy.

3. Are we then to suppose, notwithstanding this, that the fathers looked only for transitory promises?

It is a truth, which, I think, cannot be denied, that Moses does not bring prominently forward the doctrine of a future state. That was a subject which did not fall in with his purpose. His mission was to organize the Jewish Commonwealth, and embody in writing the statute-law of the Theocracy. That Theocracy, as has been said, was a temporal kingdom, though God was its King. Hence naturally he does not bring forward the doctrine of a future life.¹ In addition to the writing of the laws of Israel, Moses gives also a brief, a very brief, sketch of the history of the nation, and of its more illustrious ancestors. It is probable enough that no very frequent allusion to a future existence might occur in this history; and it is only in the historical, not at all in the legislative writings, that we can expect to meet with it. It has been already explained, that even the prophets, who succeeded Moses, acted much as messengers from the Sovereign of Israel to His rebellious subjects, and hence naturally spoke much concerning obedience to His Law and the sanctions of that Law, which we know were temporal. Yet in many of the prophets, clear notices, not only of a Mediator and a hereafter, but perhaps also of a Resurrection, are to be met with. Even Bishop Warburton, though strongly maintaining that the earlier Jews had no knowledge of a life to come, yet admits that in later times they became fully acquainted with the truth of it.

The principal passages in the books of Moses which seem to prove that the patriarchs believed in an eternity, and that a knowledge of it was general in the days of Moses himself, are as follows:—

(1) The account of the translation of Enoch, Gen. v. 24. This account, indeed, is brief and obscure. We know, however, from other sources what it means, and its obscurity rather seems to

¹ Bp. Warburton asserts that he studiously conceals it. This requires more proof than the Bishop has given. Eternal life was not a sanction of the Law and therefore does not appear in it. It does not follow that it was purposely concealed.

argue that it was, as is most likely, a fact generally known and well understood, and so not needing to be longer dwelt upon. But its obscurity is a little magnified; for we clearly enough learn from the passage, that, whereas in general long life was a promised blessing, yet in the case of Enoch a still greater blessing was conferred. For, whereas all other persons in the same chapter are spoken of as living long and then dying; Enoch's is said to have been comparatively a short life; and then it is said, that, because of his piety, "God took him." "Enoch walked with God: and he was not, for God took him." It is hard to know what other sense could be attached to the passage, except that given it by St. Paul: "Enoch was translated that he should not see death" (Heb. xi. 5). Now people who knew of the translation of Enoch, must have known something of that state of bliss to which he was removed.

(2) Accordingly, Jacob on his death-bed utters an ejaculation utterly unconnected with the immediate context: "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord" (Gen. xlix. 18). What salvation Jacob could have waited for, who in this very chapter looks forward to far future fortunes for his children, before "the Shiloh should come, and to Him should be the gathering of the people," except it were the salvation of his own soul, which he was just about to breathe forth, has never been clearly explained.

(3) Balaam was so well acquainted with the truth (though so little obedient to it) as "to wish to die the death of the righteous, and that his last end should be like his" (Num. xxiii. 10). Now, the promise of the Law was to the *life* of the righteous; the promises of temporal blessing must all affect life, rather than death. It is natural for a believer in a blessed immortality to wish for such a death, and such a last end as awaits the just. But from a person who believes all God's promises to be made to this life, and looks forward to no life beyond, such an exclamation seems hardly intelligible.

(4) There is a saying of Moses himself which seems probably to imply the same thing. Just before his death he says of Israel, "Oh that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end." It is undoubtedly not certain that אַחֲרֵיָהוּ, "latter end," here, means *death*. Perhaps it should be said, it *probably* does *not* mean *death*: but it means either *futurity*, or *final condition*. And, though we may allow that the force of the passage is not unquestionable, its most natural interpretation would be, that it was a wish that the people of Israel.

were thoughtful of that time when worldly objects of interest should pass away, and their end draw nigh, when wisdom and piety only should profit them.

We come next to the famous passage in the Book of Job.¹ As the words stand in our Authorized Version, they prove Job's belief, not only in a future life, but in a resurrection of the body: "Oh that my words were now written! Oh that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever! For I know that my Redeemer liveth; and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another; though my reins be consumed within me." (Job xix. 23-27.)

There are, without doubt, difficulties in this translation. The passage is in many points obscure, though not more so than the book of Job in general. The more literal rendering of the last three verses is, perhaps, as follows:—

"For I, even I, know that my Redeemer liveth, and hereafter shall stand above the dust. And though, after my skin, this (body) be destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and no stranger; my reins are consumed within me."

On the whole, whatever rendering is given to it, it is hardly possible that the passage should not *appear* to prove a belief in a future existence. The words "from my flesh" indeed may be interpreted differently, according to the different senses attached to the preposition; and whereas our translators have rendered it "*in* my flesh," some eminent scholars have maintained that we should

¹ The date and authorship of the Book of Job is a question in some degree affecting the question in the text. Most scholars consider the book as one of the earliest in the Bible; and many have believed that it was written by Moses. Bp. Warburton argues, that it was not written till the captivity, or the return from captivity; and that it is a dramatic composition rather than a real history (*Divine Legation*, Bk. vi. Sect. ii.) The question is not to be settled with a few words. I can only say that it appears to me to bear the marks of great antiquity. It is true that it is not such pure Hebrew as some parts of the old Testament; or rather that it contains a great many Hebrew words and phrases which are not

common in the other books of the Bible, and for the explanation of which we must look to the Syriac and Arabic languages. But the style is very little like the style of the later books, which contain a certain number of Chaldaisms and even some Chaldee; such as Daniel, Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and some of the Psalms. The Aramaisms of Job are very unlike these; and so is the whole style and character of the Hebrew. It is indeed exactly what might be expected from a very ancient writer, who wrote in Hebrew an account of dialogues originally held in an ancient dialect of Arabic. Whether or not Moses was that writer is another question. It seems very doubtful, if not highly improbable.

render it “*without* my flesh.”¹ Yet the only difference, which such a different interpretation might cause, would be, that, according to the first, Job hoped to see his Redeemer at the *Resurrection*; according to the latter, that he expected the same glorious vision as a disembodied spirit.

It is, however, argued that it is very remarkable that no indication save this of a belief in an immortality occurs in the book of Job. It would be natural, it is said, when Job’s friends charge him with wickedness, and attribute his sorrows to his sins, that he should at once answer, that, though miserable in this life, he yet had full hope of happiness in a better. As therefore no such reasoning is to be found, we must necessarily conclude that Job was ignorant of a future state; and that this particular passage, instead of being an anticipation of a future Resurrection, is a prophetic declaration of his belief in what actually afterwards took place; namely, that, though for a time the disease which afflicted him was permitted to destroy his body, yet, in the end, God should be manifested to defend his cause, and that he should be permitted to see Him with his own eyes.

I am inclined to attribute but little weight to the previous silencé of Job concerning the life to come. Men at that time generally believed that a special Providence brought good upon the righteous, and evil on the wicked in this life; and in the earlier days of the Jewish commonwealth it doubtless was so. Job shares this belief with his friends; yet he is conscious of his integrity, and defends himself earnestly against their accusations. It is hardly likely that he should have tried to disprove the justice of a creed which he held himself. Therefore he does not say that they were wrong in believing in a retributive Providence, or urge them to look forward from this life to a better. This would have been

¹ So Rosenmüller. Præfixum מְ ante
בְּעָרְיָא significat defectum, ut Isai. xlix.

15, *An obliviscetur mulier filioli sui מְרַחֵם
resecta miseratione, i. e. ut non misereatur
ejus. 1 Sam. xv. 26, Rejecit te Deus
מְרַחֵם מְרַחֵם מְרַחֵם ut non sis rex. Ita מְרַחֵם
accurate respondet priori hemistichio, ut
utroque corpus suum dissolvi significet
(Schol. in Job xix. 26). Whether the
use of מְ in the passages thus adduced
from Isaiah and Samuel is at all similar
to the use of the same preposition in this
passage of Job, others must decide. To
me it appears that there is little or no*

analogy. To reject a person, “*from*
being king,” — to “*forget* a child so as
not to love it,” — are vastly different notions
of the preposition מְ from that
sought to be attached to it here, namely,
“*without* my flesh.” Rosenmüller, hav-
ing given this sense to the preposition,
is obliged to say, that it is only by a
strong poetical figure that Job is said to
see his Redeemer, “*without* his flesh,”
signifying merely, that, though much
wasted with disease, he yet hoped to
live to see his cause defended, and his
uprightness vindicated. Should we ven-
ture to apply such criticism to any pro-
fane author?

in Job an improbable and unnatural course. But from the singular solemnity with which he ushers in the passage in question, the hope that he expresses that it may "be printed in a book," nay, graven "in the rock for ever," we may well believe that he is about to give utterance to something different from what he has hitherto been speaking of, and to something so important that he wishes it to be preserved, not only for his own time, as a solemn assertion of his innocence, but that it should be handed down to all future generations, as a vital and an eternal truth.

Now nothing could be more appropriate than such an introduction, if Job were about to speak of the general Resurrection, and his hope that he should be comforted and vindicated then. That was an argument unlike any he had urged before, and it was a truth of universal and constant interest, so that he might well wish to have the words which spake of it "printed in a book, yea, graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever."

It is true, there are expressions in the Book of Job which may be interpreted into a denial of the doctrine of a future existence. For instance, "As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more" (Job vii. 9). "So man lieth down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep" (Job xiv. 12). And again (ver. 14) "If a man die, shall he live again?" Bishop Warburton lays great stress on these passages, as proving that Job was ignorant of a Resurrection, and even of a future state. But, in all fairness, do they mean any more than this, that if a man die, he shall live no more in this life; if he goes down to the grave, he shall come up no more, while this world is remaining? This interpretation fully satisfies the force of all the expressions, even of that strongest of all, "man lieth down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake." Nay, we may almost venture to say that this last expression has a more than commonly Christian sound; for the new Testament teaches us that the general Resurrection at the last day shall not be, till "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat." (2 Pet. iii. 10, comp. Rev. xx. 11.) It may be added, that the very verse which follows this passage in Job (a passage which is thought so decisive against his belief in a hereafter) appears to carry with it a refutation of such a theory; for in that verse (Job xiv. 13) the patriarch prays that God "would hide him in the grave (*הַמַּוְטָה* in *Hades*), and keep him secret till His wrath was past; that He would appoint him a

set time, and then remember him." What could be the meaning of God's hiding him in Hades, or in the grave, till His wrath was past, and then after a set time remembering him, if such language was used by one who knew nothing of life and immortality? For the word *Sheol*, be it observed, whatever diversity of opinion there may be concerning it, has never been supposed by any one to mean anything which is unconnected with the state of the dead. It must be either the grave, or the state of departed souls. Choose which we will; Job wishes for a temporary concealment in the grave, or in the state of the departed, and then to be remembered, and, we can scarce fail to infer, to be raised up again.

With such a hope and such an expectation will well correspond such expressions as, "Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him" (Job xiii. 15). But how shall we interpret them, if they be the language of one whose hopes were all bounded by this life?

In the book of Psalms, David, in a passage which we know to be prophetic of Messiah, speaks as follows: "I have set the Lord always before me; because He is at my right hand I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory¹ rejoiceth; yea my flesh also shall rest in confidence.² For Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life: in Thy presence is the fulness of joy: at Thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore." (Ps. xvi. 8-11.)

In the ears of a Christian such language is so plainly expressive of the hope of resurrection, that it is difficult to attach any other meaning to it. Nay, we know that St. Peter quotes it as a prophecy that Christ should be raised from the dead, His soul not resting in Hades, His body not turning to corruption (Acts ii. 25-31). The passage then, according to the Apostle's comment on it, actually did mean a resurrection. The only question is, Did the Psalmist, when he wrote it, so understand it; or did he write of common things, unconsciously to himself and through the guidance of the Spirit, speaking deep mysteries? It is possible that the latter may have been the case. And yet the words chosen seem to make it improbable. Why does he say, after speaking of the gladness of his heart, and the rejoicing of his spirit, that "even his *flesh* should rest in confidence"? This looks much like an

¹ פְּבוֹדִי "My glory," probably a poetical expression for the *heart* or the *soul*.
See Gesenius, s. v.

² לְבָטוֹחַ in confidence, securely.

assurance that not only the heart might rejoice in God, but even that the body had hope of immortality. And then, "Thou wilt not *leave* my soul in hell." Had he meant that he should not be permitted to die, it would have been natural to say, "Thou wilt not *bring me down* to hell." But he who hopes not to be *left* in Hades, must surely have expectation of first going thither. The words therefore of themselves so plainly imply a resurrection, and are so apparently chosen for the purpose of expressing the hope of a resurrection, that, though we may admit that profound ignorance on the subject may have kept the prophet from understanding them, and have blinded his eyes that he should not see their sense, yet nothing short of this would have hindered him, who uttered the language, from feeling inspired with a hope full of immortality.¹

Again, the view which David takes elsewhere of the difference between the end of the righteous and of the wicked is consonant with the hope of a future retribution, and otherwise is unintelligible. (Ps. xxxvii. 37, 38.) "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace. But the transgressors shall be destroyed together: the end of the wicked shall be cut off."

In like manner his confidence in trial and troubles, when the wicked prosper and the just are oppressed, has at least a striking resemblance to the language of one who looks for a time when the just shall be delivered, and the wicked consumed in judgment.

Thus, in Psalm xxiii. 4, David says, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me." To "walk through the valley of the shadow of death" is probably but a poetical phrase for "to die"; and to those who looked only for temporal blessings, death would be wellnigh the greatest "*evil*." Hence he who could die and yet "fear no evil," must have had a hope after death. So in Psalm lxxiii., if this were David's, then David, but if not, then Asaph, who is not likely to have known more than David, having spoken of his having envied the wicked, when he saw them in prosperity, and when he found himself chastened and afflicted, concludes in this manner: "Thus my heart was

¹ It must be remembered that those persons who think Job and David and others ignorant of a future state, yet admit, nay contend, that all their neighbours round about were fully cognizant of such a doctrine. (See Warburton, Bk. v. § v.) How then came it to pass that Job, who was an Arab, and David,

who was a conqueror, and had dwelt among the Philistines, and become acquainted with many peoples, should use language concerning a tenet which they almost must have heard from neighbouring nations, and yet not understand it themselves?

grieved, and I was pricked in my reins. So foolish was I, and ignorant; I was as a beast before Thee. Nevertheless I am always with Thee; Thou hast holden me by my right hand. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory" (Ps. lxxiii. 21-24). The "glory" is not of necessity glory everlasting, but it is hardly necessary to observe that such a sense of the word suits the context better than any lower interpretation of it.¹

As David thus seems to have had hopes of something after death, so his son Solomon knew, that "when a wicked man dieth, his expectation shall perish" (Prov. xi. 7); that "The wicked is driven away in his wickedness, but the righteous hath hope in his death" (Prov. xiv. 32). But what hope has the righteous more than the wicked, or how does the expectation of the wicked, more than that of the just, perish when he dieth; unless there be a something after death, which gives hope to the one, but takes it away from the other? Again, Solomon tells us (Eccles. xii. 7), that at death "shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it;" signifying, as it plainly seems, that, when the body returns to that from which it was taken, the spirit shall return into the hand of Him who gave it, not perishing with the body, but awaiting the judgment of its God.²

¹ There are, no doubt, some expressions in the Psalms, which seem to imply an ignorance of a future life, *e. g.* :— "In death there is no remembrance of Thee; in the grave who shall give Thee thanks? (Ps. vi. 5.) "Shall the dust praise Thee? shall it declare Thy truth?" (Ps. xxx. 9.) "Wilt Thou show wonders to the dead? shall the dead arise and praise Thee? shall thy loving-kindness be declared in the grave, or thy faithfulness in destruction? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark, and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?" (Ps. lxxxviii. 10-12.)

These are certainly remarkable expressions, but they do not appear unaccountable in a person who had been taught by the dispensation under which he lived to look for temporal blessings as a reward for obedience, even though he was a believer in a future state. It is doubtful whether such language might not be used even by a Christian. Death is certainly a part of the curse; and hence there is no wonder if the pious Jew dreaded it. And speaking concerning the silence of death does not necessarily imply a total disbelief in a resurrection. The silence and forgetfulness

may mean only forgetfulness as regards this world.

² On this passage see Bishop Bull, *Works*, Oxf. 1827, i. p. 29. Bishop Warburton's strongest passage is from Ecclesiastes:—

"The living know that they shall die; but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward: for the memory of them is forgotten." Eccles. ix. 5. The book of Ecclesiastes is one the language of which is singularly obscure. The passage in question, if taken in its context, may, however, be interpreted with no great difficulty. The royal Preacher observes, that there is one event to all men, from which no one shall escape; and whatever good things he may enjoy in this life, yet death will surely soon deprive him of them all. This may naturally embitter earthly enjoyments, for the living know that they shall die, and they may be assured that in death they will lose their consciousness of all things that have given them pleasure here, and receive no more reward or emolument (מַשְׂכָּל) from them.

"Their love and hatred and envy perish; and they have no longer a portion in anything that is done under the sun."

When we come to the prophets, it is scarcely denied by any that we meet with a mention of immortality. Bishop Warburton, who is probably the ablest writer, at least in the English language, in favour of the opinion that the early Jews knew nothing of a future state, yet admits that in the prophetic writings we begin to see some clear intimations of that doctrine which was to be fully brought to light in the Gospel.

Two remarkable passages are the following: (Isai. xxvi. 19) "Thy dead men shall live; together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." It is not necessary to determine whether there be here a distinct prophecy of the Resurrection. It is enough to show that Isaiah, and those he wrote for, believed in a Resurrection, if, to express even something else, he uses words to illustrate it, which in their most natural sense imply a Resurrection. When we use a figurative expression, we borrow the figures which we use from things familiar and understood among us.

In the book of Daniel a description is given, which so exactly corresponds with the Christian description of the last Judgment and the general Resurrection, that it must require the greatest ingenuity to give any other sense to it: "At that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever" (Dan. xii. 1-3).

We have already seen (under Art. III.) that the Jews, who lived at the time of our Saviour, with the exception of the sect of the Sadducees, not only believed in the immortality of the soul, but in a Resurrection, and in an intermediate state between death and Judgment. Thus St. Paul's appeal, when he was brought before the Sanhedrim, was agreeable to all, except the sect of the Sadducees: "Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee; of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question." And the reason of this was, that, though the small and heretical sect of the Sadducees "said there was no resurrection,

Now this seems the obvious meaning of the passage beginning ver. 2 and ending ver. 6. Does this prove that Solomon did not believe in a future life? It is

plain that he is speaking only of men's losing by death their good things and consciousness of enjoyment *in this life*.

neither angel nor spirit," yet the more orthodox, and more extensive sect of the "Pharisees confessed both" (Acts xxiii. 6, 8).

There may have been sufficient obscurity in the old Testament Scriptures to admit of the possibility of the existence of two different sects, the one holding, the other denying, a future immortality; yet there is abundant evidence from the new Testament that the true interpretation was that adopted by the Pharisees, and that the Sadducees erred from ignorance and pride. Our Lord indeed, when the Sadducees came to Him and propounded to Him a difficulty concerning the Resurrection, tells them at once, that they "erred, not knowing the Scriptures" (Matt. xxii. 29). And though the passage which our Lord adduces from the books of Moses (Exod. iii. 6), "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," requires some explanation to show that it proved the doctrine in question, yet it is quite plain that our Lord reproves the Sadducees for dulness in not having learned from the old Testament that "all men live to God."

But the passage in the new Testament, which most fully assures us that the ancient fathers looked for heavenly promises, is the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the first twelve verses the Apostle had been speaking of the faith of Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, and perhaps of Isaac and Jacob; and he then adds (vv. 13-16), "These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims upon earth. For they that say such things, declare plainly that they seek a country. And truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned. But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for He hath prepared for them a city." In like manner (vv. 25, 26) he tells us, that Moses chose "rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, *for he had respect unto the recompense of the reward.*" And other saints of the old Testament, he says, "were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain *a better resurrection.*" Now those "who seek a better country, that is, a heavenly," those who despise the pleasures of sin and choose to suffer through life persecution with the people of God, "having respect to the recompense of reward," those who endure torture, "not accepting de-

liverance," that "they may obtain a better resurrection," must certainly have looked for more than transitory promises, even for those very promises of life and immortality which they indeed saw but afar off, but which at length the Lord Jesus by the Gospel fully brought to light.

It may seem unnecessary to add anything further to show that the old Testament is not contrary to the new. Yet it is worth while to remark that the constant quotation of the old Testament by the writers of the new, and their mode of quoting it to confirm and ratify their own teaching, is abundant proof that the one closely corresponds with the other. Our Lord expressly asserts that the old Testament Scriptures are "they which testify of Him" (John v. 39). The people of Berea are spoken of with high commendation, because they searched the old Testament to see whether the preaching of the Apostles was the truth; and we read that they were so convinced by this daily searching of the Scriptures, that many of them were led to believe (Acts xvii. 11, 12). Nay, St. Paul tells Timothy, that those Scriptures of the old Testament, which he had known from a child, "were able to make him wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

It is certain, therefore, that they who wrote, and He in whose name they wrote the Scriptures of the new Testament, so far from holding that the old Testament was different from the new, ever held and taught their entire agreement, and appealed to the old Testament as the strongest confirmation of their doctrine, and as bearing abundant testimony to their sacred mission and their heavenly inspiration.

II. But though the old Testament is not contrary to the new, yet, 1. the ceremonial of the Jewish Law is abolished; but, 2. the commandments called moral still continue in force.

1. The very end and object of the Jewish ceremonial were such that of necessity it must have passed away. It has already been seen that the Law of Moses was, first, the code of statute-law for the Theocratic commonwealth; and, secondly, a system of types and emblems preparatory to the coming of the Messiah, who was to fulfil them all. These two purposes it served so long as these purposes existed. But now the Jewish Theocracy has given place to the Christian Church; and the great Antitype has come, to whom all the typical ceremonies looked forward. There is now therefore no longer any reason for the continuance of the Mosaic

Law. Moses and Elias, the Law and the Prophets, have passed away, and we see no one but Jesus only, to whom we are to listen, as God's beloved Son.

There cannot be at present any kingdom circumstanced as the kingdom of Israel was. God is no longer an earthly Sovereign, reigning exclusively over the Jewish nation as their temporal King. He is indeed the great King in all the earth, but not the particular Ruler of a single commonwealth. The Lord Jesus sits on His Mediatorial Throne. But His is a spiritual dominion. It is indeed that great fifth empire, which Daniel saw imaged by a stone hewn without hands, which in course of time filled the earth. But it is nevertheless a kingdom not of this world; and therefore His servants are not to fight, nor to call down fire from Heaven on their enemies, nor to take the sword, lest they perish by the sword. The weapons of their warfare are not carnal; their citizenship is in Heaven; their fellow-citizens are the saints; their fellow-subjects the household of God.

It is therefore unfit that any kingdom should be governed by the laws, or regulated by the ceremonial of the Jewish polity. The court of an earthly sovereign must be differently ordered from the court of the King of Heaven; the laws, which relate to all the governments of this world, different from those which had reference to the supremacy of the LORD. We have seen that blasphemy, idolatry, and similar offences were under the Jewish economy not merely crimes against religion, they were also distinctly crimes, and that of the highest character, against the State. They tended to nothing less than the dethroning of the King, and putting an usurper in His room. It is therefore clear, that, on principles of civil justice, they were crimes which deserved to be punished with death. But in modern nations they are religious, not civil offences; and though the magistrate may justly restrain such acts or words as tend to the offence of society, or the endangering of morality, yet he would not be justified in proceeding against the blasphemer or the idolater on the principle on which the magistrate was bound to proceed against them in Israel, where their crimes were both civil and religious, derogatory to the honour of God, and at the same time rebellion against the authority of the State. Religious wars and religious persecutions are both utterly alien from the spirit of Christianity. James and John, who would have called down fire, Peter who smote off the ear of Malchus, both thought and acted in the spirit of the Jewish, not of the Christian economy; and were herein types of the Dominicans,

who would convert or destroy by the rack and the flame, and of the zealots of later times, who in fighting for religious liberty, shouted as their war-cry, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!"

We know well how strongly St. Paul condemns those who adhered to the Jewish ceremonial. Our Lord, indeed, had declared that "one jot or tittle should not pass away till all was fulfilled."¹ But all was fulfilled when the sceptre departed from Judah, and so the Jewish commonwealth was dissolved; and when the types of the Law had their full accomplishment in their great Antitype, our Prophet, Priest, and King. The argument of the whole Epistle to the Galatians is directed against the observance of Jewish ceremonies. The Epistle to the Hebrews equally shows that the Law had "waxed old, and was ready to vanish away," and that, its accomplishment being perfected in Christ, there was no longer benefit to be gained by adhering to it. Indeed, in the Epistle to the Galatians the Apostle declares, that if a man is circumcised, and strives to keep the Law (*i. e.* the ceremonial Law of Moses), Christ has become of no effect to him, he has fallen from grace.²

But, thus clear though it be, that the ceremonial Law is no longer binding on a Christian or on a commonwealth, we ought yet to bear in mind that the organization of the Jewish State proceeded from above. It was, in some degree, a model republic. It was, no doubt, in a particular age of the world, under peculiar circumstances, and with a special object, that the Jewish nation was set apart to be God's peculiar people, His own kingdom upon earth. But taking all these into account, we ought still to be able to derive lessons of political wisdom from the ordinances appointed by the Allwise for the government of His own chosen race. We can never again see a constitution and a statute-law devised by infinite Wisdom. We know from our Lord's own words, that in some respects the enactments of the Mosaic economy, though coming from God, were yet not perfect, because of the hardness of heart of those for whom they were designed;³ and therefore, of course, we must take into account, not only the particular circumstances, but also the particular character of the people; but when we have made such allowances, we may rest assured that the commonwealth of Israel would be the fittest pattern and type which legislators could adopt for the government of empires.⁴

¹ Matt. v. 18.

² Gal. v. 4.

³ Matt. xix. 8.

⁴ The spiritual nature of Christ's king-

dom does indeed preclude the notion of its being a religion of ceremony. We must not, however, run into the extreme of supposing that, because the

2. As regards that portion of the Law of Moses which is called moral, we must plainly perceive that it is founded in the eternal principles of justice and truth. It is not a code of enactments, given for the temporary guidance of a temporary government; it is rather a system of moral precepts, for the direction and instruction of rational and accountable beings. Indeed, as God was the King of Israel, moral obedience was in itself a portion of civil obedience. Yet the principle, from which its obligation resulted, was not the relation of a subject to his king, but the relation of a creature to his God. The former was a temporary relation, existing only whilst the Jewish commonwealth should last; the other is an eternal relation, which must endure forever and ever. The moral Law, then, which is God's will, was holy and perfect, even as He is perfect. And St. Paul, when he speaks of it as incapable of justifying, yet carefully guards against any misapprehension of his words, as though he should be supposed to speak disparagingly of the Law itself. He declares that "the Law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good" (Rom. vii. 12). He says that "the Law is spiritual," and the reason why it could not sanctify man was not its own deficiency, for in itself, and for its own end, it was perfect, but because of the weakness and sinfulness of man; because the natural man is "carnal, sold under sin," and so unable to fulfil the law; and the more perfect the Law, the more unable man is to live up to it (Rom. vii. 14). But that it is still binding upon Christians, appears sufficiently from the same Apostle's reasoning, who, when he has shown that by nature man cannot obey the Law, goes on just after to assert, that what could not be done by man's natural weakness, could be, and was done, by the power of God; even "that the righteousness of the Law should be fulfilled in them, who walked not after the flesh, but after the Spirit" (Rom. viii. 4).

Our Lord, in the Sermon on the Mount, not only shows that the moral law is binding on Christians, but shows, moreover, that it is binding in a much stricter and more spiritual sense than was generally understood by the Jews. It had been taught in the Law that we should not commit adultery. But Christ enjoined

temporal or carnal ceremonies of the Mosaic Law were done away in Christ, therefore all outward ordinances are inconsistent with Christian worship. We must remember that man is a creature compounded of soul and body, and therefore needing outward as well as inward agency. Accordingly, our Lord ordained Sacraments, and a ministry; and the

Apostles enjoined ordinances of public worship, and exercised ecclesiastical discipline; all which are essential to the existence of a Church in this world, though they may be unnecessary in that city "where there shall be no temple; for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb shall be the temple of it."

that we should not suffer an impure look, or an unholy thought (Matt. v. 27, 28). It had been taught in the Law, that we should do no murder. But Christ taught that the angry feeling and the angry word, which are the first steps to violence, and might in some cases lead to murder, were breaches of that commandment, and therefore unfit to be permitted in Christian men (Matt. v. 21, 22). The ordinances of the Law were expressed in terms of simple command and prohibition, and were looked on in a light suited to the carnal nature of the dispensation, in which they were given. The Pharisees, who were jealous for the Law, yet mostly looked no farther than the letter, satisfied if they abstained from absolute violation of its negative, and fulfilled the literal injunctions of its positive precepts. But our Lord told His disciples, that, except their righteousness exceeded such righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, they should in no case enter into the kingdom of Heaven (Matt. v. 20). His was a spiritual kingdom, and He required spiritual obedience. Mere formal compliance with the ordinances of the Law was insufficient for a Christian, whose heart must be brought into captivity to the will of God. Yet because the obedience must be spiritual, it did not follow that it should not be real. On the contrary, it was to be more real, yea, more strict. For subjection to the spirit of the Law necessarily involves subjection to the letter, though obedience to the letter does not of necessity produce obedience to the spirit. A man may cherish lust and anger without their breaking forth into murder and adultery; but if he checks every rising of evil, he cannot be guilty of the more deliberate wickedness. The first step cannot be arrested, and yet the last plunge be taken.

But if there could be any question as to our Saviour's teaching, one sentence alone should set it at rest: "Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of Heaven; but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of Heaven" (Matt. v. 19).

It is most true that some of the moral commandments are accompanied by sanctions which have respect to the state of things under the Jewish Theocracy. For example, the fifth commandment enjoins obedience to parents, with the promise, "that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." But this by no means proves that the injunction is not binding upon all. All we can learn from it is, that, beyond the sanctions by which the eternal will of God is upheld in all religion,

natural or revealed, the Jew, as a subject of the Theocracy, had also temporal promises to be expected as the reward of obedience ; which, from the peculiar nature of the Mosaic economy, were constantly put prominently forward. And, in the case of this particular commandment, St. Paul expressly enjoins all Christian children to observe it, on the very ground that it was a commandment of the Law of God. And he adds, as a special motive for attending to this commandment, that it must plainly have been an important commandment, inasmuch as in the Law it was the first to which a promise was specially attached. “ Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honour thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise ; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on the earth ” (Eph. vi. 1, 2, 3). The Apostle first enjoins the duty, quotes in confirmation of his injunction the words of the commandment, and then shows the peculiar importance of that commandment, by pointing out that, under the Mosaic economy, a special promise of blessing was annexed to it. This by no means shows that we are to fulfil this commandment in hope of that peculiar promise ; but it shows that the commandment is binding on Christians as well as upon Jews ; and that it is binding, because it is a part of the moral Law given by God to man, which is in itself unchangeable — as unchangeable as He who gave it.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the Three Creeds.

THE Three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

De Tribus Symbolis.

SYMBOLA tria, Nicenum, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolorum appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt, et credenda, nam firmissimis Scripturarum testimoniis probari possunt.

[The American Article reads, "The Nicene Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed," &c. There is no mention, therefore, of "the Creed of Athanasius," and, correspondently, it does not appear in our Service.

That our Church accepts the Athanasian definition is placed beyond doubt, by the declaration in the Preface to the Prayer Book, that we do not intend to depart "from the Church of England in any *essential* point of doctrine;" by the retention of the Preface for Trinity Sunday in the office for Holy Communion, and by the adoption of the first five Articles.

That she is not singular in omitting the Athanasian Symbol from her public worship, is proved by the fact that it does not occur in the authorized formularies of the Orthodox Greek Church. And these two facts must, it would seem, place her beyond any well-grounded charge of unsoundness, or even carelessness, on such a vital point.

Bishop White's "Memoirs" show, that all these considerations were present to the minds of the Bishops — White and Seabury — who composed the House of Bishops in 1789. Whether they were equally present to the minds of the other House is, to say the least, uncertain. That body was very strenuous in its opposition, refusing to allow the insertion of the Creed — or, as it should rather be called, Hymn — at all, even with the provision that it might be used or omitted at discretion. This refusal the New England clergy, not without reason, considered intolerant. The difficulty probably arose from those clauses which even Dr. Waterland thought might be separated from the symbol itself. — J. W.]

SECTION I.—OF CREEDS IN GENERAL.

THE Church, after having defined the authority to which she appeals for the truth of her doctrines, proceeds to require belief in those formularies of faith which from very early times had been in constant use in the Church universal, and that upon the principle already laid down, namely, that they are in strict accordance with holy Scripture.

It seems generally admitted that the probable origin of Creeds

is to be traced to the form or confession of faith, which was propounded to the Catechumens previously to their baptism. In the Scriptures such forms appear to have been brief. Our Lord commanded that men should be baptized "in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:" and perhaps a confession in some such simple form as, "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost," was all that was at first required. Indeed, Philip required of the Eunuch no more than a profession of a belief that "Jesus Christ was the Son of God."¹ It is probable that the Apostles and their immediate disciples used several Creeds, differing in form, though not in substance. Hence, no certain form existing, all Churches were at liberty to make their own Creed, as they did their own liturgies, not being tied to a particular form of words, so long as they kept to the analogy of faith and doctrine delivered by the Apostles. Then, as heretics arose who denied the fundamental doctrines of the faith, the Creeds became gradually enlarged, to guard the truth from their insidious designs and false expositions.

Dr. Grabe, who examined the question as to what forms were used even in the Apostles' days, came to a conclusion that all the Articles in the Creed commonly called the Apostles' Creed, were in use in the Apostolic Confessions of faith, with the exception of these three, "The Communion of Saints," "the Holy Catholic Church," and "the descent into Hell."²

Many confessions of faith are to be found, nearly corresponding with the Creeds which we now possess, in the writings of the earliest fathers. For example, in Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, the Apostolic Constitutions.³ We have also Creeds of several different Churches preserved to us, agreeing in substance, but slightly varying in form; as the Creed of Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Antioch, Aquileia,⁴ &c. But until the time of the Council of Nice, there does not appear to have been any one particular Creed, which prevailed universally, in exactly the same words, and commended by the same universal authority.

¹ See King, *On the Creed*, p. 33; Wall, *On Infant Baptism*, II. pt. II. ch. IX. § x. p. 439.

² Bingham's *Eccles. Antiq.* Bk. x. ch. III. §§ 6, 7. It is not to be supposed, because these Articles do not occur in the most ancient copies of the Creed, that they were therefore of comparatively modern invention. There is abundant

testimony to the doctrines expressed by them in the earliest ecclesiastical writings. Evidence of this may be seen as regards one of them, "The descent into Hell," under Art. III.

³ These are given at length in Wall, as above; and in Bingham, Bk. x. ch. IV.

⁴ See them at length in Bingham, as above.

The prevalence, however, of some authoritative standard in the Church, although varied by diversity of expression, is apparent from the language of many of the earliest Christian writers. Thus, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and others, speak of a "Canon, or rule of faith, according to which we believe in one God Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, His Son, &c." And it is quite clear that this *Κανὼν ἀληθείας*, or *Regula fidei*, was no other than the Creed of the Church, expressed in a regular formulary.¹

The commonest name by which the Creed was designated, was that of *Σύμβολον*, or *Symbolum*. The meaning of the term is confessedly obscure. (1) It has been said to have arisen from the fact that the twelve Apostles met together, and each contributed (*συνέβαλον*) one article to the Creed; hence called *Symbolum*, or collation. (2) It has been said to mean a Collation, or Epitome of Christian doctrine. (3) It has been supposed to be, like the *Tessera Militaris* among the Roman soldiers, a symbol, or sign, by which the soldiers of the Cross were distinguished from heathens or heretics. (4) It has been thought again that it was borrowed from the Military oath (*sacramentum*), by which the Roman soldiers bound themselves to serve their general.² (5) And lastly, Lord King has suggested that it may have been borrowed from the religious services of the ancient heathens, who gave to those who were initiated into their mysteries certain signs or marks (*symbola*), whereby they knew one another, and were distinguished from the rest of the world.³

It is not very easy to decide which of these five senses may with most propriety be attached to the word. The first is the least probable, inasmuch as the tradition on which it rests appears not to have existed before the fourth century.⁴

The word "Creed," by which these ancient formularies of faith are designated in English, is derived from the word *Credo*, with which the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds commence.

¹ See Bingham, Bk. x. ch. III. § 2; Bp. Marsh, *Lecturæ*, Camb. 1828, p. 470. See also the meaning of the term, "Rule of faith," discussed under Art. VI.

² *Symbolum cordis signaculum, et nostræ militiæ sacramentum.* — Ambros. Lib. III. *De velandis Virginibus*, apud Suicer.

³ Suicer, voc. *Σύμβολον*. — Bingham, Bk. x. ch. III. King, *On the Creed*, pp. 6, 11, &c. Wheatley, Dr. Hey, and

others have adopted King's derivation. Bingham totally rejects it.

⁴ St. Augustine says, the name was given, "quia symbolum inter se faciunt mercatores, quo eorum societas pacto fidei teneatur. Et vestra societas est commercium spiritualium, ut similes sitis negotiatoribus bonam margaritam quaerentibus." — Sermon. cccxi. *Oper.* Tom. v. p. 985. Paris, 1683.

SECTION II.—THE APOSTLES' CREED.

RUFINUS mentions a tradition, handed down from ancient times, that, after our Lord's ascension, the Apostles, having received the gift of tongues, and a command to go and preach to all nations, when about to depart from one another, determined to appoint one rule of preaching, that they should not set forth diverse things to their converts. Accordingly, being met together, and inspired by the Holy Ghost, they drew up the Apostles' Creed, contributing to the common stock what each one thought good.¹ The author of the Sermons *de Tempore*, improperly ascribed to Augustine,² tells us that "Peter said, I believe in God the Father Almighty; John said, Maker of Heaven and earth; James said, And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord; Andrew said, Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; Philip said, Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; Thomas said, He descended into Hell, the third day He rose again from the dead; Bartholomew said, He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; Matthew said, From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead; James the son of Alphæus said, I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church; Simon Zelotes said, The Communion of Saints, the Forgiveness of Sins; Jude the brother of James said, The Resurrection of the Flesh; Matthias concluded with, The Life Everlasting."

The principal objections to the truth of these traditions, which are fatal to the last, and nearly fatal to the other, are these:—

First, that Rufinus himself tells us, that the article of the descent into hell was not in the Roman (*i. e.* the Apostles'), nor in the Eastern Creeds. It has been proved by Archbishop Usher and Bishop Pearson, that this statement is true; and also, that two other articles, "the Communion of Saints" and "the Life Everlasting," were wanting in the more ancient Creeds.

Secondly, the formation and existence of the Creed is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in any of the more ancient fathers or Councils; which is most extraordinary, if any such formulary was known to have existed, a formulary which would have

¹ Rufinus, *Expositio in Symb. Apost. ad calcem Cypriani*, p. 17, Oxf. 1682; King, p. 24; Bingham, Bk. x. ch. III. § 5. Bingham translates, "each one contributing his sentence." But Rufinus's words

are "conferendo in unum quod sentiebat unusquisque."

² Sermon. *De Tempore*, 115; *Augustini Opera*, Paris, 1683, Tom. v. Append. p. 395, Sermon. CCXLI.

had the full authority of Scripture itself, and would therefore, probably, have been continually appealed to, especially in Councils, where new confessions of faith were composed.

Thirdly, it is plain that the ancient Creeds, though alike in substance, were not alike in words; which could never have been the case, if one authoritative form had been handed down from the Apostles.¹

Fourthly, we may add to this, that the ancients scrupulously avoided committing the Creed to writing; and it is hardly probable, if there was in the Church a deposit so precious as a Creed drawn up by the Apostles, that it would have been left to the uncertainty of oral tradition, or that, if it were so left, it would have been preserved in its perfect integrity.²

But though this Creed was not drawn up by the Apostles themselves, it may well be called Apostolic, both as containing the doctrines taught by the Apostles, and as being in substance the same as was used in the Church from the times of the Apostles themselves. This will appear to any one who will compare it with the various ancient forms preserved in the works of the most ancient fathers, and which may be seen in Bingham, Wall, and other well-known writers already referred to.³

It was, no doubt, "the work neither of one man nor of one day;" yet it is probable that the Apostles themselves used a form in the main agreeing with the Creed as we now have it, except that the articles concerning the descent into hell, the communion of saints, and the life everlasting, were most likely of later origin. The form indeed was never committed to writing, but, being very short, was easily retained in the memory, and taught to the catechumens, to be repeated by them at their baptism. It differed in different Churches in some verbal particulars, and was reduced to more regular form, owing to the necessity of guarding against particular errors. The form most nearly corresponding to that now called the Apostles' Creed, was the Creed of the Church of Rome; though even that Creed lacked the three clauses mentioned above.⁴ And it is an opinion, not without great probability, that the reason why it was called Apostles' Creed was, that the Church of Rome being the only Church in the West which could undeniably claim an Apostle for its founder, its see was called the Apostolic See, and hence its Creed was called the Apostolic Creed.⁵

¹ See Suicer, s. v. Σύμβολον; King, p. 26; Bingham, Bk. x. ch. 111. § 5.

² See Aug. *Opera*, Tom. v. p. 938. See also King, p. 31.

³ Suicer, Bingham, and Wall, as above;

Pearson, at the head of every Article in his *Exposition of the Creed*.

⁴ Bingham, Bk. x. ch. 111. § 12.

⁵ Wall, *On Infant Baptism*, Part II. ch. ix. p. 472. Oxford, 1835.

It is hardly necessary here to enter into any exposition, or proof from Scripture of the different clauses of the Apostles' Creed. Most of them occur in the Articles of the Church of England. The few which are not expressed in them may be more profitably considered in regular treatises on the Creed, than in a necessarily brief exposition of the Articles.

SECTION III. — THE NICENE CREED.

WHEN the Council of Nice met, A. D. 325, summoned by the authority of the Emperor Constantine, Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, recited to the assembled fathers the Creed, which he professed to have received from the bishops which were before him, into which he had been baptized, even as he had learned from the Scriptures, and such as in his episcopate he had believed and taught. The form of it was as follows:—

“We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only-begotten Son, begotten before every creature (*Πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως*, Col. i. 15); begotten of the Father before all worlds, by whom all things were made; who for our salvation was made flesh, and conversed among men, and suffered and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost.”

This confession of faith both Constantine and the assembled bishops unanimously received; and it should seem that this would have been all that was required. But Arius himself, soon after the Council, A. D. 328, delivered a Creed to the Emperor, which was unobjectionable, if viewed by itself, but which studiously omitted anything which might have led him either to express or to abjure his most heretical opinions;¹ namely, that there was a time when

¹ Arius's Creed runs thus:—
“We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His Son our Lord, begotten of Him before all ages, God the Word, by whom all things were made that are in Heaven and that are in earth; who descended, and was

incarnate, and suffered, and rose again, and ascended into Heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead: and in the Holy Ghost; and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life of the world to come, and in the kingdom of Heaven; And in one Cath.

the Son of God was not, that He was made out of nothing, and that He was not of one substance with the Father. This shows that there was an absolute necessity that the Council should word its Confession of faith, not only so as to express the belief of sound Christians, but also so as to guard against the errors of the Arians. Accordingly, the symbol set forth by the Council was in these words:—

“We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, Begotten, not made; being of one substance with the Father: by whom all things were made, both things in Heaven and things in earth; who, for us men and for our salvation, came down, and was incarnate, and was made man: He suffered, and rose again the third day: and ascended into Heaven: and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost.

“And those who say that there was a time when he was not; or that before He was begotten, He was not; or that He was made out of nothing; or who say that the Son of God is of any other substance, or that He is changeable or unstable, these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.”¹

The Nicene Creed thus set forth, and the decrees of the Council against Arius, were received by the whole Church throughout the world, and thus marked by the stamp of Catholicity. Athanasius, in A. D. 363, informs us, that all the Churches in the world, whether in Europe, Asia, or Africa, approved of the Nicene faith, except a few persons who followed Arius.²

It appears to many that this Creed of the Council of Nice was but an abridgment of the Creed commonly used in many parts of the Church, and that the reason why it extended no further than to the Article, “I believe in the Holy Ghost,” was, because it was intended to lay a stress on those Articles concerning our Lord, to which the heresy of Arius was opposed. Epiphanius, who wrote his *Anchorate* some time before the Council of Con-

olic Church of God, from one end of the earth to the other.”—Socr. *H. E.* Lib. i. c. 26; Suicer, voc. *Σύμβολον*; Bingham, Bk. x. ch. iv. § 10; Wall, Part iv. ch. ix. p. 453.

¹ The Greek may be seen in Routh's *Scriptorium Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, Tom. i. p. 351; and in Suicer, voc. *Σύμβολον*;

also *Athanasii Opera*, Tom. i. p. 247, *Epist. ad Jovian.* Colon. 1686.

² *Καὶ ταύτης σύμφηφοι τευχάνουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πανταγοῦ κατὰ τόπον Εκκλήσιναι πᾶρεξ ὀλίγων τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντων.*—*Epist. ad Jovian.*, Tom. i. p. 246. See Palmer, *On the Church*, Pt. iv. ch. ix.

stantinople, says, that every catechumen repeated at his baptism, from the time of the Council of Nice to the tenth year of Valentinian and Valens, A. D. 373, a Creed in the following words:—

“We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: and in the Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, that is of the substance of His Father, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in Heaven and things on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate; He suffered and was buried; and rose again the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven; and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and He shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

“And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets. And in one Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins, We look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the Life of the world to come. Amen.

“And those who say there was a time when He was not, or that He was made out of nothing, or from some other substance or essence, or say that the Son of God is liable to flux or change, those the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.”

This Creed Epiphanius speaks of as handed down from the Apostles, and received in the Church, having been set forth by more than 310 Bishops (the number at Nice being 318).¹

It has also been observed that Cyril of Jerusalem, who died A. D. 386, and delivered his Catechetical Lectures early in his life, in the eighteenth lecture repeats the following Articles, as part of the Creed:—“In one Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, and in one Holy Catholic Church; and in the Resurrection of the flesh; and in eternal Life.”²

We must infer then, either that a larger, as well as a shorter Creed was put forth at Nice, such as Epiphanius has recorded, or that such a longer form had existed of old time, and that the

¹ Epiphanius, *In Anchorato*, juxta finem; Suicer, s. v. *σύμβολον*; Bingham, Bk. x. ch. iv. § 15.

² Cyril, *Catech.* xviii.

Council only specified those parts which bore particularly on the controversy of the day ; or, lastly, that shortly after the Council of Nice the Nicene fathers, or some of them, or others who had high authority, enlarged and amplified the Nicene symbol, and that this enlarged form obtained extensively in the Church.¹

The Council of Constantinople met A. D. 381, consisting of 150 fathers. Their principal object was to condemn the Macedonian heresy, which denied the Deity of the Spirit of God. They accordingly put forth an enlarged edition of the Creed of the Council of Nice. It agreed almost word for word with the Creed of Epiphanius, the only omission being of the following clauses, "that is of the substance of His Father," and "both things in Heaven and things in earth ;" which were already fully expressed in other words.

The chief clauses contained in this Creed, which do not occur in the Creed as put forth by the Council of Nice, are as follows:—

"Begotten of the Father before all worlds," "By the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary," "Was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and was buried," "Sitteth on the right hand of the Father," "Whose kingdom shall have no end ;" and all those clauses which follow the words "We believe in the Holy Ghost."

The most important of these expressions is "the Lord, and Giver of life" (τὸ Κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν). The Arians spoke of Him as a creature. The Macedonians called Him a ministering spirit. In opposition to these, in the Creed of Constantinople, after an expression of belief in the Holy Spirit τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is added τὸ Κύριον, "the Lord." This was in allusion to 2 Cor. iii. 17, 18, where the Spirit is spoken of as the Lord (*i. e.* ἸΕΗΟΥΑΗ); and is called "The Lord the Spirit ;"² and therefore in this Creed He is called τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Κύριον, "the Spirit, which is the LORD."³

It is unnecessary to repeat here what was said in the History of the fifth Article, concerning the famous addition of the *Filioque* ; which was the chief cause of the schism of the Eastern and Western Churches.

The Creed of Constantinople was solemnly confirmed by the third general Council, the Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431 ; whose seventh Canon decrees that "No one shall be permitted to introduce, write, or compose any other faith, besides that which was

¹ See Suicer and Bingham, as above.

³ See Wall, *On Infant Baptism*, II. p.

² ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐστίν, and ἀπὸ 465.
Κυρίου Πνεύματος.

defined by the holy fathers assembled in the city of Nice with the Holy Ghost.”¹

It is said that the first to introduce the Constantinopolitan Creed into the Liturgy was Peter Fullo, Patriarch of Antioch, about the year 471; and that he ordered it to be repeated in every assembly of the Church.² It is further said, that Timotheus, Bishop of Constantinople, first brought the same custom into the Church of Constantinople, about A. D. 511.³ From the East the custom passed into the Western Churches, and was first adopted in Spain by the Council of Toledo, about A. D. 589, when that Church was newly recovered from an inundation of Arianism. The Roman Church appears to have been the last to receive it, as some say, not before A. D. 1014; though others have assigned, with probability, an earlier date.⁴

SECTION IV. — THE CREED OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

I. **T**HE original of this, as of the Apostles' Creed, is obscure. In former times, many learned men believed it to have been composed by Athanasius, when he was at Rome, and offered by him to Pope Julius, as a confession of his faith. This was the opinion of Baronius, and in it he was followed by Cardinal Bona, Petavius, Bellarmine, Rivet, and many others of both the Roman and the reformed communions.⁵ The first who entered critically into an examination of the question of its authorship, was Gerard Vossius, in his work *De Tribus Symbolis*, A. D. 1642; who threw strong doubts on the received opinion, having given good reason to believe that this Creed was the work, not of Athanasius, but of some Latin writer, probably much posterior to Athanasius. Indeed he did not set it higher than A. D. 600. He was followed by Archbishop Usher, who in his tract *De Symbolis* (A. D. 1647) produced new evidence, of which Vossius was ignorant, agreed with him in denying it to Athanasius, but scrupled not to assign it a date prior to the year 447.

¹ Beveridge, *Synodicon*, i. p. 103; Routh's *Opuscula*, ii. p. 392.

² Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν κναφέα ἐπινοῆσαι . . . καὶ ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σὺμβολὸν λεγέσθαι — Theodor. Lector. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. p. 556, Paris, 1673; Bingham, Bk. x. ch.

iv. § 7; Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, ii. ch. iv. § 6.

³ Theodor. Lector. p. 563; Bingham and Palmer, as above.

⁴ Bingham and Palmer, as above.

⁵ Bingham Bk. x. ch. iv. § 18.

In the year 1675, Paschasius Quesnel, a learned French divine, published the works of Pope Leo, with some dissertations of his own. In the fourteenth of these, he discusses the authorship of this Creed, and assigns it to Vigilus Tapsensis, an African Bishop, who lived in the latter end of the fifth century, in the time of the Arian persecution by the Vandals. His arguments have so prevailed as to carry a majority of learned writers with him; amongst whom may be mentioned, Cave, Dupin, Pagi, Natalis Alexander, Bingham.

The principal arguments against the authorship of Athanasius, and in favour of Vigilus, are thus summed up by the last mentioned writer, Bingham.¹ First, because this Creed is wanting in almost all the MSS. of Athanasius' works. Secondly, because the style and contexture of it does not bespeak a Greek, but a Latin author. Thirdly, because neither Cyril of Alexandria, nor the Council of Ephesus, nor Pope Leo, nor the Council of Chalcedon, have even so much as mentioned it in all they say against the Nestorian or Eutychian heresies. Fourthly, because this Vigilus is known to have published several others of his writings under the borrowed name of Athanasius, with which this Creed is commonly joined."²

In 1693, Joseph Antelmi, a learned divine of Paris, in his *Dissertatio de Symbolo Athanasiano*, attacked with great success the opinion of Quesnel, and ascribed the Creed to Vincentius Lirinensis, who flourished in Gaul, A. D. 434.

His arguments appear to have produced considerable effect on the learned world. The famous Tillemont (1697) commends the performance of Antelmi, though still inclining to Quesnel's opinion. Montfaucon (1698) is convinced that the Creed is not the work of Athanasius nor Vigilus, nor is he convinced that it is due to Vincentius; but thinks there is great reason to conclude, that it was the work of a Gallican writer or writers, about the time of Vincentius. In like manner, Muratori, a famous Italian writer (1698), commends the opinion of Antelmi, as nearest to the truth.³

Lastly, our learned Dr. Waterland, in his valuable *History of the Athanasian Creed*, having given an account of the opinions of his predecessors, brings many strong arguments to prove that the writer was Hilary, who became Bishop of Arles, A. D. 429, and that he, in all probability; put forth this creed, wher he first entered his diocese.

¹ Bingham, as above; Waterland, *Hist. of Athanasian Creed*, ch. I.

² *Ibid.*

³ Waterland, as above.

The arguments, by which the time and place in which this Creed was written have been pretty certainly arrived at, may be classed under two heads: 1 External; 2 Internal Proofs.

1. External Proofs are as follows:—

(1) We have ancient testimonies as early as the
A. D. 670. Council of Autun, A. D. 670, where this Creed is enjoined to be recited by the clergy. After this, Regino, Abbot of Prom in Germany, A. D. 760. The Council of Frankfort, A. D. 794. Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, A. D. 809. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, A. D. 852, &c.

(2) There is an *ancient commentary*, as early as A.
A. D. 570. D. 570, by Venantius Fortunatus, an Italian, who became Bishop of Poitiers. Afterwards commentaries by Hincmar, Bishop of Rheims, A. D. 852; Bruno, Bishop of Warzburgh in Germany, A. D. 1033; the famous Abelard, 1120, &c.

(3) There are MSS. as early as the seventh century,
A. D. 600. and one was found in the Cotton Library by Archbishop Usher, as early as A. D. 600; though this has since disappeared. This is a very early date, considering how few MSS., even of the most ancient writers, are much earlier.

(4) There are *French versions* of the year 850;
A. D. 850. German, 870; Anglo-Saxon, 930; Greek, 1200, &c.

(5) The reception of this Creed may be shown to
A. D. 550. have been in Gaul, as early as A. D. 550; Spain, 630; Germany, 787; England, 800; Italy, 880; Rome, 930.

From these considerations we trace the Creed to the middle of the sixth century, when it appears to have been well known, commented on, and treated with great respect; and that more especially in the churches of Gaul.

2. The Internal Evidences are these:—

(1) It was clearly written after the rise of the Apol-
Not before
A. D. 370. linarian heresy; for the Creed is full, clear, and minute in obviating all the cavils of that heresy concerning the incarnation of Christ.¹ This heresy arose about A. D. 360, and grew to a head about A. D. 370. Epiphanius marks the time when Creeds began to be enlarged in opposition to Apollinarianism, namely, A. D. 373,² about which year Athanasius died.

(2) The Creed appears to have adopted several of St.
Not before
A. D. 416. Augustine's expressions and modes of reasoning. Now

¹ It will be remembered that the Apollinarians denied a human soul to Christ, and said that the Godhead supplied the

place of the rational soul. See August. *Hæres.* 49. Tom. VIII. p. 19.

² Epiphanius *Anchorat.* c. 121, ap. Waterland.

he wrote his books on the Trinity about A. D. 416. Especially this Creed contains the famous *Filioque*; and Augustine was the first who brought the doctrine of the Procession from the Son prominently forward; whence he has been charged by the Greeks with being the father of that doctrine. This would make it probable that the Creed was not written much before A. D. 420.

Before
A. D. 451. (3) It appears, however, to have been written before the rise of the Eutychians; for there is not a word plainly expressing the *two natures* of Christ, and excluding *one nature*; which critical terms are rarely or never omitted in the Creeds after the Eutychian times. Nay, though this Creed does in effect oppose this, as well as other heresies, there are expressions in it, which, it has been thought, might have been laid hold of by Eutyches in his favour, and therefore would not have been written after his heresy had arisen; *e. g.* "One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God." This might have been perverted to prove the Eutychian dogma, that Christ's manhood was converted into and absorbed in His Godhead. Again, "As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ." The Eutychians might have argued from this clause, that, as body and soul make up the *one nature* of man, so God and man in Christ made *one nature* also.

Hence it is concluded that this Creed was written before the Council of Chalcedon, where Eutyches was condemned, A. D. 451.

Before
A. D. 431. (4) It was probably before the spread of the Nestorian heresy. It is certain that this Creed does not condemn Nestorianism in the full, direct, and critical terms which Catholics made use of against that heresy. There is nothing about the *Deipara* in it, or about *one Son* only in opposition to two Sons, or about *God* being *born*, or *suffering* and *dying*. But such terms ever occur in Creeds drawn up, or writings directed against Nestorianism. And though terms occur in it which may be held to condemn both Eutychianism and Nestorianism, yet they are not stronger than were used by those who, before the rise of both these heresies, wrote against the Apollinarians, whose doctrine bore considerable resemblance in some points to that of Eutyches, and the maintainers of which often charged the Catholics with something very like the doctrine afterwards held by Nestorius. Hence, in the Apollinarian controversy, the fathers were often led to condemn, by anticipation, both Nestorius and Eutyches. If this reasoning be correct, the Athanasian Creed must have been written before the Council of Ephesus, where Nestorianism was condemned, A. D. 431.

Thus the internal evidence leads us to conclude, that the Athanasian Creed was, in all probability, composed between A. D. 420 and A. D. 431.

As to the *place* where it was made, evidence tends to show that it was *Gaul*.

(1) It seems to have been received first in Gaul. (2) It was held in great esteem by Gallican councils and bishops. (3) It was first admitted into the Gallican Psalter. (4) The oldest versions of it, commentaries on it, citations from it, and testimonies to it, are Gallican, or connected with Gaul. (5) The greatest number of the manuscripts of it, and those of greatest antiquity, are found in Gaul.

From such arguments as these, it has been concluded, with the greatest probability, that this Creed was written in France, and at some time in the interval between A. D. 420 and 431.¹

The authorship of it then must be assigned to some person or persons, who flourished at this period in the church of Gaul.

Now Vincentius Lirinensis and Hilary of Arles both were Gallican divines, and both flourished at the required time.

Vincentius was a writer of great celebrity and judgment, and his works contained thoughts and expressions which bear a great similarity to the expressions in the Athanasian Creed. It is true his famous work, the *Commonitorium*, is assigned to the date 434, *i. e.* a few years later than the probable date of the Athanasian Creed; but there seems no reason why he should not have written the Creed before the *Commonitorium*.

On the other hand, it is argued by Dr. Waterland, that Hilary was a bishop, which Vincentius was not; and such a work appears much fitter for a bishop than for a private presbyter. He was made a bishop A. D. 429, which falls exactly within the limits assigned for the date of the Creed; and what more likely than that he should have set it forth when he entered on his diocese? He is spoken of as a man of great powers. His writings are said to have been small tracts, but extremely fine; and Honoratus of Marseilles, who wrote his Life, says that he wrote an excellent *Exposition of the Creed*; which is the proper title for the work in question, a work which was rarely called a *Creed* (*Symbolum*) by the ancients. Again, he was a great admirer of St. Augustine (in all but his views of predestination), whence we may account for the similarity of the expressions in this Creed to the language of that father. The resemblance, which is traced to the language of Vincentius,

¹ See Waterland, as above

may have resulted from the fact that Hilary and Vincentius were not only contemporaries, but had been inmates, about the same time, of the same monastery at Lerins; that so Vincentius might borrow expressions from Hilary, to whom he would be likely to look up with respect. Lastly, the style of this Creed answers well to what is told us of the style and character of Hilary.

To conclude: whether we assign the Athanasian Creed to Hilary or Vincentius, or to both or neither of them, it was pretty certainly the work of some Gallican writer in the beginning of the fifth century. It was very probably called *Athanasian* because it clearly expressed the doctrines which Athanasius so ably defended; and because, when Arianism was rife in Gaul, as it was soon after the publication of this Creed, the Arians very probably called the Catholics Athanasians, and the Creed, which especially and most fully expressed their doctrines, the Athanasian Creed.¹

II. The particular value of this Creed consists in this, that it guards the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Incarnation against the various heretical subtleties by which it has been explained away: and although it may be argued that most of these heresies are ancient, and therefore out of date, it is far from being true that they may never recur. Arianism, Sabellianism, Apollinarianism, against which it seems chiefly to have been directed, have all been revived in late times; even Nestorian and Eutychian doctrines, which the Creed, as it were, anticipates and condemns, have been more or less approved in our days. And although none of these errors were openly professed, yet the loose way in which many modern writers on Theology often express themselves requires to be restrained by something like the Creed in question, which, by its accurate language, is calculated to produce accuracy of thought.

Even then, if some people may think the damnatory clauses, as they are called, unduly strong, yet the occurrence of one or two strong expressions should not so far weigh with us as to induce us to wish the removal of this confession of our faith from the formularies of the Church. It is, in the main, unquestionably true, that he who, having the means of learning the truth of Christ, shall yet reject and disbelieve it, shall on that account be condemned. It is probable that the damnatory clauses in the Creed of Athanasius mean no more than the words of our Lord, "He that believeth not shall be damned" (Mark xvi. 16). What allowance is to be made for involuntary ignorance, prejudice, or other infirmities, is

¹ See Waterland's *History of the Athanasian Creed*; Works, iv.

one of those secret things which belong only to the Lord our God ; concerning which we may hope, but cannot pronounce. The Gospel declares that unbelief in the truth shall be a cause of condemnation ; and the Church is therefore justified in saying the same. The extreme earnestness and, as to some it seems, harshness, with which the Creed expresses it, resulted from the imminent danger, at the time it was composed, from the most noxious heresy, and the need there was to hedge round the faith of the Church, as it were, with thorns and briers. If we think such language unnecessarily severe, still we must remember that nothing human is free from some mark of human infirmity, and should be slow to doubt the value of a Catholic exposition of the Faith, because one or two expressions seem unsuited to modern phraseology.

The meaning and importance of the different clauses will be best appreciated by observing what errors they respectively opposed. Thus, let us begin with ver. 4 : " Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance." The Patripassians and Sabellians confounded the Persons ; the Arians divided the Substance of the Godhead. After this, the next 14 verses, down to " yet not three Lords, but one Lord," seem principally designed to oppose the Arian heresy, which denied the homo-ousion. Accordingly they declare that in the Holy Trinity there are *Three*, with a distinction of Person, but with an Unity of Substance or Essence ; so that, though it is lawful to say that the Father, Son, and Spirit, are distinct Persons, and that each Person is Lord, God, Almighty, uncreated, and incomprehensible, yet it is not lawful to say that there are three Gods, three Lords, three Almightyes, three Uncreated, or three Incomprehensibles.¹

The 19th verse concludes this portion of the Creed, in the words, " For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord, so are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion to say, There be three Gods or three Lords." Now the former part of this clause has been supposed by some to speak, so that we might infer from it, that any one Person in the Trinity, by Himself, would constitute the whole Godhead. This, however, is far from being the real or natural sense of the passage. The meaning is this : Each Person in the Trinity is essentially God. And we must not view God as we would a material being, as though the Godhead could be *divided* into three

¹ The original of the word " incomprehensible " is " immensus," i. e. *ἀπειρος*, x. ; *Works*, iv. p. 885.

boundless, immeasurable, or omnipres-

different parts, which three united together made up one whole, and so imagine that the Father alone was not God, but required to have the Son and the Spirit *added* to Him in order to make up the Godhead. No! The spiritual unity of the three Blessed Persons in the Trinity is far closer, more intimate, and more real, than that unity by which parts make up a whole. Each by Himself, or considered alone, must be confessed to be God; and yet all make not up three Gods, but are One in Essence, and therefore but one God.

The next four verses are opposed to those who confounded the Persons of the Godhead, making the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost not only one God, but one Person. And they state the relations of the Son to the Father, and of the Holy Ghost to both of them.

The 23d verse runs thus: "So there is one Father, not three Fathers: One Son, not three Sons; One Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts." It may be asked here, of what use is this clause? Did any heretics ever teach that there were three Fathers, or three Sons, or three Holy Ghosts? The answer is, Those who asserted that there were three unoriginated principles (*τρεις ἀναρχοι*), were considered to teach virtually that there were three Fathers, or three Sons, or three Holy Ghosts, or a Trinity of Trinities. Thus one of the Apostolical Canons is directed against presbyters, who should baptize "in three unoriginated principles, or in three Sons, or in three Paracletes, or in three Holy Ghosts." The Council of Bracara denounces those who shall say, "as the Gnostics and Priscillianists, that there is a Trinity of Trinities." And Pope Vigilius decrees, that, if any "baptize in one Person of the Trinity, or in two, or in three Fathers, or in three Sons, or in three Comforters," he should be cast out of the Church.¹

The Creed from verse 27 treats of the Incarnation, and excludes the various heretical opinions on this subject.

Some denied that Christ was God, as the Ebionites, Arians, &c. Others denied that He was Man; as the Gnostics, the Apollinarians, and afterwards the Eutychians. Especially the Apollinarians denied that He was perfect man, having both a reasonable soul and human flesh besides His Godhead, ver. 30.

Again, the Apollinarians charged the Catholics with saying that Christ was two, since they assigned Him a human soul as well as a Divine Spirit. Therefore the Creed adds, that, "though He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ," — a clause which

¹ Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. XI. ch. III. § 4.

afterwards was suitable to oppose the Nestorians, who held that there were two *Persons* united in Christ, ver. 32.

Once more, the Apollinarians made the Godhead of Christ act the part of a soul to His Manhood; which was virtually converting the Godhead into flesh.¹ The true doctrine is, not that God was changed into man, but that the Word of God took human nature into union with His Godhead. Therefore the Creed says, "One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God," ver. 33.

Again, the Apollinarians made a "confusion of substance" in Christ, for they confounded His Godhead and His Manhood; as the Eutychians did afterwards, inasmuch as they made His Godhead act the part of His human soul. Therefore says the Creed "One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of Person," *i. e.* by uniting both natures in one Person, ver. 34. And this is further explained, that, as in the ordinary man there are two different substances, body and soul, united in one, so in Christ two different natures, God and Man, are intimately united, yet not confounded together, ver. 35: "As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ."

Thus the principal clauses of the Creed are drawn up, to obviate the principal errors on the two chief doctrines of the Christian faith. If such errors had never arisen, the accurate language of the Creed would have been useless. But when dangers have been shown to exist, opposition to them seems inevitably forced upon the Church. Peace is infinitely to be desired, but it is better to contend for the faith than to lose it.

THE THREE CREEDS IN THEIR ORIGINAL LANGUAGES.

1. *Symbolum Apostolorum.*

Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν. τὸν συλληφθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, σταυρωθέντα, θανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, κατελθόντα εἰς ἄδου, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς παντοδυνάμου, ἐκεῖθεν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Πιστεύω εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἁγίων κοινωνίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Ἀμήν.

¹ Contentiosissime affirmantes, Verbum in carnem fuisse conversum atque mutatum. — Augustin. *Heres.* 55.

2. *Symbolum Constantinopol.*

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων· φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον, καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον, καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. Εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ὁμολογοῦμεν ἕν βαπτίσμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν.

3. *Fides Sancti Athanasii.*

1. Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem.

2. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit.

3. Fides autem Catholica hæc est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur :

4. Neque confundentes Personas, neque Substantiam separantes.

5. Alia est enim Persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

6. Sed Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, una est Divinitas, æqualis Gloria, coæterna Majestas.

7. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus.

8. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus Sanctus.

9. Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus et Spiritus Sanctus.

10. Æternus Pater, æternus Filius, æternus et Spiritus Sanctus.

11. Et tamen non tres æterni, sed unus æternus.

12. Sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus, et unus immensus.

13. Similiter, Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus.

14. Et tamen non tres Omnipotentes, sed unus Omnipotens.

15. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus.

16. Et tamen non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus.

17. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus.

18. Et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.

19. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque Personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur; ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere Catholica religione prohibemur.

20. Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus.

21. Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus.

22. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus est, sed procedens.

23. Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres Spiritus Sancti.

24. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus, sed totæ tres Personæ coæternæ sibi sunt, et coæquales.

25. Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, et Unitas in Trinitate, et Trinitas in Unitate veneranda sit.

26. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.

27. Sed necessarium est ad æternam Salutem, ut Incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.

28. Est ergo Fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus pariter et Homo est.

29. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitus: Homo, ex substantia Matris in sæculo natus.

30. Perfectus Deus, perfectus Homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.

31. Æqualis Patri secundum Divinitatem: minor Patre secundum Humanitatem.

32. Qui licet Deus sit et Homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.

33. Unus autem, non conversione Divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione Humanitatis in Deum.

34. Unus omnino, non confusione Substantiæ, sed unitate Personæ.

35. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est Homo; ita Deus et Homo unus est Christus.

36. Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.

37. Adscendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Patris; inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.

38. Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et redditori sunt de factis propriis rationem.

39. Et qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam æternam, qui vero mala, in ignem æternum.

40. Hæc est Fides Catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter, firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.