

**An impartial history of Michael Servetus, burnt alive at Geneva for heresie /
[By Sir Benjamin Hodges?].**

Contributors

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Hodges, Benjamin, Sir.

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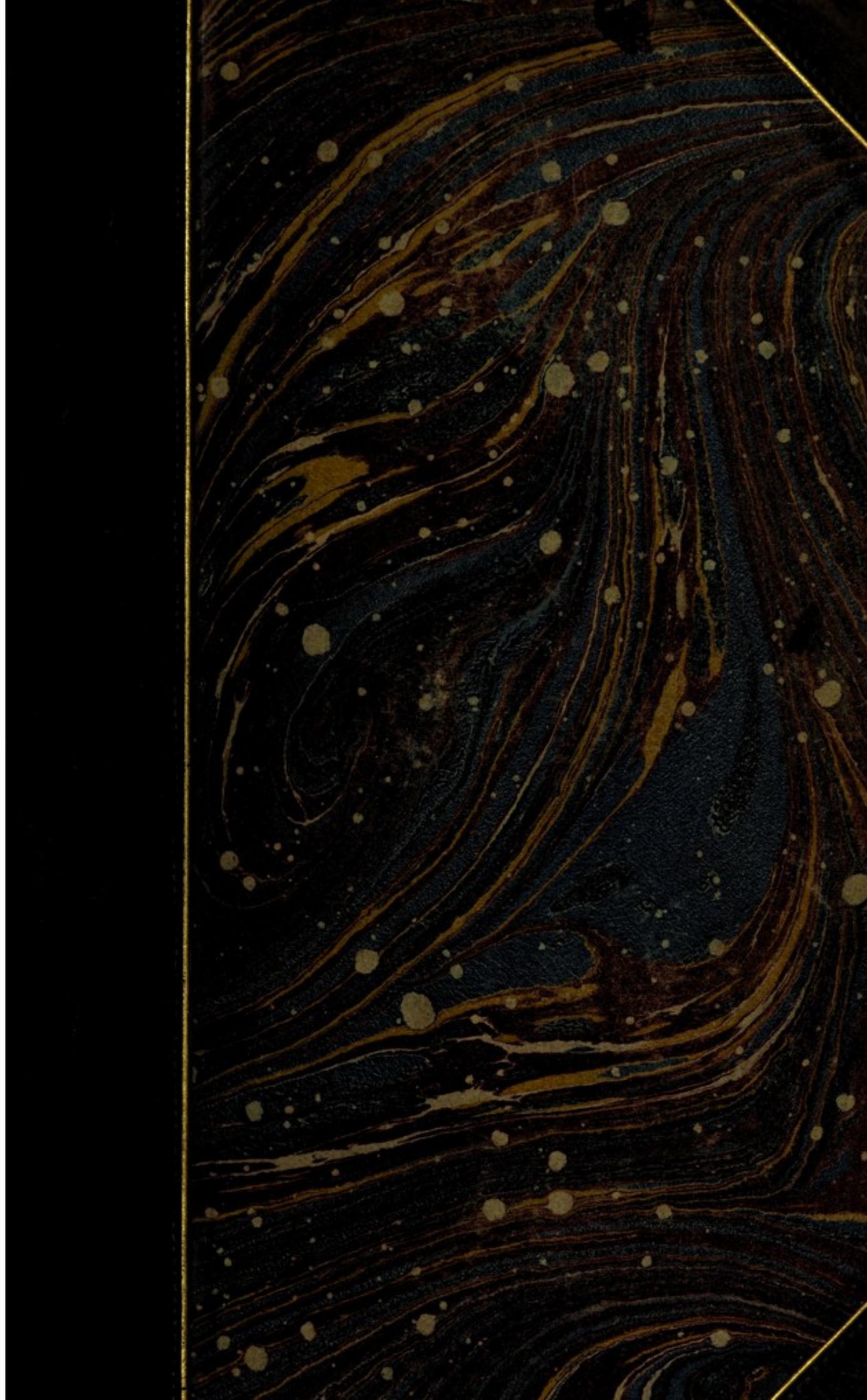
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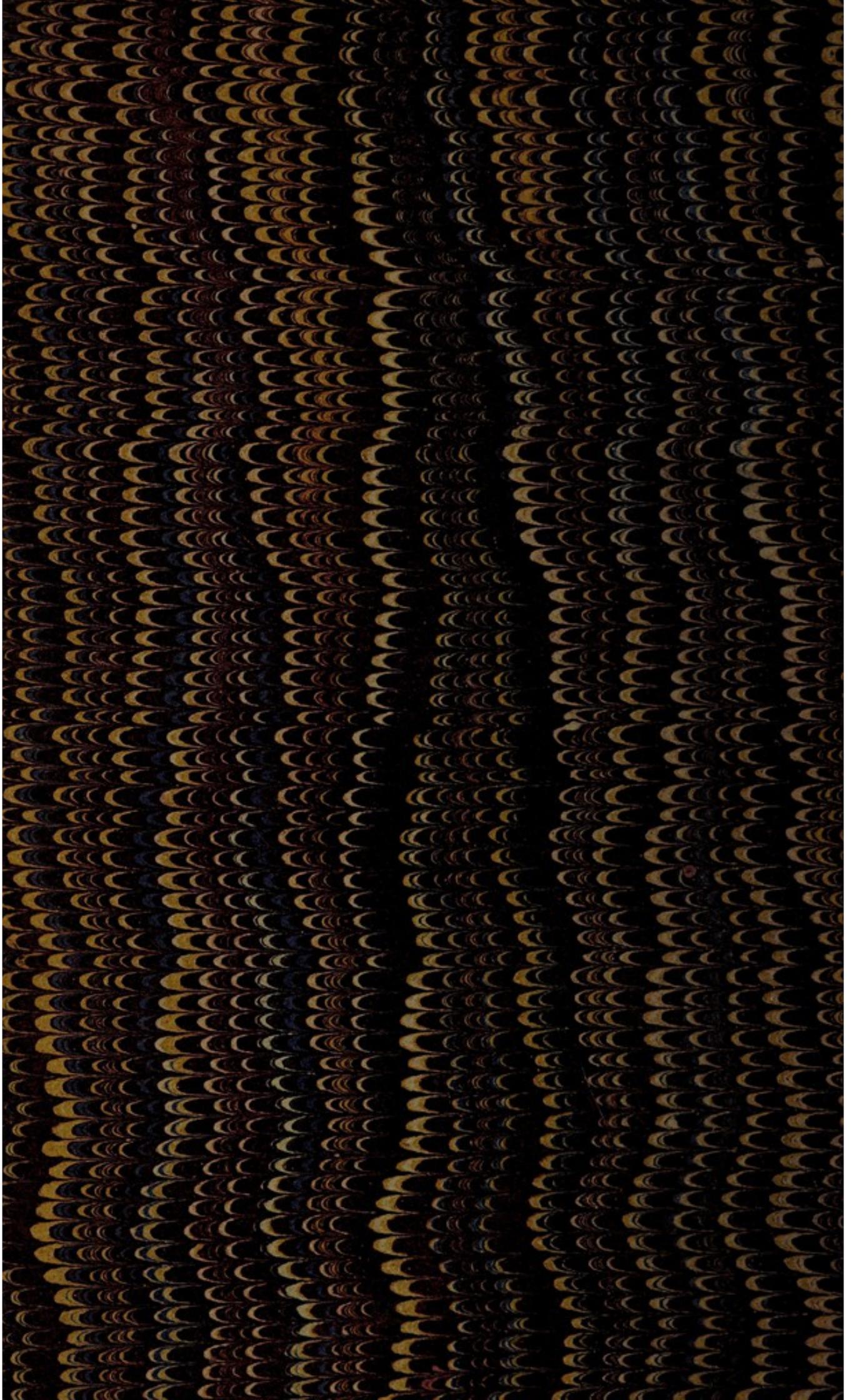
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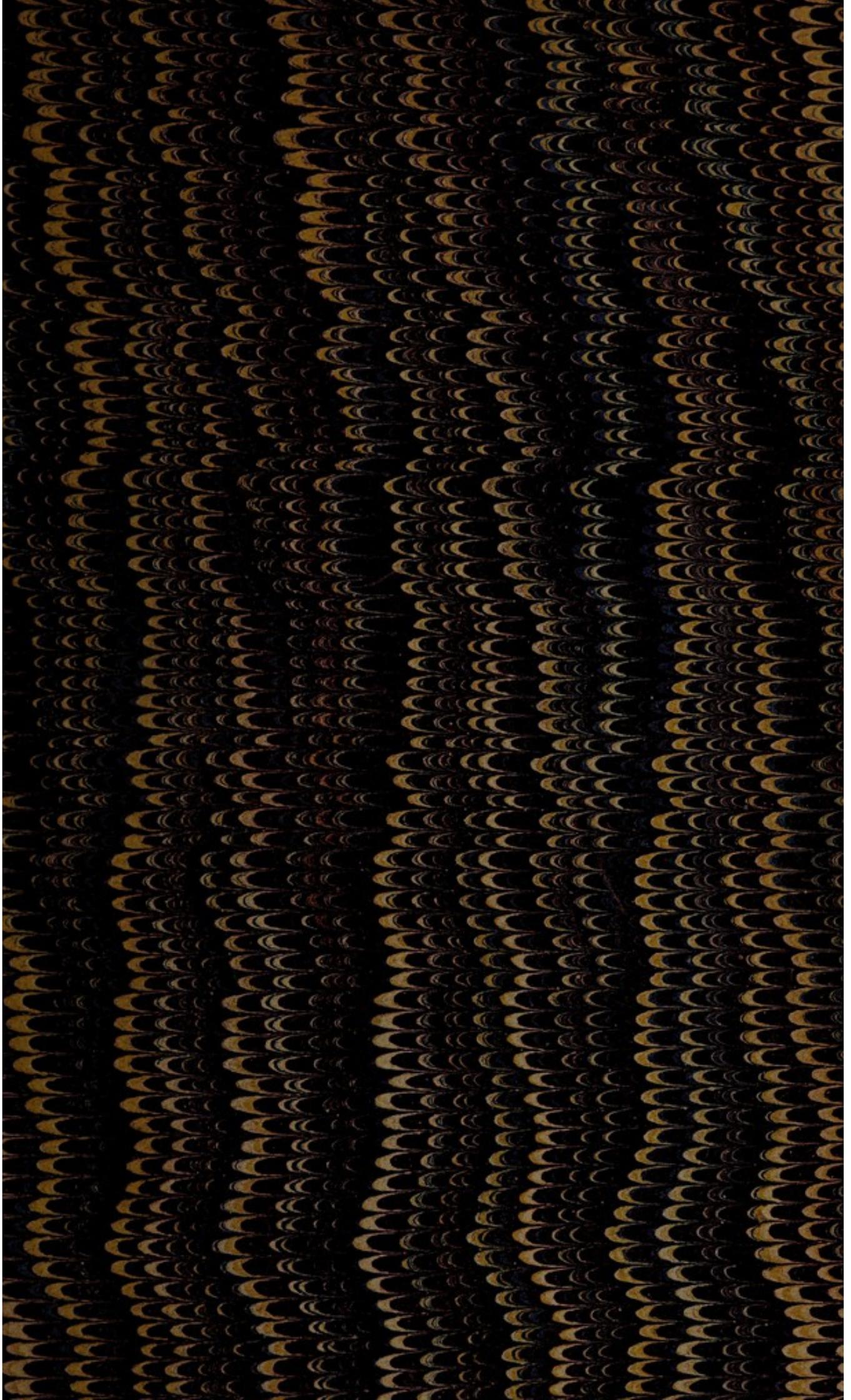
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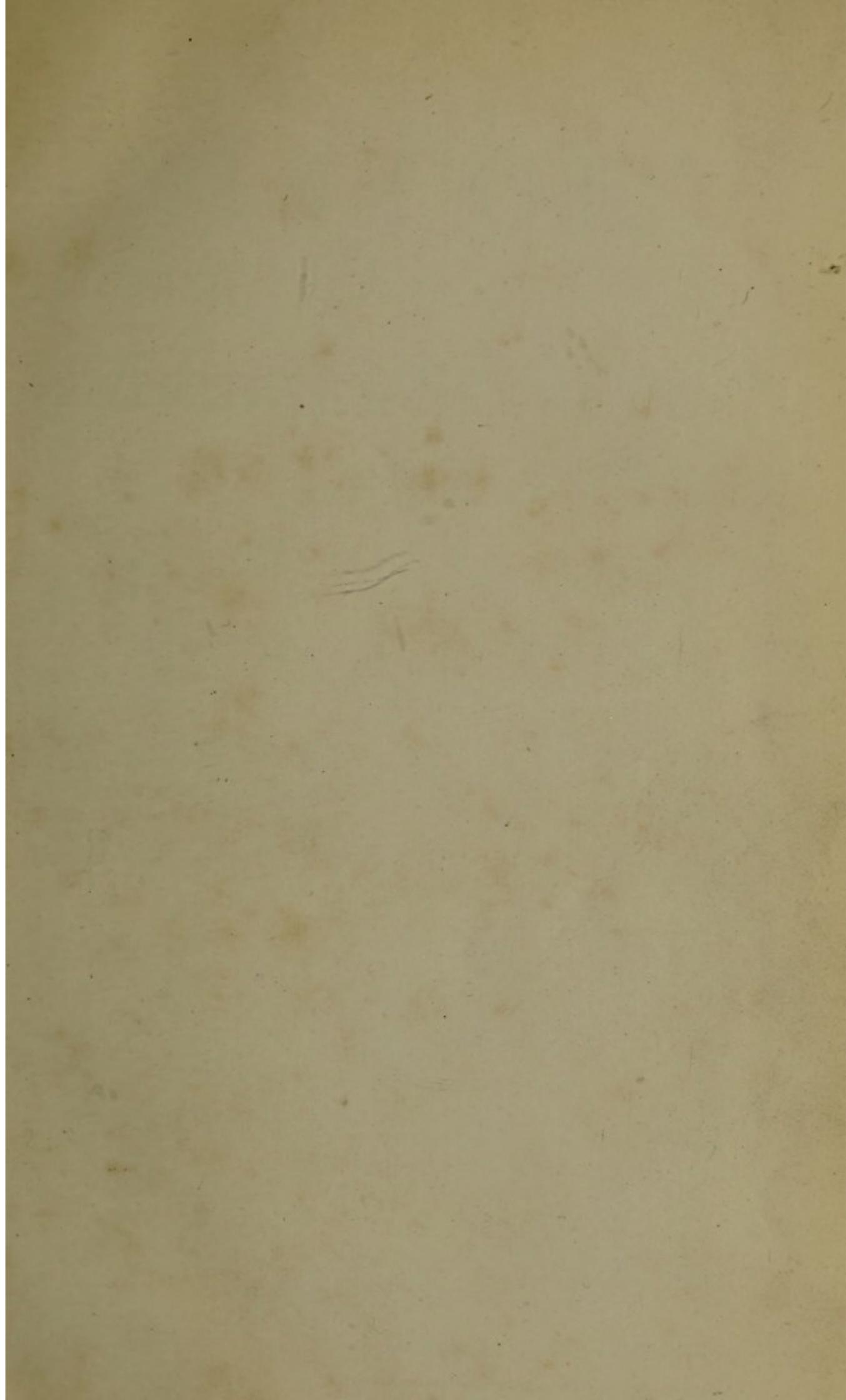
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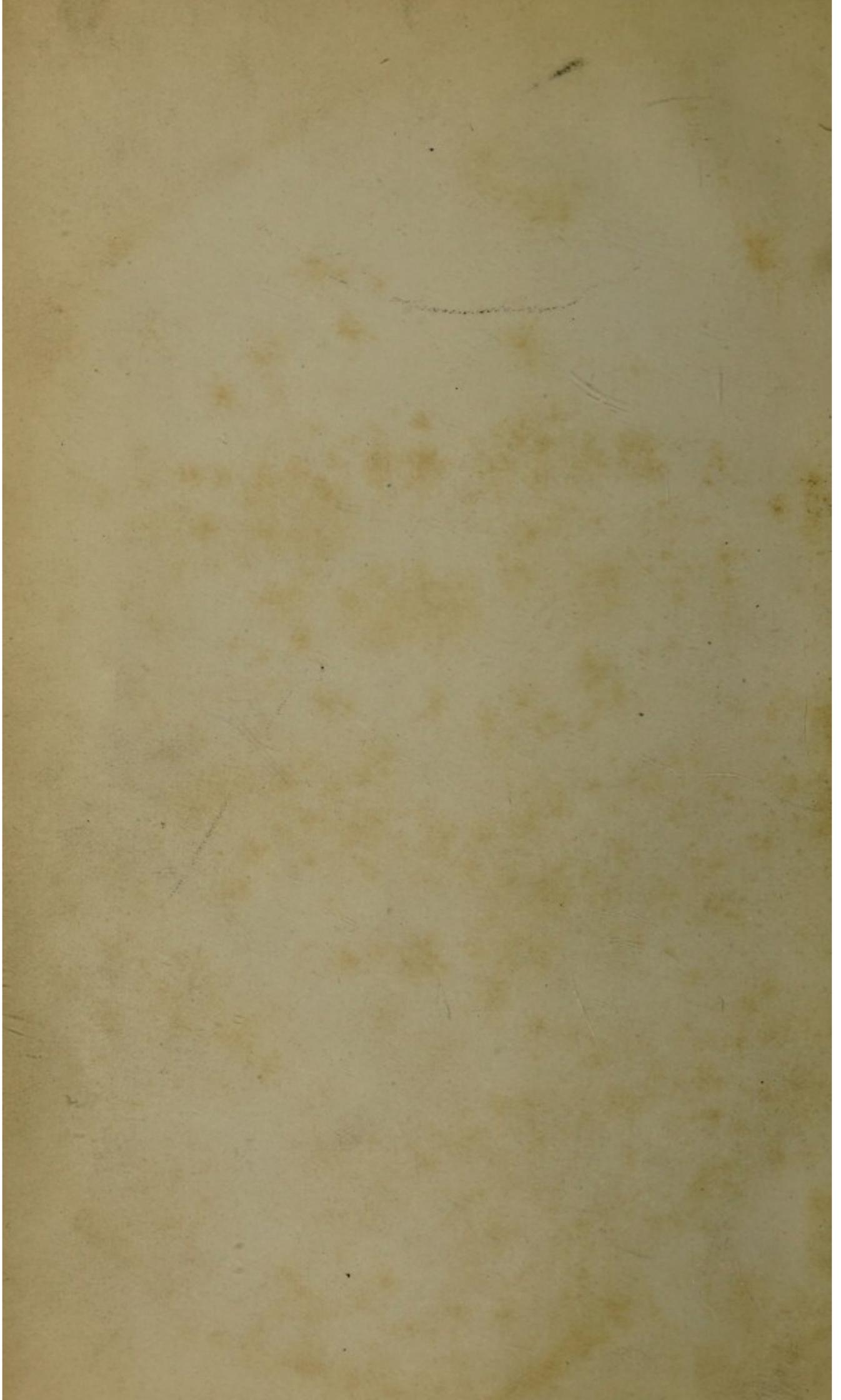
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AN IMPARTIAL
HISTORY
OF
MICHAEL SERVETUS,
Burnt Alive at
GENEVA
FOR
HERESIE.



LONDON:
Printed for AARON WARD, at the *King's-Arms*
in *Little-Britain.* 1724.

HISTORY

OF

MICHAEL SERVETUS

GERMANY



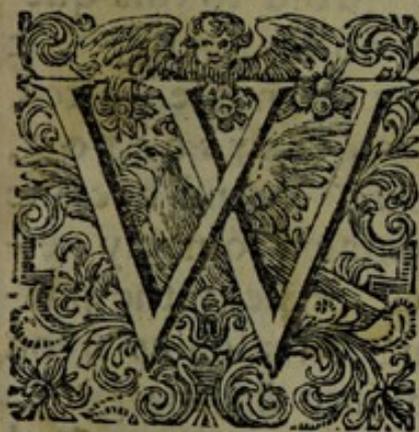
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1574

Printed in London by J. Sturges, at the New Printing Office, No. 15, St. Dunstons Church Lane, in the Strand, 1854.



THE
HISTORY
OF
SERVETUS, &c.



WHOEVER has reason'd himself into a belief of the religion of the greatest reformer, that ever appear'd in the world; I mean, the author of that christianity, that is to be found in the New Testament, cannot but be pleas'd with those agreeable sentiments which will arise in his mind, from that prohibition of his; But be ye not called *Rabbi*, for one is your master, even CHRIST, and all ye are brethren, *Mat. xxiiij. 8.* Or according to * CRANMER'S * Or as the Orig. *ὁ καὶ θύνη- τῆς, Head or Guide.* translation: But be not ye called *Rabbi*, for one is your doctor, even CHRIST. Upon this methinks I see the perfect image of christian liberty, immediately spring up in the soul of the rational

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nal reader, and bids the disciple of JESUS assert the sovereignty of private judgment. Let every such man then disdain to be called after the name of ARIUS, SOCINUS, ARMINIUS, or even CALVIN.

Cranmer indeed quoting (in his Prologue or Preface to his Bible) St. CHRYSOSTOM, and GREGORY NAZAIANZEN, says, that the former would have all men to read the sacred scriptures; but that he forbids christian men to *reason*.

That learned reformer seems to be aware, that CHRYSOSTOM, in that prohibition, might not be guided by an infallible spirit; and therefore with a modesty becoming so great a man, he wisely took care to say beforehand, in answer to a question (much agitated among the priests in those times) *viz.* What it avayleth the scripture to be had and read by the lay and vulgare people? "And to this question I intend here to say nothing, but that was written and spoken by the noble doctor, and moral divine, S JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, in his third sermon, *De Lazaro*": And because the rest of that preface contains so many nervous and beautiful passages (except the punning cautions about the laity's reasoning upon scripture) I have thrown 'em into the margin*:

* Albeit, I will be something

shorter, and gather the matter into fewer words, and less room than he doth there, because I would not be tedious. He exhorteth there his audience, that every man should read by himself at home in the mean days time, between sermon and sermon, to the intent they might both the more profoundly fix in their minds and memories, that he had said before on such texts whereupon he had already preached; and also, that they might have their minds more ready, and better prepared to receive and perceive, that which he should say from thenceforth in his sermons, upon such texts

texts as he had not yet declared and preached upon : Therefore, saith he there, my common usage is to give you warning before, what matter I intend after to intreat upon, that you your selves, in the mean days, may take the book in hand, read, weigh, and perceive the sum and effect of the matter ; and make what hath been declared, and what remaineth yet to be declared, so that thereby your mind may be the more furnished to hear the rest that shall be said ; and that I exhort you, and ever have, and will exhort you, that you, not only here in the church, give ear to that that is said by the preacher ; but that also when you be at home in your houses, ye apply your selves, from time to time, to the reading of the holy scriptures ; which thing I never lin to beat into the ears of them that be my familiars, and with whom I have private acquaintance and conversation. Let no man make excuse, and say, saith he, I am busied about matters of the commonwealth ; I bear this office, or that ; I am a craftsman ; I must apply mine occupation ; I have a wife ; my children must be fed ; my household must be provided for ; briefly, I am a man of the world. It is not for me to read the scriptures, that belongeth to them that have bid the world farewell, which live in solitariness and contemplations, and have been brought up, and continually nouzel'd in learning and religion : To this answering, what saith thou man, saith he, is it not for thee to study and read the scripture, because thou art distracted and incumber'd with cares and business. So much the more behoveal it is for thee to have defence of scriptures ; how much the more thou art distressed in worldly dangers. They that be free, may be soon oppressed with over hard questions. I say not this to diswade men from the knowledge of GOD, and reading and studying of the scripture ; for I say, that it is as necessary for man's soul, as for the body to breathe ; and if it were possible so to live, I would think it good for a man to spend all his life in that, and to do none other thing. I commend the law which biddeth to meditate, and study the scriptures always, both night and day ; and sermons to be made, and preaching both morning, noon, and eventide ; and GOD to be lauded and blessed in all times to bedward, from bed, and in our journies, and in all in other works. I forbid not to read, but I forbid to reason : Neither forbid I to reason so far as is good and godly ; but I allow not that is done out of season, and out of order and good measure : A man may eat too much of honey, be it never so sweet ; and there is time for every thing ; and that that is good, is not good, if it be ungodly done ; even as a flower in winter is out of season, and as a woman's apparel becometh not a man, neither contrarily the man's the woman ; neither is weeping convenient at a bridal, neither laughing at a burial. Now if a man observe and keep that is timely and comely in all other things, shall we not then the rather do the same in the holy scriptures ? Let us not run forth as it were wild horses, that can suffer neither bridle in their mouths, nor litter on their backs ; let us keep us in our bounds ; and neither let us go too

far on the one side, lest we return into *Egypt*; neither too far on the other, lest we be carried into *Babylon*; let us not sing the song of our Lord in a strange land; that is, let us not dispute the word of GOD in all adventures, as well where it is not to be reason'd, as where it is; and as well in the ears of them that be not fit therefore as them that be, if we can in no wise forbear, but that we must needs dispute, let us forbear, thus much at least, to do it out of time and place convenient; and let us ever treat of those things which be holy, holily; and upon those things mystical, mystically, and not to utter the divine mysteries in the ears unworthy to hear them; but let us know what is comely, as well in our silence and talking, as in our garments wearing, in our feeding, in our goings, and in all our other behaving: this contention and debates about scriptures, and doubts thereof, specially when such as do pretend to be the favourers and students thereof, cannot agree among themselves, doth most hurt to ourselves, and to the furthering of the cause, and quarrels that we should have furthered above all other things. And we in this (saith he) be not unlike to them that being mad, set their own houses on fire, and slay their own children, or beat their own parents: and marveil much saith he, to recount, whereof cometh all the desire of vain glory, whereof cometh all this tongue itch, that we have so much delight to talk and clatter; and wherein is our communication, not in the commendation of virtuous and good deeds, of hospitality, of christian love between brother and brother, of love between man and wife, of virginity and chastity, and of alms towards the poor; not in psalms and godly songs, not in lamenting for our sins, not in repressing the affection of the body, not in prayers to GOD. We talk of scripture, but in the mean time, we subdue not our flesh by fasting, watching, and weeping; we make not the life a meditation of death; we do not strive to be lords over our affections and appetites; we go not about to pull down our proud and high minds, to abate our fumes and rancorous stomachs; to restrain our lust and bodily delectations; our undiscreeit sorrows, and lascivious mirth; our inordinate looking; our insatiate hearing of vanities; our speaking without measure; our inconvenient thoughts; and briefly, to reform our life and manners, and all our holiness consisteth but in talking, and we pardon each other from all good living, so that we may stick fast together in argumentation, as though there were no more ways to heaven but that alone, the way of speculation and knowledge, as they take it; but in very deed, its the way, rather of superfluous contention and sophistication. Hitherto have I recited the mind of GREGORY NAZIANZENE in that book which I spake of before; The same author said also in another place, that the learning of a christian man ought to begin of the fear of GOD, to end with matters of high speculation; and not to begin with speculation, and to end in fear; for speculation, saith he, either high cunning or knowledge, if it be not stay'd with the bridle of fear to offend GOD, is dangerous, and enough to tumble a man head-
long

long down the hill; therefore, saith he, the fear of G O D must be the first beginning, and as it were an A. B. C. or an introduction to all them that shall enter into the very true and most fruitful knowledge of holy scriptures: whereas, saith he, is the fear of G O D, and whereas is the keeping of the commandments, there is the cleansing of the flesh, which flesh is a cloud before the soul's eye, and suffereth it not purely to see the beam of the heavenly light; whereas to the cleansing of the flesh, there is the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the end of all our desires, and the very light wherein the verity of the scriptures is seen, and perceiv'd. This is the mind, and almost the words of GREGORY NAZIANZENE, doctor of the *Greek* church, of whom St. JEROME saith, that unto his name, the *Latin* church had no writer able to be compared, and to make an even match with him.

And now with a due deference to the judgment of the preceding churchmen, I will venture to say, that the *New Testament* is human reason refin'd; and whatever is contrary to or above that reason, is real popery: And whether the constitution of the church at *Geneva* was at first founded upon the former, or the latter, let the reader judge; when he has read the following quotation out of H O O K E R's preface to his *Eccle. Pol.* † where you have the full character of C A L V I N, as head of the *Genevan* discipline. “ A founder it had,
 “ whom, for mine own part, I think incom-
 “ parably the wisest man that ever the *French*
 “ church did enjoy, since the hour it en-
 “ joy'd him. His bringing up was in the
 “ study of the civil law; divine knowledge,
 “ he gathered not by hearing or reading so
 “ much, as by teaching others: for though
 “ thousands were debtors to him, as touching
 “ knowledge in that kind; yet he to none, but
 “ only to G O D, the author of that most blessed
 “ fountain, the book of life; and of the admi-
 “ rable dexterity of wit, together with the helps
 “ of other learning, which were his guides;
 “ till being occasion'd to leave *France*, he fell
 “ at

† Vide
 Windet's
 Ed. Lon.
 P. 5. N^o 2.

“ at the length upon *Geneva*, which city the
 “ bishop and clergy thereof had a little before
 “ (as some do affirm) forsaken, being of like-
 “ lyhood, frightened with the Peoples sudden
 “ attempt, for abolishment of *popish* religion;
 “ the event of which enterprize they thought
 “ it not safe for themselves to wait for in that
 “ place. At the coming of CALVIN thither,
 “ the form of their civil regiment was popular,
 “ as it continueth at this day; neither king,
 “ nor duke, nor nobleman of any authority
 “ or power over them, but officers chosen by
 “ the people yearly out of themselves, to order
 “ all things with publick consent. For spiritu-
 “ al government, they had no laws at all a-
 “ greed upon, but did what the pastors of
 “ their souls by persuasion could win them
 “ unto. CALVIN being admitted one of
 “ their preachers, and a divinity reader a-
 “ mongst them, considered how dangerous it
 “ was, that the whole estate of that church
 “ should hang still on so slender a thread, as
 “ the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if
 “ it have power to change whatsoever it self
 “ listeth.

“ Wherefore taking unto him two of the
 “ other ministers for more countenance of the
 “ action (albeit the rest were all against it)
 “ they moved, and in the end perswaded,
 “ with much ado, the people to bind them-
 “ selves, by solemn oath, *first*, never to admit
 “ the papacy amongst them again; and, *secondly*,
 “ to live in obedience unto such orders, con-
 “ cerning the exercise of their religion, and
 “ the form of their ecclesiastical government,
 “ as those their true and faithful ministers of
 “ GOD’S word, had, agreeably to scripture,
 “ fet

“ set down for that end and purpose. When
 “ these things began to be put in ure, the
 “ people also (what causes moving them there-
 “ unto themselves best know) began to repent
 “ them of that they had done, and irefully to
 “ champ upon the bit they had taken unto
 “ their mouths, the rather, for that they grew,
 “ by means of this innovation, into dislike
 “ with some churches near about them, the
 “ benefit of whose good friendship their state
 “ could not well lack. It was the manner of
 “ those times (whether through mens desire
 “ to enjoy alone the glory of their own en-
 “ terprises, or else because the quickness of
 “ their occasions require present dispatch) so
 “ it was, that every particular church did that
 “ within it self which some few of their own
 “ thought good, by whom the rest were all
 “ directed. Such number of churches then
 “ being, though free within themselves, yet
 “ small, common conference beforehand,
 “ might have eased them of much after-trou-
 “ ble. But a greater inconvenience it bred,
 “ that every later endeavoured to be certain
 “ degrees more removed from conformity
 “ with the church of *Rome*, than the rest had
 “ been : whereupon grew marvelous great
 “ dissimilitudes; and by reason thereof, jea-
 “ lousies, heart-burnings, jars, and discords
 “ amongst them; which notwithstanding might
 “ have easily been prevented, if the orders of
 “ each church did think fit and convenient
 “ for it self, had not so peremptorily been
 “ established under that high commanding
 “ form, which tendered them unto the people,
 “ as things everlastingly required by the law
 “ of that LORD of lords, against whose sta-
 “ tutes

“ tutes there is no exception to be taken. For
 “ by this mean it came to pass, that one church
 “ could not but accuse and condemn another
 “ of disobedience to the will of CHRIST, in
 “ those things where manifest difference was
 “ between them: Whereas the self-same or-
 “ ders allowed, but yet established in more
 “ wary and suspense manner, as being to
 “ stand in force till GOD should give the op-
 “ portunity of some general conference, what
 “ might be best for every of them afterwards
 “ to do; this, I say, had both prevented all
 “ occasion of just dislike, which others might
 “ take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the
 “ authors themselves, of entering into farther
 “ consultation afterwards; which, though never
 “ so necessary, they could not easily now ad-
 “ mit, without some fear of derogation from
 “ their credit; and therefore that which once
 “ they had done, they became for ever after
 “ resolute to maintain. CALVIN therefore,
 “ and the other two his associates, stiffly refusing
 “ to administer the holy communion to such
 “ who would not quietly, without contra-
 “ diction and murmur, submit themselves un-
 “ to the orders, which their solemn oath had
 “ bound them to obey, were, in that quarrel,
 “ banished the town. A few years after (such
 “ was the levity of that people) the places of
 “ one or two of their ministers being fallen
 “ void, they were not before so willing to be
 “ rid of their learned pastor, as now impor-
 “ tunate to obtain him again from them who
 “ had given him entertainment, and which
 “ were loath to part with him, had not unre-
 “ sistable earnestness been used. One of the
 “ town ministers, that saw in what manner
 “ the

“ the people were bent for the revocation
 “ of CALVIN, gave him notice of their af-
 “ fection in this sort: * The senate of two ^{* Epist.}
 “ hundred being assembled, they all crave ^{CAL. 24^d}
 “ CALVIN. The next day a general convo-
 “ cation. They cry in like sort again all;
 “ we will have CALVIN, that good and learn-
 “ ed man, CHRIST’S minister. This, saith
 “ he, when I understoode I could not choose
 “ but praise GOD, nor was I able to judge
 “ otherwise than that this was the Lordes do-
 “ ing; and that it was marveilous in our
 “ eyes; and that the stone which the build-
 “ ers refused, was now made the head of
 “ the corner †. The other two, whom they † Luk. xx^d
 “ had thrown out, (together with CALVIN) ^{17.}
 “ they were content should enjoy their exile.
 “ Many causes might leade them to be more
 “ desirous of him. First his yeelding unto them
 “ in one thing, might happily put them in
 “ hope, that time would breede the like easi-
 “ ness of condescending further unto them.
 “ For in his absence he had perswaded them,
 “ with whom he was able to prevail, that al-
 “ beit himself did better like of common
 “ bread to be used in the eucharist, yet the
 “ other they rather should accept, than cause
 “ any trouble in the church about it. Again,
 “ they saw that the name of CALVIN waxed
 “ every day greater abroad; and that, together
 “ with his fame, their infamie was spread,
 “ which had forashly and childishly ejected him.
 “ Besides, it was not unlikely, but that his
 “ credit in the world might many waies stand
 “ the poor town in great stead: As the truth
 “ is, their ministers forreign estimation hither-
 “ to, hath been the best stake in their hedge.

“ But whatsoever secret respectes were likely
 “ to move them, for contenting of their minds,
 “ CALVIN return'd (as it had beene another
 “ TULLY) to his old home. He ripely
 “ considered how grosse a thing it were for
 “ men of his qualitie, wise and grave men, to
 “ live with such a multitude, and to be te-
 “ nants at will under them, as their ministers,
 “ both himself and others, had bene. For
 “ the remedy of which inconvenience, he
 “ gave them plainly to understande, that if he
 “ did become their teacher againe, they must
 “ be content to admit a complet forme of
 “ discipline; which both they, and also their
 “ pastors, should now be solemnly sworn to
 “ observe for ever after. Of which discipline,
 “ the main and principale partes were these:
 “ A standing ecclesiasticall court to be esta-
 “ blished; perpetuall judges in that court to
 “ be their ministers, others of the people an-
 “ nually chosen twice so many in number as
 “ they to be judges together with them in the
 “ same court: * *These two sorts to have the care*
 “ *of all mens manners, power of determining all*
 “ *kind of ecclesiasticall causes, and authoritie to*
 “ *convent, to controll, to punish, as farre as with*
 “ *excommunication, whomsoever they should thinke*
 “ *worthy, none, eyther small or great, excepted.*
 “ This devise I see not how the wisest, at that
 “ time lyving, could have bettered, if we
 “ duely consider what the present estate of
 “ Geneva did then require. For their bishop
 “ and his Clergie being (as it is sayd) de-
 “ parted from them by moone-light †; or how-
 “ soever, being departed, to choose in his
 “ roome any other bishop, had been a thing
 “ altogether impossible. And for their mini-
 “ sters

* Down-
 right po-
 pery and
 inquisition.

† Alias
 owle-light,
 or ignis fa-
 tuus.

“ sters to seeke that themselves alone might
 “ have coërcive power over the whole church,
 “ would perhaps have beene hardly construed
 “ at that time. But when so franke an offer
 “ was made, that for every one minister, there
 “ should be two of the people to sit and give
 “ voyce in the ecclesiasticall consistorie, what
 “ inconvenience could they easily find, which
 “ themselves might not be able alwaies to re-
 “ medy? Howbeit (as evermore the simpler sort
 “ are, even when they see no apparent cause,
 “ jealous notwithstanding over the secret in-
 “ tents and purposes of wiser men) this pro-
 “ position of his did somewhat trouble them.
 “ Of the ministers themselves, which had
 “ staid behind in the citie, when CALVIN
 “ was gone, some, upon knowledge of the
 “ peoples earnest intent to recall him to his
 “ place again, had beforehand written their let-
 “ ters of submission, and assured him of their
 “ allaegance for ever after, if it should like
 “ him, to hearken unto that publique suite.
 “ But yet misdoubting what might happen,
 “ if this discipline did goe forward, they
 “ objected against the example of other re-
 “ formed churches, living quietly and orderly
 “ without it. Some of the chiefeest place and
 “ countenance amongst the laitie, profess’d
 “ with greater stomacke their judgments, that
 “ such a discipline was little better than po-
 “ pish tyranny disguised and tendered unto
 “ them under a new forme [*too true to make a*
 “ *jest on*]. This sort, it may be, had some
 “ feare that the filling up of the seats in the
 “ consistorie, with so great a number of lay-
 “ men, was but to please the minds of the
 “ people, to the end they might think their

" owne swaye somewhat ; but when things
 " came to tryall of practice, their pastors
 " learning would be at all times of force to
 " over-perfwade simple men, who knowing
 " the time of their owne presidentship to be
 " but short, would always stande in feare of
 " their ministers perpetuall authoritie : And
 " among the ministers themselves, one being
 " so farre in estimation above the rest, the
 " voyces of the rest were likely to be given
 " for the most part respectively, with a kind of
 " secret dependencie and awe : So that in
 " shewe, a marvelous indifferently composed
 " senate ecclesiasticall was to governe ; but in
 " effect one onely man shoulde, as the spirite
 " and soule of the residue, do all in all.
 " But what did these vaine surmises boote ?
 " Brought they were now to so streight an
 " issue, that of two things, they must choose
 " one ; namely, whether they would, to their
 " endlesse disgrace, with ridiculous lightnes,
 " dismisse him, whose restitution they had in
 " so impotent manner desired ; or else conde-
 " scend unto that demaund, wherein he was
 " resolute eyther to have it, or to leave them ?
 " They thought it better to be somewhat
 " hardly yoked at home, than for ever abrode
 " discredited : Wherefore in the ende, those
 " orders were on all sides assented * unto ;
 " with no lesse alacritie of minde, than cities
 " unable to holde out longer, are woont to
 " shewe, when they take conditions, such as
 " it liketh him to offer them, which hath them
 " in the narrowe streightes of advantage.
 " Not many yeares were overpassed, before
 " these twice-sworne men adventured to give
 " their last and whotest assault to the fortresse
 " of

* An. Dom.
 1541.

“ the same discipline, childishly granting by
 “ common consent of their whole senate; and
 “ that under their towne seal, a relaxation to
 “ one BERTELIER, whom the eldership had
 “ excommunicated; further also decreeing,
 “ with strange absurditie, that to the same
 “ senate it should belong to give finall judg-
 “ ment in matter of excommunication, and
 “ to absolve whom it pleased them; cleane
 “ contrarie to their owne former deeds, and
 “ oathes. The respect of which decree be-
 “ ing forthwith brought unto CALVIN;
 “ *before (sayth he) this decree takes place, ei-*
 “ *ther my bloud or banishment shall signe it.* Again
 “ two dayes before the communion should bee
 “ celebrated, his speech was to this effect:
 “ Kill me, if ever this hand do reach forth
 “ the things that are holy to them whom the
 “ church hath judged despisers. Whereupon,
 “ for fear of tumult, the fore-named BERTE-
 “ LIER was by his friends advised, for
 “ that time, not to use the liberty granted
 “ him by the senate, nor to present himself
 “ in the church, till they sawe somewhat fur-
 “ ther, what would ensue. After the com-
 “ munion quietly ministred, and some likeli-
 “ hoode of peaceable ending these troubles,
 “ without any more adoe, that very day in
 “ the afternoon, besides all mens expecta-
 “ tion, concluding his ordinary sermon, he
 “ telleth them, that because he neither had
 “ learned nor taught to strive with such as are
 “ in authoritie, therefore (saith he) the case
 “ so standing, as now it doth, let me use those
 “ words of the apostle unto you, I commend
 “ you unto GOD, and the word of his grace,
 “ and so bad them heartily all adieu. It some-
 “ times

Typography

“ times commeth to passe, that the readiest
 “ way which a wise man has to conquer, is
 “ to flie. This voluntarie and unexpected
 “ mention of suddaine departure, caused pre-
 “ sently the senate (for according to their
 “ woonted manner, they still continued only
 “ constant in unconstancy) to gather them-
 “ selves together, and for a time to suspend
 “ their own decree, leaving things to pro-
 “ ceed as before, till they had heard the
 “ judgement of foure *Helvetian* cities, con-
 “ cerning the matter which was in strife.
 “ This to have done at the first, before they
 “ gave assent unto any order, had shewed
 “ some wit and discretion in them: But now
 “ to do it, was as much as to say, in effect,
 “ that they would play their parts on a stage.
 “ CALVIN therefore dispatcheth, with all
 “ expedition, his letters unto some principall
 “ pastor in every of those cities; craving
 “ earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause,
 “ as a thing whereupon the whole state of re-
 “ ligion and piety in that church did so much
 “ depend, that GOD, and all good men,
 “ were now inevitably certaine to be trampled
 “ under foot; unless those four cities, by
 “ their good means, might be brought to give
 “ sentence with the ministers of *Geneva*, when
 “ the cause should be brought before them;
 “ yea, so to give it, that two things it might
 “ effectually containe; the one an absolute
 “ approbation of the discipline of *Geneva*, as
 “ consonant unto the word of GOD, without
 “ any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands;
 “ the other an earnest admonition, not to in-
 “ novate or change the same; [*O infallibility!*]
 “ His vehement request herein, as touching
 “ both

both points, was satisfied. For albeit the
 said *Helvetian* churches did never, as yet,
 observe that discipline; nevertheless the
 senate of *Geneva* having required their
 judgment concerning these three questions:
 * *First*, after what manner, by GOD'S * *Ep. 166.*
 commandment, according to the scripture,
 and unspotted religion, excommunication is
 to be exercised. *Secondly*, whether it may
 not be exercised some other way, than by
 the consistory. *Thirdly*, what the use of
 their churches was to doe in this case.
 Answer was returned, from the said churches,
 that they had heard already of those con-
 fistoriall lawes, and did acknowledge them
 to be godly ordinances, drawing towards
 the prescript of the word of GOD; for
 which cause, they did not think it good
 for the church of *Geneva*, by innovation, to
 change the same, but rather to keepe them
 as they were. Which answer, although
 not answering to the former demaundes,
 but respecting what M. CALVIN had
 judged requisite for them to answer, was
 notwithstanding accepted without any fur-
 ther reply; inasmuch as they plainly saw,
 that when stomacke doth strive with wit,
 the match is not equall; and so the heat of
 their former contentions began to flake.
 The present inhabitants of *Geneva*, I hope
 will not take it evill part, that the falti-
 nesse of their people heretofore, is by us
 so farre forth layd open, as their owne
 learned guides and pastors have thought ne-
 cessarie to discover it unto the world: for
 out of their bookes and writings it is, that
 I have collected this whole narration, to
 " the

* Quod
eam ur-
bem vide-
ret omni-
no his fræ-
nis indige-
re.

“ the end it might thereby appeare, in what
 “ fort amongst them that discipline was plant-
 “ ed for which so much contention is raised
 “ amongst our selves. The reason which
 “ mooved CALVIN herein to be so earnest,
 “ was, as BEZA himselfe testifyeth, * *for that*
 “ *he saw how needfull these bridles were to*
 “ *be put in the jawes of that citie.* That
 “ which by wisdome he saw to be requisite
 “ for that people, was by as great wisdome
 “ compassed. But wise men are men, and
 “ the truth is truth. That which CALVIN
 “ did for establishment of his discipline,
 “ seemeth more commendable than that
 “ which he taught for the countenancing of
 “ it established. Nature worketh in us all a
 “ love to our owne counsels. The contra-
 “ diction of others, is a fanne to inflame that
 “ love. Our love set on fire to maintaine
 “ that which once we have done, sharpneth
 “ the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all
 “ means to reason for it. Wherefore a marvaile
 “ it were, if a man of so great capacitie,
 “ having such incitements to make him desi-
 “ rous of all kind of furtherances unto his
 “ cause, could espie in the whole scripture of
 “ GOD, nothing which might breed at the
 “ least a probable opinion of likelihood, that
 “ divine authoritie it selfe was the same way
 “ somewhat inclinable. And all which, the
 “ wit even of CALVIN was able from
 “ thence to drawe, by sifting the very utmost
 “ sentence and syllable, is no more than that
 “ certaine speeches there are, which to him
 “ did seeme to intimate, that all christian
 “ churches ought to have their elderships in-
 “ dued with power of excommunication; and
 “ tha

that a part of those elderships, every where,
 should be chosen out from amongst the laitie,
 after that forme which himselfe had framed
Geneva unto. But what argument are yee
 able to shewe, whereby it was ever proved
 by CALVIN, that any one sentence of
 scripture doth necessarily enforce these
 thinges, or the rest wherein your opinion
 concurrerh with his against the orders of
 your owne church? We should be injurious
 unto vertue it self, if we did derogate
 from them whome their industrie hath made
 great. Two things of principall moment
 there are which have deservedly procured
 him honour throughout the worlde: The
 one is his exceeding paynes in composing
 the institutions of christian religion; the
 other, his no lesse industrious travailes for
 exposition of holy scripture, according unto
 the same institutions. In which two thinges,
 whosoever they were that after him bestow-
 ed their labour; hee gayned the advantage
 of prejudice against them, if they gain-
 sayde; and of glorie, above them, if they
 consented. His writings, published after the
 question about that discipline was once
 begunne, omit not any the least occasion
 of extolling the use and singuler necessitie
 thereof. Of what accompt the maister of
 sentences was in the church of *Rome*, the
 same, and more amongst the preachers of
 reformed churches CALVIN had pur-
 chased: so that the perfectest divines were
 judged they, which were skilfullest in CAL-
 VIN'S writings: His bookes almost the
 very canon to judge both doctrine and
 discipline by. *French* churches, both under
 D " others

" others abroad, and at home in their ow
 " countrie." The *French* protestant liturg
 was by CALVIN'S direction; and wisem
 have observ'd, that there is not one colle
 of adoration or praise to almighty Go
 in the whole; all petition, contrary to th
 just and comprehensive definition of praye
 by the Apostle PAUL, in its *two essenti*
 parts of making our requests known t
 him with thanksgiving; " all cast accordin
 " unto that mould which CALVIN ha
 " made. The church of *Scotland*, in erectin
 " the fabricke of their reformation, tooke th
 " selfe-same paterne; till at length the disc
 " pline, which was at the first so weake, tha
 " without the staffe of their approbation
 " who were not subject unto it themselves, i
 " had not brought others under subjection
 " beganne now to challenge universall obedi
 " ence, and to enter into open conflict with
 " those very churches, which in desperate ex
 " tremitie had been relievers of it. To one
 " of those churches, which lived in most
 " peaceable sort, and abounded as well with
 " men for their learning in other professions
 " singular, as also with divines, whose equals
 " were not elsewhere to be found; a church
 " ordered by GUALTER'S discipline, and not
 " by that which *Geneva* adoreth: Unto this
 " church, the church of *Heidelberge*, there
 " commeth one, who craving leave to dispute
 " publicly, defendeth with open disdain of
 " their government, that to a minister, with his
 " eldership, power is given by the lawe of
 " GOD to excommunicate whomsoever, yea,
 " even kings and princes themselves. Here
 " were the seedes sowne of that controversie,
 " which

Germany

“ which sprang up betweene BEZA and
 “ ERASTUS, about the matter of excommu-
 “ nication, whether there ought to be in all
 “ churches an eldership, having power to ex-
 “ communicate, and a part of that eldership
 “ to be of necessitie certain chosen out from
 “ amongst the laitie for that purpose. In
 “ which disputation they have, as to me it
 “ seemeth, devided very equally the truth be-
 “ tween them; BEZA most truely mainteyn-
 “ ing the necessity of excommunication,
 “ ERASTUS as truely the non-necessitie of
 “ lay-elders to be ministers thereof. Amongest
 “ our selves, there was, in king EDWARD’S
 “ days, some question moved, by reason of a
 “ few mens scrupulositie, touching certain
 “ things. And beyond seas, of them which
 “ fled in the days of queen MARY, some
 “ contenting themselves abroad with the use
 “ of their own service-booke at home, au-
 “ thorized before their departure out of the
 “ realme, others liking better the common-
 “ prayer-booke of the church of *Geneva* tran-
 “ slated, those smaller contentions before be-
 “ gun, were, by this meane, somewhat in-
 “ creased. Under the happy raigne of her
 “ majestie, which now is, the greateſt matter
 “ a while contended for, was the wearing of
 “ the cap and surplesse, till there came admo-
 “ nitions directed unto the high court of par-
 “ liament, by men, who concealing their
 “ names, thought it glory enough to discover
 “ their mindes and affections, which now
 “ were univerſally bent even againſt all the or-
 “ ders and lawes wherein this church is found
 “ unconformable to the platforme of *Geneva*.
 “ Concerning the defendor of which admoni-

" tions, all that I meane to say is but this :
 " *There will come a time when three words,*
 " *uttered with charity and meekness, shall re-*
 " *ceive a farre more blessed rewarde than*
 " *three thousand volumes, written with dis-*
 " *dainefull sharpnes of wit.* But the maner
 " of mens writing, must not alienate our
 " hearts from the truth, if it appear they
 " have the truth, as the followers of the same
 " defendor doth think he hath; and in that
 " perswasion they follow him no otherwise
 " than himselfe doth CALVIN, BEZA and
 " others, with the like perswasion, that they,
 " in this cause, had the truth; we being as
 " fully perswaded otherwise, it resteth, that
 " some kind of triall be used to finde out which
 " part is in error."

Upon this I observe, (*First,*) The great
 difference between the spirit and character
 of this judicious and learned author, and
 those of CALVIN; that the former treats
 the latter with quite another temper than
 CALVIN did his adversary, SERVETUS;
 for the one acted upon christian principles,
 and the other upon popish, as the sequel of
 of this history will make it plainly appear:
 For I shall show that CALVIN would not spare
 SERVETUS after his death, tho' he had be-
 fore glutted his cruel mind with his blood.
 If Mr. CALVIN died in this temper, it
 can't be said he died a christian; for the a-
 postle PAUL freely owns himself to be of the
 class of the chief of sinners, or in other
 words, to have been a very wicked man;
 and that had he not repented of his blas-
 phemy and persecution, and been converted

Charity

in the genius of his soul, he could not have obtained mercy. The same judgment, I imagine, the famous Bp. PEARSON had form'd in the beginning of his *Pauline Annales*, concerning the apostle PAUL's conduct, before his conversion to christianity, which I thus translate.

[*ANNALES PAULINI, in Bp. PEARSON'S Latin Posthumous Works.*]

ANNI
Æræ vul-
garis 34.
TIBERIA
ab Aug. 19.
20, 21.

This year of our LORD, the 21st of * TIBERIOUS, a cruel persecution arose, occasion'd by the high priest and his sanhedrim, in which, (St. STEPHEN, the chief of the seven deacons, suffer'd stoning; and when his blood was spilt, SAUL, then a young man, stood by, and gave his consent, *Acts* xxij. 20. Whereas PHILIP, the second of the seven deacons, went into *Samaria*, and the common tables of the disciples were disturb'd, and not a few of them left not only *Jerusalem*, but likewise *Judea*.

* Hoc
anno do-
mini la-
bente, TI-
BERII
21, Hiero-
solymis
gravis or-
ta est per-
secutio per
summum
sacerdo-

The

em & synedrium: In quâ primò S. STEPHANUS lapidatus est, VII diaconorum primus; & cum effunderetur sanguis ejus, SAULUS adhuc juvenis adstabat & consentiebat, *Act.* xxij. 20. PHILIPUS autem, VII diaconorum secundus, abiit in Samariam, & communes mensæ discipulorum disturbatæ sunt: Et haud pauci ex discipulis ab Hierosolymis & ex Judeâ abierunt.

Priori Anno exeunte, & hoc, A. D. 35 vug. 21 TIB. ineunte, persecutio ingravescit; & SAULUS, à synedrio potestate concessâ, supra modum persequebatur ecclesiam & expugnabat illam, fideles frequenter per synagogas cædens, sanctorum plurimos vinciens, & in carcerem trudens, & cum interficerentur, deferens sententiam: Unde se meritò agnoscit tunc fuisse βλάσφημον, ἡ διώκτην ἡ ὑβριστήν, 1 *Tim.* 1. 13. Cum jam fideles omnes præter apostolos, Hierosolymis relictis, dispersi essent, & per varias urbes & provincias verbum Dei prædicassent; SAULUS amplius insaniens in eos persequebatur usque in cæteras civitates, *Act.* xxvj. 11. & adhuc spirans minarum & cædis in discipulos, à principe sacerdotum petiit epistolas in Damascum ad synagogas, ut si quos invenisset hujus via viros ac mulieres vinctos, perduceret in Jerusalem, *Act.* ix. 1, 2. & habens potestatem allegandi omnes qui invocabant nomen Christi, *Act.* ix. 14.

The former year expiring, and this year of our LORD beginning, persecution became heavier; and SAUL, with full power from the sanhedrim, persecuted the church above measure, and almost vanquish'd it, manacled great numbers of the saints, and hurrying them into prisons; so that when they were butcher'd, he treated the executioners with benedictions of approbation; from whence he justly

† Βλασφημίας, καὶ διώξεως, καὶ ὀκλήσεως.

acknowledg'd he was then a † *blasphemer*, persecutor, and maliciously imbrued his hands in blood, 1 *Tim.* j. 13. When all the faithful besides the apostles, having departed from *Jerusalem*, were dispers'd, and preach'd the word of GOD through various cities and provinces, SAUL raging more and more against them, pursu'd them through foreign countries, *Act.* xxvj. 11. and breathing out nothing but curses and slaughter against them, solicited letters from the high priest to the synagogues in *Damascus*; and if he found either men or women in this way, he would send them bound to *Jerusalem*, *Act.* ix. 1, 2. and had full power of committing all who invoked the name of CHRIST, *Act.* ix. 14, &c.

Whoever shall carefully read the following history of SERVETUS, and the concurrent conduct of CALVIN all along, will be tempted to imagine that CALVIN copied after SAUL the persecutor, and not after St. PAUL, the apostle of the benificent JESUS.

(2dly.) I observe, upon HOOKER's kind and just conduct, in giving the history of CALVIN's settlement at *Geneva*, and the constitution of that church in the 15th page where you have these words; "The pre-
" sent inhabitants of *Geneva*, I hope will
" not

“ not take it in evil part, that the faultiness of their people heretofore, is by us so far forth laid open, as their own learned guides and pastors have thought necessary to discover it unto the world; for out of their books and writings it is that I have collected this whole narration”. The author of this treatise can say the same, as to the several parts of it, that it is out of the several books and writings of the authors herein quoted, that he hath collected them.

(3dly.) That tho’ CALVIN caused the Papacy of *Rome* to be banished out of *Geneva*, yet he established a papacy of his own; that as there was a pope at *Rome*, so he was no other than a pope at *Geneva*, not only by establishing an infallibility in the very constitution of that church, but by his maintaining and carrying on of that constitution, together with his own authority, by persecution and blood, of which the following history of S E R V E T U S will afford sufficient demonstrations, and undeniable proofs.

After the above quotations, I shall give an account made ready to my hands, by the author of the *Memoirs of Literature*, in his III and IV Volumes; compar’d with the several parts of the history of S E R V E T U S, contain’d in the same author’s *Bibliothèque Angloise*; which I shall intersperse with other facts relating to our martyr, recorded in other books.

The admirable author of the *Memoirs of Literature*, in his *English Bibliothèque*, in the seventh article of the second *Tome*, the first *Part*; introduces his history of M I C H A E L S E R -

* Art. VII. **SERVETUS** in the following manner. * Vio-
 lencies in the matter of religion, are not less
 Histoire de MI- criminal among *Protestants*, than among *Roman*
 CHEL catholicicks;

SERVET,

par l'auteur de cette *Bibliothèque Angloise*. Les violences, en matiere de religion, ne sont pas moins criminelles parmi les *Protestans*, que parmi les *Catholiques Romains*, mais on doit dire en faveur des premiers, qu'ils n'ont fait mourir qu'un tres-petit nombre d'heretiques; au lieu que les derniers ont condamné au feu des milliers de martyrs. L'*Angleterre*, le *Palatinat*, la *Suisse* & *Geneve* sont je ne me trompe, les seuls pais *Protestans*, ou l'on ait executé quelques heterodoxes. Les *Provinces unies*, le *Langraviat de Hesse-Cassel*, ou l'on fait aussi profession de la religion reformed, & les pais *Lutheriens*, peuvent se vanter de n'avoir repandu le sang d'aucun heretique; j'ajouté qu'il n'y a aujourd'hui aucun *Protestant* en *Europe*, qui approuve que l'on fasse mourir les heterodoxes; mais on voit encore, a la honte du genre humain, des royaumes *Catholiques Romains*, où l'on brûle les heretiques.

Comme les **PUISSANCES**, qui gouvernent la *Grande Bretagne*, & les *Provinces Unies*, se déclarent hautement pour la tolerance, je ne saurois m'empêcher de faire ici des vœux en leur faveur Dieu veuille repandre sur elles ses benedictions les plus précieuses, & les convaincre de plus en plus que l'humanité est le principal caractère de la religion chrétienné. A cette occasion, j'ajouterai que j'ai lû plus d'une fois, avec un très-grand plaisir, la lettre que les *Estats Generaux* des *Provinces Unies* ont écrite a messieurs de *Berne* touchant la tolerance: Elle mérite d'être gravée en lettres d'or.

Je ne doute pas que l'Histoire de **SERVET**, que je communique au public, ne soit aussi bien reçue dans les pais etrangers qu'elle l'a été en *Angleterre*. Si la religion des *Protestans* dependoit de la doctrine & de la conduite de leurs reformateurs, je n'aurois garde de publier cette piece, quelque curieuse qu'elle puisse être; mais comme cette religion est uniquement fondée sur l'écriture sainte: les defauts d'un reformateur ne sauroient lui nuire en aucune maniere. Le dogmè de l'intolerance, qui a regné dans le **XVI** siècle parmi quelques *Protestans* étoit une erreur pernicieuse, qu'ils avoient puiffée dans l'eglise *Romaine*; & je crois pouvoir dire, sans faire tort à cette eglise, qu'elle est, en quelque maniere, responsable de l'execution de **SERVET**. Si les *Catholiques Romains* n'avoient jamais fait mourir personne pour la religion, j'ose assurer que **SERVET** n'auroit pas été condamné à la mort dans une ville *Protestante*. Souvenons-nous que **CALVIN**, & tous les magistrats de *Geneve* l'an 1553. étoient nez, & avoient été élevez, dans le sein de l'eglise *Romaine*. C'est la meilleure apologie que l'on puisse faire pour eux.

' catholicks; tho' to do justice to the former, we
 ' must say, that they have put a very inconfide-
 ' rable number of hereticks to death, in compari-
 ' son of the many thousands of martyrs, which the
 ' latter have condemned to the flames. *England,*
 ' the *Palatinate, Switzerland,* and *Geneva,* are the
 ' only protestant countries; if I am not mistaken,
 ' where any hereticks have been executed. The
 ' *United Provinces,* the *Landtgraviate of Hesse-*
 ' *Cassel,* where they have made a true profession
 ' of the reformed religion, and † the *Lutheran* † I am
 ' countries can glory in their not having shed told, (says
 ' the blood of any one heretick; I add, that my au-
 ' there is not any one protestant country in *Eu-* thor,) that
 ' *rope* at this time, that approves of putting of the prote-
 ' the heterodox to death. Whereas, one may stants of
 ' yet see in the *Roman* catholick kingdoms and the con-
 ' governments, to the disgrace of human nature, *Ausburg* fession of
 ' that they go on to burn hereticks. As the don't think
 ' powers who govern *Great-Britain,* and the *Uni-* them-
 ' *ted Provinces* have publickly declared them- selves re-
 ' selves for a toleration; so I cannot forbear ma- proach'd
 ' king my earnest wishes in their favour; that to be call'd
 ' GOD would shed upon them his choicest bles- *Lutherans;*
 ' sings, and more and more convince them, that If I am
 ' humanity is the principal character of the chri- wrong in-
 ' stian religion. Upon this occasion, I will add, form'd, I
 ' that I have more than once read, with the shall not
 ' greatest pleasure, the letter, which the *States* take the
 ' *General* of the *United Provinces* wrote to the liberty of
 ' magistrates of *Berne,* concerning toleration, and using that
 ' which deserves to be engraven in letters of gold. term a-
 ' gain. It
 ' is to be
 ' wish'd that
 ' one could
 ' call them,
 ' either *Re-*
 ' *form'd* and *Calvinists,* or *Roman* catholicks and papists. That one
 ' might certainly know how to vary the expression.

' I am well assur'd, that the history of SER-
 ' VETUS, which I communicate to the publick,

' is not like to be so well receiv'd in countries
 ' not acquainted with the protestant religion;
 ' as it has been in *England*. If the religion of
 ' protestants depended on the doctrine and con-
 ' duct of their reformers, I should take care how
 ' I publish'd that piece, tho' it be never so curi-
 ' ous: But as the protestant religion is entirely
 ' founded on holy scripture; so the defaults of
 ' the reformer ought not to have any ill influ-
 ' ence on the reformation. The doctrine of non-
 ' toleration, which obtain'd in the 16th century
 ' among some protestants, was that pernicious
 ' error which they had imbib'd in the church
 ' of *Rome*: And, I believe, I can say, without
 ' doing any injury to that church, that she is in
 ' a great measure answerable for the execution
 ' of *SERVETUS*. If the *Roman* catholicks had
 ' never put to death any person for the sake of
 ' religion; I dare say that *SERVETUS* had
 ' never been condemned to dye in any protestant
 ' city. Let us remember, that *CALVIN* and
 ' all the magistrates of *Geneva*, in the year
 ' 1553. were born, and bred up in the bosom of
 ' the church of *Rome*: This is the best apology
 ' that can be made for 'em.

* Biblio-
 teque,
 Tome se-
 cond, p. 79.
 And Me-
 moirs of
 Literature,
 4th Vol.
 1st Let.

' * *MICHAEL SERVETUS* was born in the
 ' Year 1509, at *Villanueva* in *Arragon*. His fa-
 ' ther, who was a notary, sent him to the
 ' university of *Toulouse*, to study the civil law.
 ' *SERVETUS* began to read the bible then,
 ' which he had never done before. It does not
 ' appear that there were any anti-trinitarians in
 ' *France*, or any where else at that time; and
 ' therefore it is not improbable, that he himself
 ' broached the new doctrine, for which he was
 ' put to death afterwards. Perhaps he applied
 ' himself to read the holy scripture, because
 ' the

the reformation made a great noise in *France* ;
 and being convinc'd by the study of the scri-
 ptures, * that the church wanted to be re-
 formed, 'tis not unlikely that he went so
 far, of his own head, as to fancy that the
Trinity was one of those doctrines that were
 to be rejected. However it be, he grew very
 fond of his opinions; and after he had been
 two or three years at *Toulouse*, he resolved to
 retire into *Germany*, and set up for a reformer.
 He went to *Basil* by way of *Lyons*, and *Geneva* ;
 and having had some conferences at *Basil* with
 OECOLAMPADIUS, he set out for *Strasburg*,
 being extremely desirous to discourse with
 BUCER and CAPITO, two celebrated refor-
 mers of that city. At his departure from *Ba-
 sil*, he left a manuscript which he had written
 against the *Trinity*, in the hands of CONRAD
 ROUSS a bookseller, who sent it afterwards
 to *Haguenau*. SERVETUS went thither from
Strasburg to get it printed, in the year 1531.

† The first book published by SERVETUS, † Me-
 is entituled *De Trinitatis erroribus libri septem*. Per
 MICHAELM SERVETUM, alias REVES, LITERA-
 ab *Arragonia Hispanum*, Anno 1531. i. e. Seven TURE,
 books concerning the errors about a *Trinity* ; VOL. III.
 by MICHAEL SERVETUS alias REVES, a page 74.
Spaniard of *Arragon*, in the year 1531. It con-
 sists of 119 leaves in 8vo. The place where it
 was printed, is not mentioned in the title
 page ; but I know that it came out at *Hague-
 nau* in *Alsco*. SERVETUS was not above 21
 years of age when he published that book. He
 undertakes to shew, in the first place, that the
 words JESUS and CHRIST, and SON of GOD,
 denote only a man; and endeavours to prove
 it by several passages of scripture. He explains

many other passages agreeably to his syster
 and answers the objections of the orthodo
 This part of his book may easily be unde
 stood; but when he comes to explain his not
 ions concerning the person of our SAVIOU
 he is hardly intelligible: I shall give but o
 instance of it. *Erat CHRISTUS* (says he,
 * Lib. 7. *in mente divina præformatus, erat quidam modus*
 fol. 110. *habendi, quem in se ipso DEUS disposuit, ut se ipsu*
 vers. *nobis patefaceret, scilicet JESU CHRISTI effigie*
in se ipso describendo; which I thus tranllat
 (leaving it to the reader to judge, if any jud
 ment can be made of it.) CHRIST was pr
 form'd in the divine mind; he was a certa
 mode of being himself there, which mo
 GOD dispos'd of in himself, that he mig
 make himself known to us; sc. by describi
 the effigies of JESUS CHRIST in himse
 He calls this the face of GOD, and the wo
 that was made flesh. He denied the *Trinit*
 as the modern *Unitarians* do; but he had a v
 ry different opinion from theirs, concernin
 JESUS CHRIST, as it appears from this pa
 sage. He seem'd to value himself upon th
 pretended discovery, and did very much infi
 upon it in his last writings. One would thin
 that a man who rejects the doctrine of the *Tr*
 nity, as being incomprehensible, should not sul
 stitute in the room of it a notion so obscure an
 so unintelligible. He used several expressio
 in this book, at which the orthodox were ver
 much offended; for he called the three divin
 persons a mere imagination, a chimæra, meta
 physical gods, &c. Many believe that SEB
 VETUS was burnt for this book; but it is
 mistake: He was committed to the flames fo
 another book published in the year 1553, a
 Vienne in Dauphine. Th

' The next year (1532) he put out another
 book, printed likewise at *Haguenau*, with this
 title; *Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo. De ju-*
stitia regni CHRISTI capitula quatuor; per
MICHAELM SERVETUM, alias REVES ab
Arragonia Hispanum, 1532, i. e. Two books of
 dialogues about the trinity. Four short chap-
 ters about the righteousness of the kingdom of
 CHEIST; by MICHAEL SERVETUS, *alias*
 REVES of Arragon, a Spaniard, 1532. It con-
 tains only six sheets in 8vo. I have had in my
 hands, for some time, two printed copies of
 this book, and of the foregoing. SERVETUS
 says, in his advertisement to the readers, that
 he retracts what he had published against the
 common doctrine of the Trinity in his first;
 not because it is false, but because it is imper-
 fect, and written, as it were by a child, for
 the use of children. He adds, that the con-
 fusion, and the unpoliteness of his first work,
 must be ascribed to his ignorance, and the
 carelessness of the printer: I shall set down
 his own words, to give the reader a specimen
 of his style. *Quæ nuper contra receptam de Tri-*
nitate sententiam in septem libris scripsi, omnia
nunc, candide lector, retracto. Non quod falsa sint,
sed quia imperfecta, & tanquam a parvulo parvulis
scripta. Quod autem ita barbarus, con-
fusus, & incorrectus prior liber prodierit, imperi-
tia meæ & typographi incuriæ ad scribendum est.
 Here follow the titles of the four chapters of
 his treatise, *De justitia regni CHRISTI. 1. De*
justificatione. 2. De regno CHRISTI. 3. Colla-
tio legis & evangelii. 4. De charitate. 1. Of justi-
 fication. 2. Of the kingdom of CHRIST.
 3. The law and gospel compar'd. 4. Of
 charity. That treatise is very inconsiderable.
 Thus

‘Thus **SERVETUS** published two books against
 ‘the Trinity in less than two years, without
 ‘scrupling to put his name to them. He was
 ‘very young, extremely zealous for his new
 ‘opinion, and perhaps unacquainted with the
 ‘principles of the reformers. ’Tis likely that
 ‘being lately come from *France* into a protestant
 ‘country, he thought he might write as freely
 ‘against the doctrine of the Trinity, as the re-
 ‘formers did against Transubstantiation, &c.

‘In the year 1553, he put out a third book
 ‘against the Trinity, &c. That book consisting
 ‘of 734 Pages in 8vo. was printed at *Vienne* in
 ‘*Dauphine*, with this pompous title, *Christianis*
 ‘*mi restitutio, h. e. Totius ecclesie apostolicæ ad sua*
 ‘*limina vocatio in integrum, restitutâ cognitione*
 ‘*DEI, fidei christianæ, justificationis nostræ, regene-*
 ‘*rationis, baptismi, cænæ DOMINI manducationis.*
 ‘*Restituto denique nobis regno cœlesti, Babylonis im-*
 ‘*piæ captivitate solutâ, & antichristo cum suis peni-*
 ‘*tus destruct.* 1553 *. The restitution of chri-
 ‘stianity, *h. e.* a call to the christian world, to
 ‘the primitive principles of the apostolical
 ‘church; or a treatise wherein the knowledge
 ‘of **GOD**, of the christian faith, of our justi-
 ‘fication, regeneration, baptism, of eating the
 ‘**LORD**’s supper, are perfectly restored; to the
 ‘deliverance of the heavenly kingdom, from
 ‘the slavery of impious *Babylon*, and the utter
 ‘destruction of antichrist, with his followers.
 ‘**MDLIII.**

* I must observe, that this book is full of invectives against the church of *Rome*, and that **SERVETUS** calls the pope anti-christ, and

pretends to prove it by the *Apocalypse*. I have had a manuscript copy of that book for a long time.

‘**SERVETUS** did not put his name to this
 ‘last book: There is not one printed copy of
 ‘that work that I know of. To satisfy the cu-
 ‘riosity

riosity of my readers, I shall observe, that it
 contained the following pieces. 1. *De Trini-
 tate divina, quod in ea non sit invisibilium trium
 rerum illusio, sed vera substantiæ Dei manifestatio,
 & communicatio spiritus. lib. 7.* 1. Of the di-
 vine Trinity, that there is not an illusion of three
 invisible beings in it; but the real manifestati-
 on of the substance of GOD, and communica-
 tion of his spirit. *lib. 7.* The two last books
 are written by way of dialogue. 2. *De fide &
 justitia regni CHRISTI legis justitiam superantis,
 & de charitate lib. 3.* 2. Of the faith of
 CHRIST, and the righteousness of his king-
 dom, excelling that of the law; and of chari-
 ty. *lib. 3.* 3. *De regeneratione superna, & regno anti-
 christi. lib. 4.* 3. Of regeneration from above,
 and the reign of antichrist. *lib. 4.* 4. *Epistolæ
 30. ad JOAN. CALVINUM Gebennensium concio-
 natorem.* 4. Thirty epistles to JOHN CAL-
 VIN preacher at Geneva. 5. *Signa 60 regni an-
 tichristi, & revelatio ejus, jam nunc præsens.*
 5. Sixty signs of the reign of antichrist, and his
 discovery just now at hand. 6. *De mysterio Tri-
 nitatis & veterum disciplina ad PHILIP ME-
 LANCTHON. Et ejus collegas apologia.* 6. Of the
 mystery of the Trinity, and discipline of the an-
 cients, being an apology to PHILIP ME-
 LANCTHON, and his colleagues. In the
 first book *de Trinitate Divina*, SERVETUS lays
 down three axioms concerning the person of
 JESUS CHRIST; and answers three arguments
 of the pharisees, and as many of the orthodox,
 whom he calls all along sophisters. In the 2d,
 he explains twenty passages of the scripture.
 In the 3d he treats *de persona CHRISTI in
 verbo præfiguratione, de visione DEI, & verbi
 hypostasi.* Of the prefiguration of the person
 of

' of CHRIST in the word, of the vision of GOD,
 ' and of the hypostasis, or subsistence, of the
 ' word. In the 4th, *de nominibus DEI, ejusque*
 ' *essentia omniformi, & rerum omnium principiis.*
 ' Of the names of GOD, and of his essence,
 ' having all forms in it; and of the principles of
 ' all beings. The 5th book concerns the holy
 ' ghost. The 1st dialogue is entitled, *De legis*
 ' *umbris, & CHRISTI complemento, angelorum,*
 ' *animarum, & inferni substantia.* Of the sha-
 ' dows of the law, of the fulness of CHRIST,
 ' of the substance of angels, of the souls of
 ' men, and of the state of the dead. In the
 ' 2d, the author pretends to explain the manner
 ' of CHRIST'S generation, *modum generationis*
 ' CHRISTI, and shews that he is not a crea-
 ' ture, and has not a finite power; and that he
 ' ought to be worshiped, and is true GOD;
 ' *Quod ipse non sit creatura, nec finitæ potentia, sed*
 ' *vere adorandus, verusque DEUS.*

' CALVIN informed the *Roman* catholicks in
 ' *France*, that SERVETUS was the author of that
 ' book. It plainly appears, that SERVETUS and
 ' CALVIN had for some time familiarly con-
 ' vers'd by letters, (30 of SERVETUS'S letters to
 ' CALVIN having been printed among his other
 ' works, as above) and that they had treated
 ' one another with that confidence in the episto-
 ' lary way, usual amongst learned men; and that
 ' SERVETUS took a freedom with CALVIN,
 ' which he expected would never have been made
 ' use of to betray him into the hands of the pro-
 ' fess'd enemies to both: Let the reader then
 ' judge, whether this treatment is not so far a-
 ' gainst the rules of friendship, that it is destru-
 ' ctive of common humanity: and let a father in-
 ' quisitor at *Lisbon*, give a more cruel informa-
 ' tion

tion to a father at *Legborne*; of a third person that was once his friend, but since altered in his sentiments as to popery if he can.

ERASMUS, (19th book of his epistles, p. 738) in the beginning of his epistle to CONRADUS PELICANUS, says; * The power of the gospel is so far from destroying, that it perfects moral virtues; nor are you ignorant how abhorrent, I don't say from virtue, but entirely from all humanity, it is to betray the secrets of friendship; forasmuch as we detest even those, who after a breach of friendship, shall divulge what was said in confidence before; nor can men of generous minds suffer themselves to discover what they knew from the confidence of antient friendship, that shall expose one to the resentment of his greatest enemies. Upon this information above, SERVETUS was imprisoned at *Vienne*, and would have been burnt alive in that city, had he not made his escape. He was burnt in effigie, with five bales of his books. That unhappy physician, having resolved to retire to *Naples*, where he hoped to practise physick among his countrymen, was so imprudent as to take his way through *Geneva*, tho' he knew that CALVIN was his mortal enemy. CALVIN being informed of his arrival, acquainted the magistrates with it. SERVETUS

F was * Evange-
lii vigor
non abolet
morales
virtutes
sed perficit;
nec ignoras
quantum
abhorreat,
non dicam, a virtute sed
prorsus ab
omni humanitate,
proderet
amicitiæ
arcanum;
quandoquidem
execramur
etiam illos, qui
post disremptant
amiciti-
am, effe-
runt quod
amicis creditum
erat; &
qui generosioris
ingenii
objicere,
sunt, nec illis quos maxime invisos habent, sustinent quod ex amicitie pristinae fiducia cognoverunt,

† He was apprehended the very same day that he came to Geneva. He designed to set out the next day for *Lausanne*, by water, in his way to *Italy*.

* Perhaps the late M. DE-SPREAUX had those words in view, when he said, *Tant de fiel entre-t-il dans l'ame des devots!* — *Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ!* * i. e. Can such terrible wrath reside in heavenly minds! —

‘ The following passage will doubtless be approved by all good and wise men; and in general, by all those who have a sense of humanity. SERVETUS, if I well remember his opinion, was a man yet much more extravagant than ARIUS; for he conceived CHRIST to be a divine light, which GOD used as his instrument, in making the world, and his flesh to be made out of the very substance of GOD. And by that which I have seen of his, I judge him fitter to have been chained up as a mad man, than burnt as an heretick. They are the words of his grace the lord archbishop of Canterbury, in his learned discourse of idolatry, Chap. IX. p. 158.

“ SERVETUS’s book about the errors concerning the Trinity, was published at Strasburg and Francfort before the month of August. When it was brought into Switzerland, several protestant divines were very much displeased with it, as it appears from a letter
“ of

“ of OECOLAMPADIUS to BUCER; I * * Invifi
 “ saw this week, says he, our friends of Berne, hâc heb-
 “ who make their compliments to you and to CA- domedâ
 “ PITO. They are very much offended with the Bernates,
 “ book entitled, De Trinitatis Erroribus, which qui te, &
 “ some of them have seen. I desire you would ac- CAPITO-
 “ quaint LUTHER, that this book was printed NEM fa-
 “ out of this country, † and without our knowledge. lutant plu-
 “ For (to mention but one article) it is an impu- rimùm.
 “ dent thing to affirm, as the author does, that the Libellus
 “ Lutherans do not understand the doctrine of De Trini-
 “ justification. But that man, whether he be a tatisErro-
 “ Photinian, or of any other sect, thinks he knows ribus à qui-
 “ more than every body else. Our church will be busedam ex
 “ very ill spoken of, unless our divines make it illis visus
 “ their business to cry him down. I beseech you in duntaxat,
 “ particular, to keep a watchful eye over it, and supramo-
 “ to make an apology for our church, at least in dum of-
 “ your confutation inscribed to the emperor. We fendit.
 “ know not how that beast came to creep in among Vellem te
 “ us. He wrests all the passages of the scripture, scribere
 “ to prove that the son is not co-eternal and consub- LUTHERC,
 “ stantial with the FATHER, and that the man quod no-
 “ CHRIST is the son of GOD. This letter is bis in sciiis
 “ dated August 5. 1531. liber alibi
 “ excusus sit.

Impuden-
 “ tia enim
 “ erat ad-
 “ scribere
 “ Luthera-
 “ nis, justifi-
 cationis rationem eos ignorare, ut de reliquis taceam. Sed PHOTINI-
 ANUS ille, vel nescio cujus sectæ Homo, solus sapere sibi videtur nisi
 ab ecclesiæ nostræ doctõribus explodetur, pessimè auditura est. Tu,
 præ aliis, oro, vigiles, ut si non alibi, certè in confutatione tuâ ad
 imperatorem ecclesias nostras excusa; utcumque hæc bestia irrepserit.
 Abutitur omnibus in suum sensum, tantum ne confiteatur filium
 coæterum PATRI, & consubstantialem. Atque hic est, qui susci-
 pit probandum hominem CHRISTUM esse filium DEI. OECO-
 LAMPADII & ZUINGLIJ Epistola. lib. 4. p. 801. Basil 1592, in
 4º.

† This is a proof that that De Trinitatis Erroribus was not printed
 at Basil.

“ The Magistrates of *Basil* desiring to
 “ know *OECOLAMPADIUS*'s opinion con-
 “ cerning the book of *SERVETUS*; that re-
 “ former made a short discourse in their pre-
 “ sence; wherein he shewed that it was a per-
 “ nicious book; but he express'd himself with
 “ great moderation. That discourse, tran-
 “ slated into *Latin*, may be seen in the first and
 “ second chap. of the first book of *OECOLAM-*
 “ *PADIUS*'s and *ZUINGLIUS*'s epistles, p. 83.
 † I very
 much e-
 steem, says
 the author
 of Biblio-
 reque An-
 gloise,
 these two
 reformers,
 because they were men of moderation.

“ *OECOLAMPADIUS* writ also two † letters
 “ to *SERVETUS* about his book, wherein
 “ he confuted him in a very civil manner,
 “ and intreated him to renounce his
 “ errors. He blames *SERVETUS* for expres-
 “ sing a greater esteem for *TERTULLIAN*,
 “ than for all the other fathers of the church.

“ The next Year (1532) *SERVETUS* pub-
 “ lished another book against the Trinity at
 “ *Haguenau*, according to the former account.
 “ *SERVETUS* having published those two
 “ books, resolved to return into *France*, be-
 “ cause he was poor, and did not understand
 “ the *German* language. He himself alledged
 “ those two reasons for it at his tryal, when
 “ the judges ask'd him, why he left *Germany*?
 “ He returned to *Basil*, and from thence went
 “ to *Lyons*, where he lived about two or three
 “ years. Whilst he was there, *MELAN-*
 “ *CTHON* writ a letter to *JOACHIM CA-*
 “ *MERARIUS*, wherein he told him what he
 “ thought of *SERVETUS*, and his books.
 “ He says, that *SERVETUS* appears to him
 “ a subtile and cunning man, but that he
 “ wants gravity, and his thoughts are con-
 “ fused;

“ fused ; that he has not sufficiently meditated
 “ upon the things he treats of, and that his
 “ notion of justification is very extravagant.
 “ MELANCTHON adds, that he has been
 “ always afraid, that disputes about the Tri-
 “ nity would break out some time or other.
 “ The passage is very curious, and therefore I
 “ shall set down MELANCTHON'S OWN words.
 “ *De SERVETO rogas quid sentiam, (says*
 “ *that excellent man). Ego vero video satis*
 “ *acutum ac vafrum esse in disputando, sed planè*
 “ *gravitatem ei non tribuo. Et habet, ut mihi*
 “ *videtur, confusas imaginationes, nec satis expli-*
 “ *catas earum rerum, quas agit, cogitationes.*
 “ *De justificatione manifeste delirat.* The follow-
 “ ing words are very remarkable : Περὶ τῆς τε-
 “ ας & scis. me semper veritum esse, fore ut hæc ali-
 “ quando erumperent. [Good GOD! what trage-
 “ dies will this question, whether the Logos or Word
 “ be an hypostasis or subsistence, or person ; whether
 “ the Spirit be so likewise? raise amongst posterity.
 “ For my part, I have recourse solely to those words
 “ of scripture, which command us to invoke
 “ CHRIST, which is to be done by ascribing the
 “ honour of divinity to him, which carries along
 “ with it a deal of consolation to us ; but critically
 “ to examine the real or proper distinctions of the
 “ hypostases or person, is no manner of advantage.]
 “ Bone DEUS! quales tragoedias excitabit hæc
 “ quæstio ad posteros, εἰ ἔστιν ὑπόστασις ὁ λόγος, εἰ
 “ ἔστιν ὑπόστασις τὸ πνεῦμα. Ego me referro ad illas
 “ scripturæ voces quæ jubent invocare CHRISTUM,
 “ quod est ei honorem divinitatis tribuere, & ple-
 “ num consolationis est. Τας δὲ ἰδέας ἅψ' ὑποστάσεων
 “ καὶ διαφορῶν ἀκεχῶς ζῆσθαι ἔ πάνυ συμφέρει. ME-
 “ LANCTHON epist. lib. 4. ep. 140. edit.
 “ Lond. That letter is dated in the year 1533.

You

“ You see, Sir, that MELANCTHON
 “ proved a true prophet. How many disputes
 “ about the Trinity has the world seen since
 “ the year 1533, in which this letter was
 “ written! That great divine foresaw, that
 “ several people not contented with LUTHER
 “ and CALVIN’S reformation, would boldly
 “ attack the doctrine of the Trinity. The
 “ thing happen’d, as he foretold it. Some
 “ are of opinion, that the reformation would
 “ have made a further progress, had it not
 “ been for the Anti-trinitarians.

“ In the next letter to CAMERARIUS,
 “ MELANCTHON says, SERVETUM *mul-*
 “ *tum lego; i. e. I read SERVETUS very much;*
 “ and adds, that SERVETUS did TERTUL-
 “ LIAN a great deal of wrong, in maintain-
 “ ing that this father did not believe the *Logos*
 “ to be an *hypostasis*. This second letter is
 “ dated in the same year as the first.

“ SERVETUS having been two or three
 “ years at *Lyons*, as I have already said, went
 “ to *Paris*, where he studied physick under
 “ SYLVIUS, FERNET, and some other
 “ professors. He took his degree of master of
 “ arts, and was admitted doctor of physick
 “ in that university, and practised the same
 “ afterwards. He was, for some time, cor-
 “ rector of the press at *Lyons*.

* History
 of the re-
 formed
 churches
 of France,
 vol. I. p. 14.
Antwerp
 1580.
 † Printed
 in Holland
 in 1684,
 p. 13.

“ BEZA * informs us, that CALVIN knew
 “ SERVETUS at *Paris*, and opposed his do-
 “ ctrine. The same author adds, that SER-
 “ VETUS having agreed to engage in a dis-
 “ pute with CALVIN, upon a certain day,
 “ and a certain hour, durst not appear at that
 “ conference. I find in the *Bibliotheca* † *Anti-*
 “ *trinitariorum*, that he published at *Paris* in
 “ the

“ the year 1537, a book entitled, *Ratio Syruporum*.

“ Whilst SERVETUS was at *Paris*, his
 “ book *De Trinitatis Erroribus* was dispersed in
 “ † *Italy*, and very much approved of by many † See *Box-*
 “ *Italians*, who design'd to forsake the church *hornii Hist.*
 “ of *Rome*. MELANCTHON being informed *Universa.*
 “ of it, writ a letter * to the senate of *p. 70, ad*
 “ *Venice*, in the year 1539, importing, that *an. 1552.*
 “ a book of SERVETUS, who had revived *Lugd. Ba-*
 “ the error of PAULUS SAMOSATENUS, *tav. 1652.*
 “ was handed about in their country. He ** MELANC-*
 “ beseeches them to use their utmost endea- *THON. Ep.*
 “ vours, that the impious error of that man *lib. 1. Ep.*
 “ may be avoided, rejected, and abhorred. *III.*
 “ It is not improbable, that LÆLIUS SOCI-
 “ NUS, FAUSTUS's uncle, and several other
 “ *Italians*, took their anti-trinitarian notions
 “ from SERVETUS's book.

“ That physician having finished his studies
 “ at *Paris*, left that city to go and practise
 “ physick in some other place; which he did
 “ two or three years in a town about twelve
 “ leagues distant from *Lyons*, and then in *Vi-*
 “ *enne* in *Dauphine*, for the space of ten or
 “ twelve years. I find very few particulars
 “ relating to him during that time. † PATIN † *Patini-*
 “ says, that Dr. DELAVAU, a physician of *ana. p. 74.*
 “ *Poitiers*, had by him fifty letters written to *75. Amst.*
 “ his father, by SERVETUS from *Dauphine.* *1703.*
 “ He adds, that SCALIGER says he had seen
 “ them.

“ SERVETUS was at *Lyons* in the year
 “ 1542, before he settled at *Vienne*. He cor-
 “ rected in that city (*Lyons*) the proofs of a
 “ *Latin* bible, and added a preface to it under
 “ the name of *Villanovanus*. That bible is
 “ very

" very scarce. I must observe, that he went
 " in *France* by the Name *Villeneuve* from
 " *Villanueva*, the town where he was born.
 ‡ Critical " That bible ‡ was printed by H U G H de la
 History of " P O R T E, with this title, *Biblia Sacra ex*
 the Old " *Sanctis Pagnini Translatione, sed & ad He-*
 Testam. " *braicæ linguæ amussim ita recognita & Scholiis*
 p. 530. " *illustrata, ut plane nova editio videri possit.*
 Rotterdam, " S E R V E T U S added to it some marginal notes.
 1685. " C A L V I N calls them impertinent and impi-
 " ous notes ; and says, that S E R V E T U S
 " fraudulently got five hundred livres from the
 " bookseller for his pains." And here that the
 reader may have as full a view of S E R V E T U S's
 works, as at present can be given him, I shall insert
 that piece, which the author of the memoirs calls
an excellent supplement to his account of S E R V E T U S's life.
 This he calls *a curious account of that bible,*
for which he was very much indebted to the learned
person, who had been pleased to communicate
it to him from Paris ; 4 vol. p. 329. 2d edit.
 " The title of this bible, as above, is, The
 " sacred bible, translated by P A G N I N U S
 " from the holy scriptures, and so exactly cor-
 " rected, according to the *Hebrew* tongue, and
 " so well illustrated with *scholia*, that it may
 " well pass for a new edition.

* MICH. * MICHAEL VILLANOVANUS to the Reader.
 VILLA-

NOVANUS WE are taught by that wise man, J E S U S,
 Lectori. the son of S I R A C H, in the beginning of his
 Docuit nos sapiens ille apocryphal book, call'd Ecclesiasticus : That
 J E S U S fi- the
 lius S I R A C

in proæmio libri quem ecclesiasticum vocant, Hebraica verba defi-
 cere, sive obtorpescere, cum in aliam linguam fuerint translata pro-
 be

be dijudicans vivam illam spiritus energiam, dictionum emphases, concursus, antitheses, allusiones & reliqua ejusmodi, non posse in versionibus nostris ad unguem servari. Unde merito, & olim, & nunc bibliorum interpretationi pleriq; desudantes, rem integram nunquam sunt assecuti. Quum præsertim. Historicum & literalem sensum qui certum est futuræ rei monumentum, ii qui Hæbræorum res gestas ignorant, facile contemnant, unde & mysticos sensus frustra illi, & ridiculè passim venantur. Quamobrem te semel & iterum velim rogatum, Christiane lector ut primum Hebraica discas, deinde historiæ diligenter incumbas, antequam prophetarum lectionem aggrediaris. Singuli enim prophetae suam juxta literam sequebantur historiam; quæ & futura præfigurabas & in qua CHRISTI mysteria secundum spiritum concludebantur, nam omnia in figura contingebant illis, ut ait PAULUS, & testimonium JESU CHRISTI, ut ait JOHANNES est spiritus prophetiæ, quamquam alius juxta literam fuerit tunc prophetarum sensus, ut rei gestæ ferebat historia. Quod si sensum illum esse verè literalem quis neget, eo quod vis literæ non semper verè congruat, id ego dicenti lubens concedam. Illud tamen perpendendum Hebraicam linguam esse totam hyperbolis plenam, & majora alia ibi contineri mysteria. Perpendendum item quod si literalis ille sensus non dicatur, aliquis tamen erat futuræ veritatis obumbratio ut in umbra DAVIDIS relucet veritas soli CHRISTO conveniens, ab ejus enim historiis desumptæ in psalmis sunt prædicendi de CHRISTO occasiones imò hac ratione dicitur fuisse CHRISTI typus. De SALOMONE etiam in umbra dictum est; ero illi in patrem, & de Israelitico populo dictum est; Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum; cum tamen soli CHRISTO id verè conveniat ut & literalem propheticum sensum esse de CHRISTO dicamus. Adde quod liber hic dicitur scriptus intus & extra, & duplicem esse constat scripturæ faciem, instar gladii utrinq; scindentis. Fœcunda est scripturæ vis, & sub vetustate occidentis literæ novitatem ita continet vivificantis spiritus, ut collecto inde uno sensu alium sit nefas omittere; eò magis; quia historicus ille alium ultrò patefacit. Unde & nos literalem illum veterem scilicet historicum passim neglectum sensum conati semper sumus scholiis eruere, ut ejus typo mysticus, imò verus innotesceret, utq; illum qui scopus est omnium, JESUM CHRISTUM sub illis umbris, & figuris obvelatum, quem ob id non vident cæci Judæi, nos omnes revelatâ facie deum nostrum clare videamus. In qua re sicut & in Pagnini nostri versione non parum est nobis post omnia ejus annotamenta, desudatum. Annotamenta inquam, quæ ille nobis quamplurimâ reliquit, nec solum annotamenta, sed & exemplar ipsum lotis innumeris propria manu castigatum ex quibus omnibus affirmare ausim & integras magis nunc esse Sententias, & Hebraicæ veritati propinquiores, ecclesiæ tamen & Hebraicæ linguæ peritorum sit de hac re judicium; alii enim judicare id nequeunt. Quidquid verò commodè

hinc;

hinc. Lector, retuleris primum DEO optimo maximo deinde HUGONI
 à PORTA Lugdunensi civi gratias agito, cujus opera & impensis
 hæc in lucem prodeunt. Vale.

the Hebrew tongue, when translated into any other language, is defective, and the spirit of it is almost lost; well observing, that the lively energy of spirit, emphasis of expression, harmony, antitheses, allusions, and the like, cannot be exactly kept up in our translations; from whence, for good reason, most both antients and moderns, who have, with the greatest care, interpreted the scriptures, have never come up to the whole sense; especially since they who are ignorant of the affairs and customs of the Hebrews, give very easily into the contempt of the historical and literal sense, which is the only certain sign of any thing future; from whence it comes to pass, that they ridiculously, and to no manner of purpose, pursue the mystical sense every where. Wherefore I would desire you again and again, christian reader, to get the knowledge of the Hebrew, in the first place, and after that, diligently to apply your self to the study of the Jewish history, before you enter upon the reading of the prophets; for each of the prophets pursued, according to the letter, their history, both as to that part which points out things to come, and as that, in which the mysteries of CHRIST, according to the spirit, are hid; for all things turn'd up to them in types, as St. PAUL says, and the testimony of JESUS CHRIST, as saith St. JOHN, is a spirit of prophesy; altho' there was another sense of the prophets then, according to the letter, as the course of their history led them. But if any one denies that sense to be truly literal, because the force of the expression does not always serve to the purpose, I will readily allow it him. This, however, ought to be considered, that the Hebrew language is very full of hyperboles,

boles, and other very great mysteries are contain'd therein. It must be consider'd too, that if the literal sense is not mention'd, yet there is some shadow of future verity, as under the shade of DAVID, some truth belonging to CHRIST alone, darts forth with a shining lustre; for from his histories in the Psalms, there are several occasions taken of predicting many passages concerning CHRIST. It is indeed upon this account, that he is said to be a type of CHRIST. After the same manner of paint, it is said of SOLOMON, I will be to him a father; and of the Israelitic people, it is said, out of Egypt have I called my son, when that, in truth, agreed to CHRIST alone; so that we may say, that the literal prophetic sense refers to CHRIST; to which we may add, that this book is said to be written within and without; and that there is a two-fold face in the scripture, in like manner as one sword has two edges. The force of scripture is very genial, and under the antiquity of the declining letter, it contains so much fresh vigour of the enlivening spirit, that when one sense is collected from it, it would be monstrous to neglect the other: more especially, since that historical sense discloses the mystical of its own accord; from whence it is, that we always endeavour to search out, tho' it costs never so much pains, that old literal or historical sense (so generally neglected) by having recourse to the scholia; so that the mystical sense might become known to be the true sense, the rather by its type; for the mystical sense is the scope of all, viz. JESUS CHRIST shaded under such types and figures, whom the blind Jews, for that reason, do not see; which shade or veil being taken away, we all, with open face, clearly see our GOD. In which very thing, as also in the version of our PAGNINUS, we have exerted our selves, after all his annotations,

to the last degree. Annotations, I say, of which he hath left us a vast number; nor are they only annotations, but the exemplar it self, corrected in innumerable places, by his own hand: From a which, I dare affirm, that the sentences are now become much more entire and perfect, and nearer, by far, to the verity of the Hebrew tongue. However this is submitted to the judgement of those, and of those only (for no others can be judges) who are well vers'd in the Hebrew tongue, and the Jewish Ecclesiastical history. Whatever advantage therefore you get, reader, from this edition, pay your grateful acknowledgements for it; first to the great GOD, and then to HUGH de la PORTE, a citizen of Lyons, by whose expence and labours the contents are made publick. Vale.

“ Next to this preface of SERVETUS,
 “ there are two others; the first by JOHAN-
 “ NES NICOLAUS VICTORIUS; and the
 “ second by PAGNINUS. This last, which
 “ contains seven pages in folio, is to be found
 “ in the other editions of that translation;
 “ but the preface of VICTORIUS appears
 “ only in this edition: we learn from it, that
 “ PAGNINUS made several notes upon the
 “ whole bible, which have not been printed.
 “ Atque utinam nostri hodie bibliopolæ ita erga
 “ sanctissima hæc studia sint affecti, ut doctissi-
 “ mas tanti viri (SANCTIS PAGNINI) anno-
 “ tationes quæ etiam nunc apud hæredem asser-
 “ vantur, in publicam omnium utilitatem velint
 “ excudere,” i. e. *’Twere to be wish’d, that our
 present booksellers were so well effected towards
 studies of this kind, that they would, for the com-
 mon good of the publick, print the very learned
 annotations of so great a man as PAGNINUS,
 which*

which are now in the possession of his heir. " It
 " appears also, by the same preface, that this
 " edition of 1542, was made from an edition
 " of *Cologne*, which P A G N I N U S himself
 " revised, and upon which he added other
 " notes: For he says, *Interim hanc bibliorum*
 " *interpretationem, christiane lector, ipsius*
 " *auspiciis prodeuntem obvius ulnis amplectere,*
 " *non ita pridem, fateor, Coloniae excusam,*
 " *sed postliminio ab ipso authore, nescio, quid*
 " *jam imminente fato suavius modulante, ita*
 " *recognitam, ita annotationibus locupleta-*
 " *tam, ut nunc non tam restituta, quam pri-*
 " *mo edita videri possit". I make it my re-*
quest, to the christian reader, that he would, with all
imaginable readiness, take this comment upon the
bible into his hands; not indeed as some time ago
printed at Cologne, but as it has been since revised
by the author himself; which is now so plentifully
enrich'd by his own annotations, that it may well
pass for the first and most perfect edition.

" 'Tis true, there are some differences be-
 " tween that edition of P A G N I N U S's *ver-*
 " *sion*, and the other editions of that transla-
 " tion; but they are neither very numerous,
 " nor very material.

" As for the notes, there are but few; and
 " they would hardly have been minded, had not
 " C A L V I N taken notice of them. What is most
 " considerable in those notes, concerneth J E-
 " S U S C H R I S T, figuratively represented in
 " the scripture. S E R V E T U S had already in-
 " timated in his preface, that prophecies have
 " a proper and natural sense in the history of
 " the antient *Israelites*, and that C H R I S T is
 " no further concerned in them, than as his
 " actions were figuratively represented by hi-
 " storical

“ historical facts ; or even that those prophecies
 “ could not be applied to CHRIST, but in
 “ sublime and exalted sense.

“ There are few notes on the historical
 “ books ; sometimes one may find many page
 “ without any notes ; and those that are in-
 “ terspersed here and there, are in a very
 “ small number : they contain most times a
 “ clearer explication of the *Hebrew* words
 “ and sometimes, but very seldom, historical
 “ remarks. SERVETUS having shewed, in
 “ his preface, what he thinks concerning the ap-
 “ plications of prophecies to JESUS CHRIST
 “ begins to unfold his opinion in his note
 “ upon the *Psalms*.

“ Upon *Psalms* I. he says, *Impium Achito-*
 “ *pelis consilium hujus Psalmi fuit occasio*
 “ *sicut quinque sequentium. The impious counse-*
 “ *of Achitophel was the occasion of this Psalm, and*
 “ *likewise of the five following.*

“ The consequence of this note is plainly
 “ expressed upon *Psalms* II. where SERVETUS
 “ says, upon this verse, *DOMINUS dixit ad*
 “ *me FILIUS meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*
 “ *The LORD said unto me, thou art my SON, this*
 “ *day have I begotten thee.*

“ Ad diem resurrectionis CHRISTI vocem
 “ hodie refert PAULUS, sicut in die qua evasit
 “ ab hoste, dicitur DAVID hodie natus, &
 “ hodie denuò factus rex. *The apostle PAUL*
 “ *refers the expression this day, to the day of*
 “ *CHRIST's resurrection, in like manner as DA-*
 “ *VID, when he escaped from his enemies, is said to*
 “ *be born this day, and at length to be made a king this*
 “ *day.*

“ It appears from thence that SERVETUS
 “ pretends still, against the very explication of
 “ the scriptures, that CHRIST was repre-
 “ sented by the actions of kings and pro-
 “ phets, and not by the very word of the
 “ prophecies.

“ Upon the VIIIth Psalm. Et deficere fe-
 “ cisti eum Paululum ab angelis, gloria, &
 “ decore coronaturus eum: *Thou hast made him*
a little lower than the angels indeed, being about to
crown him with honour and glory. He says, “ Ab
 “ angelis, id est, a diis, illustribus viris quibus
 “ in persecutionibus factus est inferiori DA-
 “ VID, CHRISTI typus postea scilicet coro-
 “ nandus: *Than angels, viz. than the gods, or*
illustrious men, to whom DAVID, by his perse-
cutions, was become inferior; DAVID a type
of CHRIST in this, that he might afterwards be
crown'd.

“ Upon these words of Psalm XXII. Fode-
 “ runt manus meas & pedes meas: *They have*
pierced my hands and my feet. He says, “ Fu-
 “ giente DAVIDE per abrupta instar quadru-
 “ pedis. Manus ejus & pedes perforabantur;
 “ Unde & Hebræi legunt, quasi leonis manus
 “ meæ & pedes mei at LXX. pro Chaari lege-
 “ runt Charu in eandem sententiam, & verum
 “ CHRISTI mysterium; i. e. DAVID, in
making his escape from his enemies, with like diffi-
culty that a wild-beast does get thro' thorny brakes,
had his hands and his feet pierced through. From
the Hebrews we read it, my hands and my feet are
torn like the paws of a lyon: but the septuagint for
Ca-ari, render it Ca-arû in the same sentence,
are pierced or torn like a lyon's, and is a true mystery
referring to CHRIST.

“ Upon

Gods

uncerta
 mean
 script

“ Upon the words of the XLVth *Psalms*,
 “ Sedes tua, DEUS in seculum, *Thy throne,*
 O GOD, *is for ever*, he makes this observa-
 tion, “ Solium SALOMONIS dicitur æter-
 num in umbra CHRISTI & dicitur ipse
 DEUS sicut CYRUS & MOSES; *Esai. xlv.*
 “ & *Exod. vij.* veritas tamen est in solo
 CHRISTO; i. e. *The throne of SOLOMON*
is said to be everlasting, to prefigure the throne of
 CHRIST; *and SOLOMON is called GOD, as*
 CYRUS and MOSES were; *but the reality is in*
 CHRIST alone.

“ Upon these words of the LXIXth *Psalms*.
 “ Dederunt in escam meam fel, & in siti meâ
 propinaverunt mihi acetum; i. e. *They gave*
me gall for meat, and vinegar for drink. He says,
 “ Hæc ad literam fecit NABAL, *1 Sam. xxv.*
 “ cum petenti cibum & potum amaritudinem &
 “ convitia rependit. Testimonium enim JESU
 CHRISTI est spiritus prophetiæ; i. e. *This*
 NABAL *did literally, 1 Sam. xxv. when he gave to*
 DAVID's messengers sneers and curses instead of pro-
 per refreshment, in return for all his favours to him.
 For the testimony of JESUS CHRIST is the
 spirit of prophecy.

“ Upon these words of the LXXII. *Psalms*.
 “ Timebunt te cum sole, & dum fuerit luna
 “ in generatione generationum; i. e. *They shall*
fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure, through-
out all generations. He makes the following re-
 mark. “ Hyperbole de SALOMONE, veri-
 tas de CHRISTO, multa de eis olim subli-
 mius dicebantur; quam ut eis posset veritas
 convenire: ut inde constet spiritum prophe-
 tiæ aliò tendere, *Apoc. xix.* *The hyperbole*
belongs to SOLOMON, the truth to CHRIST:
many things were spoken of great men in antiquity,

Sun & moon
Gods

in a manner too sublime to be true of them; from whence it appears, that the spirit of prophecy pointed somewhere else.

“ *Psalm LXXXII. Surge, DEUS, judica terram; Arise, O GOD, judge the earth. He says, “ O tu CHRISTE! DEUS, nostris his diis longe præstantior, surge veni: O CHRIST! who art GOD, far more excellent than the gods amongst men; arise, come.*

*God He
know*

“ *Psalm LXXXIII. DEUS ne taceas tibi: Keep not thou silent, O GOD. Here follows his note. “ O tu CHRISTE DEUS, ne contineas te. O CHRIST! who art GOD, hold not thy peace.*

“ *Psalm CX. Dixit DOMINUS DOMINO meo; i. e. The LORD said unto my LORD.*

“ *Scilicet SALOMONI quem, ut CHRISTI typum DOMINUM vocat DAVID, translato in eum tanto regno. I Paral. xxix. Sciebat DAVID, ex se oriturum DEI filium Dominatorem orbis; ideo sub dilecti filii typo eum Dominum vocat; citato etiam loco dicitur SALOMON sedisse super solium DEI secundum fortitudinem a dextris DEI in umbra scilicet; i. e. To SOLOMON, whom DAVID calls LORD, as a type of CHRIST, so great a kingdom being to be transferred to him; for DAVID knew that from him should descend the SON of GOD, that should be the Lord of the world; therefore under the type of his beloved Son, he calls him Lord; and in the place before quoted, SOLOMON is said to sit upon the throne of GOD, in his strength, at the right hand of GOD, viz. in a shadow.*

“ *Donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedibus tuis; Until I make thine enemies thy foot-stool.*

H

“ Repetit

THE HISTORY

“ Repetit ad literam hæc verba SALO-
 “ MON, 2 Reg. 5. SOLOMON repeats the words
literally.

“ Tu es sacerdos in seculum secundum morem
 “ MELCHISEDEC, qui scilicet rex simul fuit
 “ & sacerdos; unde & SALOMON sacerdotem
 “ aliquando egit: *Thou art a priest for ever after
 the order of MELCHISEDEC, who was king and
 priest at once. From whence SOLOMON also
 sometimes officiated as a priest.*

“ Isaia, cap. VII. Ecce virgo prægnans &
 “ pariens filium, &c. *Behold a virgin shall con-
 ceive and bring forth a son, &c.*

“ Ostendit ad literam ipsam ABIAM præ-
 “ sentem & parituram EZECHIAM, qui &
 “ fortitudo DEI & IMMANUEL, & ante cujus
 “ regnum perditum sunt duo illi reges hostes Ju-
 “ dæa ut, 4 Reg. 16. & 18. *This was true ac-
 cording to the letter of ABIA then with child, and
 about to bring forth EZECHIAS, who was called
 the strength of GOD and IMMANUEL; and be-
 fore whose reign the two kings, who were in hosti-
 lity with Judæa, were both destroyed.*

“ Isaia, cap. VIII. Quia nobiscum DEUS,
 “ i. e. *Because GOD is with us.*

“ Quia IMMANUEL, id est quia DEUS
 “ est cum EZECHIA contra Assyrios, viz.
*Because IMMANUEL, GOD with us, is for
 EZECHIA against the Assyrians.*

“ Isaia, cap. IX. Populus qui ambulabat in te-
 “ nebris vidit lucem magnum, &c. *The people
 who walked in darkness, saw a great light.*

“ A luce illa quam oppresso populo attulit
 “ EZECHIAS CHRISTI typus, rapitur pro-
 “ pheta ad immensam & æternam CHRISTI
 “ lucem. *From that light which HEZEKIAS,
 a type of CHRIST, brought to an oppressed people,
 the*

the prophet is carried away to the immense and eternal light of CHRIST.

“ *Isaiæ, cap. XIX. Et mittet eis servato-*
 “ *rem, &c. And he will send a saviour to them;*
 “ *i. e. EZECHIAM; nam, Ægyptii ab Af-*
 “ *syriis admodum oppressi, visâ EZECHIE*
 “ *de Assyriis tantâ victoriâ, laudabant DO-*
 “ *MINUM, cum Assyriis etiam fœdus compo-*
 “ *nentes quæ omnia ad CHRISTUM subli-*
 “ *mius spectant: That is HEZEKIAS; for*
 “ *the Egyptians having been greatly oppressed by the*
 “ *Assyrians, when they saw him have so great a vi-*
 “ *ctory over the Assyrians, praised the LORD,*
 “ *and entered into a treaty with them at the same*
 “ *time; all which things more sublimely belong to*
 “ *CHRIST.*

“ *Isaiæ, cap. XL. Vox clamantis in de-*
 “ *ferto; The voice of one crying in the wilderness.*
 “ *Ad CYRI regis imperium facta est præ-*
 “ *tonis vox, ut per deserta quævis loca pateret*
 “ *via Israelitis a Babylone redeuntibus unde*
 “ *sumpta in occasione, in CHRISTUM rapitur*
 “ *propheta: Vide Jeremiæ 31. The voice of*
 “ *the prophet was directed to the empire of king CY-*
 “ *RUS, to the end that a way for the Israelites, in*
 “ *their return from Babylon, might be made through*
 “ *any of the deserts under his dominions, from whence*
 “ *the prophet takes an occasion to allude to CHRIST:*
 “ *See Jeremiah 31.*

“ *Ibidem, ecce DEUS vester: And in the*
 “ *same place, behold your GOD.*

“ *Hoc ad literam de CYRO, ut cap. 5.*
 “ *This refers to CYRUS literally, as in Chapter*
 “ *the 5th.*

“ *Isaiæ, cap. XLI. Quis suscitavit ab ori-*
 “ *ente justitiam, &c. Isaiah, Chap. XLI. Who*
 “ *raised up the righteous man from the east, &c.*

“ Virum justitiæ, scilicet C Y R U M, qui D E I
 “ justitiam executurus est perditâ Babylone.
*The righteous man, viz. C Y R U S, who was going
 to execute the justice of G O D in the destruction of
 Babylon.*

“ Ibidem, ab ortu solis vocabat nomen meum:
 And in the context; *He shall call upon my name
 from the rising of the sun:*

“ C Y R U S invocavit nomen D E I veri;
 “ 2 Par. xxxvj. & Ezræ j. Idque a parte aqui-
 “ lonis & orientis respectu Jerusalem. C Y R U S
*called upon the name of the true G O D; 2 Chro. xxxvj.
 & Ez. j. And that was north-east as to Jeru-
 salem.*

“ Isaia, cap. XLII. Et dabo te in fœdus
 “ populi, in lucem Gentibus: i. e. *And I will
 give thee for a covenant to the people, and for a
 light to the Gentiles.*

“ Sublimitas horum verborum soli C H R I S T O
 “ convenit, unde & C Y R O tanquam ejus typo
 “ data est ad tempus ea mens, ut mitis esset Ju-
 “ dæis fœdus servans; gentes ad D E I lucem al-
 “ liciens & in carceribus hallucin ad lucem edu-
 “ cens; fuit enim ibi quædam futuræ verita-
 “ tis obumbratio. *The sublimity of these words
 agree to C H R I S T alone, from whence it was that
 such a temper of mind was given to C Y R U S, a
 type of C H R I S T, that he became such a friend to
 the Jews, as to take them into alliance, perswading
 the surrounding nations to embrace the true know-
 ledge of G O D, he drew them from their erroneous
 ignorance, in which they had been so long enslaved,
 into real light; there was here likewise a shadow of
 future verity.*

“ Isaia, cap. XLIII. Servus meus quem
 “ eligi, &c. i. e. *My servant, whom I have
 chosen, &c.* “ Scilicet C Y R U S, qui confessus
 “ est

“ est a DEO sibi esse ita dispositum. viz. CYRUS, who confessed that he was thus disposed by GOD himself.

“ Isaia, cap. XLIX. Et dixit leve est, ut sis mihi servus? &c. *And he said, is it a small matter, that thou art my servant? &c.*

“ Consolatur DEUS afflictum prophetam dicens ejus prophetiam, etiam Gentibus lucem allaturam, per CYRUM enim factum est ut ei fides adhiberetur; sed sublimius hæc omnia de CHRISTO; quanquam mysticus sensus non excludat literalem, longe inferiorem. GOD comforts the afflicted prophet, by telling him, that his prophecy should enlighten the Gentile world; for what was to be achieved by CYRUS, was to gain credit to his prophecy; but these things, in a more sublime manner, belong to CHRIST; however, the mystical sense doth not exclude the literal, though this be much inferiour to that.

“ Isaia, cap. XLIX. Et erunt reges nutritii tui; i. e. *And kings shall be thy nursing fathers.*

“ Hæc ad literam completa docent EZRA, NEHEMIAS, ESTER, & NEBUCHODONOSOR, qui se, DANIELI incurvavit. *These words were accomplished in EZRA, NEHEMIAH, ESTER, and NEBUCHADONZZAR; which last did homage to DANIEL.*

“ Isaia, cap. LI. Quia lex a me exiet; i. e. *For the law shall go forth from me.*

“ Lex per CYRUM, id est, CHRISTUM, prolata de reædificatione nova Jerusalem; i. e. *The law from CYRUS, viz. CHRIST predicting the re-building a New Jerusalem.*

“ Isaia, cap. LIII. Quis credidit auditui nostro? i. e. *Who has believed our report?*

“ Incredibilis

“ Incredibilis res de C Y R O & magnum
 “ etiam mysterium quod sub humilibus etiam
 “ historiæ typis lateant C H R I S T I arcana su-
 “ blimia; i. e. *Something incredible as to C Y R U S;*
when at the same time there is a great mystery
couched under it, viz. that under the mean types of
historical matters, the sublime secrets of C H R I S T
are concealed.

“ Ibidem vulneratus est propter prævarica-
 “ tiones nostras: *In the context, he is said to be*
wounded for our prevarications.

“ Quasi exegentibus populi peccatis inter-
 “ fectum C Y R U M deflet propheta, eò quod
 “ postea sub C A M B Y S E multo deterius ha-
 “ buerint, impeditâ tunc & dirutâ templi ædi-
 “ ficatione jam inchoatâ, Dan. ix. fuitq; hæc
 “ a D E O data occasio prædicandi passionem
 “ C H R I S T I, qui soli convenit horum verbo-
 “ rum sublimitas & veritas: *As if the prophet*
had deplored the death of C Y R U S, for being slain
a sacrifice for the sins of the people, for which they
fared much worse under C A M B Y S E S, because then
the building of the temple, which had been begun
under C Y R U S, was not only stopped, but demolish-
ed; Dan. ix. whereas this gave an handle to the
prophet, of preaching the sufferings of C H R I S T,
to whom alone the sublimity and verity of these ex-
pressions relate.

“ Isaia, cap. LX. Omnes ipsi de Seba ve-
 “ niant, &c. i. e. *All they shall come from Seba,*
 &c.

“ Hæc omnia stante templo secundo esse
 “ juxta literam oblata variis historiis com-
 “ probatur, licet per Hyperbolen multa di-
 “ cantur ad C H R I S T I ecclesiam mysticè re-
 “ ferenda. *That all these these things fell out ac-*
cording to the letter, while the second temple was
standing,

standing, is proved from the joynt testimony of various histories; although, by an Hyperbole, many passages relating to the christian church may be there-
in told.

“ Jeremiæ, cap. XXIII. Suscitabo ipsi DAVID germen justum. *I will raise to DAVID a righteous branch.*

“ De germine ZERUBABEL juxta literam & quatenus in se regnum contineat; vide apud ZACHARIAM. *That this was meant of ZERUBABEL literally; and so far as he had the government in his hands, is plain from ZACHARY.*

“ Ibidem; DOMINUS justitia nostra, &c. id est solâ DEI justitiâ sumus a Babilone, liberati eferuntur hæc mystice ad CHRISTUM qui vere est DEUS noster, & justitia nostra propheticus enim sermo est gladius utrinque scindens. *Again, the LORD our righteousness, &c. i. e. We are delivered from Babylon by the righteousness of GOD alone. These expressions refer to CHRIST mystically; he being truly our GOD, and our righteousness; for the word of the prophets is a two-edged sword.*

“ Jeremiæ, cap. XXX. Et erit fortis ejus ex eo; i. e. *From the hand of him that was stronger than he.*

“ Fortior rege Persarum erat ZERUBABEL, soli innitens DEI spiritui; Zachar. iv. Typo vero JESU CHRISTI qui solus DEO Patri hæret arctissimè. ZERUBABEL relying on the spirit of GOD, was stronger than the king of Persia; Zac. iv. *A true type of JESUS CHRIST, who alone so strictly adhered to GOD the Father.*

“ Jeremiæ, cap. L. Quæretur iniquitas Israel & non erit, &c. quanquam variè illi
“ accu-

“ accusentur, eis tamen parcit **CYRUS**, id est
 “ **CHRISTUS**. *The Iniquity of Israel shall be
 sought for, and there shall be none, &c. altho' they
 shall have many charges brought against them; yet
 CYRUS, i. e. CHRIST spareth them.*

“ Ezechiel, cap. IX. Et gloria **DEI** Israe
 “ elevata est à cherubi, super quem erat ad li
 “ men domus; i. e. *And the glory of the GOD
 of Israel was gone up from the cherub, where he
 was, to the threshold of the house.*

“ Translatio hic fit gloriæ **DEI** a lapideo
 “ templo ad virum illum **JESUM CHRISTUM**
 “ qui & **DEUS** est, ipsis cherub. sublimior
*Here is a translation of the glory of GOD, from
 the temple of stone, to that man the true temple
 JESUS CHRIST, who is also GOD, far above
 the cherubs themselves.*

“ Ezechiel, cap. XL. Et ecce vir cujus af
 “ pectus, &c. i. e. *And behold a man whose ap
 pearance, &c.*

“ **CHRISTUS** structor cælistis civitatis in
 “ excelso monte Sion, quam rem in umbra hic
 “ delineat. **CHRIST** is the builder of the
*heavenly city, in the lofty mountain of Sion; which
 truth he delineates in a shadow.*

“ Daniel, cap. IX. Ab exitu sermonis ad
 “ reverti faciendum usq; ad Christum ducem
 “ hebdomadæ septem, &c. i. e. *From the going
 forth of the commandment, to restore and to build
 Jerusalem unto Messiah, the prince shall be seven
 weeks.*

“ Ab egressu prædicti ad me a **DEO** ser
 “ monis de restituenda & ædificanda Jerusalem
 “ usq; ad ducem **CYRUM**, **CHRISTUM**
 “ **DEI**. Qui id exequetur, hebdomades sunt
 “ septem; hebdomadisq; sexaginta duabus re
 “ stituetur & ædificabitur platea & fossa in an
 “ gustia

gustia, scilicet temporum, & post eas scilicet 62 hebdomadas occidetur CYRUS, & erit in nihilum, dissipabitque ædificium, & desolabit CAMBYSES CYRO succedens fœdus autem primùm firmabit DARIUS post quem, iterum sequetur ANTIACHI abominatio stupenda, & erit finis orbis Judaici. *From the going forth of the commandment from GOD to me, about the restoring and building of Jerusalem unto CYRUS the prince, the CHRIST of GOD, are seven weeks; and in sixty-two weeks the streets and the wall shall be built again even in troublous times; and after sixty-two weeks CYRUS shall be slain, and brought to nought; and CAMBYSES, successor to CYRUS, shall destroy and desolate the building; but DARIUS shall first confirm the covenant: After whom shall again follow the stupendious abomination of ANTIACHUS, and there shall be an end put to the Jewish state and polity.*

Ozeas, cap. XI. Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum; i. e. *Out of Egypt have I called my son:*

Scilicet populum Israel typum JESU CHRISTI veri filii DEI sicut, & SALOMONI dicitur, ero ei in patrem, & ipse erit mihi in filium; Paral. xxij. & 28. Sc. *The people of Israel, a type of JESUS CHRIST, SON of the true GOD; even as it is said to SOLOMON, I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son; Chron. xxij. & 18.*

Zacharias, cap. III. Ecce enim adducō servum meum germen; i. e. *For behold, I will bring forth my servant; the branch.*

Ecce ego venire facio servum meum ZERUBABEL germen, qui verum est DAVIDIS germen & CHRISTI regis germen in se continet. *Behold, I will make my servant ZERUBABEL the branch; to come, who is the true*
 I branch

branch of DAVID, and contains in himself the branch of CHRIST our king.

“ Zacharias, cap. IX. Ecce! rex tuus veniet
 “ tibi justus & salvator, humilis & equitans su-
 “ per asinum, &c. i. e. Behold thy king cometh
 unto thee; he is just, having salvation; lovely,
 and riding upon an ass.

“ Matt. XXI. In humili ZERUBABEL in-
 “ dicatur regnaturum germen; i. e. In the
 lowly ZERUBABEL, is shewn the branch that
 was to reign.

“ Johannis, cap. VI. Caro enim mea verè
 “ est cibus; verè non per tropum; i. e. For
 my flesh is meat indeed; indeed, not in figure.

“ The readers will easily perceive, that this
 “ account of SERVETUS's performance upon
 “ the bible, comes from a learned hand: Perhaps
 “ I shall be able, in time, to communicate to
 “ the publick the notes which that physician
 “ added to PTOLEMY's Geography, and which
 “ made CALVIN say, that SERVETUS had
 “ called MOSES, *Vanus praco Judeæ a vain Pa-
 “ negyrist of the land of Canaan.*

* Memoirs
 of Lite-
 rature,
 Vol. III.
 Art. 81.
 Pag. 373.

“ When * M. SIMON published his *French*
 “ translation of the New Testament, with
 “ notes; it was censured by the late bishop of
 “ Meaux, upon these words of St. LUKE's
 “ gospel, chap. i. 35. *The Holy Ghost shall come*
upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall over-
shadow thee: Therefore also that holy Thing that
shall be born of thee, shall be called the SON of
 GOD. “ It is to be found in a book of MI-
 “ CHAEL SERVETUS, who very much in-
 “ sists upon the illative particle *ideo*, and ren-
 “ ders it *quapropter*. Consider (*says he*) the
 “ word *therefore*; observe the inference; mind
 “ the

“ the reason, why JESUS CHRIST is called
 “ SON of GOD. *Pondera verbum quapropter,*
 “ *nota illationem, nota rationem, quare FILIUS DEI*
 “ *vocetur*; though MALDONAT knew that
 “ SERVETUS was the author of that ex-
 “ plication, he did not scruple to follow it, and
 “ undertook to defend it against CALVIN.

* CALVIN acted very unwisely, when to evade * *Ineptè*
 the force of SERVETUS's (the modern Arian's) CALVI-
 argument, he interpreted, shall be called, to be, NUS, ut
 shall be declared the SON of GOD; for how SERVETI
 inconsistent must this interpretation be with the an- novi Ari-
 gel's reason? Therefore that holy Thing, which ani argu-
 shall be born of thee, shall be called the SON mentum
 of GOD. MALDONAT went upon this just effugeret,
 maxim, we must not put a wrong sense upon the interpreta-
 words of Scripture, in order to confute hereticks. tus est vo-
 cabitur, id
 est decla-
 rabitur,

FILIUS DEI, quomodo enim cum hac interpretatione ratio angeli coha-
 rere potest: Ideo quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur FILIUS DEI,
 non debemus sacris literis abutentes hereticos refutare. MALDONAT
 in Loc.

“ † That reformer CALVIN kept a long † *Fidelis*
 “ correspondence with SERVETUS by way of expositio
 “ letter.” He † informs us, that he endea- errorum
 voured, for the space of sixteen years, to re- MICHAELIS
 claim that physician from his errors, Quantâ SERVETIS,
 potui mansuetudine admonui: jam me ante annos &c. among
 sexdecim, non sine præsentis vita discrimine obtulisse CALVIN's
 meam operam, ad eum sanandum; i. e. That he Theological
 had admonished him with all possible candor, p. 836.
 and given him his assistance towards his re- Genevæ,
 covery, not without some imminent hazard of 1576.
 his life. “ SERVETUS writ several letters to † *ibid.*
 “ CALVIN at Geneva, from Lyons and Dau- p. 817.
 “ phinè, and consulted him about several points.

* Ibid. P. 827, 828. " CALVIN * says, that SERVETUS sent the three following questions from Lyons, " desired him to answer them.

" 1. An homo JESUS crucifixus sit FILIUS DEI, & quæ sit hujus filiationis ratio ?

1. *Whether the man JESUS, who was crucified is the SON of GOD? And what is the foundation of that sonship?*

" 2. An regnum CHRISTI sit in hominibus ; quando quis ingrediatur & quando generetur ?

2. *Whether the kingdom of CHRIST is men? When may a man be said to enter into and when to be regenerated?*

" 3. An baptismus CHRISTI debeat in fide fieri, sicut cœna, & quorsum hæc instituta sint fœdere novo ?

3. *Whether the Baptism CHRIST institute ought to be received in faith, even as his supper is and to what purpose these were instituted under the new covenant?*

" CALVIN answered those queries ; but " SERVETUS, far from being satisfied with " his explications , writ to him a second letter, containing a confutation of his answer. " CALVIN being very much displeas'd with " that letter, made a sharp reply to it, as he " himself † owns. Whereupon SERVETUS, " who was no less fiery than his antagonist, " grew very angry with him. CALVIN says, " this dispute occasioned the hatred, which " SERVETUS conceived for him, and complains,

† Ibid. P. 827.

plains, * that that heretick did not cease, * *Ib. p. 835.*
 from that time, to make imprecations
 against him.

“SERVETUS sent a manuscript to CALVIN, to have his judgment about it, six years before he was apprehended at Geneva. That piece was never printed; it was produced against him at his tryal, as I shall shew hereafter. Thus it appears, that a long correspondence between CALVIN and SERVETUS, occasioned, at last, a mutual hatred and animosity, which proved very fatal to the latter.

“CALVIN was so incensed against SERVETUS, that he could not forbear to revile him in his Commentaries upon the Bible. He calls him a profligate fellow, (*un mesçcant garnement*) full of pride, and a dog.

Upon † the first verse of the first chapter † *This is in the edition of the year 1563.*
 of St. JOHN'S gospel. ‡ He wrote those words before SERVETUS came to Geneva, ‡ *Espagnol de nation, nommé*
 for the epistle dedicatory is dated January 1, 1553.

É SERVET, lequel a forgé que ceste parole éternelle a lors feulement commencé d'estre, quand elle s'est manifestée en la creation monde. — L'Evangeliste enseigne bien ici autrement, &c. Or sçay bien que le chien abaye au contraire.

A Spaniard, call'd SERVETUS, has broücht this doctrine, that the eternal word, only then began to be, when he manifested himself in the creation of the world, when St. JOHN means quite otherwise; but now the dog will bark at it.

“VARILLAS * affirms, that there is at * *Histoire de l'heresie ad ann. 1553. p. 350, 351. of the Paris edit. in 4°.*
 Paris an original letter of CALVIN to FAREL, written in 1546, which was never printed, and that these words are to be found in it. SERVETUS has lately writ to
 , and sent me at the same time a large book stuff'd
 with

with idle fancies, and full of arrogance. He says I shall find in it admirable things, and such as have been hitherto unheard of. He offers to come hither, if I like it: but I will not engage my word; for if he comes, and if any regard be had to my authority, I shall not suffer him to escape without losing his life.

*SORBERIANA,
P. 48, 49.
of the
Dutch edi-
tion, 1694.

“SORBIER * mentions the same letter, and says that GROTIUS saw it at Paris, and that these words were in it: “Audio SERVETUM huc venturum, ut mecum conferat, ego, si quid apud magistratus possum, faciam ut nunquam vivus abeat; i. e. I am inform'd that SERVETUS is coming hither, on purpose to have some conversation with me. If I have any influence on the magistrates of Geneva, I will take effectual care that he never goes from hence alive.

“If I am not very much mistaken, I have read this passage in a book of GROTIUS. The book mentioned in the words quoted by VARILLAS, is, without doubt, the manuscript which SERVETUS sent to CALVIN. The date of the letter, viz. 1546, does sufficiently prove it.

“SERVETUS continued to be so fond of his new opinions, that he resolved to publish a third book against the TRINITY, and some other doctrines. That book for which he was burnt at Geneva, came out at Vienne in Dauphine in the beginning of the year 1553, with this title, *Christianissimi Restitutio, &c.* A fuller account of which has been already given in page 30. Besides what I have said there, I shall observe, that he printed a thousand copies; that most of them were burnt at Vienne, with the author's effigies; and at Francfort, which is the reason why “ that

“ that book is so scarce ; * wherein it appears * There
 “ SERVETUS was neither an *Arian* nor a *Photinian* ; was a copy
 “ that he asserted not only the pre-existence of of that book
 “ CHRIST, but also that CHRIST is not a in the year
 “ creature, nor a being of finite power, but 1613, in
 “ true GOD, and that he ought to be wor- the library
 “ shipped as such ; that he expresses himself of the
 “ so confusedly, that 'tis no easy thing to have Landgrave
 “ a notion of his doctrine ; that he calls it a of Hesse-
 “ mystery unknown to the world ; but at the Cassel.
 “ same time owns, that those who acknow-
 “ ledge CHRIST to be only the MESSIAS,
 “ and the SON of GOD, as he is a Man,
 “ may attain to salvation ; that he expresses,
 “ upon all occasions, a great indignation
 “ against the church of *Rome*, and takes it to
 “ be the beast mentioned in the *Apocalypse*.
 “ I shall therefore insert some passages out of
 “ it, as a specimen of his style, and of his
 “ abhorrence for the doctrines and practices of
 “ the church of *Rome*.”

† *The devil*, (says he) *with wonderful artifice, sug-* † Pag. 520.
gests to the minds of the papists the doctrine of making Insigni
prayers for the souls of the dead, that men may fraude
neglect the duties of a good life, whilst they live. (says he)
 papistis
 suggestit

diabolus illa pro mortuis suffragia, ut viventes homines negligant
 bene facere, &c.

‡ *Is it not the vainest conjecture in the world,* ‡ Pag. 534.
a fiction of dæmons, and a certain sign of anti- Annon
christ, to erect the supremacy of the pope, upon vanitatis
some passages only of PETER's faith? To put such est divina-
 tio, dæ-
 a wrong monum-
 figmen-

tum, & antichristi præludens augurium, ex quibusdam fidei PETRI
 testimoniis regium papatum inferre? Theraphiticum scelus ex est
 detortis scripturæ locis idola & cucullas inducere, & traditiones va-
 rias tanto sacrilegio de libro DEI suffurari — In vanum colitur
 DEUS à papistis per papæ doctrinas & mandata hominum, *Matt. xv.*

a wrong sense upon places of scripture, as to make 'em speak in favour of idols and cowles, and sacrilegiously to foist into the book of GOD; such a variety of traditions is monstrous wickedness. — In vain is GOD worshipped by the papists, thro' the doctrines of popes, and the commandments of men; Matt. xv.

* Pag. 502. * Was PETER to see the obominable comedy, as it is acted by his successors, with mitres, and cowles, and shav'd pates, with all their pageant vestments, and all the people, so egregiously guilty of idolatry, he would be struck with astonishment to the last degree. — In their Babilonish mass there is no eucharist, no supper of communion, no charity, no participation of the body of CHRIST. But as in the synagogue of satan, the pitiful priest breaks a little bit of the unleaven'd host, and privately devours it, saying, Corban, i. e. this shall also do you good; so the priests at Rome do no more.

tibus cum vestimentis illis ita celebrari, universo populo tam insigniter idolotantre — nulla in Babylonicâ illâ missâ est eucharistia, nulla communionis cœna, nulla charitas, nulla corporis CHRISTI participatio. Sed velut in synagoga sathanæ, sacrificulus sibi soli frangit totulum azimæ hostiæ & privatim devorat, dicens, Corban, hoc est vobis, etiam proderit.

These passages would have been sufficient to provoke the Roman-catholicks to put him to death, tho' he had not denied the Trinity. SERVETUS appears very devout throughout the whole book; and concludes his whole discourse, concerning the sixty signs of the reign of antichrist, with these words.

† Quisquis vere credit papam esse antichristum, vere quoque credit papisticam Trinitatem, pædobaptismum, & alia papatus sacramenta esse doctrinas dæmoniorum. O CHRISTE JESU, FILI DEI liberater clementissime: qui toties populum ab angustiis liberaisti libera nos miseros ab hac Babylonicâ antichristi captivitatæ, ab hypocrisis ejus, tyrannide & idolatria. Amen.

† Whoever believes, that the pope is antichrist, will

will also believe, that a popish t——ty, infant baptism, and the other sacraments of the papacy, are the doctrines of demons. O! CHRIST JESUS, Son of GOD, most merciful Redeemer, who hast so often delivered thy people from their miseries, deliver us, miserable men, from these Babilonish fetters and shackels of antichrist, from his hypocrisy, tyranny and idolatry. Amen.

SERVETUS believed that the reign of antichrist began in the fourth century, if not sooner. That physician is the first who mentioned the *circulation* of the blood. The passage of his *Christianismi Restitutio* relating to that matter, may be seen in a book of * Dr. * W O T T O N ' S, concerning *antient and modern learning*; which the compiler of this history of SERVETUS's life chooses to transcribe for the entertainment of the *English* reader.

* W O T T O N ' S
of
*antient and
modern
learning.*

p. 229. An.

1697.

‘ Since the antients have no right to so noble a discovery, as that of the circulation of the blood; it may be worth while to enquire, to whom of the moderns the glory of it is due; for this is also exceedingly contested. The first step that was made towards it, was, the finding that the whole mass of the blood passes through the lungs, by the pulmonary artery and vein.

‘ The first that I could ever find who had a distinct *idea* of this matter, was MICHAEL SERVETUS, a *Spanish* physician, who was burnt for *Arianism* at *Geneva*, near one hundred and forty years ago. Well had it been for the church of CHRIST, if he had wholly confined himself to his own profession! His sagacity in this particular, before so much in the dark, gives us great reason to believe, that the world might then had just cause to

* Vide
Sandii Bi-
bliothe-
cam Anti-
trinitario-
rum, p. 13.

‘ have blessed his memory. In a book of his,
‘ entitled, *Christianismi Restitutio*, printed in the
‘ year MDLIII. * He clearly asserts, that the
‘ blood passes through the lungs, from the left
‘ to the right ventricle of the heart, and not
‘ through the *partition* which divides the two
‘ ventricles, as was at that time commonly
‘ believed. How he introduces it, or in
‘ which of the six discourses into which SER-
‘ VETUS divides his book, it is to be found,
‘ I know not; having never seen the book my
‘ self.

‘ Mr. CHARLES BERNARD, a very learn-
‘ ed and eminent Surgeon of *London*, who
‘ did me the favour to communicate this pas-
‘ sage to me (set down in the margin at
‘ length) which was transcribed out of SER-
‘ VETUS, could inform me no further, only
‘ that he had it from a learned friend of his,
‘ who had himself copied it from SER-
‘ VETUS.

The author of this history having (since
Mr. WOTTON'S quotation) seen another, *viz.*
in the *Bibliographiæ Anatomicæ Specimen*, or a
catalogue of almost all the authors who have
expresly or occasionally been famous in anatomy,
down from HIPPOCRATES to HARVEY;
by JAMES DOUGLAS, M. D. Soc. R. S.
in 8vo. p. 85. He chooses to give that of the
latter. Dr. DOUGLAS having said, that
SERVETUS was a *Spaniard*, an able physi-
cian, an heretick, and that he was burnt at
Geneva in the year 1553, at the earnest solici-
tation of CALVIN, adds, that SERVETUS
had published two pieces; one of which was
intituled, *De Trinitatis erroribus Libri Septem.* and
the other, *Christianismi Restitutio*, and that they
were

were printed at *Bafil*; tho' it is certain, as before, that the first was printed at *Haguenaw* in *Alsatia*, and the second at *Viennè* in *Dauphinè*. Dr. DOUGLAS observes, that SERVETUS was apprized of the *circulation* of the blood; and it was from thence, no doubt, that he says, that passage was found in the 5th book of SERVETUS's *Restitution of Christianity*.

SERVETUS saith, that there are three sorts of spirits in the human body, * viz. * Natural, vital, and animal, which are not in reality three, but two distinct spirits only; the arteries communicating by *anastomosis*, the vital spirit to the veins, in which it is call'd *natural*. The first spirit then is the blood, whose seat is in the liver, and in the veins of the body; the second is the *vital* spirit, whose seat is in the heart and the arteries; the third is the *animal* spirit, whose seat is in the brain and nerves.

K 2

That
ab arteriis
communi-

catur, in quibus dicitur naturalis. Primus ergo est sanguis, cujus sedes est in hepate, & corporis venis. Secundus est spiritus vitalis, cujus sedes est in corde & corporis arteriis. Tertius est spiritus animalis, cujus sedes est in cerebro & corporis nervis.

Ut autem intelligatur quomodo sanguis sit ipsissima vita, prius cognoscenda est substantialis generatio ipsius vitalis spiritus, qui ex aere inspirato & subtilissimo sanguine componitur & nutritur. Vitalis spiritus in sinistro cordis ventriculo, suam originem habet, juvantibus maxime pulmonibus, ad ipsius perfectionem, est spiritus, tenuis caloris vi elaboratus, flavo colore, igneâ potentiâ, ut sit quasi, ex puriore sanguine lucens vapor substantiam continens, aquæ, aeris, & ignis. Generatur ex facta in pulmone commixtione, inspirati aeris, tum elaborato subtili sanguine, quem dexter ventriculus sinistro communicat.

Fit autem communicatio hæc non per parietem cordis medium, ut vulgo creditur, sed magno artificio à dextro cordis ventriculo, longo per pulmones ductu agitatur sanguis subtilis. A pulmonibus præparatur, flavus efficitur & à vena arteriosa in arteriam venosam transfunditur; deinde in ipsa arteria venosa inspirato aeri miscetur,

&

& expiratione a fuligine expurgatur. Atque ita tandem a sinistro cordis ventriculo totum mixtum per diastolen attrahitur, apta supellex ut fiat spiritus vitalis.

Quod ita per pulmones fiat communicatio & præparatio, docet conjunctio varia & communicatio venæ arteosæ cum arteria venosa in pulmonibus.

Confirmat hoc magnitudo insignis venæ arteriosæ quæ nec talis nec tanta facta esset, nec tantam a corde ipso vim purissimi sanguinis in pulmones emitteret, ob solum eorum nutrimentum; nec cor pulmonibus hac ratione ferviret, cum præsertim antea in embryone solerent pulmones ipsi aliunde nutriri ob membranas seu — cordis usque ad horum nativitatem; ut docet GALENUS.

PAULÒ infrà. Ille itaq; spiritus vitalis a sinistro cordis ventriculo in arterias totius corporis deinde transfunditur, ita ut qui tenuior est, superiora petit, ubi magis elaboratur, præcipue in plexu retiformi sub basi cerebri cito, ubi ex vitali fieri incipit animalis, ad propriam rationalis animæ rationem accedens.

‘ That we may therefore conceive how the
 ‘ blood comes to be the very life; we must
 ‘ first know, that the substantial generation of
 ‘ the vital spirit itself is made and nourished
 ‘ by the inspired air, and the most subtil blood.
 ‘ The vital spirit hath its origin from the left
 ‘ ventricle of the heart, but its perfection
 ‘ chiefly from the lungs: It is a fine spirit,
 ‘ produced by the power of a gentle heat, of
 ‘ a bright colour, of an igneous quality; and
 ‘ is, as it were, a lucid vapour from the purest
 ‘ blood, having the substance of water, air,
 ‘ and fire. It is generated by the air, which
 ‘ we inspire, mixt in the lungs with the elabo-
 ‘ rated subtil blood, which the right ventricle
 ‘ communicates to the left.

‘ Now this communication is not made
 ‘ through the *septum* of the heart, as ’tis com-
 ‘ monly believed; but the subtil blood is dri-
 ‘ ven by a wonderful contrivance, from the
 ‘ right ventricle of the heart, through a long
 ‘ duct, into the lungs, by which it is pre-
 ‘ pared

pared, and made bright; then it passeth
 from the * *vena arteriosa* into the *arteria ve-* * *Pulmo-*
nosa; there it mixeth with inspired air, and *nary arte-*
 is purged from its *fuligo* by expiration. *ry; pulmo-*
 Lastly, the whole mixture is brought into *nary vein.*
 the left ventricle of the heart by *diastole*, and
 is become fit matter to produce the vital spirit.

That the communication and the prepara-
 tion, are made through the lungs, we learn,
 from the various conjunction and communi-
 cation of the *vena arteriosa* with the *arteria*
venosa in the lungs; this is confirmed by the
 considerable bigness of the *vena arteriosa*,
 which hath never been so large, nor would
 send forth from the heart into the lungs,
 such a quantity of the pure blood, was it
 only for the nourishment of the lungs; nor
 would the heart serve the lungs upon that
 account, since the lungs themselves in an
embryo, till the time of its birth, do receive
 their nutrition from something else, because
 of the little membranes of the heart, ac-
 cording to *GALENUS*.

A little after he adds, that vital spirit
 therefore is transfus'd from the left ven-
 tricle of the heart into the the arteries of the
 whole body, in such a manner, that the most
 subtil portion of it flies upward, where it
 is further refined, especially in the † *plexus* † *Rete mi-*
retiformis, under the basis of the *cerebrum*, *rabile.*
 where the vital spirit begins to be changed
 into the animal one, drawing nearer to the
 true nature of a rational soul.

This is that famous passage of *SERVETUS*,
 which is so much taken notice of, on ac-
 count of the circulation of the blood. There
 are

are indeed several things here that are very remarkable, *viz.* that the blood, in a great stream, passes through a very large and wide duct, from the right ventricle of the heart, into the lungs; that there the blood is purified; that from thence it is driven, by the pulmonary vein, into the left ventricle of the heart; that there is an immediate communication between the arteries and the veins, by *anastomasis*; that the most pure part of the blood, refined in the lungs, enters the arteries, and from the arteries into the veins, &c. This shews that *SERVETUS* was a great observer of nature, and no doubt would have improved those notions, and carried them much further, had he not been prevented by an untimely death. However, a learned physician, a friend of mine, makes this just and judicious remark, *viz.* that it appears, that though *SERVETUS* had some knowledge of the circulation of the blood; yet it must be own'd, that it was very imperfect, intricate, and considerably short of the clear and full discovery made by our learned *HARVEY*, and others: For, *1st*, the perfection that he supposes the blood acquires in the lungs, is only to be freed from an imaginary *fuligo*; whereas the true perfection consists in dividing the particles of the blood, and in mixing the globular particles exactly with the *serum*, as a mill-stone grinds corn, &c. *2dly*, He does not seem to assert, that the blood, as blood, is driven into the arteries and veins, but only a certain vapour, bright and igneous, &c. but this must be referr'd to the learned gentlemen,

gentlemen, who make it their business to enquire into these parts of nature.

The author of the *Bibliothèque Angloise* * * *Bibliothèque Angloise, P. 101.* says, that ‘SERVETUS was a subtil metaphysician, as it appears from the whole tenour of his 4th book of the Trinity; from whence it is plain, that he had read the schoolmen, and many of the fathers; that he was a great enemy to the doctrine of absolute predestination, and a patron of liberty; that he understood the *Hebrew* tongue; that he believed the soul to be material; and that what he saith of the nature of the soul, and of the holy spirit, is not very intelligible.

“SERVETUS was more cautious than he had been twenty-two years before; for he did not put his name to his last book. However, he was not unwilling to be thought the author of it; for MICHAEL is one of the interlocutors of one of the two dialogues inserted in that work; and PETER, the other interlocutor, and begins with these words, *En adest, SERVETUS est, quem ego quærebam; i. e. Here he is, it is SERVETUS himself, the very man I was enquiring after.* Tho’ the *Christianismi Restitutio* was printed very privately, CALVIN was informed that SERVETUS was the author of it, and had a copy sent to him; whereupon he desired a man, named WILLIAM TRIE, to write a letter to Lyons in March 1553, wherein SERVETUS was represented as a very pernicious man. That letter was attended with the title page, the index, and the first leaves of the book.

“SERVETUS

THE HISTORY

" SERVETUS complained of it upon his tryal
 " at *Geneva*, and said that CALVIN had
 " sent those sheets to *Lyons* to have him ar-
 " rested, and prosecuted as an heretick.
 " About a fortnight after CALVIN sent, by
 " the same man, above twenty *latin* letters,
 " which he had received from SERVETUS,
 " that he might be the better convicted of
 " his heresy. Those letters were mentioned
 " in the sentence pronounced against him at
 " *Vienne*.

" CALVIN succeeded in his design : SER-
 " VETUS was, in the beginning of *June*, ap-
 " prehended at *Vienne* by vertue of WIL-
 " LIAM TRIE's letters. The following cir-
 " cumstances are very remarkable: The vice-
 " bailiff carried him to prison, as if it had
 " been to visit a sick person, and ordered the
 " goaler to use him well. His own servant
 " was allowed to lie in his chamber, and
 " every body had the liberty to see him. The
 " author of the *Biblioteque Angloise* saith, that
 " as SERVETUS was an able physician, so he
 " had, no doubt, a great many friends at
 " *Vienne*. SERVETUS was not long under
 " confinement: Two days after, upon a *Fri-*
 " *day*, about nine of the clock in the morn-
 " ing, having asked the goaler the key of
 " the house of office, he made his escape
 " through it.

" The magistrates being informed that he
 " had run away, met on the 17th of *June*,
 " and condemed him to be burned alive, with
 " a slow fire, if he could be apprehended;
 " and in the mean time to be burnt in effigie,
 " with his books. Accordingly, on the same
 " day, his effigies being laid upon a cart, was
 " carried

“ carried to the place of execution, fastened
 “ to a gibbet, and burnt with five bales of his
 “ books. Here follows the sentence pro-
 “ nounced against him.

“ * Between the procurator of
 “ king † *Daulphin* plaintiff, upon
 “ the scandalous crime of heresy,
 “ dogmatifation, composition of
 “ new doctrines, and heretical
 “ books, schifm, and perturbation
 “ of union and publick peace, re-
 “ bellion and disobedience to the
 “ ordinances made against heresies,
 “ effraction and evasion from the
 “ royal *Delphinal* prisons on the one
 “ part, and Mr. MICHAEL SUR-
 “ VETS de VILLENEUFUE,
 “ physician, late prisoner in the
 “ *Delphinal* palace at *Vienne*, and
 “ at present a fugitive, on account
 “ of the said crimes, on the other
 “ part.

† *Vienne is in Dau-
 phiné, an archbishoprick,
 and the capital city; it is
 situated upon the Rhone,
 about thirty-five miles from
 Lyons. That province was
 formerly independent on the
 French kings, having so-
 vereign princes of its own,
 called Dauphins. But
 HUMBERT, the last
 Dauphin, having had the
 misfortune of dropping his
 only son into the Rhone,
 entered into a monastery,
 anno 1349, and gave his
 country unto PHILIP of
 Valois, the French king;
 on condition, that the eldest
 son of the king should be
 called Dauphin for ever
 after. Nor are any edicts
 or declarations of the*

L The

*French kings in force in that province, except in them they be stiled Dau-
 phins of Viennois. And this is the reason, that in the sentence against
 SERVETUS, mention is made of HENRY the II. under the name
 of king Dauphin.*

I shall make no alteration in the orthography.

* *Entre le procureur du roy Daulphin demandeur en crime d' he-
 resie scandaleuse, dogmatifation, composition de nouvelles doctrines
 & livres heretiques schifme & perturbation de l' union & repos pub-
 liques, rebellion & desobeissance aux ordonnances faictes contre
 es heresies, effraction & evasion de prisons royales Delphinales,
 d' une part; & Mre MICHEL de VILLENEUFUE medecin, parcy
 devant prisonnier aux prisone du pallaix Delphinal de Vienne, & a
 present fugitif a cause desdits crimes, d' autre.*

Veü par nous les pieces justificatives desdites heresies, mesmes les epistres & escritures de la main dudit VILLENEUFUE adressee, a Mr. JEHAN CALVIN prescheur de *Geneve*, & par le dit de VILLENEUFUE recogneues, ses reponces, confessions & negations, les reponces & autres procedures concernant BALTHASARD ARNOLLET imprimeur, certaines balles & livres imprimez, desquels l'intitulation est *Christianismi Restitutio*, les tesmoins examinez sur ce que le dit de VILLENEUFUE avoit compose & fait imprimer ledit livre à ses despens, les rapports des docteurs en theologie & autres personnes notables sur les erreurs contenus audit livre & epistres. Et lesquels erreurs & heresies sont d'ailleurs manifestes par la lectures d'yceux.

Faiçtes sur l'evasion des prisons & diligences de apprehender ledit VILLENEUFUE adjournement a troys briefs jours & defauts sur iceux abtennus, recollemens des tesmoins, conclusions diffinitives dudit procureur du roy *Daulphin*, tout se qui a esté remys par devers nous, le tout consideré, nous avons dict & disons les dictes defauts avoir esté bien & deuement obtenus, pour le profit desquels nous avons forclos, & forcluons ledit de VILLENEUFUE de toutes exceptions & defences, declairé & declairons alleint & convaincu des cas & crimes a luy imposez, pour reparation desquels nous l'avons condamné & condamnons assavoir pour le regard de l'amende pecuniaire en la somme de mille livres tournois d'amende envers le roy *Daulphin*, cela estre incontinent qu'il sera apprehendé, conduyt sur un tumbereau avec ses livres a jour & heure de marché des la porte du pallaix *Delphinal* par les carrefours & lieux accoutumez jusques au lieu de la Hale de la presente cité, & subsequemment en la place appellée d'*Charneve*, & illec estre bruslé tout vif a petit feu, tellement que son corpes soit mis en cendre. Cependant sera la presente sentence executée en effigie, avecques laquelle seront seditz livres bruslés. Et si l'avons condamné & condamnons es despens & frais de justice, desquels nous reservons la taxe, declairans tous & chacun ses biens acqys & confisqués au proffit de qui appartiendra, lesdits frais de justice & amende sur iceux biens au prealable livrés & payés. De la cour vybally & juge *Delphinal*. GRATER assesseur. CARVER assesseur. PUTOD assesseur. DU PRAT assesseur. ADEBAIS assesseur. BERAND assesseur. PHINERET assesseur. TAMPTESIEU PASSARD assesseur. BERTIER assesseur. P. le COURT assesseur. LOYS MARCEL assesseur. CHRISTOFFLE assesseur. Publiée ladite sentence en plein jugement à l'audiance dudit procureur du roy *Daulphin*. Nous vybally & juge surdit seans dans l'auditoire du pallaix *Delphinal* de *Vienne* le dix septieme jour du mois de juing l'an mille cinq cens cinquante troys. Presens a ce Mefrs. PHILIBERT COLLINS, ALEXANDRE ROLLAND, CLAUDI MAGUIN, CHARLES PERDOMEY, PIERRE des VIGNES, & plusieurs autres praticiens de *Vienne* illec estans, & moy greffier soubsigné CHASALIS.

Dudi

Dudit jour environ l'heure de mydy après que l'effigie dudit VILLENEUFUE avoir esté faicte au devant dudit pallaix *Delphinal*, icelle effigie par FRANÇOIS BERODE executeur de la haute justice, lequel l'on a envoyé querir à ces fins, a esté mise sur un tombe-
reau avec cinq basses des livres composés par icelluy VILLE-
NEUFUE, & apres ledit tombereau, chargé desdits effigie & livres,
a esté conduyt & mené par ledit executeur des la porte dudit pallaix
par les carrefours & lieux accoutumés jusques au lieu de la hale de la
presente cite de *Vienne*, & subsequment en la place appellée la
charneve, dans laquelle ladite effigie a esté attaché à une potence
expresement érigée & après bruslée avec lesdits livres a petit feu par
ledit executeur, lequel, a mis a deue & entiere execution ladite sen-
tence pour le regard de ladite effigie, selon la forme & teneur, en
presence de GUIGUES AMBROSIN crieur & trompette de *Vienne*,
CLAUDE REYMET, MICHAEL BASSET sergens royaulx *Del-*
phinaultx, SERMET des CHAMS . . . de *Vienne*, & de plusieurs
aultres gens illec assembles pour voir faire ladite execution. Ainsi à
este procedé & par moy greffier soubnomme receu CHASALIS.
Extrait des registres de la cour du balliage de *Vienne* par moy greffier
soubsigne, CHASALIS.

‘ The pieces justifying the said heresies
‘ having been laid before us, and also the
‘ epistles and manuscripts of the said VILLE-
‘ NEUFUE, directed to Mr. JOHN CALVIN,
‘ preacher at *Geneva*, and recognized by the
‘ said VILLENEUFUE; his answers, confes-
‘ sions, and negations; the responses, and
‘ other procedures concerning BALTHASARD
‘ ARNOLLET, printer, certain bales and
‘ books printed; the title of which is *Chri-*
‘ *stianismi Restitutio*; the witnesses having been
‘ examined upon the matter that the said
‘ VILLENEUFUE had composed, and caused
‘ the said book to be printed at his own charge,
‘ the reports of the doctors of divinity, and
‘ other notable persons, touching the errors
‘ contained in the said book and epistles: And
‘ these errors and heresies are manifest by the
‘ reading of the aforesaid pieces. Having, upon
‘ the escape out of prison, used all dilligence

' to apprehend him the said VILLENEUFUE,
 ' and issued summons for his appearance with-
 ' in three days, and defaults thereon being
 ' obtained, the witnesses being re-examined,
 ' made the definite conclusion of the said
 ' procurator of king *Daulphin*, and all that
 ' has been laid before us; the whole having
 ' been considered, we have declared, and do
 ' declare the said defaults to have been well and
 ' duly obtained; for the sake of which, we
 ' have fore-closed, and do fore-close the said
 ' VILLENEUFUE from all exceptions and
 ' defences; we have declared, and do declare
 ' him attainted and convicted of the matter
 ' and crimes laid to his charge; for the repara-
 ' tion of which, we have condemned him,
 ' and do condemn him; to wit, in a pecuniary
 ' mulct of a thousand livers, to be paid to the
 ' king *Daulphin*; and as soon as he shall be
 ' taken, he shall be drawn in a dung-cart,
 ' with his books, on the market-day and hour,
 ' from the gate of the *Delphinal* palace,
 ' through the streets, and accustomed places,
 ' to the common hall of the present city; and
 ' from thence to the place called the *Charneve*,
 ' and there he shall be burnt alive, with a
 ' slow fire, until his body shall be reduced to
 ' ashes: In the mean time the present sentence
 ' shall be executed in effigy, with which the
 ' said books shall be burnt; and we have con-
 ' demned him, and do condemn him to de-
 ' fray the charge of the law, of which we re-
 ' serve the taxation; declaring all and singular
 ' his goods got and confiscated, for the ad-
 ' vantage of whomsoever they shall belong to.
 ' The aforesaid charges of the law and fine
 ' upon the said goods, being first of all levied
 ' and

and paid. Done at the court, the vice bailiff,
 and *Delphinal* judge, GRATER, CARVER,
 PUTOD, Du PRAT, ADEBAIS, BERAND,
 PHI. NERET, TAMPTESIEU PASSARD,
 BERTIER, P. le COURT, LOYS MARCET,
 CHRISTOPHER, assessors. The said sen-
 tence being publish'd in full judgement, in
 the audience of the said procurator of
 king *Daulphin*, we the vice-bailiff, and judge
 aforesaid, sitting in the court of the *Del-*
phinal palace of *Vienne*, the seventeenth day
 of the month of *June*, in the year one thou-
 sand five hundred fifty three. Present to this
 were, PHILIBERT COLLINS, ALEXANDER
 ROLLAND, CLAUDE MAGUIN, CHAR.
 PERDOMEY, PETER de VIGNES, and
 divers others, practitioners of law at *Vienne*;
 and I the register under-written, CHASALIS.

On the said day, about noon, as soon as
 the effigies of the said VILLENEUFUE was
 made at the said *Delphinal* palace. The said
 effigie was, by the hand of FRANCIS BE-
 RODE, the common hangman, whom they
 had sent for to that end, put in a dung-cart,
 with five bales of books made by the said
 VILLENEUFUE; and afterwards the said
 dung cart, loaded with the said effigies and
 books, was conducted and drawn by the
 said executioner, from the gate of the said
 palace, through the streets and the accustomed
 places, to the hall of the present city of
Vienna, and afterwards to the place called the
Charneve, in which place the said effigies was
 tied to a gibbet, erected for that very pur-
 pose; and then burnt with a slow fire, toge-
 ther with the said books, by the said execu-
 tioner,

*Effigies
 Books
 Burnt*

' tioner, who did duly and compleatly execute
 ' the said sentence, with respect to the said
 ' effigies, according to due form and tenure, in
 ' the presence of GUIGUES AMBROSIN,
 ' cryer and bell-man of *Vienne*; CLAUDE
 ' REYMET, MICHEL BASSET, royal *Del-*
 ' *phinal* sergeants; SERMET de CHAMS
 ' of *Vienne*, and many other spectators of
 ' the said execution. This was the process,
 ' and received by me, the register under-
 ' named, CHASALIS. An extract of the
 ' registers of the court of the bailiffwick of
 ' *Vienne*, by me the register under-written,
 ' CHASALIS.

" When this sentence was pronounced
 " against SERVETUS, it was a common
 " thing to burn the protestants in *France*.
 " That very year many of them were slain for
 " the word of GOD, and the testimony which
 " they held.

* Fidelis
 expositio
 errorum,
 SERVET.
 p. 827.

* CALVIN, towards the conclusion of that
 part of his treatise, wherein he endeavours to
 defend this proposition; *That christian magi-*
strates have a power lodged in them, to inflict capi-
tal punishments on hereticks, makes this observation:

† Verum
 quicquid
 de jure

' † That whatever he had advanced in sup-
 ' port

magistratum probatum sit, me propria invidia, qua gravior apud
 multos, non levat. Nihil minus decuisse aiunt, quam ut SERVETUM
 professis CHRISTI hostibus quasi immanibus bestiis objicerem.
 Mea enim opera factum fuisse affirmant, ut Viennæ in provincia
Lugdunensi captus fuerit. Sed unde mihi tanta cum papæ satellitio
 repente familiaritas? Unde etiam tanta gratia? Scilicet credibile
 erit, literas inter eos ultro citroque volitare, quibus non minus est
 inter se dissidium quam CHRISTO cum BELIAL. Quare plu-
 ribus verbis tam futilem calumniam refellere nihil attinet, quæ sim-
 plici negatione fracta concidit. Jam fluxerunt anni quatuor ex quo
 hanc de me fabulam commentus est SERVETUS ipse, & spargen-
 dum

dum *Venetis* curavit quanquam odiumne mihi de nihilo malignè conflare voluerit, an falsò suspicatus sit quod scribebat non disputo. Tantum quæro si jam tunc meo judicio proditus fuerat, qui factum est, ut triennium quietus & sine molestia ante hostium oculos transigeret.

port of such a power, it did not at all relieve him under that burthen of invidious reflections, which many then cast upon him; objecting to him, that *SERVETUS* had been apprehended at *Vienne* by his means, and that he had delivered him into the hands of the professed enemies of *CHRIST*, which was much the same as if he had exposed him to wild beasts. *CALVIN* makes a very lame defence upon this head: He wonders how it should come to pass, that all of a sudden there should start up so great familiarity and friendship between him and the guardians of the papacy? Will it ever be believ'd, *says he*, that there is such a free correspondence kept up by way of letters between me and them, who are not less at variance, one with another, than *CHRIST* is with *BELIAL*? Whereas, indeed, there is nothing more wanting to refute such a foolish calumny, than the bare denial of it: (He adds) that *SERVETUS* had four years before spread this report among the Roman catholicks; and that if he had informed against him then, the papists would hardly have spared him without meddling with him for three years together.' But all this, and more that *CALVIN* adds, does not at all clear him from the imputation. The question was, whether or no *CALVIN* had given any information to the Roman catholicks concerning *SERVETUS*'s being an heretick? He should

should have answered that question in the affirmative, or in the negative. *However, it is certain that SERVETUS was imprisoned at Vienne by means of CALVIN's information. The prisoner laid this to his charge in a full court, and it does not appear that CALVIN does in so many words deny it. Besides, in the sentence pronounced against SERVETUS at Vienne, mention is made of the letters and books written by SERVETUS's own hand, and sent by him to CALVIN. (Les epîtres & ecritures de la main de SERVETUS adresses a CALVIN prescheur de Geneve & par ledit SERVETUS reconnues).* But after all the above trifling of that reformer, he saith,

* Nec vero si verè id mihi obijcerent, putarem esse negandi causam, qui non diffimulo, me autore factum esse ut in hac urbe deprensus ad causam dicendam postularetur obstrepant licet vel male-

voli, vel maledici homines, ego libenter fateor ac præ me fero (quia secundum urbis leges aliter cum homine jure agi non poterat) ex me prodiisse accusatorem: nec inficior meo consilio dictatam esse formulam, qua paterficeret aliquis in causam ingressus.

† Hoc tantum in presentia testatum volo me non ita capitaliter fuisse infestum, quin licitum fuerit vel solâ modestia, nisi mente privatus foret, vitam redimere. Sed nescio quid dicam, nisi fatali infania fuisse correptum, ut se præcipitem jaceret. Nam quum post octo

* Nor yet, was, what these men object to me really fact, should I think I have any manner of reason to deny it, since I do not pretend to deny that I was the cause of his being apprehended in this city, that he might be put upon his tryal. Let men of impious minds, and malignant tongues, exclaim against me never so much, I frankly own, and openly profess, (because, according to the laws of this city, the man could not otherwise have justice done him) that it was long of me that the plaintiff appeared against him; nor do I deny that the form of his indictment was drawn up by my advice. And in the same page he adds, † This I will

ucto dies iterum esset productus, & libera conferendi nobiscum illi daretur facultas, se tristitia & curis impediri prætexuit — itaque probabilis suspicio est alicunde vanâ fiduciâ inflatum fuisse quæ illum perdidit.

‘ will only give my word for at present, that
 ‘ I was not so mortally enraged against him,
 ‘ but that had he not been lost to all sense, it
 ‘ was in his power to have saved his life, by
 ‘ his modesty alone. Nor do I know what to
 ‘ say, unless it be this, that he precipitated
 ‘ himself to his end by his own fatal madness:
 ‘ For when he was to have been brought be-
 ‘ fore us a second time, eight days after the
 ‘ first, and he had full liberty allowed him of
 ‘ conversing freely with us; he excused him-
 ‘ self under the pretence of his being hindered
 ‘ by the weight of his afflictions; tho’ the
 ‘ most probable conjecture in this matter, is,
 ‘ that he was infatuated to his destruction,
 ‘ from a groundless confidence of his escaping
 ‘ some other way.

This is only a part of the weak apology that this reformer makes for his imbruing his hands in the blood of SERVETUS, whom in the same page he calls, in ridicule, the holy martyr of his party; *sancto suo martyri*. I shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to quote some more passages out of this treatise of CALVIN.

In the mean time, let us go on from the process against SERVETUS and his execution in effigie at *Vienne*, towards that more real and tragical one at *Geneva*.

“ * Dr. SERVETUS having made his escape * Bibliothèque Angloise, vol. II. p. 109.
 ‘ from the prison of *Vienne*, resolved to retire
 ‘ to *Naples*, and to practise physick among
 ‘ his country-men in that city. He took the
 ‘ way

“ way of *Geneva*, and arrived there on foot,
 “ having left off riding at a place called *Le*
 “ *Luyset*, where he lay the night before ; he
 “ lodged at the *Rose-Inn*, designing to hire a
 * Il dit a “ boat the next day in his way to *Zurich* *. I
 ses juges “ have not been able to know upon what day
 qu’il avoit “ he came to *Geneva*. ’Tis highly probable,
 déjà parlé “ that he rather chose to go to *Naples*, by the
 à l’hôtesse, “ way of *Switzerland*, than by that of *Pied-*
 pour trou- “ *mont*, because he hoped, that in case he
 ver une “ should be discovered, the protestants would
 barque, “ be more merciful to him than the roman
 qui le me- “ catholicks ; but he was very much mistaken ;
 nât par le “ for CALVIN being informed that he was in
 lac aussi “ town, acquainted the first *Syndic* with it,
 haut qu’il “ and caused him to be apprehended. He
 feroit pos- “ was immediately committed to prison. He
 sible, pour “ had about him ninety-seven gold pieces ; a
 prendre la “ gold chain, weighing about twenty crowns,
 route de “ and six gold rings. It was reported, † in
 Zurich, & “ *Switzerland*, that SERVETUS went to
 qu’il se te- “ church, and was from thence carried to
 noit caché “ prison : But ’tis certain, by his own con-
 à Geneve, “ fession, that he did not appear any where
 afin de “ in publick, for fear of being discovered.
 s’en pou- “
 voir aller “
 sans estre “
 reconnu ; “
 i. e. He “
 tells his “

judges, that he had before spoke to his hostess, upon his first coming there, to get him a boat that should carry him up the lake, as high as possible, in the way to Zurich, and that he kept himself incognito at Geneva, that he might get thither without being discovered. Biblioteque Angloise, ibid.

† This circumstance is to be found in a book entituled, *Contra libellum CALVINI, in quo ostendere conatur, hereticos jure gladii coercendos esse ; i. e. An answer to CALVIN’S book, in which CALVIN attempts to shew, that hereticks are to be forced by the power of the sword. That book was printed in Switzerland, in the year 1554, and re-printed in Holland in the year 1612, in 12mo. I make use of this last edition, Numb. 61.*

‡ Bib. Ang. It is surprizing (says that judicious ‡ author
 vol. II. in his *Biblioteque Angloise*) that SERVETUS
 p. 110. should

should go by the way of *Geneva*. He knew that *CALVIN* was his great enemy; he knew he had been apprehended in *France* by the intrigues of that reformer: He could not be ignorant that *CALVIN* had a great authority at *Geneva*, &c. It is very difficult to justify *Dr. SERVETUS* from being guilty of great imprudence. I shall only observe, that he designed to make no stay at *Geneva*, that he might very well hope he should not be discovered in so short a time; and that in all probability, he did not think he should be prosecuted in that city, for a book which he had printed in *France*.

Upon these incidents, I can hardly forbear giving vent to some such reflections as these; That the rigid Calvinists will, (in imitation of their master) from whom they take their name, say, that *SERVETUS*, so great an heretick, and one that was self-condemned, *dislonglaxel*⊙, was judicially blinded, it must be an infatuation from the just hand of *GOD*; and no doubt it was pre-determined, that he should be thus surprized, and that we ought to admire and adore the wisdom and goodness of providence, in taking care, after such a signal manner, of the security of his church, against the pernicious and soul-destroying errors of such an an heretick. But not to entertain the reader's mind with such wild, enthusiastick notions of *GOD* and his governance, I add my wishes to those of the learned gentleman I quote; when he says, It were wished, that *CALVIN* had caused that heretick to be apprehended; not in order to get him prosecuted and condemned to death, but to reclaim him from his heresy.

“ As that illustrious reformer was a man of
 “ great parts, so he might have made an ex-
 “ cellent discourse in the presence of SERVE-
 “ TUS, and of all the magistrates of *Geneva* :
 “ He might have represented to that physician,
 “ that the doctrine of the Trinity was not a
 “ popish doctrine, as he pretended, but the
 “ common opinion of all christian churches ;
 “ that a mystery ought not to be rejected,
 “ merely because it is incomprehensible ; that
 “ we believe many things in nature, tho’ they
 “ are above the reach of human reason ; that
 “ his own system was extremely obscure, and
 “ almost unintelligible ; that he was very
 “ much to blame for using many unbecoming
 “ expressions, which no body can justify ;
 “ that he was transported with violent and
 “ indiscreet zeal ; that he ought to esteem it
 “ a very great happiness, that he was not per-
 “ mitted to fall a sacrifice to the fury of men,
 “ drunk with the blood of the martyrs ; that
 “ for his own part he blessed G O D for his de-
 “ liverance, hoping it would be a warning to
 “ him, and a powerful means to reclaim him
 “ from his errors ; that he was glad to see
 “ him in a protestant city, among those chri-
 “ stians, who do not desire the death of an
 “ heretick, but rather that he should be con-
 “ verted and live, &c. &c. I should be won-
 “ derfully pleased to find a discourse of this
 “ nature among the works of that great man.

But instead of such a christian application,
 the very reverse appears in all CALVIN’S
 writings that relate to Dr. SERVETUS : No-
 thing but bitter invectives, hard names, false
 insinuations, ungoverned passion, and invete-
 rate

rate rancor, could this learned physician meet withal from the great CALVIN.

“ It being requisite that some body should
 “ prosecute SERVETUS, in order to bring
 “ him to his trial, one NICOLAS de la FON-
 “ TAINÉ, born at *St. Gervais*, in that part
 “ of the isle of *France* called the *Vexin Fran-*
 “ *çois*, * set up for his accuser, and prosecuted * CALVIN
 “ him in his own name; it appears then that *confesses*
 “ he was all along directed by CALVIN. I can *that he*
 “ hardly believe that he was CALVIN’s cook, *himself pro-*
 “ as it is affirmed in the book † which I have *cured this*
 “ quoted; which says, ‘ Whether CALVIN’s *accuser as*
 “ cook was capable of giving any judgement *above. Re-*
 “ of SERVETUS’s errors about the Trinity, *futatio er-*
 “ about the doctrine of fate, and about the most *rorum MI-*
 “ obscure questions of that kind, (in the discus- *CHAELIS*
 “ sion of which, the church hath been for so *SERVE-*
 “ many ages hitherto fatigued) and should throw *TI, p. 827.*
 “ the first stone at him; or whether he ought *Fateor, &*
 “ not to be liable to the same punishment as a *præ me*
 “ false witness, is left to the judgement of those, *fero ex me*
 “ who were acquainted with the ignorance of *prodiise*
 “ the man. Again, whether it is not very in- *accusato-*
 “ consistent with the character of a pastor of *rem. I*
 “ a church of CHRIST, to entice a servant *profess, be-*
 “ that belongs to his kitchen, to act the part *fore all the*
 “ of *world, that*
 “ *I engaged*
 “ *one to be*
 “ *his accuser.*
 “ † AN CAL-
 “ of VINI CO-
 “ quus potu-

erit de SERVETI erroribus circa Trinitatem, & fatum, & ejus generis obscurissimas quæstiones (in quibus tot jam seculis sudavit ecclesia) judicare, & primus lapidem jacere, aut ut falsus testis eodem supplicio affici, iis judicandum relinquo, qui norunt hominis ignorantiam, item an pastori licuerit, ex culina sua accusatorem ei capitis depromere, judicent ii qui apostolorum mores ingenique norunt, coquus ille non est accusator, sed muta persona, & accusatoris larva, ut ea deceptus magistratus pateretur verum accusatorem CALVINUM totam SERVETI causam agere; id quod ei non licuisset, si secundum urbis legem fuisset ipsemet in vinculis. Contra libellum CALVINI, &c. Numb. 131.

‘ of an accuser in a capital crime; let them
 ‘ judge, who know the manners and disposi-
 ‘ tion of the apostles? But that cook was not
 ‘ his real accuser, only one that personated an
 ‘ accuser; that the magistracy, being imposed
 ‘ upon by that falacy, might suffer CALVIN,
 ‘ who was the real accuser, to carry on the
 ‘ whole cause against SERVETUS; a piece of
 ‘ conduct, which CALVIN would have cen-
 ‘ sured as unjust, according to the laws of
 ‘ the city, had he been himself in prison.’

“ I rather think he was a poor scholar,
 “ and a kind of a domestick servant to him.

“ SERVETUS says positively, in one of his
 “ petitions to the magistrates of *Geneva*, as
 “ we shall see hereafter, that CALVIN was
 “ his master.

“ In order to give an account of SERVE-
 “ TUS’s tryal, I shall mention the most re-
 “ markable things that happened every time
 “ he appeared before his judges: This seems
 “ to me the most methodical way, and most
 “ likely to satisfy the curiosity of my rea-
 “ ders *.

* Biblio.
 Angloise,
 vol. II.
 p. 113.

“ The prisoner was brought to the bar, the
 “ first time, on the 14th of *August*; LA FON-
 “ TAINÉ demanded that he should answer
 “ thirty-eight interrogatories: Most of those
 “ interrogatories concern his opinions; and
 “ therefore I need not dwell upon them; be-
 “ sides, I shall elsewhere give an account of
 “ the propositions, for which he was com-
 “ mitted to the flames. SERVETUS con-
 “ fessed, that he had published in *Germany*,
 “ a book entitled, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*. He
 “ also confessed, that he was the author of
 “ the *Christianismi Restitutio*. He acknow-
 “ ledged,

ledged, that he had writ some annotations on the bible, mentioned before, and upon PTOLEMY's geography.

The thirty-seventh interrogatory was expressed in these words: " * Likewise, that in the person of Mr. CALVIN, minister of the word of GOD in this church of Geneva, he had defamed in a printed book, the doctrine that is preached, uttering all the injurious and blasphemous words that can be invented.

* Item qu'en la personne de Monsieur CALVIN, ministre de la parole de DIEU

en cette eglise de Geneve, il a difamé par livre imprimé la doctrine qui se prêche, prononçant toutes les injures, & blasphemes qu'il est possible d'inventer.

† SERVETUS's answer to that interrogatory, was, " That Mr. CALVIN did 'abuse him before in several printed books, and that he answered him (in the same manner) and shewed that he was in the wrong in some passages; and that when the said CALVIN writ to him, that he was of opinion, that he writ the same in his turn, and that the said CALVIN was mistaken in a great many points.

† Voici la réponse de SERVET à cet interrogatoire. respond que Monsieur CALVIN l' par devant injurié par beaucoup de livres

imprimés, & qu'il lui a respondre, & montrant que CALVIN erroit en quelques passages; & ledit CALVIN quant il escripvoit qu'il estoit d'opinion, il lui rescripvoit le semblable, & que ledit CALVIN erroit en beaucoup de passages. Bibliothèque Angloise, vol. II. p. 114.

It looks very strange, that such passages as these should make any part of an indictment in a capital cause; what could not a Spaniard, a German, or a Polonian, that had happened to have writ any thing contrary to the tenets preached in Geneva, take up his lodging for a night

night or two in that city, but he must be presently apprehended? No, not if it be **SERVETUS**, and that **SERVETUS** too, who, *in the person of Mr. CALVIN*, minister of the word of **GOD** in the church of *Geneva*, had, in a printed book, defamed that doctrine that is preached: Alas! **SERVETUS** had irritated that great man too much; and pope **CALVIN** was resolved to have his blood, even tho' he was conscious to himself, that he had treated **SERVETUS** as rudely as **SERVETUS** had done him; nay, that he had given the first provocation that way.

“ When **SERVETUS** had answered the
 “ thirty-eight interrogatories, **LA FONTAINE**
 “ (his accuser) produced against him a manu-
 “ script and a printed book. The prisoner
 “ confessed that he was the author of both,
 “ and that he had published the printed book;
 “ but he said the manuscript had not been
 “ printed, and that he had only sent it to
 “ **CALVIN** about six years before, as has
 “ been already observed, to have his judge-
 “ ment about it. **LA FONTAINE** produced
 “ again a printed copy of **PTOLEMY**, with
 “ notes, and a *Latin* bible with several anno-
 “ tations. **SERVETUS** confessed that he was
 “ the author of the notes upon **PTOLEMY**,
 “ and that he had writ some of those anno-
 “ tations upon the bible. Afterwards **LA**
 “ **FONTAINE** made himself a prisoner, the
 “ better to convince the judges, that he was
 “ able to prove his accusation. **SERVETUS**
 “ declared, that he had delivered to the goaler
 “ the ninety-seven gold pieces, the gold chain,
 “ and the rings above-mentioned.

The next day (*August 15.*) S E R V E T U S was brought a second time to the bar, and answered again the same thirty-eight interrogatories. * ‘ Upon the fourth he said, that

‘ Mr. C A L V I N did so violently persecute him, * Sur le quatrième il dit que Monsieur C A L V I N l’avoit tellement poursuivi, qu’il n’avoit pas tenu à luy, qu’il n’eût été brûlé tout vif. † Sur le 37. respond. que

‘ that he narrowly escaped being burnt alive

‘ by his means. S E R V E T U S’s answer to the

‘ thirty seventh head of accusation, was,

‘ † That C A L V I N abused him first, at several

‘ times, and afterwards in printed books ;

‘ and that what he had writ to him in his own

‘ vindication, was not with an intent to abuse

‘ him, but to shew him his mistake and errors,

‘ as he engages to do in a full congrega-

‘ tion, by solid arguments, and by the autho-

‘ rities of the holy scripture.’

C A L V I N par devant le premier l’a injurié & plusieurs fois, & par livres conséquemment imprimés, & que ce qu’il luy a escript maintenant pour sa defence, n’a point esté à intention de l’injurier, mais pour luy monstrier ses erreurs & fautes, comme il se offre de luy monstrier en pleine congregation par saines raisons & autorités de la sancte escriture. Bibliothèque Angloise ; vol. II. p. 116.

S E R V E T U S having answered all the articles, the judges came to this resolution, That because he appeared to be very guilty, L A F O N T A I N E should be released upon promise of going on with his prosecution. I must observe, that S E R V E T U S confess’d some of those articles, and denied the rest, as he did the day before.

“ The next day (*August 16.*) the prisoner

“ was brought again to the bar ; L A F O N T A I N E came in with another person, named

“ G E R M A I N C O L L A D O N ; and upon the

“ third article, produced again a copy of

“ P T O L E M Y, and the notes inserted by the

N

“ author,

“ author, at the end of his description of P A-
 “ LESTINE, of which I shall speak hereafter.
 “ Some passages also were produced out of
 “ SERVETUS’s works, to convict him of the
 “ heresies charged upon him ; but they went
 “ no farther than the eleventh article, and the
 “ court adjourned the continuance of their
 “ proceedings to the next day. In the mean
 “ time LA FONTAINE presented a petition
 “ to the judges : I shall set down the begin-
 “ ning of it.

* Par de-
 vant vous,
 magnifi-
 ques, puis-
 sans, &
 très re-
 doutés
 seigneurs,
 propose
 NICOLAS
 de la FON-
 TAINNE,
 s’estant
 constitué
 prisonnier

* Magnificent, mighty, and most dread-
 ful lords, NICHOLAS de la FONTAINE,
 humbly sheweth, That having made himself
 a prisoner in a criminal cause, against MI-
 CHAEL SERVETUS, for the great scandals
 and troubles occasioned in christendom by the
 said SERVETUS, during the space of twenty-
 four years, or thereabouts, for the blasphemies
 uttered and published by him against
 GOD. † *This is a very absurd expression, for
 SERVETUS was no atheist.*

en cause criminelle, contre MICHEL SERVET pour les grans
 scandales, & troubles, que ledit SERVET a deja fait par l’ espace
 de 24 ans ou environ en la chrestienté, pour les blasphemes qu’il a
 prononcé & escript contre DIEU, pour les heresies dont il a in-
 fecté le monde, pour les meschantes calomnies & faulses diffama-
 tions qu’il a publié contre les grands serviteurs de DIEU, & no-
 tamment contre Monsieur CALVIN, duquel ledit proposant est
 tenu de mainteair l’ honneur comme de son pasteur, s’il — veut
 être tenu pour chrestien, & aussi à cause du blasme & deshonneur,
 qui pourroit avenir a l’ eglise de Geneve, pource que ledit SERVET
 condamne par especial la doctrine qu’on y presche, &c. Biblio-
 theque Angloise, p. 117, 118.

† C’est une expression absurde ; car SERVET n’étoit point athée.
 Bibli. Ang. Ibid.

“ St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN calls SA-
 “ BELLIVS an atheist, because he did not be-
 “ lieve a Trinity. Upon which I observe, that
 it

it is too common for men even of distinguished character, tho' it is a very great error, in the heat of controversy, to give odious names one to another.

SERVETUS himself was resolved to be even with the Trinitarians; for he calls them, in his turn, *atheists*. ' For the heresies wherewith he has
' infected the world, for the wicked calumnies
' and defamations he has published against the
' eminent servants of GOD, especially against
' Mr. CALVIN, whose honour the said petitioner is bound to maintain, as of one who
' is his pastor, if he is willing to be accounted a christian; and also by reason of
' the dishonour that might accrue from it to
' the church of Geneva, forasmuch as the said
' SERVETUS does particularly condemn the
' doctrine that is preached in it, &c.

" In the remaining part of that petition,
" the accuser beseeches the judges to compel
" SERVETUS to make a formal answer to
" each article produced against him, without
" any shift; and that after he has been convicted of publishing and teaching the heresies contained in the interrogatories, if they
" judge him to be guilty, and to deserve to
" be prosecuted by their attorney, they would
" be pleased to make a declaration of it, and
" to clear him from all damages and expences,
" according to custom. This petition of DE
" LA FONTAINE'S was attended, with the
" thirty-eight articles before-mentioned.

" The next day, being the 17th of August,
" SERVETUS made his appearance in court
" again, where proof was to be made against
" him, that he had abused CALVIN, and
" and some other divines of Geneva." For in reality, this was Dr. SERVETUS'S heresy and

blasphemy; the abuse of the great CALVIN, and his colleagues. For CALVIN, as before, said, that he might have been saved, *solâ modestiâ*, by his modesty alone, p. 48.

“ That SERVETUS had therefore very
 “ much abused CALVIN, and some other di-
 “ vines of Geneva: LA FONTAINE, and
 “ COLLADON, exhibited the two letters of
 “ OECOLAMPADIUS, and two passages of
 “ MELANCHTHON, to prove the first ar-
 “ ticle, importing, that SERVETUS had been
 “ condemned in Germany, and the first passage
 “ of MALANCHTHON runs thus.

* Lusit
 homophra-
 naticus
 SERVETUS
 de voca-
 bulo per-
 sonæ &
 disputat
 olim la-
 tinis signi-
 ficasse ha-
 bitum aut
 officii di-
 stinctio-
 nem ut
 dicimus
 ROSCIUM
 alias susti-

nere personam ACHILLIS alias sustinere personam ULYSSIS; seu alia est persona consulis, alia servi, ut CICERO inquit, magnum est in re publica tueri personam principis. Et hanc veterem significationem vocabuli sycphanticè detorquet ad articulum de tribus personis divinitatis. MELANC. loc. Theo. p. 231. Cor. doc. CHRIST. Leipf. 1650.

† Ibid.
 P. 327.

“ In the second passage † MELANCHTHON
 “ calls SERVETUS, *astutus & impius; a sly*
 “ *and impious fellow.* The prisoner acknow-
 “ ledged that OECOLAMPADIUS and ME-
 LANCHTHON

“ LANCHTHON had writ against him ; and
 “ added, that *it was not a definitive sentence.*

Upon the third article, the two accusers
 produced again P T O L E M Y ' S geography, and
 a passage out of S E R V E T U S ' S * p r e f a c e ,
 ‘ wherein he says, that the fruitfulness of
 ‘ *Judea* has been wrongly cry'd up, since those,
 ‘ who travelled in it, tell us, that it is a barren
 ‘ and poor country. When P T O L E M Y ' S geo-
 ‘ graphy, says C A L V I N , published with S E R -
 ‘ V E T U S ' S p r e f a c e , was produced, in which
 ‘ his readers are apprized, that it was down-
 ‘ right vanity to ascribe such great plenty to
 ‘ *Judea* ; because, by the report of merchants,
 ‘ who have travelled thither, they found it in-
 ‘ cultivated, barren, and destitute of all man-
 ‘ ner of pleasantness; he fell a mumbling, and
 ‘ reply'd, that this was written by another

* Prolatum est
 geographiæ PTO-
 LOMÆI
 volumen,
 cum ejus
 præfatione
 editum,
 ubi mon-
 entur le-
 ctiores, vel
 pura ja-
 ctantia
 tantam
 bonitatem
 Judæa fu-
 isse adscri-
 ptam: quia
 experien-

tia mercatorum hanc incultam, sterilem, omni dulcedine ca-
 rentem depromit. Quum initio obmurmuraret, hoc ab alio scri-
 ptum esse : tam frigidum cavillum refellere promptum fuit.
 Nam hoc modo, deprehensus fuerat manifestus impostor. Ergo
 redactus in illas angustias, rectè scriptum esse defendit, rogatus-
 deinde quisnam vanus ille præco Judææ fuisset præter M O Y S E N ?
 Quasi alii, inquit, non scripserint de Judæâ. Hic quod necesse
 erat excepi. Certe ut alii cum M O Y S E consentiant, quia ta-
 men omnium vetustissimus, subscribunt ejus elogiis. Quare penes
 eum præcipua erit ejus culpa, qui mentiendo posteros fefellit.
 Cujus enim est illud ; terram fluere lacte & melle ? Adjeci præ-
 terea, inconsideratè ex præsentis terræ statu fieri judicium ; quia me-
 moria tenendum sit horribile D E I judicium, quod olim minatus fue-
 rat peculiariter Judæis & quod in genere describitur ; *Psal. cvij.*
 D E U M esse, qui fœcundis, opimisque regionibus, quasi sale semi-
 nato, ob hominum peccata sterilitatem inducit. Judæam itaque
 hodie nobis illustre esse divinæ maledictionis speculum. Dicam quod
 videri posset incredibile, nisi clarissimus senatus noster unà cum multis
 gravibus viris locuples esset testis ; ubi ita convicta tenebatur impie-
 tas, obscænus canis tantum os perfricuit, & dixit uno verbo, nihil
 illic esse mali. Et quum nulla illi in mentem fucata excusatio, nulla
 tamen ingenua confessio exprimi potuit. *Expos. Erro. MICH. SERV.*
Cal. Theo. Tract. Gen. ed. 1576. p. 136.

hand. Such a sorry pretence was soon
 baffled; for by his shuffling after this man-
 ner, the impostor appeared bare-faced; and
 being reduced to his last shifts, he then
 maintained, that the remark was just. Upon
 this being asked, who that vain panegyrist
 upon *Judea* should be, if it was not *MOSES*?
 He replied, as if no body else had given
 the history of *Judea* but he. Here I thought
 it necessary to make this answer, that those
 who had given an account of that country,
 followed *MOSES*, the most antient writer
 that mentions it; wherefore it was a very
 great fault in him to deceive those who fol-
 lowed him in that peculiar; for whose ac-
 count was that, that *Judea* was a land flow-
 ing with milk and honey? Besides, I urged
 further, that it was preposterous to form a
 judgement of what that land was antiently,
 from what it appears to be now; for we
 ought to remember that dreadful judgment
 of *GOD*, which he had threatned *Judea*
 withal, in a particular manner, and that
 which is in general described in *Psalms* cvij.
 That it is *GOD* who turneth a fruitful land
 into barrenness, for the wickedness of them
 that dwell therein, is particularly verified in
Judea, which to this day is a signal mirrour of
 divine vengeance. Upon this, *CALVIN* having
 work'd him self up into a violent passion, expresse
 himself after this manner. It would appear ut-
 terly incredible, were it not that our illu-
 strious senate, together with many other
 grave men, were witnesses of it; that when
 he stood so plainly convicted of this his im-
 piety, that he had nothing to alledge in his
 vindication.

vindication. That obscene dog, with the utmost impudence, asserted, in one word, that there was no harm in what he had said.

* Upon the third article they produce that place of PTOLEMY'S geography, which SERVETUS says he had no hand in, and that nevertheless there was nothing of evil in it, and that he did not intend the time of MOSES, but the modern writers of our country; whereas they urged, that forasmuch as the passage comprised all who have writ about that country in general, it was a calumnious reflection upon MOSES: let the readers judge of the force of this argument, says the author of the *Bibliothèque Angloise*, vol. II. p. 120.

Sur le tiers (article) (says the Bibliothèque Angloise, vol. II. p. 120.) ils ont produit le lieu de PTOLEME, lequel ledit SERVETUS dit n'avoir fait, & nonob-

stant qu'il n'y a point de mal, & qu'il n'entend point du temps de MOYSE, mais du temps de ceulx, qui ont escrit de nostre siecle; & lefdits disent que d'autant qu'il a compris generalement touscrivains dudit pais, qu'il a calomnié contre MOYSE. Les lecteurs jugeront de la force de cet argument.

Tho' I never saw, says the same author †, that edition of PTOLEMY'S geography, to which SERVETUS added a preface, and some notes; † I dare say he did not reflect upon MOSES. It is not improbable, that by the words *vanus præco Judæa*, he meant some modern traveller, who had published an account of the *Holy Land*, and represented it as a very fruitful country. SERVETUS was neither an atheist nor a deist; he was fully perswaded of the truth of the old testament, as it appears from his writings, and therefore I cannot imagine that the words just mentioned concern MOSES. I shall here take

† Il répondit, comme s'il n'y avoit que MOISE, qui eut parlé de la Judée. Ibid.

take the liberty to insert the digression that the author of the *Biblioteque* himself makes, and for the very same reason.

' *Palestine* (says he) is not now, properly speaking, a more barren country than it was in former times; were it improved and cultivated, it would doubtless be as fruitful as it was in the time of the *Israelites*; and therefore CALVIN went upon a wrong supposition, when he told SERVETUS, in a peremptory manner, that GOD had cursed the holy land, and made it barren for the sins of the *Jews*. Mr. MAUNDRELL, late fellow of *Exeter* college at *Oxford*, who travelled in that country, does not ascribe its barrenness to a divine punishment, but to want of culture.' The passage being very curious it is inserted here at length.

' All along this day's travel, from *Kane-Leban* to *Beer* (says Mr. MAUNDRELL *) and also as far as we could see round, the country discovered a quite different face from what it had before, presenting nothing to the view in most places but naked rocks, mountains and precipices. At sight of which, pilgrims are apt to be much astonished, and baulked in their expectations, finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas from the description given of it

* Voyage d' Alep. a Jerusalem, en 1697, traduit de l' Anglois, á Utrecht, en 1705, & se trouve chez la veuve de P. MARRET á Amsterdam.

Voyez

p. 107,

110. *Bibliotique*, p. 122. i. e. *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, in the year 1697, translated into English at Utrecht; and sold, says the author of the Bibliot. by P. MARRET'S widow at Amsterdam. See p. 107, 110. The same author, in his memoirs of literature, quotes the Oxford edit. 1707, p. 64, & seq. 2d edit. whose English I chuse to transcribe; vol. IV. memoirs, p. 229.*

it in the word of GOD; infomuch that it almost startles their faith, when they reflect, how it could be possible, for a land like this, to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants, as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time; the sum given in by *Joab*, 2 *Sam.* xxiv. amounting to no less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children. But it is certain, that any man who is not a little biaſſed to infidelity before, may see, as he passes along, arguments enough to support his faith against such scruples.

‘ For it is obvious for any one to observe, that these rocks and hills must have been antiently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants, no less than if the country had been all plain, nay perhaps much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous and uneven surface affords a larger space of ground for cultivation, than this country would amount to, if it were all reduced to a perfect level.

‘ For the husbanding of these mountains, their manner was to gather up the stones, and place them in several lines, along the sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By such borders they supported the mould from tumbling, or being washed down, and formed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradually, one with another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains.

‘ Of this form of culture, you see evident footsteps wherever you go in all the mountains of *Palestine*. Thus the very rocks were made fruitful. And perhaps there is no spot

of ground in this whole land, that was not
 formerly improved to the production of
 something or other, ministering to the suste-
 nance of humane life. For than the plain
 countries nothing can be more fruitful, whe-
 ther for the production of corn or cattle,
 and consequently of milk. The hills, tho'
 improper for all cattle, except goats; yet
 being disposed into such beds as are afore
 described, served very well to bear corn,
 melons, gourds, cucumbers, and such like
 garden stuff; which makes the principal
 food of these countries for several months
 in the year. The most rocky parts of all,
 which could not well be adjusted in that
 manner for the production of corn, might
 yet serve for the planting of vines and olive-
 trees, which delight to extract the one its
 fatness, the other its sprightly juice, chiefly
 out of such dry and flinty places. And the
 great plain joyning to the dead sea, which
 by reason of its saltness, might be thought
 unserviceable both for cattle, corn, olives
 and vines, had yet its proper usefulness for
 the nourishment of bees, and for the fabrick
 of honey; of which JOSEPHUS gives us
 his testimony, *de Bell. Jud.* and I have rea-
 son to believe it; because, when I was there,
 I perceived in many places, a smell of honey
 and wax, as strong as if one had been in an
 apiary. Why then might not this country
 very well maintain the vast number of its in-
 habitants, being in every part so productive
 of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey,
 which are the principal food of these eastern
 nations? The constitution of their bodies,
 and the nature of their clime, inclining
 them

them to more abstemious diet than we use in *England*, and other colder regions.

‘ The author of the *Bibliotique* adds, * Mr. * Mr. R E-
 L A N D has given us natural reasons of L A N D
 the barrenness of *Palestine*; what he says donne
 upon that now, and upon the fruitfulness of aussi des
Judea in antient times, is as full of judge- raisons na-
 ment as it is of learning: That learned au- turelles de
 thor has sufficiently answered the objections la sterilité
 of the incredulous, founded on the sterility de la Pa-
 of the holy land; and I observe, that he lestine. Ce
 refutes the wits of the age with a great deal qu'il dit
 of good manners; and we ought to pay a sur cela,
 particular respect to those gentlemen, whose & sur la
 learning has this christian virtue for its com- fertilité de
 panion †. la Judée
 dans les
 anciens
 tems, n'est
 pas moins

judicieux, que rempli d' erudition. Ce savant auteur a très-bien ré-
 ondu à l' objection de incredules fondée sur la sterilité de la terre
 sainte. J'ai remarqué qu'il réfute les esprits forts avec beaucoup de
 politesse. On doit avoir une estime particuliere pour les personnes,
 dont le savoir est accompagné de cette vertu chrétienne, vol. II.

. 126.

† Voiez l'ouvrage de Mr. R E L A N D intitulé *Palestina*, ex mo-
 numentis veteribus illustrata. Dans le dernier chapitre du premier
 livre. *Trajecti Batavorum*, 1714.

See Mr. R E L A N D's treatise, entitled, *Palestine illustrated from the*
monuments of antiquity; in the last chapter of his first book. Printed at
Trecht, 1714.

‘ But to return to S E R V E T U S. On the
 same day † they produced against him his † Et quant

O 2

‘ notes aux anno-
 tations de

la bible, ils ont produit le vij & viij chap. d' *Esaie*, & le liij d' *Esaie*,
 auquel dernier passage ils disent ledit S E R V E T avoir attribué à
 C Y R U S ce qui est attribué à J E S U S C H R I S T quant à l' effacement
 de nos pechés & portement de nos iniquités. A quoi ledit S E R V E T
 répond que le principal doibt être entendu de J E S U S C H R I S T ;
 mais quant à l' histoire, & à lettre, il faut prendre de C Y R U S ; &
 que les anciens docteurs ont mis deux sens en l' ancien testament,
 savoir sens literal & sens mystique, &c. *Biblio. Angl.* vol. II.

. 126.

‘ notes upon the vijth and viijth chapters of
 ‘ *Isaiab*; particularly those he had made upon
 ‘ the liijd chapter of that prophet, which he
 ‘ understood in a literal sense of *CYRUS*,
 ‘ who (said he) died for the sins of the *Jews*;
 ‘ adding, that the mystical sense concerned
 ‘ *JESUS CHRIST*, who is principally meant
 ‘ in that chapter; and that the antient doctors
 ‘ have put two senses upon the Old Testa-
 ‘ ment, *viz.* the one the literal, and the other
 ‘ the mystical.

After *CALVIN* had said that *SERVEtus*
 had corrupted the bible, he was hired to cor-
 rect at *Lyons*, partly with impertinent and tri-
 fling, and partly with impiously whimsical
 notes of his own, throughout every page; he
 adds, ‘ * Since it would have been endless to
 ‘ have examined all these notes of *SERVE-*
 ‘ *TUS*;

* Quia
 singulis
 excutien-
 dis tempus
 non daba-

tur: In primis objectum est caput *Isaia* liij. cujus perspicuitas quum
Judeis quamlibet impudentibus ansam calumniandi præciderit, hic
 falsarius ausus est ad *CYRUM* torquere. Ita quod de unico sacri-
 ficio, partaque in eo expiatione æterna, de mundi cum *DEO* recon-
 ciliatione, de gratuita fidei justitia clarissimè propheta differit, imò
 sonorâ voce prædicat, delevit hic perfidus nebulo. Nam his pro-
 phetæ verbis, verè languores nostros ipse tulit, dolores nostros ipse
 portavit; vulneratus est propter transgressiones nostras, afflictus est
 propter peccata nostra: Castigatio pacis nostræ super eum, & livor
 ejus fuit nobis sanitas; Commentum *SERVEto* dignum affuit;
 defleri *CYRUM* qui exigentibus populi peccatis mortuus erat. Sub-
 jicit quidem, christum adumbrari in quem solum propriè hæc omnia
 competunt; sed interim nullum nobis pro peccatis satisfactionem,
 nullum propitiandi *DEI* remedium, nullam purgationem reliquam
 facit. Verum certè esse quod tunc illi objeci, mihi omnes conce-
 dent, quod nullo autore fretus insignem hanc prophetiam tam ne-
 quiter corripuerit; non aliunde esse factum, nisi quia vâsanam &
 furialem ex fidei interitu voluptatem capiens, omnis verecundiæ obli-
 tus, summum dedecus in se suscipere maluerat, quam non omnia
 pervertere. Omitto quod quum *NICOLAI LYRANI* suffragium
 obtenderet, producto libro mendacii convictus non erubuit, fuit
 enim

enim hoc illi solenne : Scripto res quorum nunquam libros inspexerat, audacissimè citare. Cujus rei jocosum, & risu dignum specimen in JUSTINO MARTYRE exhibitum fuit. Nam quia magnificè jactabat, aureo ejus seculo incognitas fuisse de Trinitate & personis fabulas : Codicem statim afferri jussi & digito monstravi certos locos, in quibus sanctus vir non minus apertè fidem nostram assererat, quam si rogatu nostro scripsisset. Atqui Græcum sermonem nihilo magis legere quam alphabetarius potuit. Tum se turpiter prehensum videns, stomachose Latinam translationem sibi dari petiit. Quid hoc rei est ? Dixi quum nulla extet Latina translatio, Græci legere nescias, tamen in JUSTINI lectione familiariter te versatum esse fingis. Unde igitur tibi illa testimonia, quibus citandis adeo liberaliter tibi indulges ? Ille, ut solebat, ferreâ fronte aliò transiliens nullum vel minimæ verecundiæ signum dedit. Verum ut duritiem illam omittam ; quum palè fieret, præcipuum salutis nostra caput, de expiatis CHRISTI morte hominum peccatis, diabolica ejus fraude ex *Isaia* libro esse deletum, nullo pænitiæ sensu tangi, hoc prodigiosam cujusdam malitiæ signum est. Nec verò dubito quin sicuti mihi ita bonis omnibus interior, & deliberata diùque concocta impietas in eo se proferat, dum ex rerum omnium confusione quasi gratuita voluptas capitur.

‘ RUS ; those upon the liijd of *Isaiab* were
 ‘ principally objected to him, tho’ the clear-
 ‘ ness of the passages in that chapter should
 ‘ have cut off all pretensions from the impu-
 ‘ dent *Jews*, of calumniating christianity ; yet
 ‘ this impostor has dared to give such a wrong
 ‘ turn to them, as to interpret them of
 ‘ CYRUS : So that whatever the prophet has,
 ‘ with great perspicuity, and with the utmost
 ‘ force of expression, discoursed concerning
 ‘ the one only sacrifice, the eternal expiation
 ‘ procured by it, the reconciliation of the
 ‘ world to GOD, and gratuitous righteousness
 ‘ by faith, this perfidious villain has blotted
 ‘ out. For to these words of the prophet ;
 ‘ surely he has born our griefs, and carried our
 ‘ sorrows ; he was wounded for our transgres-
 ‘ sions, he was bruised for our iniquities ; the
 ‘ chastisement of our peace was upon him,
 ‘ and

‘ and with his stripes we are healed, he hath
 ‘ tacked a comment worthy of **SERVETUS**, viz.
 ‘ That the prophet bewails the death of **CY-**
 ‘ **RUS**, which was owing to the sins of the
 ‘ people. **SERVETUS** adds after indeed,
 ‘ that **CHRIST** was shadowed under these
 ‘ expressions, to whom alone they properly
 ‘ agree : But at the same time he mentions
 ‘ nothing of satisfaction for our sins, of the
 ‘ remedy by which **GOD** is rendered propi-
 ‘ tious to us, or of any expiation left for us.
 ‘ His vile corruption of this famous prophecy,
 ‘ could arise from no other spring than the
 ‘ mad and furious pleasure he takes of destroy-
 ‘ ing the faith ; and being utterly regardless of
 ‘ all modesty, he would rather take the highest
 ‘ reproach upon himself, than not to pervert
 ‘ every thing that has been said by any other
 ‘ paraphrast. I pass by his maintaining, that
 ‘ **NICOLAS** de **LYRA** had explain’d the same
 ‘ chapter as he did ; and that when upon the
 ‘ book being produced, he was convicted of a
 ‘ lye, he did not so much as blush ; for ’twas
 ‘ a common practice with him, with much
 ‘ assurance, to make quotations out of books,
 ‘ which he had never looked into ; a merry
 ‘ instance of which turned up about **JUSTIN**
 ‘ **MARTYR** : for since he had boasted very
 ‘ much, that the fables of the p—f—ns in
 ‘ the T—i—y were unknown in his golden
 ‘ age ; I ordered his book to be immediately
 ‘ produced, and plainly shewed him some ex-
 ‘ press places, wherein that holy man had as
 ‘ clearly asserted our faith, as if he had wrote
 ‘ it at our request ; but he was no more able
 ‘ to read the *Greek*, than a boy that has just
 ‘ begun his alphabet, when he perceived him-
 ‘ self

' self to be thus shamefully caught, he, with
 ' great indignation, call'd for a *Latin* translation.
 ' What's the meaning of this, said I? There is
 ' no *Latin* translation extant; don't you, who
 ' pretend to be so conversant with the writings
 ' of JUSTIN MARTYR, understand the
 ' *Greek* tongue? Whence had you the several
 ' quotations you have so often made from him?
 ' He, as his custom was, made an impudent
 ' digression, without the least sign of shame:
 ' And when it was evidently made appear,
 ' that that chapter, which principally con-
 ' cerns our salvation, by expiation made for
 ' the sins of men, by the death of CHRIST,
 ' was rased out of the book of *Isaiab*, by his
 ' diabolical fraud, he discovered the mon-
 ' strous malice of his mind, by his having no
 ' manner of remorse upon that account: And
 ' I perswade my self, that as his inward, de-
 ' liberate, and long-digested impiety, mani-
 ' fested its self to me, by the pleasure he took
 ' in throwing all things into confusion, so it
 ' will to all good men.' Thus was CALVIN
 much exasperated against SERVETUS, on
 account of his explication of this place of
Isaiab, calling it a very impious one. The au-
 thor of the *Biblioteque Angloise*, (which this
 author has likewise examined) saith, that
 GROTIUS applying that chapter in a literal
 sense to *Jeremiah*, is not less mistaken than
 SERVETUS, and yet he did not know that
 any divine did ever call this explication of
 that learned man an impious one. * He adds,

* The au-
 thor of the
 Biblio-

theque says, On trouve dans les commentaires de CALVIN, sur le
 vieux testament, des explications literales, qui paroîtront à certains
 theologiens aussi peu orthodoxes que colle de SERVET; i. e. We
 may meet with in CALVIN's commentaries upon the old testament,
 whose literal explications, which are, in the opinions of some divines, as
 little orthodox as that of SERVET. Bib. Ang. p. 127.

that CALVIN, upon his shewing SERVETUS, that his quotation of NICOLAS de LYRA was false, said, that SERVETUS boldly quoted several authors, whom he had never read, and that he could not read *Greek*. I cannot tell whether the first accusation be true; but I am sure (says he) the second is

* GRO- not well grounded*.

TIUS, qui

applique ce chapitre à *Jeremie*, dans le sens literal, ne se trompe pas moins que SERVET. Je ne sai s'il y ci en aucun theologien qui ait traité d'impieté l'explication de ce savant homme. SERVET soutint que NICOLAS de LYRA avoit expliqué le même chapitre comme lui on fit apporter le livre de cet auteur, & l'on convainquit SERVET qu'il s'étoit trompé. Là-dessus CALVIN dit que SERVET citoit hardiment des auteurs qu'il n'avoit jamais lûs, & qu'il ne savoit pas lire le Grec. Je ne sai si la première accusation est véritable; mais la seconde ne me paroît pas bien fondée. *Bib. Ang. p. 128.*

“ The next book produced against the prisoner, was his *Christianismi Restitutio*, particularly from the 22d page, to the 35th and 36th, where he calls the Trinity a dream of St. AUSTIN, and uses several injurious and extravagant expressions, giving those the name of Tritheists, who believe in the Trinity. SERVETUS, in his vindication, answered, † That he did not call those who believed the Trinity, Tritheists for he himself believed it; but only those who mis-represented it, admitting a real distinction in the divine essence; that they divided GOD, and destroyed the unity of the Trinity, “ the

† SERVET répondit qu'il n'appelle tritheistes, ceux qui croient la Trinité, car il la

croit lui même; mais il appelle ceux là qui la deguisent autrement qu'elle n'est. C'est assavoir ceux qui mettent distinction réelle en l'essence divine; que ceux là divisent DIEU, & ostent l'unité de l'essence divine, & il appelle ceux là trinitaires, & atheistes: & qu'en la vraie Trinité il y a distinction personnelle, & non point réelle. *Bib. Ang. p. 128.*

“ the divine nature, and those he called Trini-
 “ tarians and Atheists; and that there is a
 “ personal and not a real distinction in the true
 “ Trinity. He added, that his doctrine was
 “ the same with that of the disciples of the
 “ apostles and the primitive fathers; such as
 “ St. I G N A T I U S, St. P O L Y C A R P, St. I R E -
 “ N Æ U S, C L E M E N S, A L E X A N D R I N U S,
 “ and T E R T U L L I A N, whom he had quoted
 “ in his book.

“ He further said, that by the word per-
 “ son, or *hypostasis*, he understood a visible or
 “ apparent subsistence.

“ On the same day his accusers produced
 “ several other passages out of his printed and
 “ manuscript books, to prove the heresies
 “ charged upon him. 'Tis observable, that
 “ every time he was brought to the bar, they
 “ seldom failed to insist upon his abusing
 “ C A L V I N. In order to make out this im-
 “ portant accusation, they produced his
 “ *Christianismi Restitutio*, a latin letter which
 “ S E R V E T U S had writ to A B E L P E P I N,
 “ minister at *Geneva*; and a copy of C A L V I N's
 “ institutions, full of marginal notes, written
 “ with S E R V E T U S's own hand.

“ S E R V E T U S declared, on the same day,
 “ that his printer had sent several copies of
 “ his *Christianismi Restitutio* to *Frankfort*. Here
 “ follows the copy of the letter S E R V E T U S
 “ writ to A B E L P E P I N, about six years be-
 “ fore he was committed to prison in that
 “ city, as he told his judges the same day.
 “ This letter, the author of the *Biblioteque*,
 “ p. 130. says, *Est fort curieuse, & peut servir à*
 “ *faire connoître le caractère de S E R V E T. Elle n'a ja-*
 “ *mais été imprimée. Is very curious, and plainly*

‘ discovers the Character of SERVETUS ; it was
 ‘ never printed before.

* Licet
 epistola
 mea ad
 CALVI-

‘ * Although my twelfth epistle to CAL-
 ‘ VIN makes it very plainly appear, that the
 ‘ obligation

NUM duodecima vim legis decalogi esse sublatam doceat apertissimè
 adhuc tamen locum unum adjungam, ut innovationem per adventum
 CHRISTI factam melius intelligatis. Decalogi igitur legem esse
 sublatam cognosces tu manifestè, si locum unum legas *Jere. xxxj.*
 Fœdus initum cum patribus quando egrediebantur de *Egypto*,
 sublatum docet propheta. Hoc autem fuit fœdus decalogi. Dicitur
 enim, *I Reg. 8, 9.* quod in arca erat fœdus initum cum patribus in
 egressu de *Egypto*, scilicet decalogus. Hinc dicebatur arca fœderis,
 tabulæ fœderis & decem verba fœderis. Hæc autem fuit paciscendi
 formula. DEUS promittit illos fore sibi populum, si ea verba fa-
 ciant : Et illi ea verba se facturos recipiunt. Ecce fœdus ! Hoc au-
 tem fœdus sublatum docet *Jeremias* dicto cap. xxxj. & *Ezechiel*
 cap. xvj. & PAULUS, *Heb. viij.* si eâ lege nos nunc in suos reci-
 piat DEUS, eo jugo pressi similiter periremus & essemus sub male-
 dicto. Sublata est ergo lex illa. Non sub eo fœdere nos nunc in
 suos recipit DEUS, sed fide solâ JESU CHRISTI FILII dilecti.
 Aspiciate igitur quale sit evangelium vestrum lege confusum. Evan-
 gelium vestrum est sine uno DEO, sine fide verâ, sine bonis operi-
 bus. Pro uno DEO habetis tricipitem cerberum, pro fide verâ
 habetis fatale somnium, & opera bona dicitis esse inanes picturas.
 CHRISTI fides est vobis merus fucus, nihil efficiens : Homo est
 vobis iners truncus, & DEUS est vobis servi arbitrii chimæra. Re-
 generationem ex aquâ cœlestem non agnoscitis, sed velut fabulam
 habetis. Regnum cœlorum clauditis ante homines, ut rem imagi-
 nariam a nobis excludendo. Væ vobis, væ, væ. Hac tertia epi-
 stola, te ita monitum volo, ut melius cogites, non amplius ita moni-
 turus. Offendit vos forsan quod pugnæ illi MICHAELIS me im-
 misceam & vos immisceri desiderem, sed locum illum diligenter ex-
 pende, & videbis homines fore, qui ibi pugnabunt, animas suas
 morti exponendo, in sanguine & testimonio JESU CHRISTI. An-
 gelos verò dici obvium est in scripturis. Annon vides ibi agi de ec-
 clesia CHRISTI jam tot annos fugata ? Annon de re futura est
 divisio, ut ipsemet JOHANNES asserit ? Quis est ibi accusator ille,
 qui ob legum & præceptorum transgressionem nos ante accusabat ?
 Ante pugnam ait fore accusationem illam, & orbis seductionem :
 Ergo sequitur pugna & tempus prope est, ut ait. Qui sunt illi, qui
 victoriam reportabunt de bestia ? Non accipientes characterem ejus.
 Mihi ob eam rem moriendum esse certo scio ; sed non propterea animo
 deficior ut fiam discipulus similis præceptorî. Hoc doleo quod per
 vos

vos non licuit emendare locos aliquot in scriptis meis, quæ sunt apud CALVINUM. Vale, & a me non amplius literas expecta super custodiam meam stabo, contemplantor & videbo quid sit dicturus. Nam veniet, certe veniet & non tartabit.

obligation of the Decalogue is vacated, yet I will add one place more, by which you may the better understand the alteration that is made by the coming of CHRIST; that the law of the Decalogue therefore was abrogated, you will thoroughly be convinced of, if you read one place in the xxxjst of *Jeremiah*, where the prophet teaches us, that the covenant that GOD entered into with the fathers of the *Jewish* nation, when they went out of *Egypt*, was done away. I will make a new covenant with the house of *Israel*, and the house of *Judah*, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of *Egypt*, which, my covenant they brake. This was the covenant of the Decalogue; for it is said in *1 Kings viij, ix*. That there were in the ark the two tables of stone which MOSES put there at *Horeb*, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of *Israel*, when they came out of the land of *Egypt*, viz. the covenant of the Decalogue: Hence it was called the ark of the covenant, the tables of the covenant, and the ten words of the covenant. Now this was the form of their entering into covenant; GOD promised that the *Jews* should be his people, upon condition that they performed these words or commands, and they engaged to receive GOD for their LORD, and become his people, upon this condition of keeping

' these commands. Lo! this is the covenant.
 ' And JEREMIAH tells us, that this covenant
 ' was put an end to in the aforesaid chapter;
 ' and EZEKIEL, in the xvjth chapter; and
 ' PAUL, in the vijth of the *Hebrews*. If
 ' GOD was to receive us now into his fa-
 ' vour, upon that condition, we should perish
 ' under the same yoke they did, and should
 ' come under the curse. That law therefore
 ' is abrogated. GOD does not now take us
 ' to be his own people, under that covenant,
 ' but by the faith of JESUS CHRIST, his
 ' beloved SON alone. Hence you may per-
 ' ceive how your gospel is confounded with
 ' the law: Your gospel is without the one
 ' GOD, without the true faith, without good
 ' works. For the one GOD, you have a three-
 ' headed *Cerberus*; for the true faith, you
 ' have a fatal dream; and as for good works,
 ' you say they are empty pictures; the faith
 ' of CHRIST, with you, is mere paint,
 ' without any efficacy. Mankind, in your
 ' account, are no more than stupid blocks;
 ' and GOD, in your system, is no other than
 ' a monster of arbitrary fate. Regeneration
 ' by water, which is from heaven, you are so
 ' far from acknowledging, that you look upon
 ' it only as a fable. You shut men out of the
 ' kingdom of heaven, by excluding us from
 ' it, as an imaginary happiness. Woe to
 ' you; woe, woe! I would fain have you
 ' so well apprized of your real interest and
 ' duty, by this my third letter, that you may
 ' get a better way of thinking; especially
 ' since you are not like to have any such ad-
 ' vice from me hereafter. It is perhaps far
 ' from agreeable to you, that I should con-
 ' cern

cern my self with MICHAEL'S war in the
 Apocalipse, or that I should desire you to
 look into it: But do so much as consider
 that passage narrowly, and you will soon
 perceive who the men were to be, who
 would engage in that quarrel, viz. such as
 were resolved to expose their lives to the
 death, for the blood and the testimony of
 JESUS CHRIST. Nothing is more certain,
 than that angels are spoken of in the scri-
 ptures. Can any thing be more plain from
 thence, than that the church of CHRIST has
 been vanquished for many years since? Does
 not the vision there relate to futurity, as JOHN
 himself asserts? Who is that accuser there,
 who is said to accuse us before, because of the
 transgression of the laws and precepts? He
 saith, that accusation was to be before the
 battle, and the time is at hand, as he says.
 Who are they who shall get the victory of
 the beast, not receiving his character, or
 mark upon them? That I must die for the
 cause I have espoused, I certainly know;
 but I am not at all cast down upon that ac-
 count, since by that, I shall be a disciple,
 made like to his master. This indeed I am
 really concerned for, that by your means I
 cannot have an opportunity of correcting
 several places in my writings, which are in
 CALVIN'S hands. Adieu; and don't ex-
 pect to receive any more letters from me. I
 will stand upon my guard; I will wait, and
 see what the LORD will say unto me; for
 he will come, he will certainly come, and
 will not tarry.

“The

* Bibliot.
vol. II.
p. 133.

“ The author of the *Bibliotèque* says, * that
 “ this letter was not signed, but that SER-
 “ VETUS acknowledged that he was the au-
 “ thor of it. He observes, that it contains
 “ several offensive and extravagant expressions;
 “ SERVETUS was a great zealot, as most
 “ hereticks are. Can it be expected, that
 “ a zealot should keep within the bounds
 “ of moderation? Besides, it ought to be
 “ considered, that he lived in an age that was
 “ not so polite as ours; in an age wherein
 “ the great CALVIN himself did not scruple
 “ to call him a *dog*, even in his commentaries
 “ upon the *bible*. The heterodox writers of
 “ our own time, have much ado to observe the
 “ rules of *decorum*; they break out sometimes
 “ into unbecoming expressions. I really be-
 “ lieve that SERVETUS expected to suffer
 “ death for his doctrine some time or other.

† Bibliot.
ibid.

“ † On the 21st of *August*, LAFONTAINE
 “ and COLLADON exhibited a letter of
 “ BELTHAZAR ARNOLLET, who printed
 “ SERVETUS'S book, and had been impri-
 “ soned with him at *Vienne*. That letter was
 “ written from that city, *July 14, 1553.* to
 “ one JAMES BERTET, at *Chatillon*. The
 “ printer acquainted his friend BERTET,
 “ that he had been deceived by GUEROULT,
 “ the corrector of SERVETUS'S book, who
 “ concealed from him the errors contained in
 “ it, tho' he often asked him, whether there
 “ was any. He desired BERTET to destroy
 “ those books privately.

“ Afterwards CALVIN came in, attended by
 “ all the ministers of *Geneva*; he undertook
 “ to prove against SERVETUS, that the an-
 “ tient fathers, alledged by him, far from
 “ saying

saying any thing that might countenance his opinions, taught a very different doctrine. That reformer and the prisoner had a long dispute about the true sense of the words person and *hypostasis*. That dispute being ended, CALVIN and his attendants went away; and the judges ordered that SERVETUS should have such books as he wanted, bought at his own charges, if they were to be found at *Geneva*, or at *Lyons*. CALVIN had brought some with him, out of which SERVETUS kept TERTULLIAN, St. IRENÆUS, St. IGNATIUS'S epistles, and another.

“ Lastly, it was ordered, that the prisoner should have paper and ink to write a petition, according to his desire.

“ Accordingly, the next day, (*August 22.*) SERVETUS presented the following petition to his judges.

To my most honoured Lords, the Syndics and Council of Geneva.

MICHAEL SERVETUS humbly sheweth,
 “ That the prosecution of a man, for the doctrine of the scripture, or for any question arising from it, is a new invention,
 “ unknown

I shall make no alteration in the orthography.

A mes tres honorés Seigneurs Messieurs les Syndics, & Conseil de Geneve.

Supplie humblement MICHEL SERVETUS accusé, mettant en
 “ fait, que c'est une nouvelle invention, ignorée
 des apostres & disciples & de l'eglise ancienne, de
 faire partie criminelle pour la doctrine de l'écriture,
 ou pour questions procedantes d' icelle. Sela se monstre
 premierement aux *Actes des Apostres*, chapitre xviii & xix. ou tiels
 “ accu-

"accusateurs font deboutés, & renvoyés aux eglises, quant ni
 "aultre crime que questions de la religion pareillement du temp
 "de l'empereur CONSTANTIN le grand, où il y avoyt grande
 "heresies des *arriens* & accusations criminelles, tant du coste de
 "ATHANASIUS, que du costé de ARRIUS, ledict empereur
 "par son conseil & conseil de toutes les eglises, arresta que sur
 "vant la ancienne doctrine, teles accusations varient poynt de lieu
 "voire quand on seroyt un heretique, comme estoit ARRIUS.
 "Mais que toutes leurs questions serient decidées par les eglises, &
 "que estila que seroyt convencu, ou condamné par iceles, si, ne se vo
 "loyt reduire par repentance, seroyt banni. La quiele punition a est
 "de tout temps observée en l'ancienne eglise contra les heretique
 "comme se preuve par mille aultres histoires, & autorités des do
 "cteurs. Pour quoy, messeigneurs, suyvant la doctrine des apostre
 "& disciples, que ne permirent oncques tieles accusations, & suyvan
 "la doctrine de l'ancienne eglise, en la quiele tieles accusations n
 "estiont poynt admises, requiert le dict suppliant estre mis dehors de
 "la accusation criminelle.

"Secondement, messeigneurs, vous supplie considerer, que n
 "poynt offensé en vostre terre, ni ailleurs, na poynt esté sedicieu
 "ni perturbateur. Car les questions que luy tracte, sont difficiles, &
 "seulement dirigées à gens sçavans. Et que de tout le temps que
 "esté en *alamagne*, na jamais parlé de ces questions, que a OECC
 "LAMPADIUS, BUCER & CAPITO. Aussi en *France* nen ha ja
 "mais parlé a home. En oultre que les anabaptistes sedicieux contr
 "les magistrats, & que volient faire les choses communes, il les
 "tousjours reprouvé & reprove. Donc il conclut, que pour avo
 "sans sedition aucune mises en avant certaines questions des ancien
 "docteurs de l'eglise, que pour sela ne doyt aucunement estre deten
 "en accusation criminelle.

"Tiercement, messeigneurs, pour ce quil est estanger, & ne sça
 "les costumes de ce pays, ni comme il fault parler, & proceder e
 "jugement, vous supplie humblement luy doner un procureur, le
 "quiel parle pour luy. Ce fesant, farés bien, & nostre seigneur pro
 "sperera vostre republique. Faict en vostre cite de *Geneve* le 22 d'ao
 "1553.

MICHEL SERVETUS de ville neuve en sa cause propre

"unknown to the apostles and their disciples
 "and to the antient church. As it appears
 "first, from the *Acts of the Apostles*, chap. xvii
 "and xix. where such accusers are cast off
 "and referred to the churches, when there is
 "no crime in the case, and 'tis only a matte
 "relating

“ relating to religion. Likewise in the time
 “ of the emperor *CONSTANTINE*, when
 “ there were great heresies, and criminal ac-
 “ cusations, both on the part of *ATHANA-*
 “ *SIUS* and *ARIUS*, the said emperor with
 “ the advice of his council, and of all the
 “ churches decreed, That according to the
 “ antient doctrine, such accusations should not
 “ be admitted, even tho’ a man were an here-
 “ tick, as *ARIUS* was; that all their disputes
 “ should be determined by the churches, and
 “ that a man convicted, or condemned by
 “ them, should be banished, unless he re-
 “ pent. That punishment was at all times
 “ inflicted upon hereticks in the antient church,
 “ as may be proved by a thousand other pas-
 “ sages and authorities. Wherefore, my Lords,
 “ the said petitioner begs, that he may be
 “ no longer prosecuted as a criminal, agree-
 “ ably to the doctrine of the apostles and their
 “ disciples, and of the antient church, who
 “ never admitted any such accusation.

“ *Secondly*, My Lords, the petitioner be-
 “ seesches you to consider, that he has com-
 “ mitted no fault in your city, nor any where
 “ else; that he has not been a seditious man,
 “ nor a disturber of the publick peace; (for
 “ the matters treated by him are difficult, and
 “ such as can only be understood by learned
 “ men) that all the time he was in *Germany*,
 “ he never discoursed of those things but with
 “ *OECOLAMPADIUS*, *BUCER* and *CAPITO*,
 “ and that he never imparted his opinions to
 “ any body in *France*; besides, he always dis-
 “ approved, and continues to disapprove the
 “ anabaptists, who oppose the magistrates, and
 “ would have all things to be common.

Q

“ Where-

“Wherefore he concludes, that he ought
 “not to be prosecuted as a criminal, for set-
 “ting forth some questions debated by the an-
 “tient doctors of the church, since he has
 “done it without acting like a seditious man.

“*Thirdly*, My Lords, because he is a foreigner,
 “wholly unacquainted with the customs of
 “this country, and knows not how to speak
 “and proceed in his trial, he humbly beseeches
 “you to give him an attorney, who may
 “speak for him, it will be well done, and the
 “LORD will prosper your Republick.

MICHAEL SERVETUS of Villanueve,
pleading his own cause.

SERVETUS presented some other petitions,
 of which an account will be given in its pro-
 per place.

Bibl. Ang.
 p. 138.

“On the 23d of *August*, SERVETUS being
 “brought to the bar, the attorney-general ex-
 “hibited thirty new articles against him, and
 “required that he should be interrogated upon
 “each of them. Most of those interroga-
 “tories concerned his person, his life and con-
 “versation.

“Here follows some of his answers: That
 “it was about four or five and twenty years
 “ago he left his own country, and he had not
 “returned thither since. That his parents were
 “not of jewish, but of christian and antient
 “extraction, and lived nobly (*vivans noble-*
 “*ment*).” * That he had studied physick at

* Qu'il
 etudia en
 medicine

Paris,

à Paris, & y lût publiquement en mathématique : qu' étant gra-
 dué, & savant en medicine, il l'a toujours pratiquée depuis, n'ayant
 en aucune autre profession, excepté à Lyon, où il fut un peu de
 temps correcteur d'imprimerie : Que son premier livre (*de Tri-*
nitatis Erroribus) ne fut point imprimé à Bâle.

Paris, and that he read mathematical lectures in publick; that he having his degrees, and some knowledge in physick, did always practise in that faculty; having no other profession, unless it was at Lyons, where he was, for a short time, corrector of the press; and that his first book (*of Errors about the Trinity*) was not printed at Basil. "That he composed his last book (*Christianismi Restitutio*) without looking into the first printed in Germany: That when he was in that country, he imparted his opinions to none but OECOLAMPADIUS, BUCER and CAPITO: That he published his last book with a good intention, following the dictates of his conscience: * That no body had corrected the proofs but himself: That Mr. CALVIN, and Mr. ABEL POUPIN (alias PEPIN) abused him much more in several Latin and French books, than he had abused them in the Latin letter, written to the latter: That if he is mistaken in his doctrine concerning infant baptism, he is ready to change his opinion, and begs mercy, (*qu'il demande misericord criant merci*): That he was not come to Geneva with a design to stay in that city, &c. That he told his landlord and landlady, he intended the next day to set out for Switzerland; and that he did not appear abroad for fear of being discovered.

"It was upon this day, that the prisoner declared that he was impotent; for his judges being of opinion, that so great an heretick must have been a great sinner; they asked him, whether he had never committed fornication? He answered, that

Q 2

" he

* Que per-
sonne n'
en a cor-
rigé les e-
preuves
que lui.

* Item, S'il a été marié; & s'il répond que non, fera interrogé, veu son aage, comment il s'est peu tant longuement contenir de se marier.

“ he had never been guilty of that sin. Being further asked, how he could contain himself (* considering his age, for he was then forty-four years old)? His answer was that he was impotent through an accident that happened to him in his child-hood † But replied his judges, did you not say once, when they asked you, why you would not marry, that there were women enough to be had without marrying? He answered that he did not remember that ever he had said any such thing; and that if he had, he spoke it in jest ‡.

† SERVET répondit qu'il ne s'étoit jamais marié, pour ce qu'il ne se sentoit pas potent, veu qu'il est coupé sur costé, & de l'autre il est rompu.

‡ En gaudisserie, pour donner à entendre qu'il n'étoit pas impotent; car il n'avoit que faire de le laisser favoir.

Bibl. Ang. p. 142.

“ The author of the *Bibliothèque* observes upon this passage, that SERVETUS was fond of his new doctrine, from his younger years, and his thoughts were so bent upon it, that it is not improbable he would have lived a chaste life, had he had all the vigour of a man. We very rarely, says he, see a reformer, but what is very regular, as to his life and manners. The spirit of reformation, and the spirit of libertinism, are altogether incompatible.

“ On the 28th of *August*, the lieutenant brought in thirty-eight articles; about which, he desired that the prisoner should be examined, and that he should answer each of them affirmatively, or negatively.

“ Those articles were inserted at the end of a long preamble of the attorney-general

“ th

“ the design of which was to shew, that S E R V E T U S
 “ V E T U S deserved to be put to death. The
 “ attorney-general represented to the judges,
 “ that S E R V E T U S varied in his answers ;
 “ that they were full of lyes, and that he de-
 “ rided G O D and his word, by alledging, cor-
 “ rupting and wresting the passages of the
 “ holy scriptures to conceal his blasphemies,
 “ and avoid being punished. He added, that
 “ S E R V E T U S had made a wrong choice of
 “ the examples quoted by him, in his peti-
 “ tion, out of the *Acts of the Apostles* ; and
 “ that what he said of the emperor C O N -
 “ S T A N T I N E was false. Besides, he alledg-
 “ ed against the prisoner the laws of those
 “ emperors, who condemned hereticks to
 “ death. He further said, that S E R V E T U S
 “ was condemned by his own conscience, and
 “ sensible that he deserved death ; and that,
 “ like the anabaptists, he deprived the magi-
 “ strates of the right of the sword: *Lastly*, He
 “ concluded, that since S E R V E T U S knew so
 “ well how to tell lyes, he should not have
 “ an attorney, as he desired ; that such a
 “ thing was forbidden by the civil law, and
 “ never granted to such seducers.

“ The articles, about which the prisoner
 “ was examined on that day, concern rather
 “ the impression of his book, his person, his
 “ life and conversation, than his doctrine.

“ He answered, among other things, that
 “ since his return from *Germany*, he had im-
 “ parted his opinions to none in writing, but
 “ to Mr. C A L V I N and Mr. P E P I N ; and that
 “ he had also writ a letter to Mr. P E T E R
 “ V I R E T, that he believed his doctrine to be
 “ true, till he should be convinced of the con-
 “ trary, &c. “ The

“ The 31st of *August* the syndic and coun-
 “ cil of *Geneva* received a letter from the
 “ vice bailiff, and the king’s attorney at
 “ *Vienne*, dated the 26th of the same month,
 “ wherein they gave many thanks to those
 “ magistrates, for informing them that SER-
 “ VETUS had been apprehended in their city,
 “ and that he was their prisoner, and desired
 “ them to send him back to *Vienne*, that their
 “ sentence might be executed upon him.
 “ That letter was delivered to the magistrates
 “ of *Geneva*, by the *viquier*, or captain, of the
 “ royal palace at *Vienne*.

“ On the same day SERVETUS being
 “ brought to the bar, the captain came in,
 “ and the judges asked the prisoner, whether
 “ he knew him? He answered, he did; and
 “ that he had been two days under his
 “ custody, from *Tuesday* till *Friday* in the morn-
 “ ing, &c. Being asked by the judges, whether
 “ he had rather stay at *Geneva*, or go back to
 “ *Vienne* with the goaler that was come to fetch
 “ him? He threw himself upon the ground,
 “ melting in tears, and begged of the judges,
 “ that they would rather try him at *Geneva*,
 “ and deal with him as they should think fit
 “ (*& que messieurs fissent de lui tout ce qu’il leur*
 “ *plairoit*).

“ He further said, that he had been exa-
 “ mined twice at *Vienne*; that he was asked,
 “ whether he had been in *Germany*? That
 “ they shewed him some sheets of a manu-
 “ script, which he had sent to CALVIN, and
 “ some letters which he had writ to him.
 “ He added, that he looked upon the mass as
 “ a wicked thing (*qu’il tient la messe meschante*)
 “ and had writ against it as the protestants;
 “ that

“ that he went to mass at *Vienne*, which was
 “ a sinful thing, and that he had done it for
 “ fear of being put to death.

“ * Since that learned physician did not * Puisque
 “ aspire after the glory of martyrdom, he ce savant
 “ should not have writ against the doctrine of medicin
 “ the Trinity, at a time when all hereticks of n'aspiroit
 “ all kinds were committed to the flames. point à la
 gloire du
 martyre,

il ne devoit pas écrire contre la doctrine de la Trinité, dans un tems
 où l'on faisoit expirer au milieu des flammes toutes sortes d' héré-
 tiques. *Bibliot. p. 144.*

“ **SERVETUS** cannot be excused for going
 “ to mass against his conscience, for he might
 “ have retired into a protestant country; but
 “ perhaps he was afraid of being prosecuted
 “ by the protestants as an anti-trinitarian. His
 “ heresy was known to several protestants of
 “ *Geneva*, *Switzerland*, and *Germany*; but the
 “ roman-catholicks in *France* knew nothing of
 “ his being an heretick, before he published
 “ his *Christianismi Restitutio*, and that **CALVIN**
 “ had charged heresie upon him.

“ The goaler of *Vienne* left *Geneva*, having
 “ got an attestation, importing how **SERVE-**
 “ **TUS** had declared, that he had made his
 “ escape without his assistance.

“ On the 1st of *September*, **SERVETUS** re-
 “ fused, out of generosity, to name those
 “ who were in his debt in *France*. The judges
 “ asked him several questions about it, at the
 “ sollicitation of the *Sieur de MAUGERON*,
 “ who writ a letter to them, to inform them,
 “ that the king had given **SERVETUS**'s estate
 “ to his son.

“ On

* Je suis fâché de le rencontrer si souvent en mon chemin. *Bibl. Ang.* p. 145.

“ On the same day CALVIN appeared again before the prisoner. * I am sorry, say the author of the *Biblioteque*, to meet with CALVIN so often in my way. The judge ordered him to extract several propositions word for word, out of SERVETUS's book and that SERVETUS should answer, and prove his doctrine in *latin*. Pursuant to that order, CALVIN extracted many propositions out of that book, and reduced them to thirty-eight articles, which were delivered to the prisoner. The latter answered them in writing. CALVIN made reply, which was also delivered to the prisoner, on the 15th of *September*, I shall speak of them hereafter.

“ On that day (*September 15.*) SERVETUS presented another petition to his judges.

† *Most honoured Lords,*

I Humbly beseech you, that you would be pleased to put a stop to those great delays, or leave off prosecuting me as a criminal. You see that CALVIN is put to his last

† *Mes tres honorés Seigneurs,*

JE vous supplie tres humblement, que vous plaife abreger ces grandes dilations, ou me mettre hors de la criminailté. Vous voyes que CALVIN est au bout de son roule, ne sachant se qu'il doyt dire, & pour son plaisir me veult icy faire pourrir en la prison. Les poulx me mangent tout vif, mes chaufes sont descirees, & n'ont rien de quoy changer, ni perpoint, ni chamise, que une mechante. Je vous avois presenté une aultre requeste, la quiete estoit selon DIEU. Et pour la empecher, CALVIN vous a allegué JUSTINIAN certe il est mal heureux, d'alleguer contra may ce que luy me sme ne croyt pas. Luy mesme ne tient poyn, ni croyt poyn ce que JUSTINIAN a dict de sacrosantis ecclesiis, & de episcopis & clericis, & d'autres choses de la religion: Et scait bien que leglise estoit desja depravée

depravée. Cest grandhonte a luy, encores plus grande, qu'il a cinq semaines que me tient icy si fort enfermé, & na jamais allegue contra moi un seul passage.

Messeigneurs, je vous avoys aussi demandé un procureur, ou advocat, comme aviés permis à ma partie, la quiele nen avoyt si afaire que moy que suys estrangier, ignorant les costumes de ce pays. Toute fois vous lavés permis a luy, non pas a moy, & laves mis hors de prison, davant de cognoistre. Je vous requier que ma cause soyt mise au conseil de deux cents, aveque mes requestes: Et si jen puy appeller la, jen appelle, protestant de tous despans, dammages & intéres, & de *pœna talionis*, tant contra le premier accusatuer, que contra CALVIN son maistre, qui a prins la cause a soy. Faict en vos prisons de Geneve le 15 de Septembre, 1553.

MICHEL SERVETUS en sa cause propre.

last shift, and knows not what to say, and is resolved that I should rot in a prison to please himself. I am eaten up with lice: My breeches are torn in pieces; and I have none to shift, nor another doublet; no shirt, but a very sorry one. I presented you with another petition, which was according to GOD: And to prevent the good effect of it, CALVIN has quoted JUSTINIAN against me. Certainly he is a very unhappy man, to alledge against me what he does not believe. He himself does not believe what JUSTINIAN says, *De sacrosanctis ecclesiis, & de episcopis & clericis*; i. e. Of the sanctity of churches, and of bishops and clerks, and other things relating to religion: He knows very well, that the church was then corrupted. 'Tis a great shame for him to do so; but 'tis a greater shame still, that he should have kept me a close prisoner these five weeks, without alledging any one passage against me: (I suppose SERVETUS means any one passage that is to the purpose.)

‘ My Lords, I also desired you to allow me
 ‘ an attorney, or an advocate, as you have al-
 ‘ lowed one to my adversary, who did not
 ‘ want it so much as I do, who am a foreigner
 ‘ unacquainted with the customs of this coun-
 ‘ try; and yet you have granted his request,
 ‘ and denied mine, and set him at liberty be-
 ‘ fore you took cognizance of my cause. I
 ‘ desire that my cause may be removed to the
 ‘ council of two hundred, with my petitions
 ‘ and if I can appeal to them, I actually do
 ‘ it, protesting against all charges and ex-
 ‘ pences, and insisting upon *pœna talionis*, not
 ‘ only against the first accuser, but also against
 ‘ CALVIN, who has taken the cause upon
 ‘ himself. From your prison at Geneva, Sep-
 ‘ tember 15. 1553.

MICHAEL SERVETUS *pleading*
his own cause.

“ SERVETUS presented two other peti-
 “ tions, between that day (*September 15.*) and
 “ the 27th of *October*, on which he was exe-
 “ cuted. The first is dated the 22d of *Sep-*
 “ *tember*, and is as follows:

* *Most honoured Lords,*

‘ I Am confined like a criminal, and prose-
 ‘ cuted by JOHN CALVIN, who has
 ‘ falsely accused me, pretending that I have
 ‘ published.

‘ 1. That

* *Tres honorés Seigneurs,*

JE suis detenu en accusation criminelle de la part de JEHAN
 CALVIN, lequel me faulsamant accuse, disant que j’aves e-
 script.

1. Que

1. Que les ames estiont mortelles & aussi.
2. Que J E S U S C H R I S T navoyt prins de la vierge M A R I A, que la quatriesme partié de son corps.

Ce sont choses horribles, & execrables. En toutes les aultres heresies, & en tous les aultres crimes, nen a poynt si grand, que de faire lame mortelle. Car a tous les âtres il y asperance de salut, & non poynt a cestui cy. Qui dict cela, ne croyt poynt qu'il y aye DIEU, ni justice, ni resurrection, ni J E S U C H R I S T, ni sainte scripture, ni rien: Si non que tout e mort, & que home & beste soyt tout un. Si javes dict sela, non seulement dict, mais escript publicamant, pour enfecir le monde je me condamnares moy mesme mort.

Pourquoy Messeigneurs, je demande que mon faulx accusateur soyt puni *pœna talionis*, & que soyt detenu prisonier comme moy, jusques a ce que la cause soyt diffinie pour mort de luy ou de moy, ou aultre poine. Et pour ce faire je me inscrist contra luy a la dicte poine de talion. Et suys content de morir, si non est convencu, tant de cecy, que d'aultres choses, que je luy mêttré dessus. Je vous demande justice, Messeigneurs, justice, justice, justice. Faict a vos prisons de *Geneve* le 22 de *Septembre*.

MICHEL S E R V E T U S *en sa cause propre.*

1. That human souls are mortal; and also,
2. That J E S U S C H R I S T took only the fourth part of his body from the virgin M A R Y.

These are horrid and execrable things. There is no heresy nor crime so great, as that of asserting, that the soul is mortal; for there is hope of salvation in all other crimes and heresies, but not in this. Whoever maintains such a thing, does not believe the being of a G O D, nor a divine justice, nor the resurrection, nor J E S U S C H R I S T, nor the holy scriptures: In a word, he believes nothing at all. Had I said and published

‘ such a thing, to infect the world, I should
 ‘ condemn my self to death.

‘ Wherefore, my Lords, I desire that my
 ‘ false accuser should be punished *pœna talionis*
 ‘ and confined to a prison, as I am, till he or
 ‘ I be condemned to death, or to some other
 ‘ punishment. I am willing to die, if he is
 ‘ not convicted both of this and other things
 ‘ which I shall lay to his charge. I beg of
 ‘ you, my Lords, to do me justice; justice
 ‘ my Lords, justice. From my prison at Geneva
 ‘ September 22. 1553.

MICHAEL SERVETUS *pleading*
his own cause.

“ That petition was attended with the fol-
 “ lowing articles.

* *Some articles, about which MICHAEL SERVETUS requires JOHN CALVIN should be interrogated.*

‘ I. **W**Hether in *March* last he got **WILLIAM TRIE** to write to *Lyon*.
 ‘ and said a great many things against **MICHAEL VILLANOVANOUS**, alias **SERVETUS**.

* *Articles sur les quels MICHEL SERVETUS demande que JEHAN CALVIN soyt interrogé.*

I. **S**I le mois de *Mars* dernier passé fit escrire par **GUILLAUM TRIE** a *Lyon*, disant, tout plein de choses de **MICHAEL VILLANOVANUS**, dict **SERVETUS**. Quel estoit le contenu de la lettre, & pour quoy.

II. Si avecque la dicte lettre envoya la moytie du premier quoy du livre du dict **SERVETUS**, ou estoit le titre, & l'indice, out table & quelque commançament du dict livre, intitule *Christianismi Restitutio*.

III. Si tout cela ne fut envoyé, pour le faire voir aux officiaux de *Lion*, pour faire accuser le dict *SERVETUS*, comme le effect sen suyvit.

IV. Si environ quinze jours apres la dicte lettre, envoya derechef par le mesme *TRIE* plus de vingt epistres en *latin*, que le dict *SERVETUS* luy havoyt escrit : Et les envoya, comme les autres de par dela luy demandont, a fin que plus surement le dict *SERVETUS* fut accusé & convencu, comme l' effect sen suyvit.

V. Si apres na entendu, que pour la dicte accusation, le dict *SERVETUS* à esté *Bruslé* en effigie & son bien confisqué, & fusté esté *Bruslé* in persone, si ne se fut eschapé des prisons.

VI. Si ne sçait bien que nest poyn lestat dun ministre del evangile, de estre accusateur criminel, ni de por suivre judicielement un home a mort.

Messeigneurs, il y a quatre raisons grandes & infallibles, par les quielles *CALVIN* doyt estre condamné.

La *Premiere* est, pour ce que la matiere de la doctrine nest poyn subjecte à accusation criminelle, comme vous ay monstre par mes requests, & monstrarei plus amplemant par les anciens docteurs de leglise. Pour quoy il a grandamant abusé de la criminalité, & contra lestat dun ministre de levangile.

La *Seconde* raison est pource qu'il est faulx accusateur, comme la presente inscription vous monstre & se prouvera facilement par la lecture de mon livre.

La *Tierse* est, que par frivoles & calumnieuses raisons veult opprimer la verité de *JESU CHRIST*, comme par le raport de nos escriptions vous sera manifesté. Car il y a mis de grandes menteries & meschancees.

La *Quatriesme* raisons est, que en grande partie il ensuyt la doctrine de *SIMON MAGUS*, contra tous les docteurs qui furent jamais en leglise. Pour quoy comme magicien quel est, doyt non seulement estre condamné, mais doyt estre exterminé & dechaché de vostre ville. Et son bien doyt estre adjudé a moy en recompanse du mien, que luy ma fait perdre la quiele chose, Messeigneurs, je vous demande. Faict le jour que dessus, &c.

MICHEL SERVETUS en sa cause prope.

VETUS. What were the contents of that letter, and for what end it was written.

§ II. Whether

‘ II. Whether he sent, with the said letter,
 ‘ one half of the first quire of the said S E R -
 ‘ V E T U S ’ s book, containing the title, the
 ‘ index, and the beginning of the said book,
 ‘ entitled, *Christianismi Restitutio*.

‘ III. Whether it be not true, that the whole
 ‘ was sent to shew it to the officials at *Lyons*,
 ‘ that the said S E R V E T U S might be prose-
 ‘ cuted as it appeared by the event.

‘ IV. Whether about a fortnight after, he
 ‘ sent, by the same T R I E, above twenty
 ‘ *latin* letters (which the said S E R V E T U S
 ‘ had writ to him) according to the desire of
 ‘ his enemies at *Lyons*, that the said S E R V E -
 ‘ T U S might be more easily prosecuted, and
 ‘ convicted, as it appeared by the event.

‘ V. Whether he was not informed since,
 ‘ that by vertue of the said accusation, the
 ‘ said S E R V E T U S was burnt in effigie, and
 ‘ his estate confiscated; and that he would
 ‘ actually have been burnt, had he not made
 ‘ his escape.

‘ VI. Whether he knows not, that it does
 ‘ not become a minister of the gospel to pro-
 ‘ secute a man to death.

‘ My Lords, there are four weighty and
 ‘ undeniable reasons, for which C A L V I N
 ‘ ought to be condemned.

‘ *First*, Because no man ought to be prose-
 ‘ cuted like a criminal for any doctrinal point,
 ‘ as I have shewed in my petitions, and shall
 ‘ make

‘ make it appear more at large by the antient
 ‘ doctors of the church; and therefore he has
 ‘ made a very ill use of a criminal prosecution,
 ‘ and acted against the character of a
 ‘ minister of the gospel.

‘ *Secondly*, Because he is a false accuser, as
 ‘ you may see by these papers, and as it
 ‘ will plainly appear, by the reading of my
 ‘ book.

‘ *Thirdly*, Because he designs to stifle the
 ‘ doctrine of CHRIST by frivolous and ca-
 ‘ lumnious arguments, as you plainly see by
 ‘ my papers; for he has inserted in them great
 ‘ lyes and wicked things.

‘ *Fourthly*, Because he follows, in a great
 ‘ measure, the doctrine of SIMON MAGUS,
 ‘ contrary to all the doctors that ever lived in
 ‘ the church: And therefore being a magi-
 ‘ cian, he ought not only to be condemned,
 ‘ but also expelled from your city; and his
 ‘ estate ought to be adjudged to me as an
 ‘ equivalent for the loss of mine, which he
 ‘ has occasioned. This is, my Lords, what
 ‘ I desire of you, written the abovesaid day,
 ‘ &c.

MICHAEL SERVETUS *pleading*
his own cause.

“ I have found out, that CALVIN had
 some enemies at *Geneva*, who advised SER-
 VETUS to abuse him to the highest degree,
 and made him believe it would be very ad-
 vantageous to his cause. I shall have here-
 after a more proper occasion to enlarge upon
 this particular.

Here follows the last petition of SERVETUS.

Magnificent

* *Magnificent Lords,*

'TIS now three weeks since I desired to have a hearing, but could not obtain it. I beseech you, for JESUS CHRIST sake, not to deny me what you would not deny a *Turk*, when I desire you to do me justice. I have several things to tell you, that are very important and necessary.

As for the orders you gave, that something should be done to keep me clean, they have not been performed; and I am more miserable than ever. Besides, I am very much troubled with cold, by reason of my cholick and rupture, which occasions some other miseries that I am ashamed to write. 'Tis a great piece of cruelty, that I should not be allowed to speak, in order to supply my wants. For GOD'S sake, my Lords, give some orders about it, either out of compassion, or out of duty, *October 10. 1553.*

MICHAEL SERVETUS.

* *Magnifiques Seigneurs,*

IL y a bien troys femeines, que je desire & demande avoyr audience, & nay jamais peu lavoyr, je vous supplie pour lamour de JESUS CHRIST, ne me refuser ce que vous ne refuseries a un *Turc*, en vous demandant justice. J'ay avous dire choses d'importante, & bien necessaires.

Quant a ce que avies commandè, qu'on me fit quelque chose pour me tenir net, nen a rien este fait, & suys plus pietre que jamais. Et davantage le froyt me tormante grandamant, a cause de ma colique & rompure, la quelle mengendres daultres pauretes, que ay honte vous escrire. C'est grand cruaulté, que je naye conget de parler seulement pour remedier a mes necessites. Pour lamour de DIEU, Messieurs, dones y ordre, ou pour pitié, ou pour le devoyr. Fait en vos prisons de *Geneve* le dixieme d'*Octobre*, 1553.

MICHEL SERVETUS.

Dr.

Dr. MACKENZIE, in his treatise of the lives and characters of the most eminent writers of the *Scotch* nation, makes no * scruple of saying, that CALVIN was so much respected by the magistracy and people of *Geneva*, that he was as absolute a master there, as the pope was at *Rome*; and having bestowed a great *encomium* upon him, he adds, † That he was much to be blamed, upon his being too hot in his zeal against those who differed from him in opinions. An instance of his too fiery zeal he gave in the burning of SERVETUS, and in his book about putting heretics to death, and in saying injurious things of those who differed from him. Thus speaking of SERVETUS, he calls him a most proud *Spanish* dog; and in his dedication to prince RADZIVILLE, prefix'd to his comment on the *Acts of the Apostles*, he gives such names and epithets to the socinians in *Poland*, and to the fathers of the council of *Trent*, that none who have a christian temper can allow of. And speaking of SERVETUS, he says, this physician understood the *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew* languages; and had he confined himself to

S

his

ardent en faisant brûler SERVET, en publiant un livre, pour prouver que l'on doit faire mourir les hérétiques, & en oisant des injures à ceux qui n'étoient pas de son sentiment. C'est ainsi qu'en parlant de SERVET, il le traite d'orgueilleux chien *Espagnol*, & dans l'épître dédicatoire au prince RADZIVILLE, qu'il a mise au devant de son commentaire sur les *Acts des Apôtres*, il dit des injures si outrageantes aux sociniens de *Pologne*, & aux peres du concile de *Trente*, qu'aucun bon chrétien ne sauroit les excuser. Il observe que MICHEL SERVET entendoit le *Latin*, le *Grec*, & l'*Hebreu*, & que si ce medicin s'étoit bonné à sa profession on peut croire, avec beaucoup de vraisemblance, qu'il auroit rendu de grands services à la republique des lettres.

Bibl. Ang.
V. II. p. 361.

* Etoit si respecté des magistrats, & du peuple de *Geneve*, qu'il n'étoit, pas moins absolu dans cette ville, que le pape l'étoit à *Rome*.

† Mais on blâme CALVIN d'avoir faite paroître un zèle violent contre ceux qui avoient des sentimens differens des siens.—

Il donna des marques de ce zèle trop

‘ his own profession, the republick of letter
‘ had been very much obliged to him.’

That what Dr. MACKENZIE observes concerning CALVIN’S power, was just, does not only appear from many preceding instances but particularly from this: That as the author of the *Bibliothèque* remarks, p. 153. *Il ne paroît pas que les juges de SERVET ayent fait aucune attention à ces requêtes.* That it does not appear, that SERVETUS’S judges had any manner of regard to his petitions. We have already said, adds he, that the magistrates of *Geneva* ordered CALVIN to extract several propositions out of SERVETUS’S book, entitled, *Christianismi Restitutio.*

* CALVINI brevis refutatio errorum MICHAELIS SERVETI, Cal. Theo. Trait. p. 837.

‘ Pursuant to that order, * CALVIN went
‘ immediately about it, and reduced those pro-
‘ positions to thirty-eight articles. The title
‘ prefixed to them runs thus :



*Sententia, vel propositi-
ones, excerptæ ex li-
bris MICHAELIS
SERVETI, quas mi-
nistri ecclesiæ Gene-
vensis partem impias
& in DEUM blas-
phemias; partim pro-
fanis erroribus & de-
liriis refertas esse as-
serunt; omnes vero, à
verbo DEI & ortho-
doxo ecclesiæ consensu
prorsus alienas.*

Sentences or Propositions
extracted from the
books of MICHAEL
SERVETUS, which
the Ministers of the
church of Geneva, de-
clare to be full of im-
pious blasphemies a-
gainst GOD, and of
other mad and pro-
fane errors, altogether
repugnant to the word
of GOD, and the or-
thodox agreement of
that church.

OMNES qui Tri-
nitatem statuunt
in essentia Dei, esse Tri-
unitas, veros Atheos, nec
Deum habere nisi tripar-
titem, & aggregativum.
Deum, non absolutum:
imaginarios habere deos,
& illusiones dæmoniorum;
lib. 1. de Trinitate, p. 30.
Quibus respondet quod
addit pagina sequenti. Som-
nia ut voles, dirige oculos
ad phantasmata, & tunc
videbis tuam Trinitatem
non esse intelligibilem si-
ne

I. *ALL* those who believe
a Trinity in the essence
of God, are Tritheists, true
Atheists; nor have they any
other than a tripartite, and
aggregate God, connotative,
not absolute; they have ima-
ginary gods, and illusions of
demons; 30th p. of the
first Book on the Trinity;
to which agrees what he adds
in the following page: They
are dreams of your own;
cast your eyes upon what phan-
tasms are, and you will soon
perceive that your Trinity is
not intelligible without three
phantasms.

ne tribus phantasmatibus. Tandem concludit, omnes Trinitarios esse Atheos.

phantasms. At length he concludes, that all Trinitarians are Atheists.

II. Tot autoritatibus fulciri Hebræos, ut tripartitum Deum à nostris introductum merito admirerentur. *Lib. 1. de Trin. p. 36.*

II. *He asserts, that the Hebrews being supported by so many authorities, deservedly wonder at the tripartite Deity that is introduced by us.*

III. Incorpoream Deitatem realiter distinctam Mahometo causam dedisse negandi Christum; *ibid.*

III. *To assert that the incorporeal Deity is really distinct within itself, has given the handle to Mahomet to deny Christ.*

IV. Tres illas res incorporeas distinctas in Dei unitate non posse stare, & esse Triadem imaginariam, *p. 29.*

IV. *That there should be three incorporeal beings, distinct in the unity of God, is utterly inconsistent, and is no other than an imaginary Trinity.*

V. Ut fucum impiis suis dogmatibus inducat, fateatur quidem in Deo personalem fuisse distinctionem, sed personam duntaxat externam intelligit, quæ in Dei essentia non verè subsistat; sicuti *lib. 3. de Trin. p. 92.* Dicit verbum fuisse idealem rationem ab initio, quæ jam hominem referebat fuisse in verbo apud Deum futuri hominis Jesu Christi exemplar,

V. *That he may colour over his impious opinions, he confesses that there was a personal distinction in God, but understands it of a person only external, that does not truly subsist in the essence of God. He says, that the word was an ideal reason from the beginning, which now relates to him as man; was the exemplar, person, effigies, countenance, face of the future man, Jesus Christ,*
in

plar, personam, effigiem, vultum, faciem, hominis in Deo repræsentationem. Item dialogo 1. p. 229. non esse inter verbum, & spiritum realem differentiam. Item lib. 5. de Trin. p. 189. nullam fuisse in Deo realem generationem, vel spirationem.

VI. Ut palam appareat confundi ab eo personas, lib 2. de Trinit. p. 66. sic loquitur, ipsa sapientia olim simul erat, verbum & spiritus, quia non erat realis distinctio, ipsamet sapientia erat spiritus; & lib. 5. de Trin. p. 164. totum verbi, & spiritus arcanum definit fuisse fulgentem Christi gloriam.

VII. Quanquam autem negat distinctionem realem in tribus personis ante Jesu Christi incarnationem; dicit tamen tanta gloria decoratum fuisse Christum, ut non solum sit ipse Deus de Deo, sed & sit Deus de quo alius Deus procedat, lib. 5. p. 185.

VIII. Ip-

in the word with God; the representation of man in God. In his first dialogue likewise, page 229, he says, that there is no real difference between the word and the spirit; and in his first book of the Trinity, p. 189, that there was in God no real generation or spiration.

VI. *That it may plainly appear, that the persons are confounded by him, he, in the second book of the Trin. p. 66, speaks after this manner; The wisdom itself was formerly both the word and the spirit, because there was no real distinction, that very same wisdom was the spirit; and in his 5th book, p. 164, he defines the whole mystery of the word and spirit to have been the effulgent glory of Christ.*

VII. *However, tho' he denies any real distinction in the three persons, before the incarnation of Christ, yet he says that Christ was invested with so much glory, that he may not be only God himself of God, but that he may be God from whom another God may proceed, p. 185, of his 5th book of the Trinity.*

VIII. *Christ*

VIII. Ipsum Christum esse Filium Dei, quatenus genitus est à Deo in utero virginis *Mariæ*. Idque non solum virtute spiritus sancti, sed quia Deus ex sua substantia illum genuit, lib. 1. de Trin. p. 11, 12. item epistola ad *Calvinum*, 1 & 2.

IX. Verbum Dei de cælo descendens esse nunc carnem Christi; ita ut caro Christi de cælo sit, lib. Trin. p. 17 & 18. item, lib. 2. p. 73. Corpus ipsum Christi esse corpus Deitatis, carnem ejus divinam, carnem Dei cælestem, de substantia Dei genitam. Item, Dial. 1. p. 231. Animam Christi esse Deum, carnem Christi esse Deum, & tam Christi animam quàm carnem fuisse ab æterno in propria deitatis substantia.

X. Lib. 2. de Trinit. p. 77. sic loquitur. Essentia corporis & animæ Christi est verbi & spiritus Deitas, & Christus ab initio

VIII. *Christ himself is the Son of God, not only as begotten by God, in the womb of the virgin Mary, but because God begot him of his own substance, in p. 11, 12, of the first book of the Trinity, and in his epistle to Calvin, 1 & 2.*

IX. *That the word of God descending from heaven, is now the flesh of Christ; so as that the flesh of Christ is from heaven, p. 17, 18, of his first book of the Trinity, and in the second, p. 73. The very body of Christ is the body of the Deity; his flesh is divine, the celestial flesh of God, begotten of the substance of God: And in p. 231. of his first Dialogue, the soul of Christ is God, the flesh of Christ is God; and his soul, as well as his flesh, were from eternity, in the proper substance of the divinity.*

X. *In the second book of the Trinity, p. 77, he thus expresses himself. The essence of the body and soul of Christ is the Deity of the word*

tio est tam ratione corporis quam ratione animæ. Item, lib 2. p. 87. Non solum in anima sed, & in carne Christi est substantia Deitatis. Item, lib. 5. de Trin. p. 164. Deus erat verbum & spiritus, verbum & spiritum variè dispensans in corpus, & animam.

word and spirit; and Christ was from the beginning, as well in regard to his body, as to his soul; so in p. 87, the substance of the Deity is not only in the soul, but in the body of Christ. So in the 5th book, p. 164, God was the word, and the spirit variously dispensing, word and spirit into body and soul.

XI. Ut ostendat sibi ludibrio esse Christi divinitatem, exponit eum dici sapientiam, & virtutem Dei, & splendorem gloriæ ipsius, perinde ac si vocaretur excellens, quædam sapientia & virtus, lib 2. de Trin. p. 87.

XI. That he may shew how he sports himself with the divinity of Christ, he explains himself, by calling it the wisdom and power of God, and the splendor of his glory, even as if he should be only called some certain wisdom and power; book 2. p. 87.

XII. Jesum Christum hominem, ab initio apud Deum fuisse in propria persona, & substantia; lib. 2. de Trin. p. 90. Alibi tamen tribuit Christo duas personas; lib. 4. de Trin. p. 129.

XII. The Man Christ Jesus was from the beginning with God in his proper person and substance; book 2. p. 90, and yet he attributes to Christ two persons in his 4th book, p. 129.

XIII. Postquam confessus est verbum Dei factum fuisse hominem, dicit hoc verbum fuisse semen Christi. lib. 4. p. 145. de Trin. eam rem esse aliam à filio. Lib.

XIII. After he had acknowledged that the Word of God was become man, he says this Word was the seed of Christ, in the 4th book of the Trinity, p. 145. That he was like-

Lib. 1. de Trin. p. 23. item verbum quo mundus creatus est, prolatum fuisse ejus gratia, unde sequitur ipsum non esse illud verbum. Lib. 2. de Trin. p. 85. Item verbum Dei fuisse rorem naturalis generaturæ Christi in utero virginis, sicut semen generationis animalium. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 260. Præterea Filium Dei naturaliter genitum fuisse ex spiritu sancto per sermonem. Lib. 1. de regeneratione, p. 355.

XIV. Verbum ipsum Dei fuisse semen generationis Christi. Et sicut generantia omnia prius. in seipsis semen concipiunt, quam foetum extra se mittant: Ita fuisse in Deo semen verbi, priusquam in Maria filius conciperetur. Lib. 4. de Trin. p. 146. Item paternum semem generaturæ Christi, id ipsum in eo effecisse quod in unoquoque nostrum facit semen creatum patris. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 254.

XV. Per

likewise something different from the Son. Book 1. of the Trinity, p. 23. That the Word also, by whom the world was created, was produced by his favour; from whence it follows, that he himself is not that word. Book 2. of the Trin. p. 85. And that the Word of God was the dew of the natural generaturæ of Christ in the womb of the Virgin, as the seed of generation is in animals, in the second Dialogue of the Trinity p. 260. Besides, the Son of God was naturally begotten by the Holy Spirit, thro' the Word. Book 1. of Regeneration p. 355.

XIV. *The Word of God it self was the seed of the generation of Christ, as all generating beings conceive in themselves, before they bring forth the foetus; so the seed of the Word was in God, before the conception of a son by Mary. Book 4. of the Trinity, p. 146. That the paternal seed of the generaturæ of Christ effected the very same thing in him, which the created seed of the father does in every one of us. Dial. 2. of the Trinity, p. 254.*

XV. B.

XV. Per actionem spiritus Dei extitisse ipsum Christi corpus, quoniam verbo divino quasi rore genituræ Christi cum elementis his creatis simul se terræ miscuerit, & quatenus divinus, & humanus halitus ejus animæ insitus fuerat, & coaluerit, extitisse hypostasim unam spiritus ejus, quæ est hypostasis spiritus sancti, lib. 5. de Trin. p. 165. Et antea dixerat in Christo tria elementa esse de substantia patris. Lib. 4. de Trin. p. 159.

XVI. Ut corrumpat dictum Apostoli, cap. ij. ad Hebræos, Christum scilicet non assumpsisse naturam angelorum, sed semen Abrahamæ, sic exponit nempe quod nos à morte liberavit. Lib. 2. de Trin. p. 90.

XVII. Deum esse patrem spiritus sancti, quod nihil aliud est quam personas confundere, quales etiam

XV. *By the agency of the Spirit of God, the body of Christ itself existed; for by the divine word, as it were the dew of the geniture of Christ, the spirit mingled itself with the created elements of the earth: And since the divine and human breath was sown and nourished together in his soul, the one Hypostasis of his Spirit became extant, which is the Hypostasis of the holy Spirit. Book 5. of the Trinity, p. 165. And he had said before, that the three elements in Christ were of the substance of the Father. Book 4. of the Trinity, p. 159.*

XVI. *In order to corrupt that saying of the Apostle, in the second of the Hebrews, viz. That Christ took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, he thus expounds it, viz. because he hath delivered us from death. Book 2. of the Trinity, p. 90.*

XVII. *That God is the father of the holy spirit; the purport of which is nothing less than to confound the persons,*

etiam ipse fingit. Lib. 5.
de Trin. p. 187.

XVIII. Ut ostendat se
ludere in voce personæ,
dicit unam solam fuisse
personalem imaginem seu
faciem, quæ erat Christi
persona in Deo, etiam an-
gelis communicato. Lib. 3.
de Trin. p. 102.

XIX. Tria elementa esse
ab utroque parente tam in
Christo quam in nobis ;
terream verò materiam esse
à sola matre tam in Christo
quam in generalibus om-
nibus ; unde sequitur illum
non habuisse corpus nostro
simile, id quod perinde
est ac redemptionem no-
stram delere. Dial. 2. de
Trin. p. 250. quod etiam
plenius exprimit. Lib. 5.
de Trin. p. 194. quum
dicit in nobis solum esse
elementa creata, in Christo
esse creata, & increata, &
substantiam spiritus Dei,
ipsi carni substantialiter
communicatam.

XX. Rorem illum cœ-
lestem virgini obumbran-
tem, & semini ejus, & fan-
guini

sons, even such persons as
himself feigns them to be
Book 5. of the Trinity, p. 18

XVIII. To shew how
plays with the word person
he says, that was one on
personal image, or face, whi
was the person of Christ
God, communicated also
the angels. Book 3. of t
Trinity, p. 102.

XIX. As there are in
three elements from each p
rent, so there are in Christ
but the earthly matter is on
from the mother, as in Chri
so in mankind in general
whence it follows, that he ha
not a body like ours, whic
in consequence is to raise o
our redemption. Dial. 2.
the Trinity, p. 250. whic
he more fully expresses
Book 5. of the Trinity, p. 19.
where he says, that there a
only created elements in u
but in Christ there are bo
created, and increated ; an
that the substance of t
spirit of God is substantial
communicated to his flesh.

XX. That the celestia
dew over-shadowing the vir
gin, and mingling itself wi
h

guini sese immiscentem transformasse in Deum humanam materiam. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 263.

her semen and blood, transformed the human matter into God. Dial. 2. of the Trinity, p. 263.

XXI. Duas naturas confundens, dicit lucem creatam & increatam fuisse in Christo unam lucem; & ex spiritu divino, & anima humana constituisse in Christo unam substantiam animam. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 268. adeoque substantiam carnis, & substantiam verbi esse unam substantiam. Pag. sequenti. Tandem concludit carnem Christi substantiam verbi habere corporaliter, substantialem ipsum vitalem spiritum divinum; atque ea esse verè cœlestem, & de substantia Dei, carnem verbi, carnem Dei, quæ existentiam habet æternam. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 271.

XXI. Confounding the natures, he says, that the created, and increated light, were in Christ one light; and that from the divine spirit, and human soul, one substantial soul was constituted in Christ; and thus the substance of flesh, and the substance of the word, are one substance, as in the following page. At last he concludes, that the flesh of Christ had the substance of the Word bodily; that substantial, vital, divine spirit itself, and so is truly celestial, and of the substance of God, the flesh of the Word, the flesh of God, which hath an eternal existence.

XXII. Jesum Christum participationem Dei & hominis habentem non potuisse dici creaturam, sed participem creaturarum. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 272.

XXII. That Jesus Christ partaking both of God and man, could not be said to be a creature, but a partaker of creatures.

XXIII. Unam & eandem Deitatem quæ est in Patre

XXIII. That one and the same deity, which is in the
T 2 *Father,*

Patre communicatam fuisse Filio Jesu Christo immediate & corporaliter. Deinde eo mediatore per ministerium angelici spiritus communicatam fuisse spiritualiter apostolis. Ac Christo quidem soli à natura esse Deitatem insitam corporaliter, spiritualiter: Verùm ab eo dari aliis sanctum & substantialem halitum. Lib. 2. de Trin. p. 22.

XXIV. Sicuti verbum descendit in carnem Christi, ita spiritum sanctum descendisse in apostolorum animas. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 264.

XXV. Personas confundens sic inquit, naturaliter, & voluntariè erat $\Delta\beta\gamma\delta$ idealis ratio & prolatio, relucencia Christi apud Deum, spiritus Christi apud Deum, lux ejus apud Deum: unde sequitur nullam fuisse substantiam, quum figura tantum esset illius rei quæ nondum erat, & interea à spiritu non differat. Dial. de Trin. p. 208.

XXVI. Nullam

Father, was communicated immediately and bodily to his Son Jesus Christ. Thence he being mediator, it was communicated by the ministry of the angelick spirit to the apostles spiritually; but that the deity was implanted bodily and spiritually by nature in Christ only; but a holy and substantial breathing is given by him to others.

XXIV. *As the word descended into the flesh of Christ so the holy spirit descended into the souls of the apostles.*

XXV. *Confounding the persons, he says thus, that the Logos, or Word, was naturally and voluntarily the ideal reason and manifestation the resplendence of Christ with God; the spirit of Christ with God, his light with God; from whence it follows it was no substance, but only the figure of what did not then exist, and at the same time does not differ from the spirit.*

XXVI. *The*

XXVI. Nullam ante Christi adventum visam fuisse spiritus hypostasin. Lib. 5. de Trin. p. 197. Ex quo sequitur nullam tunc fuisse hypostasin nec personam, quum nulla sit persona nisi visibilis; quemadmodum in libris suis affirmat, & responsis fateatur. Quibus respondet quod dicit. Dial. 1. p. 217. spiritum Dei umbram fuisse in creatione mundi.

XXVII. Ut intelligatur qualem æternitatem Christo tribuat, sicut (inquit) res omnes nunc sunt in Deo; ita eodem ordine ante creationem erant in eo, & primus omnium Christus. Item Deus ratione sua æterna corporalem sibi & visibilem Filium æternaliter decernens, talis speciei substantia seipsum visibilem præbet per sermonem. Dial. 1. de Trin. p. 205.

XXVIII. Christum quandiu in carne mortali versatus est, nondum accepisse spiritum novum quem à resurrectione sua ac-

XXVI. *That there was no visible hypostasis of the spirit before the coming of Christ; from whence it follows, that there was then no hypostasis, nor person, since that is no person that is not visible, as he asserts in his books, and confesses by his answers; to which agrees what he says in his first Dialogue, viz. that the spirit of God was the shadow in the creation of the world.*

XXVII. *That we may know what kind of eternity he allows to Christ: As (says he) all things are now in God, so they were in the same order in him before the creation, and Christ first before all things in him. Likewise, that God eternally discerning, by his own eternal reason, his Son to be corporeal, and visible to himself, exhibits himself visible, by the substance of the like species, through the world.*

XXVIII. *Christ, as long as he conversed in mortal flesh, had not then, as yet, received that new spirit, which he was to receive from his resurrection.*

accepturus erat. Lib. 5. de Trin. p. 185. Item Lib. 5. p. 195. Christum ante resurrectionem nondum obtinuisse totam Dei gloriam, sed postea spiritum novum accepisse. Totam ergo nunc verbi, & spiritus gloriam hypostaticè solum Christum continere. Cui etiam respondet quod Dial. 1. de Trin. p. 231. scribit, Deum spirantem spirasse in Christum, sicut in nos, spiritum sanctum supervenientem; atque ita totam denuo Deitatem dispensatione alia spirasse; ac ejus priorem spiritum in resurrectione innovasse, dato novo spiritu, quem datus in *Jordane* spiritus adumbrabat.

XXIX. In Dei substantia partes esse, & partitiones non eo modo quo in creaturis, sed secundum dispensationis distributionem; ita ut in spiritus partitione cujusque portio sit Deus. Lib. 3. de Trin. p. 121. Præterea ubi affirmavit spiritus nostros substantialiter ab æterno fuisse, subjungit illos esse consubstantiales, & coeternos. Dial.

rection. That Christ, before his resurrection, had not obtained the whole glory of God, but did receive the new spirit afterwards. That now therefore Christ alone contains, hypostatically, the glory of the Word, and of the Spirit, to which agrees what he writes in his first Dialogue: That God breathing, breathed into Christ, as into us, the holy spirit coming upon him. And by another dispensation, he inspired him, at last, with the whole deity, and renewed his former spirit in the resurrection; a new spirit being given, whom the spirit given in Jordan did prefigure.

XXIX. *That in the substance of God there are parts and partitions, not in the same manner as there are in creatures, but according to the distribution of the dispensation; in such manner, that in the partition of the spirit every portion is God. Besides, when he asserts, that our spirits were substantial from eternity, he adds, that they are consubstantial, and coeternal*

Dial. 1. de Trin. p. 226. Et tamen alio loco fatetur spiritum quo illuminati sumus extingui posse. Lib. de regen. 4. p. 555.

XXX. Omnibus infitum esse ab initio spiritum Deitatis ex Dei halitu. Dialogo 1. p. 138.

XXXI. Siquando in lege dicitur esse in aliquo spiritus Dei, non sumitur pro spiritu regenerationis sancto.

XXXII. Angelos olim ut deos à *Judæis* fuisse adoratos, lib. 5. de Trin. p. 184. ita ut illos ipsorum deos appellet, pag. sequenti. Cui etiam respondet quod dicit Dialogo. 1. p. 216. nunquam fuisse in lege Deum vere adoratum, sed angelos adumbrantes Christum, fuisse adoratos. Item *Abraham* credidisse illi, qui Christum adumbrabat, pag. sequenti.

XXXIII. Et si autem fatetur Christum vel verbum non habuisse hypostasin realem ab initio, nihilominus affirmat angelos & electos

coeternal; and yet in another place he grants, that the spirit, by which we are illuminated, may be extinguished.

XXX. That the spirit of the deity was implanted in all of us, from the beginning, by the breath of God.

XXXI. Whenever the spirit of God is said to be in any one under the law, it is not to be understood of the holy spirit of regeneration.

XXXII. That angels were formerly adored as gods by the Jews; so that he calls them their gods, in the page after; to which that answers, that he said, that God was never truly worshipped under the law, but angels shadowing of Christ, were adored. That *Abraham* likewise believed in him who shadowed Christ.

XXXIII. Although he professes that Christ or the word had not his real hypostasis from the beginning, yet he asserts that angels and the

electos in Deo fuisse re- *the elect were really in God*
 ater ab initio. Lib. 4. *from the beginning.*
 p. 135.

XXXIV. In omnibus
 creaturis Deitatem consti-
 tuit etiam substantialem.
 Dial. I. p. 213.

XXXV. Postea quam
 verò multa deliria, eaque
 perversa, ac perniciofa de
 animarum substantia con-
 sarcinavit à pag. 220. usque
 ad pag. 225. Dial. I. tan-
 dem concludit animam esse
 ex Deo, & ex ejus sub-
 stantia. Item inspirati-
 onem creatam in illam
 fuisse insitam unà cum Dei-
 tate, & iterum nova spi-
 ratione in unam cum Deo
 lucem substantialiter coire
 per spiritum sanctum.

XXXVI. Quanquam
 autem anima non est Deus,
 eam tamen effici Deum
 per spiritum, qui quidem
 est & ipse Deus, adeo ut
 dubitare sit nefas & ani-
 mam nostram & ipsum
 Christi spiritum sanctum
 sibi junctam essentialiter
 habere ejusmodi elemen-
 tarem substantiam, sicut
 verbum

XXXIV. *That substan-
 tial Deity is in all his crea-
 tures.*

XXXV. *After he had
 patched together several fran-
 tick notions, and those per-
 verse, and pernicious too, of
 the substance of souls, from
 p. 220. to p. 225. of his
 first Dialogue, he at length
 concludes, that the soul was
 from God, and of his sub-
 stance. That a created in-
 spiration was likewise sown
 in it, together with the deity
 and again by a new inspira-
 tion, it substantially unite
 into one light with God, by
 the holy spirit.*

XXXVI. *Although the
 soul is not God, yet it was
 made God by the Spirit, which
 is indeed God himself: So
 that it is wicked to doubt
 that our soul, and the holy
 spirit itself of Christ, being
 the elementary substance
 the same essentially joyned
 them; and created beings
 and increated beings, un-*

verbum habet sibi junctam
carnem. Atque res crea-
tas & increatas in unam
animæ, & spiritus substan-
tiam coire. Lib. 5. de Trin.
p. 181, & 182.

XXXVII. Scripsit, a-
deoque vulgavit horrendas
blasphemias contra Pædo-
baptismum, quemadmodum
atis constat ex integris
quatuor libris de regenera-
tione, præsertim verò ex
conclusionem, p. 576. Item
non committi peccatum
mortale ante annos viginti.

XXXVIII. Animam
redditam esse mortalem per
peccatum, sicut caro mor-
talis est, non quod in nihi-
um anima redeat, sicut
peccatum caro, Sed mori quando
omni dolore vitalibus acti-
onibus privatur, & in in-
ferno languens detinetur,
quasi non amplius victura.
Lib. 4. de Reg. p. 551.
Deinde concludit regenitos
non habere animam quam
ante, propter substantiam
renovata, & novam Dei-
tatem adjunctam. Pagina
sequenti.

*in one substance of soul and
spirit.*

XXXVII. *That he has
written and published horrid
blasphemies against infant bap-
tism, as it abundantly appears
from all his four books of rege-
neration, especially at the con-
clusion. Likewise, that a mor-
tal sin cannot be committed
before the age of twenty.*

XXXVIII. *That the soul
is become mortal by sin, as the
flesh is mortal; not that the
soul is annihilated, as neither
is the flesh, but the soul may
be said to die, when it is de-
prived of all vital actions,
through excessive grief, and is
detained in hell, as if it was
to live no more. Then he
concludes, that the regenerate
have another soul than before,
because of their renewed sub-
stance, and new deity, added
to them in the page after.*

Michaelis Serveti *Re-
sponſio ad Articulos*
Johannis Calvinii.

*Michael Servetus's An-
ſwer to John Calvin's*
Articles.

EAM ſibi jam autho-
ritatem arrogat *Cal-
vinus*, ut inſtar magiſtro-
rum *Sorbonicorum* articulos
ſcribat, & quidvis pro ſua
libidine damnet, nullam pe-
nitus ex ſacris adducens
rationem. Mentem meam
aut planè non intelligit,
aut callidè alio detorquet,
Unde cogor, ſcopum meum
totum hic paucis propo-
nere, ac pro me rationis
adducere, antequam ſin-
gulis ejus articulis reſpon-
deam.

Scopus meus totus fuit,
quòd nomen hoc, Filius, in
ſacris literis propriè tri-
buatur homini Filio, idque
ſemper, ſicut eidem pro-
priè ſemper tribuitur no-
men *Jeſus*, & nomen *Chri-
ſtus*. Ad hujus probati-
onem adduxi omnes ſcri-
pturæ locos, in quibus po-
nitur ea vox Filius, qua
ſemper ſumitur pro homine
Filio, nullum dico in evan-
geliis poſſe inveniri locum,
in quo ponatur ea vox
Filius,

CALVIN arrogate
that authority to him-
ſelf, that he writes article
like the maſters of Sorbon
condemning every thing accord-
ing to his own arbitrary plea-
ſure, without producing any
manner of reaſon from ſcri-
pture. He is either plainly
ignorant of my meaning, or
eſe he artfully gives a wrong
turn it, which obliges me to
open my whole deſign here in
a few words, and to produce
my reaſons for it, before I an-
ſwer his ſeveral articles.

All my deſign was to ſhew
that this name, Son, was
properly given to the Son, a
Man in the holy ſcriptures
and that always, as the name
Jeſus, and the name Chriſt
is always properly given to the
ſame. For proof of this, I brought
all thoſe places of ſcripture, in
which the word Son is to be
found, which is always taken
for the Son, as Man. I aſ-
ſure, that there cannot be any
one place produc'd in the evan-
geliſts, in which the word So-

Filius, qua non accipiatur pro homine Filio ; Si igitur scriptura ita semper accipit, ita & nos semper accipere oportet.

Secundam personam in deitate dixi olim dictam personam, eo quod esset personalis representatio hominis Jesu Christi, hypostaticè jam olim in Deo subsistentis, ac in ipsa deitate visibiliter relucentis. Quia vero hæc personæ ratio, est *Calvino* incognita, & quia inde res ferè tota dependet, locos hic ex antiquis ecclesiæ doctoribus adducam.

is, which is not taken for the Son, as Man ; if therefore the scripture always understands it so, it becomes us always so to understand it.

I said that the second person in the deity, was formerly call'd a person, because it was a personal representation of the man Christ Jesus, hypostatically subsisting antiently in God, and visibly resplendent in the deity itself. But because this account of the word person, is unknown to Calvin, and because the whole affair depends upon it, I will produce several places here, out of the antient doctors of the church.

Here he makes sixteen quotations out of *TERULLIAN*, ten out of *IRENÆUS*, and five out of the recognitions ascribed to St. *CLEMENT* ; *CALV. Refutatione Errorum* ; *MIC. SERVETI. Tract. Theol. p. 841, 842, 843*, to confirm his sense of the word Person, to be the human person of the Word. And then applies himself to answer the several articles of *CALVIN*.

Jam ad singulos Calvini Articulos respondere superest.

In ipso cum primis titulo mirari subit hominis impudentiam, qui se orthodoxum prædicet, quum sit *Simonis Magi* discipulus, ut in apologia mea jam evidentè ostendi. Quis ortho-

One can't but wonder at the impudence of the man, upon the first sight of the title to the articles, where he proclaims himself orthodox, when he is no other than a disciple of Simon Magus, as I have

orthodoxum dicat ministrum ecclesiæ, accusatorem criminalem, & homicidam.

I. **A**D primum articulum jam sæpius respondi, & ex citatis authoribus constat, in ipsa Dei essentia, & unitate, non esse realem trium invisibilium rerum distinctionem. Sed personalem esse invisibilis Patris, & visibilis Filii distinctionem. Hoc secundo modo Trinitas sanctissimè creditum, primo non item.

II. III. IV. Ad secundum, tertium & quartum similis est responsio. Quod de Mahometo ais; Turcæ hodie confirmant id ex parte verum esse.

V. Ad quintum, & externè & internè in Deo ipso subsistentiam Filii semper professus sum, Et tu tibi ipsi contradicis; Nam si idealis erat ratio, interna jam erat. Nescis planè quid dicis. Quod de reali differentia subdis, à me jam est concessum & demonstratum,

evidently made appear in my apology. Who can call a criminal accuser, and a murderer, an orthodox minister of the church?

I. **T**O the first article I have more than once answered; and it is evident from the authors I have quoted, that in the essence and unity of God, there is not a real distinction of three invisible beings; but that there is a personal distinction of the invisible Father, and the visible Son. I religiously believe a Trinity in this second way, not in the first.

II. III. IV. The like answer is to be given to the 2d, 3d and 4th, as to what you say about Mahomet. The Turks at this time confirm that to be true in part.

V. To the fifth article. I always professed the subsistence of the Son of God, both externally and internally; and you contradict your self; for if it was an ideal reason, it was then internal. You are plainly ignorant of what you say. What you add about a real difference has been already

monstratum. Obsecro te, lege diligenter locos a me præscriptos, & indue cor hominis christiani, orans ut tibi reveletur veritas.

ready granted, and proved by me. I beseech you, read with attention the places quoted by me, and put on the heart of a christian, praying that the truth may be revealed to you.

VI. Ad sextum dico, non potuisse confundi ea que non erant separata, ipsamet sapientiam interpretatur Irenæus spiritum sanctum. Lib. 4. cap. xvii, & xxvii, & Tertullianus, lib. de carne Christi adversus Herogenem, & adversus Praxam. Solomon item, quum sapientiam sibi datam testatur, spiritum sanctum intelligit, id ipsum ostendit Ecclesiasticus, Baruch & liber sapientia, ut epistola 8. ad te jam citavi. Totum verbi & spiritus arcanum dico fuisse ad Christi gloriam, quia in eo tota verbi & spiritus plenitudo. O miserum! si damnare peras ea quæ non intelligis.

VI. To the sixth I answer, that those which were not separate, could not be confounded. Irenæus interprets the very same wisdom to be the holy spirit, in the xviiith and xxxviiith chapters of his fourth book. Tertullian does the same in his book of the flesh of Christ against Hermogenes and Praxeas. Solomon also, when he testifies the wisdom given to him, understands it of the holy spirit. Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and the Book of Wisdom, shew the same thing, as in my eighth epistle I have already cited to you. I say, that the whole mystery of the Word, and of the Spirit, was to the glory of Christ, because in him is all the fullness of the Word and Spirit. O unhappy man! if you persist to damn those things you don't understand.

VII. Alium deum dixi, alium deitatis modum. Hoc insuper ibi adjeci, quod

VII. Another god, did I say? I meant another mode of deity. Moreover I added this,

quod si hic loquendi modus te offendat, dicas aliam deitatis personam. Quid opus fuit te in calumniam vertere id quod eodem loco ego jam castigaram? Candidus ubique se ostendit tuus animus!

VIII. Annon quis dicitur filius ejus à quo genitus est? Ita dico, Deum de substantia ab æterno protulisse Filium hunc. Unde dicitur ille ex Deo naturaliter esse.

IX. Verbum est nunc caro Christi hypostaticâ unione: Ita plane dico, carnem Christi de cælo esse, secundum essentiam deitatis, ipsamque carnem dici manna de cælo datum. Reliqua item concedo, in sensu a me ibi exposito. Qualia hic misere emendicas, & primam veritatem omittis.

X. Essentia dicitur, à qua quis sustentatur. Non pudet te tanta hic referre & nullam improbrationis rationem adducere? Solo tuo

this, That if this manner of speaking was offensive, you may call it another person of deity. What occasion was there to turn that into calumny, which I had my self corrected in the same place? Your mind shews abundance of candour every where!

VIII. *Is not every one call'd the son of him who be got him? So say I. That God of his own substance from eternity, brought forth this Son; whence he is said to exist naturally of God.*

IX. *The Word is now the flesh of Christ by hypostatic union: Thus I plainly say that the flesh of Christ is from heaven, according to the essence of the deity, and his flesh is call'd the manna given from heaven. The rest I allow grant, in the sense I there explain it. Such things as they you here wretchedly take for granted, and neglect the main truth.*

X. *That is call'd essence by which one is sustain'd in being. Are not you ashamed to alledge so many things here, and to produce no manner of ground*

tuo lanino latratu putas
judicium aures obtundendas
esse.

ground for such calumnies?
*Do you think that the ears of
the judges are to be stopt only
by your barking?*

XI. Inique in omnibus
agis, & falsò locum citas.
Non ita loquutus sum, ut
tu mihi imponis.

XI. You pervert every
thing, and quote the place
falsely: I did not say what
you impose upon me.

XII. Prima pars verif-
sima est, quam tu utinam
bene intelligeres. Christus
in se una persona est, sed
in eo est vere spiritus san-
ctus, qui etiam persona
est.

XII. The first part is most
true, which I wish you did
well understand. Christ is
in himself one person, and in
him is the holy spirit indeed,
who also is a person.

XIII. Semen dico, ut
Tertulliani locus duodeci-
mus indicat, *Irenæus* item
ibi citatus, & *Philo* in primo
Dialogo, p. 201, ubi om-
nis tua calumnia tollitur
appertissimè. In loco illo
quem citas, p. 23. Sermo
incipitur pro voce de cælo
dicente, hunc esse Filium
Dei. Locum illum nec
legisti, nec intellexisti, ergo
nihil ad rem facit, quod tu
citas. Quod verbi deitas
ipsa aliud sit quam homo
divinus, quis non videt? Re-
sponsum quæ subdis, concedo
vera esse.

XIII. I say the seed, as
the twelfth place of *Tertul-
lian* shews; and *Irenæus*
there cited, and *Philo* in
p. 201 of his first Dialogue,
by which all your calumny is
openly removed. In that place
which you quote, p. 23, the
Word is taken for the voice
speaking from heaven, this
is the Son of God. That place
you have neither read, nor
did you understand it, there-
fore that citation cometh to no-
thing. That the deity of the
Word is something in reality
besides the son of man, who
does not perceive? The rest
you add, I grant to be true.

XIV. Totum

XIV. I grant

XIV. Totum concedo, quia deitas egit vice feminis, ut explicui Dialogo primo, p. 201.

XV. Id idem concedo, si ultimum de paternis elementis intelligas, dictum ob idealem eorum in Deo rationem.

XVI. Nihil ego corumpo, sed utramque interpretationem recipio, & tu omnia ibi falso citas, & doces.

XVII. Confusus tibi est animus, ut intelligere verum nequeas; metaphoram dico.

XVIII. Authores mecum de persona loquentes jam citavi, nihil omnino ludens, sed propriè dictionibus utens, quibus tu perfidè abuteris.

XIX. Corpus Christi est nostro simile, excepta peccati ratione, excepto item quod ipsum est particeps deitatis.

XIV. *I grant the whole, because the deity supply'd the place of the semen, as I have explain'd it in the first Dialogue.*

XV. *I grant the same, if you understand the last to concern the paternal elements, so call'd from the ideal reason of them in God.*

XVI. *I corrupt nothing, but receive both interpretations; and you there cite and teach every thing falsely.*

XVII. *Your mind is so confus'd, that you cannot understand the truth; I speak metaphorically.*

XVIII. *I have already quoted what the authors I have, say of person; not playing fast and loose with them, but using their own phrases, which you perfidiously abuse.*

XIX. *The body of Christ is like ours, sin excepted, and also that his is partaker of the deity.*

XX. Trans-

XX. Trans-

XX. Transformatio est, ubi, glorificatio, & illustratio.

XX. Transformation there, is glorification, and illustration.

XXI. Qui adheret Deo, unus cum eo spiritus est. An est confusio cum duo in unum uniuntur? An confundantur anima & caro, quum unum hominem faciunt. Ignoras miser ipsa rerum principia.

XXI. He that adheres to God, is one spirit with him: Is that confusion, when two are united into one? Are mind and flesh confounded, when they make one man? You are miserably ignorant of the very principles of things.

XXII. Quid tum postea?

XXII. And what then?

XXIII. Verum est.

XXIII. It is true.

XXIV. Quodammodo vere, similitudo quædam est, ut ibidem ostendo.

XXIV. In some sort, almost, there is some similitude, as I shew in that place.

XXV. Tu te ipsum confundis, non intelligens quæ loqueris, quasi id quod in Deo hypostaticè subsistit non sit vera substantia.

XXV. You confound your self not knowing what you say, as if that which subsists hypostatically in God, is not real substance.

XXVI. Persona in verbo dicitur hypostasis visibilis, in spiritu est hypostasis perceptibilis.

XXVI. Person in the Word is call'd a visible hypostasis, in the Spirit a perceptible hypostasis.

XXVII. Bene habent omnia, nisi tibi esset animus perversus.

XXVII. All the notions there are right, if you had not a perverse temper of mind.

XXVIII. Vera

X XXVIII. All

XXVIII. Vera sunt omnia, si tu candide intelligas.

XXIX. Vera sunt omnia, eo excepto, quod spiritus Dei in se non dicitur extinguere, & quodammodo extinguitur in nobis, quia quum nos extinguimur, ipse recedit.

XXX. Maxime verum est, & tu miser à Simone Mago illusor, id ignoras, ut servum arbitrium statuens, nos facias trunco & saxa. Vide locum ex Clemente, & Petro citatum.

XXXI. Ut plurimum ita solet accipi.

XXXII. Ita ferè omnia in figura contingebant illis.

XXXIII. Mendacium est quod commiscet, nulla creatura erat realiter nisi ab instanti suæ creationis.

XXXIV. In omnibus est Deus, per essentiam, præ-

XXVIII. *All there is true if you would candidly understand it.*

XXIX. *All is here true likewise, except that the spirit of God is not said to be extinguished in itself, because when we are dead he departs.*

XXX. *This is very true and, you miserably deluded by Simon Magus, know nothing of the matter; making the judgement a slave, you turn us into stocks and stones. See the last quotation out of Clement and Peter.*

XXXI. *As for the most part it is so commonly understood.*

XXXII. *So almost all things appeared to them in figure.*

XXXIII. *What you put together here is false; there never was any creature, but from the instant of its creation.*

XXXIV. *God is in all things, by his essence, presence*

præsentiam, & potentiam,
omnia ipse sustentat.

*sence and power, and sustains
all things in being.*

XXXV. Tolle verbum
ex substantia ejus, & reli-
qua invenies vera esse, te-
ne solum cum Simone Mago
delirare.

XXXV. Take away the
Word out of his substance,
and you will find the rest to be
true, and that you your self
dote with Simon Magus.

XXXVI. Verum est,
multa in unum ita coire,
ut ossa, caro, nervi, anima,
forma, spiritus in unam ho-
minis substantiam coeunt.

XXXVI. 'Tis true. Thus
many things unite to make
one; as bones, flesh, nerves,
mind, form, spirit, unite to
make the one substance of man.

XXXVII. Scripsi fateor.
quum tu me aliter docu-
eris, non solum recipiam,
sed & vestigia tua deoscu-
bor.

XXXVII. I wrote so, I
confess; when you shall con-
vince me of the contrary, I
will not only receive it, but I
will even kiss the ground you
go on.

XXXVIII. Locus ipse,
quem tu contra me citas,
docet te perfide agere.
Nam ibi dico, animam ve-
re mori, & inferno lan-
guentem detineri; ergo si
linguet, adhuc vivit. Vide
quid de anima superstite
scribam, p. 76, 229,
718. Alia quodammo-
do dicitur in regenitis a-
nima: sicut propter acci-
dentia nova, dicitur res
nova.

XXXVIII. That place
which you quote against me,
shews that you deal very de-
ceitfully with me: For there
I say, that the soul does as it
were die, and is detain'd lan-
guishing in hell; therefore if
it languishes, it yet lives. See
what I writ of the existence
of the soul after death. The
souls of the regenerate are
said to be different from the
souls of others, as any thing
is said to be new, from the
accession of new accidents.

CALVIN might have left out some of the articles which do not seem to be quite so heretical as some others; As for instance, how could it enter into the heart of a learned and judicious man, and who understood the New Testament in the original, to call Antipædo-baptism a heresie, and to condemn it for horrible blasphemy? It has been the common artifice of the priests to multiply heresies. The author of the *Memoirs of Literature* under his Art. 54. in the third Vol. p. 249. quotes a book, writ by ANTH. CAUCUS, arch-bishop of *Corfu*, *De Grecorum recentiorum hæresibus* i. e. *Of the heresies of the modern Greeks*, inscrib'd to GREGORY XIII. and then tells us that M. SIMON makes several judicious reflections upon that book; among the rest he observes, that most missionaries sent into the *Levant* do more harm than good to religion and for want of understanding the antient theology, they call every doctrine that does not agree with their notions, heresy. It “ must
 “ be confess'd (says the incomparable author
 “ of the *Memoirs*) That heresies have been
 “ strangely multiplied through ignorance and
 “ a blind zeal. PHILASTRIUS, in *Catalog*
 “ *Hæreseon. Tom. v. Biblioth. Patrum. Lugd. 1677*
 “ bishop of *Brescia*, in the 4th century, is
 “ remarkable author upon that account. He
 “ reckons among the hereticks, those who be-
 “ lieve that earthquakes are produced by na-
 “ tural causes; (*Hæres. 54.*) whoever says that
 “ the number of years from the beginning
 “ of the world is uncertain, (*Hæres. 63.*) or
 “ that there are many worlds, (*Hæres. 65.*) or
 “ that ADAM and EVE were blind before
 “ the

“ they eat the forbidden fruit, which was the
 “ reason why they knew not before that they
 “ were naked; (*Her. 66.*) and to mention
 “ but one more, those who take in a literal
 “ sense what the scripture says of SOLOMON'S
 “ having many wives and concubines, do be-
 “ lieve that this prince was much addicted to
 “ women: PHILASTRIUS calls those hea-
 “ thens, impious men, and ignorant *Jews*;
 “ and will have the passage to refer to the
 “ spiritual gifts which CHRIST was to be-
 “ stow upon the faithful.

That learned author, upon this, argues very
 well: “ I cannot believe (*says he p. 251,*) that
 “ it is laudable to call a man an heretick, when
 “ he is not so; nor do I think that any truth
 “ in natural philosophy and astronomy ought
 “ to be slighted; those truths raise in us a
 “ greater admiration for the wise author of
 “ nature, and must needs be great helps to
 “ religion. No christian ought to be afraid of
 “ philosophy: tho' I have a due esteem for the
 “ writings of the fathers, I may be allowed
 “ to say, that PHILASTRIUS wanted judg-
 “ ment; and if a divine should write such a
 “ catalogue of heresies now-a-days, he would
 “ lose his reputation for ever. As the num-
 “ ber of heresies has frequently been multi-
 “ plied without any reason, so 'tis probable
 “ that many antient hereticks were not so vici-
 “ ous as they have been represented, many
 “ people fancying that one who is not found
 “ in his doctrine, cannot be found in his mo-
 “ rals; tho' the contrary does frequently ap-
 “ pear.

Such

Such men imitate the character that SUE-
 * SUE T. TONIUS gives of NERO; * who, he says,
 NER. believ'd, for certain, that every man was
 c. xxix. guilty of the same impurities he was, only
 Ex non- some had more cunning than others to dis-
 nullis semble and conceal it.
 comperi
 persuasif-
 fimum habuisse eum, neminem hominum pudicum aut u'la corporis
 parta purum esse. verum plerosque dissimulare vitium & calliditate
 obtegere.

† History
 of council
 of Trent,
 translated
 from PIE-
 TRO
 SOAVE
 POLANO,
 by Sir NA-
 THANI.
 BRENT,
 Knight,
 Lond. Ed.
 fol. 1676.

Life

† Father PAUL, in his history of the coun-
 cil of Trent, tells us, ' That about the same
 time that SERVETUS suffer'd, many were
 burnt in France for religion; not without
 the indignation of honest men, who knew
 that the violence used against those poor
 people, was not for piety and religion, but
 to satiate the covetousness of DIANA VA-
 LENTINA, the king's mistress, to whom
 he had given all the confiscations of goods
 made in the kingdom for the cause of he-
 resie. It was wondered also, adds he, that
 those of the new reformation should meddle
 with blood for the cause of religion; for
 MICHAEL SERVETUS of Terragona, made
 a divine of a physician, renewing the old
 opinion of PAULUS SAMOSATERIUS, and
 MARCELLUS ANCIRANUS, that the Word
 of GOD was not a thing subsisting, and
 therefore that CHRIST was a pure man;
 was put to death for it at Geneva, by coun-
 sel of the ministers of Zurich, Berne, and
 Schiaffusa; and JOHN CALVIN, who was
 blam'd for it by many, wrote a book, de-
 fending, that the magistrate may punish he-
 reticks with loss of life.

* It is very easie for the reader to observe, upon SERVETUS's answer, that it is very concise; whereas CALVIN made a reply, consisting of above sixty pages (in a large letter) in *folio*, and entitled, *Brevis Refutatio Errorum & Impietatum MICHAELIS SERVETI, à ministris ecclesiæ Genevensis magnifico Senatui sicuti jussi fuerant, oblata; i. e. A short Confutation of the Errors and Impieties of MICHAEL SERVETUS, as it was offered by the ministers of the church of Geneva to the magnificent Senate, in obedience to their command.*

* CALVIN'S
*Theologic.
Tracts,*
p. 843.
Lat. Ed.
Gen. 1573.

“ That reply was written with a great deal of art, and shews the great accomplish-

ments of CALVIN †. He concludes that piece with these words; *Quisquis ergo vere*

& prudenter reputabit hunc illi scopum fuisse agnosceret, ut luce sanæ do-

ctrinæ extincta totam religionem everteret;

i. e. Whoever thinks justly, will acknowledge, that the main end of MICHAEL SERVETUS,

was to undermine the whole of religion, by extinguishing the light of sound doctrine. But this

accusation is merely chymical ‡. Who- ever undertakes to overthrow all religion,

has no religion at all; but the reading SERVETUS's works, and his whole conduct,

are sufficient to convince any one, that he was fully perswaded of the truth of the re-

velation. He was an heretick, extremely fond of his new doctrine; he maintained

his opinions with great heat; he was very imprudent, and used the most offensive

words; he behaved himself like a mad-man in his confinement. Such was the character

of SERVETUS; but I think it cannot be said

† Cette ré-
plique est
écrite avec
beaucoup
d'art.
Bibl. Crit.
Tom. II.
p. 156.

‡ C'est-là
une accu-
sation
tout-à-fait
chime-
rique. *Bi-
blio. Cri.*
ibidem.

“ said with any shew of reason, that he de-
 “ signed to destroy all religion.

“ That physician made no answer to CAL-
 “ VIN’S reply, being contented to write some
 “ notes in the margin of that writing, and to
 “ insert several injurious words between the
 “ lines, viz. Mentiris, SIMO MAGUS, im-
 “ postor, sycophanta, nebulo, perfidus, impu-
 “ dens, ridiculus mus, cacodæmon;” i. e. ‘*Thou
 “ lyeſt, SIMON MAGUS, impostor, sycophant
 “ knave, perfidious impostor, impudent, ridiculous
 “ mouse, a cacodæmon:*’ Not but that CALVIN
 was pretty even with him, for he calls SER-
 VETUS, falsarius, i. e. *impostor*; obscænus canis
obscene dog; hispanus canis, *Spanish dog*; per-
 fidus nebulo, *perfidious knave*, &c. SERVE-
 TUS in his marginal notes accuses CALVIN
 of mis-representing his sense, and imposing such
 a meaning on his words, which he never de-
 signed; in one of his notes he says, Quis neget
 a DEO patre realiter distingui Filium? *Who
 denies that the Son is really distinct from GOD the
 Father?* Et actionis proprietate distingui per-
 sonas, ego apertè docui, p. 273. libri mei.
plainly taught, that the persons were distinguished by

“ VALEN-
 “ TINUS
 “ GENTI-
 “ LIS was
 more cau-
 tious than

a propriety of action*. “ Another of his mar-
 ginal notes was expressed in these words
 “ In causa tam justa sum constans, & mortem
 “ nihi

SERVETUS; for being imprisoned at Geneva in 1558, for the crime of
 heresie, at the suit of CALVIN, he called that reformer, an excellen
 servant of GOD, and a great divine; *Explicat. Perfid. VAL. GENTIL*
Among CALVIN’S Theological Tracts, p. 923. Ed. Genev. 1576
 VALENTIN GENTIL se donna bien de garde d’imiter la con-
 duite de SERVET, puis qu’ètaut prisonnier à Geneve l’an 1558
 pour crime d’héresie, il appolla CALVIN que le poursuivoit en
 en justice. Eximium DEI ministrum, & summum Theologum
Biblio. Ang. p. 158.

“ nihil formido, i. e. *in a cause so just I am resolv'd to persevere; nor am I at all afraid of death.*

“ CALVIN's reply was signed by him and fourteen other divines; CALVIN subscribes first, and NICOLAUS COLLADONIUS last, which moved SERVETUS to write the following words next to their subscriptions.

“ Thus * far we have had noise enough indeed, and a crowd of subscribers to CALVIN's dictates; but what places of scripture have they produced to prove what they assert concerning the Son, that he is an invisible and really distinct being. They do not shew any, nor can they ever do it. This they should have done, had they acted up to the character of ministers of the gospel, especially since they pretend to value themselves to all the world, upon nothing so much as this; That, it has always been their resolution to teach nothing but what is demonstrated from plain and solid quotations of scripture: But no such quotations can be found therein. My doctrine therefore is condemn'd by meer clamour and noise, without producing any reason or authority whatsoever; subscrib'd by MICHAEL SERVETUS, who here is alone, But who has CHRIST for his undoubted protector.

“ At the very same time SERVETUS sent a Latin letter † to CALVIN (I think they

Y
“ are
ubique jactant se nihil velle docere, quod non sit solidis scripturæ is demonstratum. At nulli tales loci nunc inveniuntur. Impropria est igitur doctrina mea solis clamoribus ratione vero nulli auctoritate nulla MICHAEL SERVETUS subscribit solus hic quidem, qui CHRISTUM habet protectorem certissimum.

† It has been inserted amongst CALVIN's Works. See his confutation SERVETUS beforementioned.

* Hactenus est factis conclamatum, & magna subscribentium hic turba. Sed quos locos isti ad statuum invisibilem illum & realiter distinctum Filium quem asserunt nullos sane adducunt? Nec adducunt unquam. Hoc decebat tantos eloquii divini ministros, qui

“ are the last lines he writ) wherein he accuses him of being ignorant of the principles of things, and that he knew nothing of this great principle, (*Omnis actio fit per contactum*) i. e. all action is done by contact. Lastly, he says that CALVIN maintains without any reason, that the law of the decalogue is still in force*.

* Biblio. Angl. Tom. 2. p. 159.

† Par des personnes de considération, *ibid.*

“ Tho’ SERVETUS was a man of a fiercer temper, I can hardly believe he would have been so imprudent as to abuse CALVIN in the most shameful manner, whilst he was under confinement, had he not been advised to it by some † persons of no small consideration, who were enemies of that reformation. The thing appears to me undeniable; and shall quote three passages that will put it out of all doubt.

** This letter and others of CALVIN, which I shall quote hereafter have been printed, Bibl. Angl. 160.

“ First, I find these words in a letter of CALVIN to WILLIAM FAREL, dated October 26, ** CÆSAR CŒMICUS *simul lato per triduum morbo, in curiam tandem ascendit, ut sceleratum istum (SERVETUM) pœna eximeret. Neque enim erubuit petere ut cognitio ad ducentos veniret: sine controversia tamen damnatus est*”. CÆSAR CŒMICUS (one of the magistrates whom he calls so) after three days pretended indisposition, at last came into court, on purpose to save that vile fellow SERVETUS from punishment, and had the confidence to petition that his cause might come before the council of two hundred. But he was condemned nevertheless without opposition. It appears from this passage that the magistrate, called CÆSAR CŒMICUS by CALVIN, was a friend

friend of SERVETUS, and used his utmost endeavours to save his life, and therefore preferr'd the petition above, in hopes that the council of two hundred would have attempted to acquit that physician.

“ *Secondly*, Here follows a second passage out of CALVIN's life * written by *Beza* ”. * *I make*

† But the conclusion of all these contests was this: That the desperate SERVETUS, into whose ears one of the faction against CALVIN, the assessor to the chief magistrate, whisper'd whatever (as was suppos'd) might serve to confirm the mind of the wretched man in his obstinacy, was betrayed by his own vain confidence, and found guilty of an infinite number of impious blasphemies in the judgment of all the *Helvetic* churches, 27 *Job.* and shewing no manner of sign of repentance was burnt alive.

use of the first edition prefixed to CALVIN'S letters, Geneva, 1575.

† Fuit autem horum omnium certaminum iste exitus; ut tandem perditus ille SERVETUS

“ *Thirdly*, || I have found under this passage of BEZA. in the edition mentioned by me in the margin, a note written by a minister of Geneva in the 16th century, and expressed in these words ”. †† ‘ I have receiv'd information from a certain person, that some of the chief of the council

Cui etiam factiosorum (†) unum prætoris assessor in aurem insurrasse quiddam

debatur, quo malum perditum hominis animum obfirmaret) a vana sua confidentia proditus, impietatis & infinitarum blasphemiarum omnium etiam *Helveticarum* ecclesiarum sententia damnatus, 27 *Job.* nullo edito pœnitentiæ signo incoelix vivus cremaretur. || S'ous ce passage de BEZE, &c. *Bib. p. 161.* His name was or. †† Accepi a certo homine non desuisse tum ex præcipuis dicundi præfectis, qui ut malum animum in CALVINUM periculum exerent, auctores essent reo, ut atrociam quæque in VINUM proferret, quod hoc ipsum apud certos gratiosorem futurum esset: Illum autem abreptum a malo spiritu blasphemias audisse in Domini nostri veritatem atrociores: Unde sibi ipse tantius periculum certo Dei iudicio conflaverit.

(†) *By those*

us men BEZA means CALVIN'S enemies.

' council, that they might shew their disaffe-
 ' ction to CALVIN thro' the *Spaniard*, promp-
 ' ted that defendant to utter the most injuri-
 ' ous things possible against CALVIN, insinua-
 ' ting to him, that this very conduct of his
 ' would procure him the favour of certain
 ' great men of the council; but he being pu-
 ' into a violent passion, was push'd on to speak
 ' horrible blasphemies against the truth of our
 ' LORD, whence he brought, by the certain
 ' judgment of GOD, a greater danger upon
 ' himself than before". It plainly appears from
 " these three passages, that SERVETUS was
 " set against CALVIN by some considerable
 " men of *Geneva*. They made him believe
 " they would save his life; but it appeared by
 " the event that it was not in their power.
 " I am apt to think that SERVETUS would have
 " made a better defence by word of mouth
 " and in writing, had he not been supported by
 " CALVIN'S enemies *, *i. e.* In short, it is not
 " to be imagin'd that CALVIN and BEZE-
 " have publish'd all that they knew of this mat-
 " ter; since that would, in all probability, have
 " render'd the conduct of SERVETUS less
 " obnoxious.
 " The magistrates of *Geneva* being sensible
 " that the trial of that physician was a thing
 " of the highest consequence, did not think
 " to give sentence, without consulting the magis-
 " trates of the *Protestant Cantons* of *Su-*
 " *zerland*. They sent to them SERVETUS'S
 " book printed at *Vienne*, and also the writings
 " of CALVIN, and the prisoners answers; and
 " at the same time desired to have the opi-
 " nion of their divines about that affair.

* Bblio.
 Aug. 162.
 p. Au
 reste, il ne
 faut pas
 s'imaginer
 que CAL-
 VIN &
 BEZE ay-
 ent pub-
 lié tout ce
 qu'ils fa-
 voient de
 cette affai-
 re, puisque
 cela auroit
 pû contri-
 buer à
 rendre la
 conduite
 de SER-
 VET. moins
 odieuse.

“ The magistrates of *Zurich* answered, that
 “ they had consulted their ministers, and in-
 “ treated the council of *Geneva* to oppose stren-
 “ uously SERVETUS’s heresy. Being * fully * En con-
 “ perswaded (say they) that you will not suf- fiance, di-
 “ fer the wicked intention of your prisoner to rent-ils,
 “ have its effect, since it is altogether contra- que ne la-
 “ ry to the christian religion, and occasions a isserez ve-
 “ great scandal”. Their letter is dated Oct. 2. nir en a-
 “ vant la

The *Zurich* divines expressed themselves
 more fully. And because CALVIN himself gives
 this character of the letter from the church
 of *Zurich*, in a letter of his to *Farel*, which
 will be inserted hereafter, viz. those of *Zu- r-
 rich* (*Tigurini omnium vehementissimi*) are
 the most violent, because those of *Schaffhau-
 sen*, say they, subscribe the judgment of the
Zurich divines, and because CALVIN thought
 meet to transmit it entire to posterity,
 amongst other matters in his *Refutatio erro-
 rum MICHAELIS SERVETI*. I should
 think myself guilty of a great omission, did
 I not make it a part of this history, and it
 seems to suit so well the fiery temper of
 that reformer, that it might be one induce-
 ment for him to give it us at large with an
 introduction, excusing himself for omitting
 the letters from the other churches. The in-
 troduction and letter follow, *Calv. Theo. Tract.*
 860, 861. *Gen. edit.* 1576.

“ † WHEN SERVETUS had satiated † Post-
 “ himself, in venting his spleen in quam sua
 “ the most opprobrious terms, our most excel- convitia
 “ lent ad satieta-
 “ tem usque
 evomuit SERVETUS clarissimus senatus noster, quo certius ferret
 iudicium, & minus obnoxium calumniis, ad quatuor *Helveticas* ec-
 clesias misit. *Tigurinam, Bernensem, Basiliensem, & Shafusianam,*
 de que

' lent senate, in order to form the more
 ' certain judgment how to proceed against
 ' him, in a way as little obnoxious to refle-
 ' ction as possible, sent to have the advice of
 ' four of the *Helvetic* churches, that of *Zurich*,
 ' of *Bern*, of *Basil*, and of *Schaffhausen*, and
 ' consulted their pastors concerning the whole
 ' case. That *SERVETUS* might not have
 ' the least shadow of pretence to complain,
 ' that he was undone by the multitude of ar-
 ' ticles concerted against him; we chose to
 ' drop his last reproaches, rather than take
 ' that to ourselves, which we might lawfully
 ' have

déque totâ causâ, earum consuluit pastores. Ne conqueri posset *SERVETUS* se multiplici concertatione à nobis obrui, ultimas ejus calumnias relinquere intactas maluimus, quam nobis sumere quod jure nostro licebat. Quinetiam agnoscent lectores, ita nos brevitati studuisse, ut non tantum, ab omni furo procul abfuerimus, sed parcius quàm res ferebat, nos continuerimus intra justæ expositionis metas. Nempe quò simplex, & perspicua veritas in conspectum judicum veniret, breviter tantum delibavimus summa capita; ut faciliè appareat nos usque esse progressos, quò officii necessitas cogebat; venerandi autem fratres nostri, quos fuisse consultos diximus, quum pro singulari sua pietate, & eximio in ecclesiam *CHRISTI* studio, strenuam legendis omnibus operam navassent, (quod ferebat eorum fides) cordatè responderunt, totum librum detestabile esse monstrum ex innumeris erroribus conflatum. Denique uno omnes consensu, & quasi uno ore pronuntiarunt, non minus sincerè quàm justè reprehensos à nobis fuisse errores, quorum causa clamabat *SERVETUS* sibi plusquam atrocem fieri injuriam. Itaque supervacuum fore putavi singula responsa ordine recensere. Tantum ut sciretur nihil amplificandi causa à me hîc fuisse dictum, *Tigurina* ecclesiae epistolam tamquam specimen proponere libuit, quæ adeò nihil ab aliis diversum continet, ut inspecta liquidam omnium fidem factura sit. Nec vereor ut reliqui in malam partem accipiant, suas esse suppressas, quasi par honor non fuerit illis habitus. Nihil enim illis minus propositum fuit quàm se mundo venditare; & hoc sancti consensus testimonium longè pluris ipsis fore scio, quam siquid singuli privatim, & singulare haberent. Magis à fratribus nostris *Tigurinis* petenda erit venia, quod passim legenda profero, quæ paucis scripserant. Sed quia sic postulat publica ecclesiae utilitas, quæ apud illos præponderat, meæ fiducia, ut spero, faciliè ignoscent.

have done. Besides, our readers will readily
 acknowledge, that we have so far studied
 brevity, as not only to keep ourselves free
 from false glosses, but that we have hand-
 led matters more sparingly than what the
 nature of them would in reality bear us out
 in; and that we contain'd ourselves within
 the limits of a just exposition. For that
 the truth might come before the judges
 with the utmost simplicity and clearness; we
 only briefly touch upon the main heads,
 that it might evidently appear that we pro-
 ceeded no further than the necessity of our
 office constrain'd us to. When therefore our
 reverend brethren had, according to their
 own singular piety, and their distinguish'd
 affection for the church of CHRIST, dili-
 gently perus'd and consider'd the whole af-
 fair of SERVETUS, they wisely return'd
 this for an answer; That the whole book
 was a detestable monster, made up of innu-
 merable errors. In short, they all with one
 heart and one voice gave it as their opinion,
 that the errors, for the sake of which SER-
 VETUS made such loud complaints of the
 cruel injustice done him, were censur'd by us
 with no less faithfulness than justice. Thinking
 therefore it would be superfluous to insert the
 answers of each church singly; I content my-
 self, lest I should be thought to affect pro-
 ximity, only to give to the publick, the
 epistle from the church of Zurich, which may
 serve as a specimen of the others, from which
 it contains nothing different; and in it you
 may see the faith of all the rest: Nor am I
 at all afraid that the other churches will take
 amiss that their epistles are suppress'd, as
 if

' if they had not equall honour done to them
 ' for the vain-glorious applause of the world
 ' they had not the least in view; and I am
 ' well assur'd that this testimony of their holy
 ' agreement will be of much more account
 ' with them, than if each of them had had
 ' their sentiments made publick by themselves
 ' I should rather ask pardon of my *Zurichian*
 ' brethren, for publishing that to the world
 ' which they wrote to a few. But because the
 ' common good of the church, which with
 ' them is of the greatest weight, doth require
 ' it, they will, I hope, easily excuse my pre-
 ' sumption.

*To our most honoured lords the Syn-
 dics; and to the most august senate
 of the republic of GENEVA, health
 and happiness.*

' **W**E have, by this express, receiv'd you
 ' excellencies letters; together with
 ' *SERVETUS*'s book, and the articles take
 ' out of it, sign'd mutually by your preachers
 ' our venerable, and dear brethren; and by
 ' *MICHAEL SERVETUS*. And because your
 ' piety demanded from us, that we should care-
 ' fully examine, diligently confidet, all those
 ' things, and give our judgment upon them

*Clarissimis Syndicis & amplissimo senatui Genevensis, reipublicis dominis
 nostris colendissimis f. p.*

Accepimus per hunc tabellionem literas amplitudinis vestrae un-
 cum libro *SERVETI*, & articulis ex ipso consignatis, cum
 collatione scripta, per vestros concionatores fratres nostros ven-
 rabile

we with all due deference to your lordships, will lay before your excellencies (with the assistance of GOD) our sentiments concerning this whole affair, of the unity and trinity of GOD, of the mystery of the Son of GOD, and what we judge concerning the controversy, and writings of the ministers of your church, and of SERVETUS, with all the brevity and perspicuity possible. We make no manner of scruple to acknowledge the adorable mystery of the unity and trinity of GOD blessed for ever, to have existed from the beginning of the world: That this was firmly believ'd by all the saints, and faithfully handed down to be believed by posterity, and openly declar'd in the scriptures by prophets truly inspir'd by the Holy Ghost. This main principle of true theology has been so sufficiently confirm'd by the oracles of GOD, establish'd by such evident signs, and so unanimously receiv'd by the catholick and orthodox church, as well of the old as of the new testament, that it has been always look'd on as a great piece of wicked-

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ness,

abiles, & charos, & MICHAELEM SERVETUM. Ac quoniam illa omnia à nobis inspicere diligenter expendi, & nostrum de his iudicium adiacere pietas vestra postulavit, amplitudini vestrae morem gerentes, quid de toto hoc negotio unitatis & trinitatis DEI, denique de filij DEI mysterio sentiamus, & doceamus, ac quid de controversia, & scriptis ministrorum ecclesiae vestrae, & SERVETI iudicemus, quanta possumus brevitate, & perspicuitate, amplitudini vestrae, DEO juvante, explicabimus. Mysterium adorandum unitatis & trinitatis DEI benedicti in secula nihil dubitamus ab exordio mundi ab omnibus sanctis & creditum esse firmiter, & posteris credendum fideliter traditum; sed & in scripturas manifestè relatum, à spiritu sancto inspiratis veracibus prophetis. Hoc ergo theologiae verae principium, & caput ita est comprobatum DEI oraculis, ita confirmatum evidentibus signis, unanimique consensione receptum catholica & orthodoxa, tam veteris quam novi testamenti ecclesiae,

ut

' nefs, so much as to call it in question. W
 ' therefore acknowledge with the holy an
 ' universal church of GOD, that the essenc
 ' of GOD is one, that there are three person
 ' distinct, not confus'd; for the Father testifie
 ' from heaven of his own Son, This is my be
 ' loved Son (says he) in whom I am we
 ' pleased. He is the son to whom the fathe
 ' bore that testimony, and the Holy Ghost ap
 ' pear'd in the form of a dove, three distinct
 ' divine persons indeed in one essence. Ther
 ' arose, it's true, before the council of *Nice*
 ' *PRAXEAS*, *NOETHUS*, and *SABELLIUS*
 ' who were call'd by the ancients *Patripassian*.
 ' who to preserve the unity of GOD confound
 ' ed the distinction of persons. But they wer
 ' learnedly and irrefragably confuted by th
 ' watchful guides of the church, and the ad
 ' rable mystery of the trine-unity of GOD wa
 ' defended by the scriptures, and preserv'd i
 ' the church. From whence it is certain, tha
 ' the guides of the church, in the *Nicene* coun
 ' cil, deliver'd no other creed to us, than tha
 ' which the catholick and orthodox church re
 ' tain'd from the times of the apostles, yea
 ' eve

ut ipsum vel in questionem vocare nefas semper fuerit iudicatur
 Fatemur itaque cum sancta, & universali ecclesia DEI, unam esse
 DEI essentiam, tres personas distinctas, non confusas. Pater enim
 de cælis testificans de Filio suo, hic est Filius meus dilectus (in
 quit) in quo placatus sum. Filius est cui Pater tulit testimonium
 Spiritus Sanctus vero in specie apparuit columbæ, tres quidem distin
 ctæ in una essentia personæ divinæ. Emerferunt quidem ante con
 cilium *Nicenum*, *PRAXEAS*, *NOETHUS*, & *SABELLIUS*, veteri
 bus nuncupati *Patripassiani*, qui distinctionem personarum propter
 unitatem DEI conservandam confundebant. Sed doctè & irrefrag
 biliter à vigilibus ecclesiæ præsidibus sunt confutati, scripturisq; pro
 pugnatum, & in ecclesia conservatum adorandum trinæ unitat
 DEI mysterium. Unde certum est in concilio *Niceno* ecclesiæ præ
 sides non aliud nobis symbolo condito tradidisse, quam quod
 temporibus

even of the prophets. Since therefore that *Spaniard* S E R V E T U S, often calls the co-eternal trinity of G O D a three-headed monster, and a certain tripartite *Cerberus*, since he calls the trinity imaginary gods, illusions, and three spirits of *Dæmons*, he does most wickedly and horribly blaspheme the eternal majesty of G O D. And in that he calls A T H A N A S I U S, A U G U S T I N, and other excellent servants of G O D, and illustrious lights of the church, trinitarians, and so of course atheists (for so he stiles all who acknowledge a trinity.) He doth not only most unworthily revile these, but the whole body of the saints, and consequently the whole church of C H R I S T, with the most wicked, and intolerable reproaches. What likewise appears most abominable in the unhappy man, is, that he should excuse the blasphemies of the *Jews* uttered against the christian religion, and that he should not only approve but applaud those vile words of M A H O M E T, that the three persons in the trinity, or as he himself says, the three gods who were unknown to the fathers of the *Jews*, were the

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sons

inporibus apostolorum, imo & prophetarum catholica, & orthodoxa retinuerat ecclesia. Quod ergo S E R V E T U S *Hispanus* trinitatem coeternam D E I triceps monstrum, ac cerberum quendam trinitum, denique deos imaginarios, illusiones ac tres spiritus demoniorum appellat, æternam D E I majestatem nefandè & horriter blasphemat. Quod A T H A N A S I U M, A U G U S T I N U M, & D E O S D E I servos eximios, illustriæque ecclesiæ lumina, trinitarios, que adeò atheos nuncupat (ita enim omnes trinitatem agnoscentes non illos tantum, sed totum chorum sanctorum, adeoque totam C H R I S T I ecclesiam nefandis, & non ferendis convitiis indignissime rescindit, abominandum verò illud esse videtur in homine infælici, quod *Judeorum* quoque blasphemias in christianam religionem effu- excusat, & fæda hæc verba M A H O M E T I S, tres in trinitate personas, vel, ut ipse ait, tres deos patribus ignotos fuisse, & esse filios

Beelzebub,

' sons of *Beelzebub*. What more impious a
 ' gainst GOD, and what more unworthy c
 ' our pure christian faith, could possibly com
 ' from this wretch? What christian ears, w
 ' beseech you, can hear these things with pa
 ' tience? The church of GOD has unan
 ' mously believed and taught the doctrine con
 ' cerning the Son of GOD; that he subsiste
 ' from the beginning, from eternity in his pro
 ' per hypostasis. For this was taught out
 ' the word of GOD, the LORD himself open
 ' ly declaring in the gospel, before ABRAHA
 ' was I am, by the substance not of flesh in
 ' deed, but by the substance of divinity. Ac
 ' cording to which the apostle calls him th
 ' express image of his father's substance, when
 ' he likewise quotes that testimony out
 ' the old scriptures, *Thou art my son, this do
 ' have I begotten thee*. This Son, who is th
 ' Son of GOD from eternity, true GOD,
 ' time became the Son of man, true man: bo
 ' not of the substance of GOD the fathe
 ' but of the substance of the virgin MARY h
 ' mother, whom GOD by his spirit ma
 ' pregnant, from whence he, the Son, is call
 ' t

Beelzebub, approbat, & extollit. Quid verò potuisset ab hoc homi
 magis impium in DEUM, & indignius in intermeratam fidem ch
 stianam expui? Quæ obsecro aures christianæ ista patienter audian
 De filio DEI concorditer credidit, & docuit ecclesia DEI, ab i
 tio subsistere illum ab æterno in propria hypostasi, hoc enim doc
 fuerat ex verbo DEI, domino ipso apertissimè in evangelio dice
 te; antequam ABRAHAM esset, ego sum; utique substantia n
 carnis quidem, sed divinitatis. Juxta quam apostolus dicit illum e
 expressam imaginem substantiæ paternæ; ubi simul illud ex vet
 scriptura citat testimonium, *Filius meus es tu, ego hodiè genui te*. F
 Filius qui est ab æterno DEI Filius, DEUS verus in tempore fact
 est hominis filius, homo verus; natus non ex substantia DEI p
 tris, sed ex substantiæ MARIÆ virginis matris, quam DEUS spir
 si

the blessed seed of the woman, and the offspring of DAVID, and the son of man, altho' the person remains in one undivided, yet retaining two natures unmix'd, or not confused, divine and humane. This is a truth prov'd long ago by such perspicuous and plain testimonies of scripture, and appears now so manifest, that he that doubts of it, is mad with his wits about him. We therefore with simplicity and unanimity firmly believe, as we have already explain'd ourselves; and we preach the same common faith in the church. S E R V E T U S therefore is again convicted of being a blasphemer against the Son of GOD: who is not afraid of villifying the hypostasis of the Son which was existing, and co-essential and co-equal to the Father, as if it was no more than a diabolical idea, and a certain fabulous *Chimæra*. Besides, he is so impudent as to assert, that the Father of the corporeal Son, was no other than GOD the Father himself, of whose substance the flesh of the Son was born. PAUL, the teacher of the *Gentiles*, taught far otherwise, who said that the Son of GOD was
 ' begot-

no fecundam reddidit; unde filius ille, & semen benedictum matris, & germen DAVIDIS, & filius hominis appellatur. Manet autem, in una indivisa persona, retinens tamen naturas duas impermixtas aut inconfusas, divinam & humanam; id quod adeo perspicuis & evidentibus scripturæ testimoniis comprobatur jam olim, & tunc esse constat, ut qui addubitet, cum ratione insaniat. Nos igitur simpliciter, & concorditer, ita ut jam exposuimus, firmiter credimus, & in ecclesia fidei nostræ concredita prædicamus. Rursus ergo blasphemus in DEI Filium deprehenditur S E R V E T U S, qui illum ab æterno Filii hypostasim, existentem, & Patri co-essentialem, & co-æqualem, & diabolicam ideam, & fabulosam quandam chimæram convitari non veretur. Insuper asserere audet, corporalis filii Patrem alium non esse ullum quam ipsum DEUM Patrem, ex quo substantia caro filii nata sit longè aliter docuit doctor *Gentium*
 PAULUS,

' begotten of the seed of DAVID according
 ' to the flesh, and declared the Son of GOD,
 ' with the power, and spirit of sanctifica-
 ' tion. But why should we go on to recollect
 ' the particular blasphemies of that man?
 ' The pastors and doctors of your church have,
 ' with great diligence and faithfulness, collected
 ' his several enormous errors, and flagrant he-
 ' resies; in that writing, which bears this ti-
 ' tle, Sentences or propositions extracted from
 ' MICHAEL SERVETUS's books. We find
 ' that they were not extracted, or sign'd thro'
 ' malice, and we are so far from receiving or
 ' approving of them, that we rather abhor
 ' and execrate them; for SERVETUS, by his
 ' answers immediately subjoin'd to them, has
 ' not explain'd, but intricated the matter, by
 ' putting a wrong sense upon many passages of
 ' the ancients, about the unity and trinity of
 ' GOD, and the mystery of the Son of GOD,
 ' as the ministers of your church have by their
 ' answer abundantly evinced. The replies and
 ' glosses of SERVETUS have nothing in them
 ' but extreme impudence and cursed reproach-
 ' es. He so often throws his favourite (*Mentiris*)
 ' thou

PAULUS, qui dixit filium DEI genitum fuisse ex semine DAVID
 secundum carnem, & declaratum filium DEI in potentia & spiritu
 sanctificationis. Cæterum cur singula istius hominis blasphemi re-
 colligere pergeremus? Satis diligenter, & fideliter enormes aliquot
 istius errores & apertas hæreses collegerunt ecclesiæ vestræ pastores,
 & doctores, eo scripto cui titulum præfixerunt, sententiæ, vel pro-
 positiones excerptæ ex libris MICHAELIS SERVETI; eas nec per
 calumniam excerptas invenimus, aut consignatas, nec illas ulla ra-
 tione recipimus, aut approbamus, sed execramur potius. Nam
 SERVETUS responsione sua mox subjecta rem involvit, non ex-
 plicavit; depravatis multis veterum interim de unitate, & trinitate
 DEI, deque Filii DEI mysterio sententiis. Id quod ministri eccle-
 siæ vestræ satis perspicuè opposita responsione evicerunt. Replicatio-
 nes vel scholia SERVETI, præter extremam impudentiam, & con-
 vicia

' liest at *CALVIN*. He so often reviles him
 ' with being a magician, *SIMON MAGUS*, that
 ' we grieve and blush to repeat it; especially
 ' since the thing itself, and the writings of
 ' *SERVETUS* thoroughly examin'd, sufficient-
 ' ly testify that *CALVIN* forg'd nothing false
 ' against him; whereas *SERVETUS* rather
 ' denied the things he had asserted, and gave
 ' a false colouring to them. Nor do we at all
 ' doubt but that the singular faith and care of
 ' your pastor and our brother *CALVIN*, to-
 ' gether with his egregious merit towards ex-
 ' iles, and other pious people, will appear too
 ' bright in the eyes of your eminencies, and
 ' other good men, to be obscur'd by the cri-
 ' minations of such a fellow as *SERVETUS*.
 ' And this appears sufficiently by your excel-
 ' lencies letter, in which to our great satisfac-
 ' tion, you say that you don't desire our opi-
 ' nion out of any diffidence of the ministers of
 ' your church, but rather that our judgment
 ' in these affairs might not be altogether un-
 ' known. Now in what manner you may use
 ' a coercive power upon this man, who re-
 ' vives those heresies that were formerly ex-
 ' ploded

cia dira, parum aut nihil habent. Toties enim suum illud *Menti-*
 ' *CALVINO*, impingit, toties magum, & *SIMONEM MAGUM*
 ' iminatur, ut meminisse pigeat, ac pudeat; præsertim quum res
 ' sa clamet, & scripta *SERVETI* diligenter expensa testentur, ni-
 ' l confinxisse *CALVINUM*. *SERVETUM* potius ea quæ dixit,
 ' rus negare, ac fuco aliquo tingere *CALVINI* pastoris vestri &
 ' tris nostri fidem, & diligentiam, denique egregia in exules, &
 ' os merita, illustriora esse speramus, quam quæ istius criminationi-
 ' bus indignissimis, vel apud amplitudinem vestram vel apud alios
 ' ros bonos obscurari possit: Neque hoc dissimulat amplitudo ve-
 ' a, quæ (quod non sine animi lætitia legimus) disertè scriptis literis
 ' nificat iudicium à nobis non requirere, quòd ecclesiæ vestræ mi-
 ' tris diffidat, sed potius ut nostrum quoque de iis non nesciat ju-
 ' rium. Porrò quomodo amplitudo vestra coerceat hunc homi-
 ' nem,

' ploded and condemn'd by the church accord-
 ' ing to the scriptures, and opposes the main
 ' establish'd principles of our faith, by which
 ' opposition he reproaches GOD and his saints,
 ' we leave to your judgment to determine. If
 ' we are not mistaken in the name, this SER-
 ' VETUS begun this mischief above twenty
 ' years ago, when JOHANNES OECOLAMP-
 ' PADIUS, of blessed memory, endeavour'd to
 ' reclaim the man. And then likewise the do-
 ' ctine of SERVETUS was condemn'd by
 ' those who first preached the gospel of
 ' CHRIST in those parts. But he, tenacious
 ' of his sentiments, did nevertheless take care
 ' to publish in *Germany*, in the year 1531,
 ' seven books concerning errors about the tri-
 ' nity, and some dialogues, by which no doubt
 ' a great many not well vers'd in the scrip-
 ' tures, and weak in the faith, were pre-
 ' cipitated into great danger both as to body
 ' and soul: And yet, as if he was not conten-
 ' t with this, he goes on to outdo himself in im-
 ' piety and blasphemy, by reprinting the most
 ' pestilent errors, and unsufferable blasphemies
 ' obtru-

nem; qui olim ab ecclesia per scripturas, convictas, & damnatas
 hæreses renovat, ac prima fidei nostræ firma capita oppugnat, op-
 pugandoque DEO & sanctis ejus convitiatur, vestræ prudenti-
 æstimandum relinquimus. Si non fallit nos similitudo nominis, mo-
 vit hic SERVETUS hoc ingens malum ante annos viginti, co-
 nante tum beatæ memoriæ domino JOHANNES OECOLAMPADI
 ipsum reducere in viam. Ac tunc quoque doctrina SERVETI
 iis qui primi hisce regionibus evangelium CHRISTI prædicarunt
 condemnata fuit. Ille vero tenax sui sensus, nihilominus anno 1531
 Curavit edi in *Germania*, septem libros de trinitatis erroribus,
 aliquot dialogos; quibus dubium non est quam plures parum er-
 ercitatos in scripturis, & infirmiores in fide, præcipientes actos in ge-
 ve tum animarum, tum corporum discrimen. Quo tamen adeo
 non fuit satiatus, ut modò recuis pestilentissimis erroribus, & bla-
 phemiis non ferendis, semetipsum in impietate & blasphemia sup-
 rat

obtruding on the church the most corrupt doctrine, under the specious title of the restitution of christianity. We are therefore of opinion that we ought to use all our faith and diligence in opposition to this man; especially since our churches are evil spoken of abroad, as if they were heretical, and favour'd hereticks. The holy providence of GOD therefore has put an opportunity into your hands of purging yourselves, together with us, from the vile suspicion of so great an evil, *viz.* If ye shall take effectual care to put a stop to the growing contagion of this person, which we doubt not but you will do to all intents and purposes.

May the Lord JESUS CHRIST add wisdom and courage to your piety, and shew you the reasonable and just way of doing his will to the glory of his name, and the preservation of the true faith and his church. We present and recommend ourselves and services to your excellencies. We were oblig'd to detain the express three whole days, because we could not explain ourselves sooner.

ZURICH, 21 Oct.
1553.

Your Lordships

Devoted Servants

*The PASTORS, and READERS,
Ministers of the Church at
ZURICH.*

A a

“ THE

e, & corruptissimam doctrinam sub specie restitutionis christiani ecclesiae obtrudere pergit. Multa ergo fide, ac diligentia con- hunc opus esse judicamus: praesertim quum ecclesiae nostrae apud eros male audiant, quasi haereticae sint, & haereticis faveant. Ob- tulit

tulit vero in præfenti sancta DEI providentia occasionem repugandi vos, simul ac nos à prava mali hujus suspicione; si videlicet vigilantes fueritis, diligenterque caveritis ne veneni hujus contagio per hunc serpat latius. Id quod facturos vos nihil dubitamus.

Dominus JESUS CHRISTUS conferat pietati vestræ sapientiam & fortitudinem, viam rationem, & modum justam faciendi voluntatem ejus ad gloriam, nominis ipsius, & ad fidei sinceræ, ecclesiæque conservationem. Simul offerimus amplitudini vestræ nostra obsequia, commendamusque iidem nos omnes. Cæterum per tres dies integros tabellionem hunc vestrum detinuimus, quod non potuerimus nos citius explicare.

Data TIGURI,
21 Octob. anno
D MLIII.

Vestræ amplitudini dediti
PASTORES & LECTORES,
Ministri Ecclesiæ TIGURINÆ.

Bibl. Ang. “ THE council of *Schafausen* answered
P. 164. “ the 6th of *Octob.* That they had

“ referred the examination of that affair to
“ their ministers, whose opinion they might
“ know by their letter. Those divines ha-
“ ving express’d their abhorrence of SERVE-
“ TUS’s errors, conclude with these words:
“ Nor do we doubt, but that through your
“ great prudence * you will oppose his design,
“ and hinder his blasphemies from preying
“ like a cancer, any longer upon the members
“ of CHRIST. For to pretend to answer his
“ extravagancies by long arguments, would be
“ acting madly with a madman”. “ They
“ add, that they subscribe to the judgment
“ of the *Zurich* divines.

* Neque dubitamus quin vos pro insigni prudentia vestrâ ipsius conatus repressuri sitis, ne blasphemiam ipsius tanquam cancer latius depascentur CHRISTI membra. Nam longis rationibus evertere ipsius deliramenta, quid aliud esset quam cum insaniente insanire.

Bibl. Ang. “ As for what concerns the magistrates of
P. 165. “ *Basil*, they answered in a few words, that
“ they had left that affair to the consideration
“ o

“ of their divines. Their answer is dated *Oct. 12.*

“ The ministers of *Basil* in a letter bearing the

“ same date, testify their abhorrence for *SERVETUS*'s

“ heresy, and then add ” :

‘ *Lastly*, * We exhort you to use your ut-
 ‘ most endeavour to reclaim him, provided
 ‘ the scandal he has occasioned may be remo-
 ‘ ved. But if he continues to be incurable,
 ‘ let him be so restrained (as it is your duty,
 ‘ and according to the power you have recei-
 ‘ ved from the *LORD*) that for the time to
 ‘ come he may do no harm to the church of
 ‘ *CHRIST*, lest the end should prove worse
 ‘ than the beginning. To that end the *LORD*
 ‘ himself will give you his spirit, and strength,
 ‘ and wisdom, &c.

* Postremo quod
 SERVE-
 TUM atti-
 net, hor-
 tamur, ut
 quod face-
 re vos op-
 ortet om-
 ne studi-
 um in ip-
 so sanan-
 do adhi-
 beatis,
 modo quæ
 excitavit

offendicula, & ipsa sanari queant. Verum si insanabilis in concepta
 semel perversitate perstet, sic pro officio vestro, potestateque a *DO-*
MINO concessa coerceatur, ne dare incommodum queat deinceps
 ecclesiæ *CHRISTI*, neve fiant novissima primis deteriora. Qua in
 re suppeditabit *DEUS* ipse spiritum, robur, & sapientiam, &c.

“ The magistrates of *Berne* answered, that *ibid. p.*

“ they had consulted their divines, and de- *166.*

“ fired the magistrates of *Geneva* to prevent

“ the progress of errors ”.

‘ We † desire you (say they) not doubting † Vous
 that you are inclined to it, to take care that prions
 such errors, or the like, be not sowed in the comme ne
 church of *JESUS CHRIST* our only Savi- doutons
 our; by which means you will preserve her point a ce
 from trouble and adversity, and promote the être en-
 glory of *GOD*’. clins, de
 toujours
 tenir main

ne les erreurs & sectes, comme les dites sont, ou semblables, ne
 soient semées en l’eglise de *JESUS CHRIST*, nostre seul Sau-
 veur; & par ce garderez de trouble & adversité, & sa gloire aven-
 irez & augmenterez. *Bibl. Ang. p. 166.*

* If I am not mistaken, that letter was dated Octo. 6. † Oramus DOMINUM ut det vobis spiritum prudentiæ, con-

“ * The ministers of *Berne* expressed themselves in these words † ‘ We pray God that he would be pleased to give you the spirit of prudence, wisdom, and courage, that you may remove this plague, not only from your own church, but also from all others, and at the same time not to do any thing that is unworthy of christian magistrates’. That letter is only dated in the year 1553, ††.

filiæ & fortitudinis, ut & pestem hanc ab ecclesiis cum vestra tum aliis avertatis, & simul nihil admittatis, quod magistratui christiano inconueniens censi possit, p. 167. †† *The four letters of the divines of Switzerland have been printed among those of CALVIN, pag. 116. & seq. of the Geneva edition, 1575. Les quatre lettres des theologiens des theologiens suisses, dont on viene de parler out été imprimées avec celles de CALVIN, p. 116. & Suiv. de l' edition de Geneve, 1575.*

“ When *SERVETUS* was imprison'd, *CALVIN* writ a letter (of the 20th of *August* to his friend *William Farel*, minister of the church of *Neufchatel*, whereby he acquainted him with it”.

¶ Jam novum negotium habemus cum *SERVETO* hactenus transire forte cogitabat. Necdum enim scitur quo

“ We are now, says he, engaged with *SERVETUS*. Perhaps he only designed to go thro' this city; for we don't know yet what reason moved him to come hither. He has been discovered, and I have been of opinion that he should be arrested. He is prosecuted by *NICOLAS (de la FONTAINE)* who brought the next day forty heads of accusation

consilio venerit. Sed cum agnitus fuisset, retinendum putavi. *NICOLAUS* meus ad capitale iudicium, poenæ talionis se offerens, in sum vocavit. Quadraginta accusationis capita postridie in medium scripta attulit, *Tergiversatus* est initio. Itaque vocati sumus. Præterve mihi convitiatus est, non secus ac si haberet sibi obnoxium. Ego, ut dignus erat, eum excepi, tandem pronunciavit senatus capita omnia probata esse. Dimissus est e carcere *NICOLAUS* tertio, cum fratrem meum sponsorem dedisset, quarto absolutus est. Spero capitale saltem fore iudicium: Poenæ vero atrocitatem remitti cupio. *CALVIN* epist. pag. 114. *Geneva* 1575.

cusation * against him, offering himself to be * CALVIN
 tried by the *lex talionis*. At first he varied ^{should}
 in his answers; and therefore I was sent for. ^{have said}
 He abused me, as if he had had great inju- 38.
 stice done him. I have treated him as he
 deserves. At last the magistrates have de-
 clared that all the articles have been proved
 against him. NICOLAS was set at liberty
 three days after; and on the fourth he was
 acquitted, my brother being security for
 him — I hope S E R V E T U S will be con-
 demned to death; but I wish the severity of
 his punishment may be softned.

“ F A R E L answered CALVIN in a letter † Mira est
 dated *Octob. 8.*” † ‘ Tis a wonderful provi- D E I dis-
 dence (says he) that S E R V E T U S should pen-
 come to *Geneva*. I wish he may repent satio
 though never so late. It will be a mighty in S E R-
 thing if he dies a true penitent, undergoing V E T O,
 but one death, though he deserves to die a quod istuc
 thousand times; and if he endeavours to venerit.
 edify the spectators, having made it his bu- Utinam
 siness to pervert many people that are dead, vel sero
 and others that are still living, and even sapiat!
 those that shall be born hereafter. The judges Magnum
 must be very cruel, and perfect enemies of sane mira-
 C H R I S T and his church, if they are not culum e-
 affected with the horrid blasphemies with rit, si mor-
 which that pernicious heretick attacks the tem perfe-
 divine majesty, and endeavours to overthrow rat serio
 the gospel, and to corrupt all the churches. ad D E U M
 (qui mul-
 tas myria-
 das com-
 meritus est) si omnes contendat ædificare præsentis, qui multis jam
 sublatis & qui supersunt, adde etiam venturis nocere studuit. Valde
 crudeles erunt, & admodum injurii C H R I S T O, & doctrinæ pieta-
 tis, & veri ecclesiæ hostes judices, si non moveantur blasphemis
 horrendis tam nefandi hæretici, quibus divinam majestatem impetit,
 & C H R I S T I evangelium conatus est labefactare, omnesque cor-
 rumpere ecclesias; sed spero D E U M facturum, ut qui laudantur ob
 justas

But

meritus est) si omnes contendat ædificare præsentis, qui multis jam
 sublatis & qui supersunt, adde etiam venturis nocere studuit. Valde
 crudeles erunt, & admodum injurii C H R I S T O, & doctrinæ pieta-
 tis, & veri ecclesiæ hostes judices, si non moveantur blasphemis
 horrendis tam nefandi hæretici, quibus divinam majestatem impetit,
 & C H R I S T I evangelium conatus est labefactare, omnesque cor-
 rumpere ecclesias; sed spero D E U M facturum, ut qui laudantur ob
 justas

‘ But I hope that those, who are commended
 ‘ for inflicting a just punishment upon thieves
 ‘ and sacrilegious persons, will do their duty
 ‘ in this case, by taking off a man who has
 ‘ so long and so obstinately persisted in his he-
 ‘ resy, and undone so many people. In desi-
 ‘ ring that the severity of the punishment
 ‘ should be moderated; you act the part of a
 ‘ friend towards a man who is your great ene-
 ‘ my. But I beseech you to behave yourself
 ‘ in such a manner, that no one may be so
 ‘ bold for the time to come as to publish new
 ‘ doctrines, and occasion so much disturbance
 ‘ as this man has done’. “ It appears from
 “ this passage that FAREL was a violent di-
 “ vine; which is altogether contrary to the
 “ spirit of christianity. FAREL adds, That
 “ he has frequently offered to suffer death, in
 “ imitation of St. PAUL, if he taught any
 “ thing contrary to the gospel doctrine, and
 “ that he has declared he should deserve the
 “ greatest punishment, if he should bring off
 “ any body from the faith and doctrine of
 “ JESUS CHRIST; so that he cannot be
 “ more indulgent to others than to himself.
 “ On the 9th of September CALVIN wrote a
 “ letter to SULCERUS, a divine of Swisser-
 “ land. CALVIN tells him that he has, doubt-
 “ less, heard of SERVETUS; that he is the
 “ same person of whom BUCER (tho’ other-
 “ wise a moderate man) said in the pulpit,
 “ that

Ibid. 167.

Bibl. Ang.
p. 172.

justas inflictas furibus & sacrilegis poenas, ita se gerant, ut in hac par-
 te merito bene audiant, sublato eo, qui tandiu obstinatissime in hæ-
 resibus perseveravit, quique tam multos perdidit. Quod poenæ atro-
 citatem leniri cupis, facis amici officium in inimicissimum tibi homi-
 nem. Sed te, quæso, ita geras, ne temere quivis audeat nova in-
 ferre in publicum dogmata & tandiu omnia turbare impune, ut iste
 fecit. Ubi supra, pag. 116.

" that he deserved to have his entrails plucked
 " out, and to be torn in pieces". *Is est de*
 " *quo fidelis CHRISTI minister & sanctæ memo-*
 " *riæ D. BUCERUS, cum alioqui mansueto esset*
 " *ingenio, pro suggestu pronunciauit, dignum esse,*
 " *qui avulsis visceribus discerperetur. CALVIN*
 " *adds, that SERVETUS was seiz'd and im-*
 " *prison'd by his means. Tandem huc malis au-*
 " *spiciis appulsum unus ex syndicis, Me Auctore*
 " *in carcerem duci jussit. Neque enim dissimulo*
 " *quin officii mei duxerim hominem plusquam obsti-*
 " *natum & indomitum, quoad in me erat, com-*
 " *pescere ne longius manaret contagio, i. e. Nor do*
 " *I at all pretend, but that I really thought it*
 " *my duty to do all that lay in my power to*
 " *crush such an obstinate, and irreclaimable*
 " *fellow, that the contagion might spread no*
 " *further". " Afterwards CALVIN repre-*
 " *sents to SULLERUS, that the prisoner is*
 " *guilty of the most pernicious errors that can*
 " *be thought on; and that he was so far from*
 " *expressing any repentance, that he insisted*
 " *upon them with insupportable pride and ob-*
 " *stinacy. The design of this letter does*
 " *plainly appear from these expressions".*
 " *Sed quia tibi curæ fore spero, ut hominis impie-*
 " *tas quibus meretur elogiis pingatur, plura non ad-*
 " *dam. Tantum unius rei te admonitum volo,*
 " *quæstorem urbis, qui tibi has litteras reddet, in*
 " *hac causa recto esse animo, ut saltem exitum quem*
 " *optamus non fugiat. Utinam veteres tui discipuli*
 " *eodem modo animati forent. But because I hope*
 " *you will take care to represent the impiety*
 " *of the man as it deserves, I will add no*
 " *more, only I give you notice of this one*
 " *thing, that the Quæstor of the city, who*
 " *brings these letters to you, is well affected*
 " *to*

to the cause, that at least it may not miss
the end we wish for. I wish all your old
disciples were animated in the same man-
ner. CALVIN. ep. p. 114, Gen. 1575.

p. 174.

“ The 23d of Aug. CALVIN writ a letter
to the ministers of the church of *Frankfort*
whereby he informed them, that SERVE-
TUS had printed at *Vienne* a book full of er-
rors and blasphemies; That many copies
had been sent to *Frankfort* the last *Easter* fair
that the printer's factor being a pious man
had not been willing to expose them to sale
and that the bearer of that letter would tel-
them in what warehouse they were to be
found. Lastly, he desires those divines to
burn all those books. He acquaints them
that, — *Auctor* * *ipse tenetur in carcere a ma-*
gistratu nostro & propediem, ut spero, daturus
est pœnas. The author himself is clap'd up
in prison by our magistrates, and doubt not
but he (SERVETUS) will shortly be brought
to condign punishment.

* All Co-
pies of the
Christia-
nismi Re-
stitutio,
except
some few,
were

burnt at *Vienne* and at *Frankfort*; which is the reason why that
book is so scarce.

Bib. Ang.
175.

† Obtulit
quidem
DOMI-
NUS ma-
teriam per
occasio-
nem ac-
comoda-

“ BULLINGER, another famous divine of
Switzerland, writ a letter to CALVIN, *ub*
supra, p. 127. dated *Septemb. 14.* which con-
tains a remarkable passage. † The LORD
(says he) has given the magistrates of *Gene-*
va a fair opportunity of clearing themselves
and the church from heresy, by delivering
SERVETUS into their hands. Therefore, if
they

tissimam amplissimo senatui *Genevensis* se & ecclesiam expurgandi a
labe seu fœditate hæreseos, dum SERVETUM illum *Hispanum* in
manus ejus dedit—— Si ergo huic rependeret amplissimus senatus
quod

quod blasphemus nebuloni debetur, totus orbis cerneret *Genevenses* blasphemos odisse, hæreticos, qui vere sunt pertinaces hæretici, gladio justitiæ profèqui; & gloriam majestatis divinæ vindicare.

they treat that rascal as he deserves; all the world will see that the *Genevois* hate blasphemers; that they prosecute with the sword of justice those hereticks who are truly obstinate; and that they maintain and vindicate the glory of GOD. I find the following words in a letter of CALVIN to BULLINGER, dated *Octob. 25.*

* 'Tis not known yet what will be the fate of that man (SERVETUS). However, as far as I can guess, the judges will condemn him to morrow, and he will be executed the next day.

* Quid de homine futurum sit, nondum scitur. Quantum ta-

men conjecturis assequor, cras feretur in curia judicium, perendie vero ad supplicium ducetur.

“ It appears to me, that the 23d of *October* the judges were resolv'd to condemn *SERVETUS* to be burnt alive. I infer it from a passage relating to that day”. † After having heard the answers before mention'd, and the decree of the ministers of churches; the said attainted *MICHAEL SERVETUS* is referr'd to hear the good will of *Messieurs*, to administer justice day by day.

Bibl. Angl. P. 176.

† Après avoir entendu les réponses avant mises, & l'arrest aujourd'hui,

fait, ensemble l'avis des sieurs ministres des eglises, l'on a remys edit inquys *MICHEL SERVET* à ovir la bonne voloutè de messieurs, & à dire droit de jour à jour.

“ Accordingly, on the 26th of the same month, that unfortunate physician was actually condemned to undergo that punishment. *BEZA* did not scruple to say that he was condemned *ex omnium etiam Helveticarum ecclesiarum sententia*, according to the judgment of all the churches of *Switzerland*, as before.

“ On the same day, *Octob. 26.* CALV
 “ acquainted FAREL how SERVETUS’S
 “ stood: That letter being very curious
 “ shall transcribe the greatest part of it
 “ The * messenger (says he) that was sent
 “ the *Swiss*, is come back. They all unan-
 “ mously declare, that SERVETUS has re-
 “ ved the impious errors, with which Sa-
 “ did formerly disturb the church; and that
 “ is an intolerable monster. Those of *Berne*
 “ are right. Those of *Zurich* are the most
 “ hement; (*Tigurini omnium vehementissimi*)
 “ they express the heinousness of his impi-
 “ in very emphatical words, and exhort
 “ magistrates to use him severely. Those
 “ *Schaffhausen* subscribe to their judgment. The
 “ letter of the divines of *Berne*, which is a
 “ to the purpose, is attended with that of the
 “ senate, whereby our magistrates have been
 “ very much animated. CÆSAR, a comi-
 “ man, who pretended to be sick for these
 “ days, came to court at last to acquit this
 “ profligate fellow; for he was not ashamed
 “ propose, that the cause should be removed
 “ to the council of two hundred. Neverthe-
 “ less he has been condemned without any
 “ spute. He will be executed to-morrow. We
 “ have endeavoured to commute that sort
 “ death; but it was in vain. I will tell you
 “ what

* Redit
 ab HEL-
 VETIIS
 nunciis.
 Uno con-
 sensu pro-
 nunciant
 omnes,
 SERVE-
 TUM im-
 pios erro-
 res, qui-
 bus olim
 turbavit
 Satan ec-
 clesiam,
 nunc re-
 novasse,
 & mon-
 strum esse
 non fe-
 rendum.
 Cordati
*Basilien-
 sis. Tigu-
 rini om-
 nium ve-
 hementif-
 simi.* Nam
 & impie-
 tatum
 atrocitas
 graviter

ab illis exprimitur, & hortantur senatum nostrum ad servitatem
 Subscribunt *Schaphusiani. Bernensium* literis etiam appositis accedunt
 & senatus literæ, quibus non parum stimulati sunt nostri. CÆSAR
 comicus simulato per triduum morbo, in curiam tandem ascendit
 ut sceleratum istum pœna eximeret. Neque enim erubuit petere
 cognitio ad ducentos veniret: Sine controversia tamen damnatus
 Cras ad supplicium ducetur. Genus mortis conati sumus mutare,
 frustra. Cur nihil profecerimus, coram narrandum differo. CALV.
Ep. Bib. Ang. p. 178.

when I see you, why the judges have not granted our request.'

“ ’Tis observable, that this letter was written to *FAREL* at *Neufchatel* the 26th of *October*, and that he arrived at *Geneva* the next day, and consequently before he could receive it. I believe he came to *Geneva* of his own motion, to be present at *SERVETUS*'s execution: He had a mind to see whether that heretick would edify the spectators.

At last, on the 27th of *October*, *SERVETUS* was sentenced * to be burnt alive.

* Le 27
Octobre

553, Le surdit *MICHAEL SERVET* a esté condamné à estre
rnse, & leuë la sentence par lé Sieur Sindiq; Darled, a esté ex-
cutée & les livres brusles. *Bib. Ang.* p. 179.

☞ The two following pieces do perfectly agree with the original; only there are some words, in which the Orthography is not exactly the same.



*Process drawn up before our most dreaded Lords the
Syndics, Judges of criminal causes in this City
at the pursuit and instance of the Lord Lieuten-
nant of the said City, against MICHAEL
SERVETUS of Villanueva in the Kingdom
Arragon in Spain,*

*Mem. of
Lit. Vol. 4.
Art. 51.*

‘ **W**HO in the first place has been con-
‘ victed of having, about twenty
‘ three or twenty-four years ago, caused
‘ a book to be printed at *Agnon* (it should be
‘ *Haguenau*) in *Germany*, against the holy and
‘ undivided Trinity, containing many gre-
‘ vious blasphemies against it, which have occa-
‘ sioned a great scandal in the churches of the
‘ said *Germany*; which book he has freely con-
‘ fessed to have printed, notwithstanding the
‘ remonstrances made to him about his false
‘ opinions, by the learned evangelical doctors
‘ of the said *Germany*.

‘ *Ite.*

*Proces fait & formé par devant nos très redoubtés Seigneurs Syndics
Juges des causes criminelles de ceste Cite a la poursuite & instance
Seigneur Lieutenant de ceste dite Cite, es dites causes instant, contre
MICHEL SERVET de Ville-neuve, au Royaume d' Arragon
Espagne.*

L Equel premierement est esté atteint d'avoir, il y environ 23 à
ans, fait imprimer un livre à *Agnon* (it should be *Haguenau*)
en *Allemagne* contre la sainte & individue Trinité, contenant
sieurs & grands blasphemes contre icelle, grandement scandaleux
ès eglises des dites *Alleagnes*: lequel livre li a spontanément
confessé avoir fait imprimer, non obstant les remonstrances & con-
ditions à luy faittes de ses sçavans docteurs evangelistes des dites
Alleagnes.

Ite.

‘ *Item*, The said book was condemned by the doctors of the said churches of *Germany*, as being full of heresies; and the said SERVETUS ran away from the said *Germany*, on account of the said book.

‘ *Item*, Notwithstanding this, the said SERVETUS has persisted in his errors, infecting many people with them.

‘ *Item*, Not contented with this, the better to spread his venom and heresy, he has not long since caused another book to be printed privately at *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, full of the said heresies, and horrid and execrable blasphemies, against the Holy Trinity, against the Son of GOD and infant baptism, and against many other articles and fundamental points of the christian religion.

‘ *Item*,

Item, Et lequel livre a esté par les docteurs d’ icelles eglises de *Allemagne*, comme plein d’ heresies, reprové & ledit SERVET rendu fugitif des dites *Alleagnes*, à cause dudit livre.

Item, Et non obstant cela led. SERVET a perseveré en ses faulses erreurs, infectant d’ icelles plusieurs a son possible.

Item, Et non content de cela, pour mieux divulguer & espancher son dit venin & heresie, depuis peu de temps en ça il a fait imprimer un autre livre à cachette dans *Vienne* en *Dauphiné*, remply des dites heresies, horribles & execrables blasphemés contre la sainte Trinité, contre le Fils de DIEU, contre le baptesme des petits enfans, & autres plusieurs saint passages & fondemens de la religion chrístienne.

Item,

‘ *Item*, He has freely confessed, that in the
 ‘ said book he calls those who believe the Tr
 ‘ nity, Trinitarians and Atheists.

‘ *Item*, He calls the Trinity a D——, and
 ‘ a M——ter with th——ee H——ds.

‘ *Item*, Contrary to the true foundation
 ‘ the christian religion, and blaspheming hor
 ‘ ribly against the Son of GOD, he says th
 ‘ CHRIST is not the Son of GOD from a
 ‘ eternity, but only from the time of his in
 ‘ carnation.

‘ *Item*, Whereas the scripture says, th
 ‘ JESUS CHRIST is the Son of *David*, ac
 ‘ cording to the flesh, he wretchedly denie
 ‘ it, and says he was formed of the substance of
 ‘ GOD the Father, having received three ele
 ‘ ments from him, and one only from the
 ‘ Virgin, whereby he wickedly pretends to
 ‘ destro

Item, A spontanément confessé qu'en iceluy livre, il appelle ceux
 qui croient en la Trinité, Trinitaires & Atheistes.

Item, Et qu'il appelle icelle Trinité, un D—— & montre
 Tr——s T——tes.

Item, Et contre le vrai fondement de la religion chrestienne, &
 blasphémant detestablement contre le Fils de DIEU, a dit JESUS
 CHRIST n'estre Fils de DIEU de toute éternité, ains tant seule
 ment depuis son incarnation.

Item, Et contre ce que dit l'écriture JESUS CHRIST estre fi
 de DAVID selon la chair, il le nie mal heureusement, disant icel
 estre créé de la substance de DIEU le Pere, ayant receu trois ele
 mens d'icelui, & un tant seulement de la Vierge, en quoy meschan
 me

‘ destroy the true humanity of our Lord JESUS
 ‘ CHRIST, the sovereign comfort of poor
 ‘ mankind.

‘ *Item*, That infant baptism is a diabolical
 ‘ invention, and a mere conjuration.

‘ *Item*, Many other things, and execrable
 ‘ blasphemies, with which the said book is all
 ‘ over stuffed, very scandalous, and against the
 ‘ honour and majesty of GOD, the Son of
 ‘ GOD, and the Holy Spirit; which is a
 ‘ cruel and horrid murdering perdition, and
 ‘ destruction of many poor souls, that are
 ‘ spoiled by the said false and execrable do-
 ‘ ctrine; a dreadful thing to be mentioned.

‘ *Item*, The said SERVETUS being full of
 malice, has intituled the said book, written
 against GOD and his evangelical doctrine,
Christianismi Restitutio; that is, *Christianity*
 ‘ Re-

ment il pretend abolir la vraye & entiere humanité de nostre Seig-
 neur JESUS CHRIST, la souveraine consolation du povre genre
 humain.

Item, Et que le baptesme des petits enfans, n'est qu' une inven-
 tion diabolique & forcellerie.

Item, Et plusieurs autres points & articles, & execrables blas-
 phemes, desquils le dit livre est tout farci, grandement scandaleux,
 contre l' honneur & majesté de DIEU, du Fils de DIEU, & du
 saint esprit: qui est un cruel & horrible meurtrissement, perdition
 ruine de plusieurs povres ames, estans par sa dessus dite deloiale
 detestable doctrine trahies; chose éponyantable à reciter.

Item, Et lequel SERVET rempli de malice intitula iceluy son
 livre, ainsi erezé contre DIEU & sa sainte doctrine evangelique,
Christianismi Restitutio, qui est à dire, *Restitution du Christianisme*, &
 ce

‘ *Restored* ; the better to seduce and deceive
 ‘ ignorant people, and that he might the more
 ‘ easily infect the readers of the said book,
 ‘ with his wretched and pernicious venom,
 ‘ under pretence of teaching a good doctrine.

‘ *Item*, Besides the said book, attacking our
 ‘ faith even with letters, and endeavouring to
 ‘ infect it with his poison, he has freely con-
 ‘ fessed and acknowledged to have writ a let-
 ‘ ter to one of the ministers of this city, in
 ‘ which, among many horrid and enormous
 ‘ blasphemies against our holy evangelical re-
 ‘ ligion, he says our gospel is without faith,
 ‘ and without a God ; and that instead of a
 ‘ God, we have a th—e H—d C—us.

‘ *Item*, He has moreover confessed, that he
 ‘ was committed to prison in the above-said
 ‘ city of *Vienne*, which he perfidiously broke,
 ‘ and made his escape.

‘ *Item*,

ce pour mieux seduire & tromper les provres ignorans, & pour plus commodement infecter de son mal heureux & meschant venin les lecteurs de son dit livre, sous l' ombre de bonne doctrine.

Item, Et outre le dessus dit livre, assillant par lettres mesmes nostre foy, & mettant peine icelle infecter de sa poison, a volontairement confesse & reconnu avoir escrit lettre à un des ministres de cette cité, dans laquelle entre autres plusieurs horribles & enormes blasphemés contre nostre sainte religion evangelique, il dit nostre evangile estre sans foy & sans Dieu, & que pour un Dieu nous avons un C—re a tr—s t—tes.

Item, Et a davantage volontairement confesse qu' au dessus dit lieu de *Vienne*, a cause d' icelui meschant & abominable livre & opinions, il fut fait prisonnier ; les quelles prisons perfidement il rompit & echapa.

Item,

‘ *Item*, The said S E R V E T U S did not only
 ‘ rise up against the true christian religion,
 ‘ but like an arrogant broacher of heresies,
 ‘ against the papists and others; insomuch
 ‘ that he was burnt in effigy at *Vienne*, with
 ‘ five bales of his books.

‘ *Item*, Notwithstanding all this, being
 ‘ committed to the prison of this city, he has
 ‘ maliciously persisted in his pernicious and de-
 ‘ testable errors, endeavouring to maintain
 ‘ them with injurious words and calumnies
 ‘ against all true christians, and faithful pro-
 ‘ fessors of the pure and unspotted christian
 ‘ religion, calling them Trinitarians, Atheists
 ‘ and Conjurers, notwithstanding the remon-
 ‘ strances made to him long ago in *Germany*, as
 ‘ has been said, and tho’ he has been re-
 ‘ proved, and imprisoned here and elsewhere;
 ‘ as may be seen more at large in his trial.

Item, Et n’est seulement dressé le dit S E R V E T en sa doctrine
 contre la vraie religion chrestienne, mais comme arrogant innova-
 teur d’ heresies, contre la papistique, & autres; si que à *Vienne*
 mesme il est esté bruslé en effigie, & de ses dits livres cinq bales
 bruslées.

Item, Et nonobstant tout cela, estant ici ès prisons de cette de-
 tenu, n’a laissé de persister malicieusement en ses dites meschantes
 & detestables erreurs, les taschant soustenir avec injures & calom-
 nies contre tous vrais chretiens & fideles tenementiers de la pure
 immaculée religion chrestienne, lest appellant Trinitaires, Atheistes
 & Sorciers, nonobstant les remonstrances a luy dé ja dès long temps
 en *Allemagne*, comme est dit, faites, & au mepres des reprehensions,
 emprisonnemens & corrections à luy tant ailleurs qu’icy faites;
 comme plus amplement & au long est contenu en son proces.

The SENTENCE.

WE Syndics, Judges of criminal causes in this city, having seen the Process drawn up before us, at the instance of our Lieutenant, against thee, MICHAEL SERVETUS of *Villanueva*, in the kingdom of *Arragon* in *Spain*; whereby, and also by thy voluntary confessions made in our presence, and repeated several times, and by thy books produced before us, it plainly appears to us, that thou, SERVETUS, hast long ago put forth a false and heretical doctrine; and that slighting all remonstrances and reproofs, thou hast, with a malicious and wicked obstinacy, continued to spread and publish it, so far as to print books against GOD the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; in short, against the true foundation of the christian religion, endeavouring to cause a disturbance in the church of GOD, whereby many souls might have been destroyed

SENTENCE.

Nous Sindiques, Juges des causes criminelles de cette cité, alians veu le Procès fait & formé par devant nous, à l'instance de nostre Lieutenant es dites causes, instant, contre toi MICHEL SERVET, *Ville-neuve* au royaume d'*Arragon* en *Espagne*, par lequel & tes volontaires confessions en nos mains faites, & par plusieurs fois réitérées, & tes livres devant nous produits, nous conste & appert toy SERVET avoir des long temps mis en avant doctrine fausse & pleinement hereticale, & icelle mettant arriere toutes remonstrances & corrections, avoir d'une malicieuse & perverse obstination, perseveramment semée & divulgée jusques à l'impression de livres publics, contra DIEU le Pere, le Fils, & le Saint Esprit; bref contre les vrais fondemens de la religion chrestienne, & pour cela tasché de faire schisme & trouble en l'eglise de DIEU; dont maintes ames ont peu estre ruinées & perdues (chose horrible & epouvantable, scandaleuse & infectante) & n' avoir eu honte ni hor-

' stroyed and undone, (a thing horrid and
 ' dreadful, scandalous and infecting) and that
 ' thou hast not been ashamed, nor afraid, of
 ' rising up against the divine Majesty, and
 ' the holy Trinity, doing thy utmost endea-
 ' vours to infect the world with thy heresies,
 ' and stinking heretical poison. For these
 ' causes, and others, moving us thereunto,
 ' desiring to clear the church of GOD from
 ' such an infection, and to cut off such a rotten
 ' member; having consulted our citizens, and
 ' invoked the name of GOD to give a right
 ' judgment; sitting in the place of our an-
 ' cestors, having GOD and his holy scripture
 ' before our eyes; saying, *In the name of the*
 ' *Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:*
 ' By this our definitive sentence, which we
 ' give in writing, we condemn thee MICHAEL
 ' SERVETUS to be bound, and carried to
 ' the place called *Champel*, and there to be
 ' fastened to a post, and burnt alive with thy
 ' books, both written with thy own hand,
 ' and printed, till thy body be reduced to
 ' ashes;

horreur de de te dresser totalement contre la Majesté Divine & Sainte
 Trinité; ains avoir mis peine, & t'estre employé obstinément à in-
 fecter le monde de tes heresies & puante poison hereticale. Cas &
 crime d'heresie grief & detestable, & meritant grievé punition cor-
 porelle. A ces causes, & autres justes à ce nous mouvantes, de-
 sirans de purger l'eglise de DIEU de tel infectement, & retrancher
 icelle tel membre pourri; aians eu bonne participation de conseil
 vec nos citoiens, & aians invoqué le nom de DIEU, pour faire
 roit jugement, seans pour tribunal au lieu de nos majeurs, aians
 DIEU & ses saintes escriptures devant nos yeux, disans, *Au nom du*
Pere du Fils, & du Saint Esprit: Par cette nostre definitive sentence,
 laquelle donnons ici par escrit, toy MICHEL SERVET condamn-
 ons à devoir estre lié & mené au lieu de *Champel*, & la devoir
 estre à un pilotis attaché & bruslé tout vif avec ton livre, tant escrit
 e ta main qu' imprimé, jusques à ce que ton corps soit reduit en
 cendre;

‘ ashes ; and thus thou shalt end thy days, to
 ‘ give an example to others, who would do
 ‘ the like. We command you, our Lieute-
 ‘ nant, to cause our present sentence to be put
 ‘ in execution.’

cendre ; & ainsi finiras tes jours, pour donner exemple aux autres, qui tel cas voydroient commetre. Et a vous, nostre Lieutenant, commandons nostre presente sentence faites mettre en execution.

After the sentence was pronounc'd, our sufferer thought meet to make his dying speech, which, with the introduction to it, I find in *Lubienjecius's Historiâ Reformationis Polonicæ*, which I thus translate ; together with the introduction ; *Lib. 2. C. 5. Freistad. 1685.*

‘ MICHAEL SERVETUS was a man of
 ‘ an excellent judgement, and being well versed
 ‘ in the learned languages, he carefully ap-
 ‘ plied himself to the study of physick, and
 ‘ he passed over into *Africa* (for from *Spain* to
 ‘ *Africa* is but a narrow passage) that he might
 ‘ improve his mind, as a bee gathers honey
 ‘ from brambles, so he made his advantage of
 ‘ reading the very Alcoran, which did bitter-
 ‘ ly rail at the doctrines of the Triune GOD
 ‘ and JESUS CHRIST, the most high GOD,
 ‘ begotton of the Essence of the Father,
 ‘ from all eternity, as well as the idolatry
 ‘ (particularly that of the worship of the
 ‘ virgin *Mary*) of those times ; ascribing at
 ‘ the same time uncommon honour to CHRIST,
 ‘ as the word of GOD and Embassador, the
 ‘ great Prophet, and a Light of all nations,
 ‘ both now and hereafter, and a man endued
 ‘ with a divine power. He could not be ig-
 ‘ norant, as a man well versed both in sacred
 ‘ and profane things, that all the *Antinicine*,
 ‘ the

the *Nicene*, and also the *Constantinopolitan* fathers; that is, indeed all christians had, for near four hundred years, maintained this unmoveable fundamental of the catholick truth, *I believe in one GOD the Father almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, and in his only Son, JESUS CHRIST our LORD.* At that time the *Latin* doctors taught, that the Father was the author of the Son; and the *Greeks*, that he was the cause of the Son; and that all ecclesiastical prayers were addressed to one GOD, through CHRIST the mediator: Hence he freely declared his Opinion concerning one GOD the Father, and his Son JESUS CHRIST, whom the Father had risen from the dead, and had appointed him LORD and GOD, and Judge of the quick and dead; as not only most agreeable to the holy scriptures, but to all antiquity, and was truly catholick; concerning which, he frankly discoursed and wrote to men of learning and piety; many of which, that age, like the golden age, had gradually sent forth, and brought up for the reformation of a vast number of corruptions of the christian world. For this desire, indeed, of finding and propagating the truth, he incurred the hatred of malicious men, every where enemies to all justice, especially after he had published in *Germany*, anno 1531, seven books concerning the errors of the Trinity. Thus having suffered many things in *France* and *Germany*, he resolved to go to *Venice*, but was intercepted in his journey by CALVIN, and was miserably put to death at *Geneva*: He was a man that deserved a much longer life, and a better
‘ end.

' end, with respect to us; but if we regard
 ' the judgment and permission of GOD, he
 ' had lived long enough, because he had lived
 ' well enough, and had answered the best and
 ' most glorious end of life; he design'd to
 ' write commentaries on the whole Old Te-
 ' stament, if he had not been burnt at Geneva.
 ' He was about to publish many discourses,
 ' with these titles, if I am not mistaken, viz.
 ' *Of the right understanding of the Scriptures:*
 ' *Of the Source of Apostacy, from the Apostolical*
 ' *Doctrines: Of the Power of Truth: Of the*
 ' *true Knowledge of one GOD: Of the Error of*
 ' *the T——y: Of the true Holy Spirit: Of the*
 ' *Exaltation of the Man JESUS: Of the Na-*
 ' *ture and Ministry of Angels: Of Zeal and*
 ' *Knowledge: Of the Efficacy of Faith: Of the*
 ' *Power of Charity: Of the Body, Soul and*
 ' *Spirit: Of the Born and Regenerated: Of Vo-*
 ' *cation and Election: Of Prescience and Pre-*
 ' *destination: Of Humane Works and Ceremonies:*
 ' *Of the Baptism of Water and of Spirit: Of the*
 ' *Lord's Supper: Of Sin and Satisfaction: Of Ju-*
 ' *stification: Of the Fear and Love of GOD:*
 ' *Of the true Church: Of the Head and Mem-*
 ' *bers of it: Of the Sleep of the Saints: Of the*
 ' *Resurrection of the Dead, and of the Change of*
 ' *the Living: Of the Day of Judgment: Of the*
 ' *Blessedness of the Elect, &c. Alphonsus Lin-*
 ' *cuvius in Præfat. Of the five Books of the De-*
 ' *claration of JESUS CHRIST, the SON of*
 ' *GOD.*

' I make no mention of what these mali-
 ' cious men, whose judgment, with respect to
 ' their adversary, is never sincere, have written
 ' concerning SERVETUS's doctrines; but these
 ' things which have been collected out of his
 ' writings,

writings, which I have by me, I do, for brevity's sake, omit: Let these few things, which candor requireth, be sufficient to add. These are his three positions: 1. This is *JESUS CHRIST*; that is, *JESUS* of *Nazareth*, a true man, conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin, is the *CHRIST* of *GOD*, or the *MESSIAS* promised to the Fathers. 2. This is the *SON* of *GOD*, that is, this man substantially from *GOD*, inasmuch as from the true substance of *GOD*; to wit, begotten of the Holy Ghost, is the true and natural, and properly the *SON* of *GOD*, whereas we are only adopted: So that the body of *CHRIST* has a real participation of the substance of *GOD*. 3. He is *GOD*, not that one and most high, who alone is *GOD* the Father; yet substantially, because in him is the Godhead bodily; the *GOD* of us all, exalted by *GOD* his Father. But some of these thoughts, indeed, especially concerning the proper and the essential generation in divine things, as well as some others of his doctrines we do not approve of; but yet we do not therefore condemn a man of pious zeal and insuperable virtue, who had happily escaped the chains of popery: Neither do we ever think that any one, either for these, or such like opinions, is to be condemned as *CALVIN* has done: Of which affair, I shall give an exact account, after having given you *SERVETUS*'s own speech, which he, swan like, pronounced just before his horrible death.

MICHAEL



MICHAEL SERVETUS'S *Speech,*
before he was burnt at Geneva, con-
cerning the true Knowledge of GOD
and his SON.

‘ **T**HEY, who assert three substantial per-
 ‘ sons or hypostases in the Godhead,
 ‘ do insinuate to us that there are three Gods
 ‘ by nature equal ; for they tell us there are
 ‘ three substantial, distinct, and different
 ‘ things, and will have every one of those
 ‘ things or hypostases (as they call ’em) to
 ‘ be a God. Thus they do necessarily make
 ‘ three equal and distinct Gods : For since
 ‘ these persons or hypostases, differing in num-
 ‘ ber and fact, are each of ’em predicated of
 ‘ GOD, the consequence is plain, that there
 ‘ are as many predicates as subjects, and that
 ‘ the number of Gods must be equal to the
 ‘ number of persons. And altho’ in words
 ‘ they tell us there only one God ; yet in
 ‘ effect and reality they represent three
 ‘ to our understanding : For every man of the
 ‘ least skill, or ingenuity must see, that three
 ‘ are proposed to him as the objects of his
 ‘ adoration. No man yet could ever explain
 ‘ or inform us how he understood that these
 ‘ Three, of which each is a God, were only
 ‘ one God. There remains therefore, both on
 ‘ the mind and understanding, this insuperable
 per-

' perplexity, and inexplicable confusion, that
 ' three are one, and one is three. For altho'
 ' the whole understanding intends, and is di-
 ' rected to one God, and proposeth to itself
 ' one God to be worshipped in spirit, and is
 ' thoroughly persuaded of the unity; yet im-
 ' mediately three distinct objects present
 ' themselves, and frequently appear to the
 ' mind, each of which it knows to be a
 ' God; and thus seeing that three equal and
 ' distinct Gods are represented to its view, it
 ' faints, being confounded between one and
 ' three; this is the issue of the *Greek Trias* or
 ' triplicity. But if on the other hand, we are
 ' willing to try the whole matter, by the
 ' word of the holy scripture, as by a touch-
 ' stone, and to find out the true knowledge of
 ' GOD, according to the words of GOD
 ' himself, all confusion and perplexity will im-
 ' mediately vanish, and our understanding
 ' will not be obliged to admit any thing in
 ' itself contradictory.

' We must therefore remark, first, that God
 ' is the common name of all power, domi-
 ' nion, and superiority, and properly belongs
 ' to him, who is over all, who is the Prince
 ' of all, the King of kings, and Lord of
 ' lords, of whom all are, and on whom they
 ' depend, who alone is the Father and Crea-
 ' tor of all things. But if taken in a more
 ' limited sense, it may also agree with the
 ' creatures, as whosoever has a power and su-
 ' periority from GOD, over another, he may
 ' be stiled his GOD. As *Moses*, *Exod. vii. 1.*
 ' is called, *the God of Pharoah*. And *Cyrus*,
 ' *Esa. xlv. 3. the God of Israel*: And if only
 ' for example's sake, I may be permitted to
 ' D d ' join

THE HISTORY

' join profane things to sacred : *Augustus Caesar*
 ' was *Virgil's* and *Lentulus Cicero's* God, be-
 ' cause he was the author of his restitution.
 ' After this manner the scripture calls Gods,
 ' whomsoever the supreme and eternal GOD
 ' hath adorned and exalted above others, by
 ' any particular favour, virtue, or privilege.
 ' Hence the *Psalmist*, Pf. lxxxii. 6. *I have said*
 ' *ye are gods, and all of you are children of the*
 ' *most high* ; and *Exod.* xxii. 28. These are
 ' not Gods by nature, but by the grace and
 ' gift of GOD, and therefore they are never
 ' called by that name of the Deity, which
 ' belongs to the supreme GOD only ; for such,
 ' amongst the *Hebrews*, are named Gods and
 ' Lords, *Elohim* and *Adonai*, by which the
 ' names of the Deity are properly distinguish-
 ' ed ; but the proper and singular name JE-
 ' HOVAH is never attributed to them the
 ' Lord, (*here something in the manuscript,*
 ' *from which I have taken this account, is*
 ' *wanting*) : And therefore St. PAUL begins
 ' all his epistles after this manner ; *Grace and*
 ' *peace from GOD our Father, and our Lord*
 ' *JESUS CHRIST*. But to make three Gods
 ' by nature equal, is the master-piece of blas-
 ' phemy, and a cursed impiety. We must
 ' ascribe all things to one, *viz.* to him, who
 ' is the author of all things, and who for his
 ' own pleasure created them ; for he only by
 ' nature is of himself GOD ; all the rest are
 ' not Gods of themselves, they receive and
 ' acknowledge their measure of the Godhead,
 ' from the one GOD the Father : From GOD
 ' they are called Gods ; For the supreme and
 ' sovereign GOD is able to sanctify the crea-
 ' tures, and fill them with the divinity. But
 ' we

' we can by no means establish three Gods
 ' by nature equal, without setting up at the
 ' same time, three Creators or Almightyes,
 ' and three Fathers; for the name of God
 ' simply, belongs to the Father only, who is
 ' of himself GOD, and who created all things,
 ' and he alone is simply and absolutely called
 ' God. From what has been said, 'tis easy
 ' to shew, how our Lord JESUS CHRIST,
 ' the true SON of GOD, is called God:
 ' For from GOD the Father he receiveth the
 ' proportion of his Godhead, and from the
 ' true GOD, he is stiled the true GOD, the
 ' GOD indeed of all creatures, but not
 ' the Father's GOD, to whom he hath sub-
 ' jected all things. Moreover the Father
 ' who only by nature is GOD of himself, is
 ' nevertheless the LORD and GOD of the
 ' Son; which the Son declareth, *Joh. xiv. 28.*
 ' *I go unto my Father, for my Father is greater*
 ' *than I. Joh. xx. 17. I ascend unto my Father*
 ' *and your Father, and to my GOD and your*
 ' *GOD. Matth. xxvii. 46. My GOD, my*
 ' *GOD, why hast thou forsaken me? Rev. iii. 12.*
 ' *I will write upon him the name of my GOD,*
 ' *and the name of the city of my GOD.* Nei-
 ' ther doth their interpretation, who say, that
 ' the Son spoke these things as a man, not
 ' as GOD, avail any thing; to which we re-
 ' ply, that the manner of the Deity, which
 ' the Son possesseth, agrees with him as a man;
 ' for the Son is a man made GOD, or filled
 ' with the divinity, therefore the superiority
 ' of the Father is not taken away by the Son;
 ' for although the Son is constituted by the
 ' Father, our LORD, GOD and Head; yet
 ' the Father is still the LORD and GOD, and

' Head of the Son ; 1 Cor. xi. 3. and the
 ' Son is subject to the Father ; 1 Cor. xv. 28.
 ' and he is the manager and administrator of
 ' his Father's house ; *Heb. ii. 8.* and therefore
 ' the Son, as our GOD, and our Head, hath
 ' admitted the deity and superiority of the
 ' Father over himself. Hence the prophet
 ' eloquently explaining this twofold manner
 ' of the Godhead of the Father and Son,
 ' said to the Son, *Psal. xlv. 2, 6, 7. Thou art*
 ' *fairer than the children of men : Grace is poured*
 ' *into thy lips ; therefore, thy throne, O GOD,*
 ' *is for ever and ever. The sceptre of thy kingdom*
 ' *is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness, and*
 ' *hatest wickedness : therefore GOD, thy GOD,*
 ' *hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness, above*
 ' *thy fellows.* See how DAVID in spirit calls
 ' the Son GOD, and the Father GOD of the
 ' Son, for thy throne, O GOD, and hath anoint-
 ' ed thee, O GOD, are of the vocative case,
 ' and respect the Son ; but thy GOD, which
 ' follows, is spoken of GOD the Father, who
 ' did anoint and sanctify the Son. Likewise
 ' *Wisdom*, which represents the Son of GOD,
 ' cries out, after this manner, *Eccles. xxiv. 12.*
 ' *I took root in an honourable people, even in the*
 ' *portion of the Lord's inheritance.* Hence then
 ' it is manifest, to every one that makes the
 ' scripture his rule, that the Son is GOD from
 ' the Father ; and that, as GOD of all, con-
 ' stituted by the Father, he acknowledgeth
 ' the divinity and superiority of the Father
 ' over himself ; tho' this distinction of divine
 ' names is not found among the *Greeks* and
 ' *Latins*, and all are called by one common
 ' name God, yet by nature there is of him-
 ' self, but one eternal, most excellent, su-
 ' preme,

preme, immortal, invisible, incomprehen-
 sible GOD, dwelling in inaccessible light,
 who created and governs all things, from
 whom all things are, and on whom all things
 depend. This is the GOD of Gods, KING
 of Kings, and LORD of Lords, J E H O V A H,
 the Father, who alone, in the holy scri-
 pture, is simply and absolutely stiled GOD
 and Father. He is indeed the universal Fa-
 ther of all things, but in a proper and more
 limited sense, the Father of our LORD
 J E S U S C H R I S T, as St. P A U L most ele-
 gantly explains it; I Cor. viii. 5, 6. *For
 though there be that are called gods, whether in
 heaven or in earth (as there be gods many, and
 lords many) but to us there is but one GOD,
 the Father, of whom are all things, and we in
 him; and one LORD J E S U S C H R I S T, by
 whom are all things, and we by him.* Hence it
 is evident, that the creatures are adorn'd
 with the name of the Deity; yet 'tis by the
 favour and concession of the one supreme
 GOD, who is GOD of Gods, the *Chief and
 Father of all, who is above all, and through all,
 and in you all,* Eph. iv. 6. to whom all the
 rest, as to the only supreme GOD of him-
 self by nature, relate, and are subjected,
 and whom they obey; and this plurality of
 subordinate Gods bringeth no confusion,
 neither is it repugnant to the unity of the
 divine nature, since every creature praiseth
 GOD, whom alone they regard and pant
 after, as the most high and supreme GOD,
 him only they worship and adore; this is
 evident both in the Old and New Testa-
 ment, that besides him, there is no other
 God, Deut. vi. 4. *Hear, O Israel, the LORD*

our GOD is one LORD; and Deut. x. 17. The
 LORD your GOD is GOD of gods, and
 LORD of lords; a great GOD, and mighty
 and terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor
 taketh reward. And Psal. l. 1. The mighty GOD
 hath spoken; and St. PAUL, Gal. iv. 8. How-
 beit then when ye knew not GOD, ye did service
 unto them, which by nature are no gods; v. 9.
 But now after that ye have known GOD, how
 turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements.
 I Tim. vi. 15, 16. Which in his times he shall
 shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the
 KING of kings, and LORD of lords; who
 only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which
 no man can approach unto, whom no man hath
 seen, nor can see. I Theff. i. 9, 10. To serve
 the living and true GOD, and to wait for his
 Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead,
 even JESUS. I Tim. i. 17. Unto the KING
 eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise GOD,
 be honour and glory, for ever and ever, amen.
 I Tim. ii. 5. There is one GOD, and one
 mediator between GOD and men, the man
 CHRIST JESUS. v. 6. who gave himself a
 ransom for all. I Tim. vi. 13. I give thee
 charge in the sight of GOD, who quickneth all
 things, and before CHRIST JESUS, who be-
 fore Pontius Pilate, witnessed a good confession.
 Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14. For the grace of GOD,
 that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men,
 teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly
 lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and god-
 ly in this present world; looking for that blessed
 hope, and the glorious appearing of the great
 GOD, and our saviour JESUS CHRIST, who
 gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from
 all iniquity, &c.

Thus

Thus the scripture doth always distinguish
 between GOD, and the Son of GOD; and
 if you examine it with attention, you will find
 that the sacred writings do constantly, three
 or four places only excepted, in the most simple
 and absolute manner, call the Father GOD,
 and the Son his CHRIST JESUS; but the
 divinity of the Son is widely different from
 that of other gods; for which reason, GOD
 the Father deified and sanctified others by
 measure, as adopted sons; and thus MOSES
 and CYRUS were the particular gods of
 PHAROAH and *Israel*. But GOD sanctified
 CHRIST the blessed, as his proper Son,
 and poured out his Holy Spirit upon him
 without measure, and filled him with the
 whole divinity, of whose fulness we all re-
 ceive. Neither doth this in the least con-
 tradict the prophecies, that the Son should
 be equal with the Father in Godhead, Power
 and Glory; because all the Deity, Glory
 and Equality of the Son is from GOD the
 Father; as is acknowledged by the Son, as
 the gift of the Father, when he declareth,
*Matth. xxvii. 18. All power is given unto me
 in heaven and in earth.* Likewise PETER,
*Act. ii. 36. That GOD hath made the same
 JESUS, whom ye have crucified, both LORD
 and CHRIST.* And PAUL, *Phil. ii. 9, 10.
 Wherefore GOD also hath highly exalted him,
 and given a name which is above every name.
 That at the name of JESUS every knee should
 bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth,
 and things under the earth.* Heb. i. 6. *And let
 all the angels of GOD worship him.* Eph. i. 20,
 21, 22, 23. *He raised him from the dead, and
 set him at his own right hand, in the heavenly
 places,*

' places, far above all principality, and power,
 ' and might, and dominion, and every name that
 ' is named, not only in this world, but also in that
 ' which is to come; and hath put all things under
 ' his feet, and gave him to be the head over all
 ' things to the church, which is his body, the ful-
 ' ness of him, that filleth all in all. Heb. i. 5. For
 ' unto which of the angels said he at any time, thou
 ' art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?
 ' v. 8. Thy throne O GOD is for ever and ever;
 ' a sceptre of righteousness, is the sceptre of thy king-
 ' dom. v. 13. Sit on my right hand, until I
 ' make thine enemies thy footstool. And JOHN,
 ' Rev. v. 12. *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain,*
 ' *to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and*
 ' *strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.*
 ' And therefore St. PAUL declareth, that this
 ' Godhead of the Son, and his equality with
 ' the most high GOD, the Father, is not to
 ' be understood in respect of the Father
 ' himself, but in respect of the creatures;
 ' 1 Cor. xv. 27. *For he hath put all things under*
 ' *his feet. But when he saith all things are put*
 ' *under him, it is manifest, that he is excepted,*
 ' *which did put all things under him. Ver. 28.*
 ' *And when all things shall be subdued unto him,*
 ' *then shall the Son also himself be subject unto*
 ' *him that put all things under him, that GOD*
 ' *may be all in all.* For although the Son ac-
 ' knowledgeth that he, by the gift of the Fa-
 ' ther, was made equal to the Father, in
 ' might, glory and power, yet he would not
 ' abuse that gift of equality, and turn it to
 ' tyranny and rapine, according to St. PAUL,
 ' Phil. ii. 8. *He humbled himself, and became*
 ' *obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.*
 ' Ver. 9. *Wherefore GOD also hath exalted him,*
 ' and

and subjected to him all things in heaven,
 and in earth, and under the earth. The al-
 mighty Father constituted a God and Lord
 to be worshiped by all creatures: In short,
 He conferr'd on his most beloved Son, as
 much Might, Power, Grace, Blessing,
 Glory and Godhead, as possible; and he
 bestowed as much Honour on the Son, both
 in his Equality, and in his Throne, as the
 Son could possibly desire; *Acts iv. 12.* For
 there is none other name under heaven given
 among men, whereby we must be saved. But in
 the name of the SON of GOD, our LORD
 JESUS CHRIST, who is the true LORD,
 and our GOD, as THOMAS; *Joh. xx. 28.*
 and PAUL and JOHN have most truly con-
 fess'd. To whom therefore, with GOD the
 Father, the most high and most merciful
 GOD, be Praise, Honour, and Glory, to
 everlasting ages. *Amen.*

“ When the unfortunate physician under-*Bib. Ang.*
 stood that he was sentenced to be burnt *P. 187.*
 alive, he (as CALVIN * himself tells us)
 “ earnestly

* *Fidelis Expo. Erro. MICH. SEEV. ubi docetur jure gladii coercendos esse Hæreticos.*

QUam meum Colloquium petiisset, missi sunt duo Senatores qui
 me in Carcerem deducerent. Quidnam vellet Rogatus dixit
 se veniam a me petere. Ego verò ingenuè præfatus, me nunquam
 privatas injurias fuisse persecutum; quanta potui mansuetudine ad-
 nonui: jam me ante Annos sexdecim, non sine præsentis vitæ di-
 crimine obtulisse meam operam ad eum sanandum, nec per me ste-
 disse quominus resipiscenti manum pii omnes porrigerent. Deinde lite-
 ris privatis cum ipso placidè egisse, nec ullam captasse ostentationem
 Deniq; nullum a me Benevolentia officium fuisse prætermis-
 sionem nec liberis meis objurgationibus magis exacerbatus, rabiem
 magis quàm bilem effudit. Verùm Sermonem de me abscindens,
 rogavi ut veniam potius ab æterno Deo petendam sibi Cogitaret, in
 quem

quem nimis atrocitèr contumeliosus fuerat, tres Hypostaseis ex ejus essentia delere tentans: ac Cerberum tricipitem vocans, si realis inter patrem ac filium ejus, & spiritum Distinctio Statueretur. Filium DEI placare in animum induceret, quem fœdè suis Communitis deformans, & negans in ea Carne quam induit nobis Similem, adempto fraternæ Conjunctionis vinculo, unicum redemptorem abnegaverat. Quum monendo & hortando nihil proficerem, nolui supra Magistri regulam sapere. Nam ab Hæretico homine, qui *αὐτοκαταλείπει* peccabat, secundum PAULI præceptum discessi.

“ earnestly desired, two hours before his execution, to see him”. ‘ CALVIN, with two ‘ magistrates, who were sent to accompany ‘ him, gave him a visit in the prison. SER- ‘ VETUS begg’d his pardon: CALVIN re- ‘ plied, he never thought of revenging him- ‘ self for any private injuries, which the pri- ‘ soner had done him. He added (as before) ‘ that he had laboured even to the hazard of ‘ his present life, for the space of sixteen years, ‘ to reclaim him from his errors. That he ‘ had conversed with him by private letters ‘ with great mildness, and continued to use ‘ him like a friend, till he found that SER- ‘ VETUS bitterly inveighed agatnst him, even ‘ to madness, because he had been so free in ‘ his friendly reproofs to him. He exhorted ‘ the prisoner to ask of the eternal GOD for- ‘ giveness, for having attempted to blot out ‘ three hypostases out of his essence. When ‘ CALVIN perceiv’d that his admonitions ‘ made no impression upon him, (he says) that ‘ he told him that he did not presume to be ‘ wiser than his master; and according to ‘ St. PAUL’s command went away from that ‘ heretick, who was condemn’d by his own ‘ conscience.

CALVIN

CALVIN says, ' That when S E R V E T U S ^{UbiSupra,}
 ' heard that he was condemn'd to death, p. 836.
 ' sometimes he appeared speechless, and with-^{837.}
 ' out any motion; sometimes he fetched deep
 ' sighs, and sometimes made bitter lamenta-
 ' tions, like a man in distraction; till at
 ' length he grew so weak, that he was only
 ' able (*tantum Hispanico more reboaret, miseri-*
 ' *cordia, misericordia*) to cry out after the
 ' *Spanish* way, mercy, mercy'.

" I have read in a printed book, that when ^{Bib. Ang.}
 " S E R V E T U S was carried to the place of p. 188.
 " execution, CALVIN stood at a window,
 " and smil'd when he saw him go by".

The author of the *Bibliotheque* says, that he was fully persuaded (*que c'est une calomnie execrable*) that this was an execrable calumny.

But I think it may be said, without breach of charity, from a great many incidents already passed, and some few that remain, that that reformer was far from being much displeas'd at the spectacle.

WILLIAM * FARREL, whose fiery zeal ^{Ub. Supra,}
 we had occasion before to take notice of, p. 837.
 whom CALVIN calls his brother minister, (*Symmista Fratris FARELLI*) attended him to his funeral pile, had much ado to make him say, that he desired the people should pray for him. CALVIN is pleas'd to make some very consistent remarks upon this passage, viz.
 † how his conscience cou'd permit him even

E e 2

to

* The author of the *Bibliotheque* calls him *Le Bon homme FARREL*.
 That good man FARREL, in a burlesque sense.

† Porro qua id Conscientia sibi facere permiserit, non Video
 Scripserat enim manu sua, fidem hic diabolicam regnare, nullam
 esse nobis Ecclesiam, nullum DEUM, quia infantes baptizando,
 CHRISTUM abnegaremus, &c.

to do that, I can't conceive; for he wrote with his own hand, that the faith of devils reign'd in *Geneva*; that we had no church, nor God there; because, that by baptizing of infants, we did disown CHRIST. He adds several other good-natur'd remarks, which I shan't give myself the trouble of translating at present.

Bib. Ang.

p. 189.

CALV. re-

fut. p. 836,

837.

* *Bib. Ang.*

p. 189.

“ Thus that unfortunate physician ended his days, without speaking or shewing any signs of repentance.

“ * *Champel*, or *Champey*, a small eminence, about a musket shot from *Geneva*, was then the common place of execution; I had the curiosity to visit the spot, hardly known to any traveler, and to see the very ground on which SERVETUS expired in the flames.

Ub. Supra.

† *Atrox*

profecto

facinus &

omnium

æquiorum

judicio

CHRISTI

Spiritui

mansueto,

& humili

prorsus

Contra-

rium, sed

cum illo

LUBIENJES IUS makes the following remarks upon this bloody execution; † This was indeed (say he) a cruel act; and in the opinion of all good men, directly repugnant to the gentle and humble spirit of CHRIST, but perfectly agreeable to the temper of such who are for drawing down *Bonargean* fire from heaven, in imitation of ELIAS, who did it for the destruction of some inhospitable *Samaritans* (only they punished the guilty, but CALVIN destroyed the innocent).

Boanergeon ignem de Cælo ad perdendos quosdam Samaritanorum inhospitales, deducere Eliæ Exemplo volentium (nisi quod illi fontes perdere voluerunt, CALVINUS infontem perdidit) Conveniens., &c.

CALV. E-

pist. &

Resp.

p. 115, 116.

“ He adds, That FARREL not only determined that SERVETUS was to be cut off, but also did encourage CALVIN, who, as he

he says, was desirous to mitigate the punish-
 ment, to proceed against *SERVETUS* with
 the utmost severity; and went so far, as to
 determine the extirpation of all hereticks,
 which gave the great *GROTIUS* sufficient
 reason to say, * *That the spirit of Antichrist*
did appear as well at Geneva as at Rome.
CALVIN therefore not only compleated this
 villany, but thought it necessary to vindicate
 himself, and publish a piece, wherein he un-
 dertook to prove (tho' after a very weak
 and silly manner) that hereticks ought to be
 put to death. That piece had for its title,
Fidelis Expositio Errorum MICHAELIS SER-
VETI, & brevis eorundem Refutatio, ubi docetur
jure gladij coarcendos esse Hæreticos; i. e. A faith-
 full Exposition of the Errors of *MICHAEL*
SERVETUS, and a brief Confutation of
 the same, in which is shewn, that Here-
 ticks are to be punished with Fire and Sword.
BEZA also publicly defended the same,
 having this title; *De Hæreticis à Civili Magi-*
stratu puniendis; i. e. Of punishing Hereticks
 by the Civil Magistrates. Both this and
 that of *CALVIN*, were printed by *RO-*
BERT STEPHENS, anno 1554. Each of
 these reformers taking a dart out of the qui-
 ver of the church of *Rome*, and her adherers,
 to thrust it with a greater fury into the sides
 of hereticks of their own making. : (*LU-*
BIENJECIUS adds) That if he was to
 choose, he had rather be in the place of
OECCOLAMPADIUS, and *ZWINGLIUS*,
 than of *CALVIN* and *BEZA*, tho' these
 were much more learned. *CALVIN* truly
 was so well pleased with what he had done,
 and

BEZ. in
 vit. CALV.
 & Epist.
 ad Dudit.

* Spiri-
 tum Anti-
 christi non
 tantum ad
 Tiburim
 sed & ad
 Lacum
 Lemanium
 apparuisse.

Lub. ubi
 Supra
 p. 106.

and remained still so furiously angry with SER-
 VETUS, that several years after his execution,
 he would not let him lie quiet in his grave;
 or as the author has it, *mortuo leoni barbani*
Vulfit, calling him a nasty proud *Spanish* dog,
 in his comment on the 20th of the *Acts*:
 For which reason FRANCISCUS LISMA-
 NINUS, in his copy of CALVIN'S com-
 mentaries, which I have by me. Upon
 these words of CALVIN, SERVETUS the
Spanish dog; has set down this note, with
 his own hand, in the margin, *Canis a te*
factus, a dog of thy own making; to which
 he adds this distich.

Cur tibi sum Calvine Canis? Tuus efficit ardor
Ne Canis (heu!) dicar, sed miseranda Cinis.

The author of the *Bibliothèque* says, "That
 he should be guilty of a very great omis-
 sion, should he not do justice to the present
 illustrious magistrates, and learned divines
 of *Geneva*, by letting the world know they
 are so far from approving the conduct of
 their fathers. That they express their ab-
 horrence, for all manner of persecutions,
 upon all occasions. They believe, that
 whoever preaches up persecution, ought to
 be looked upon as a seditious man, and a di-
 sturber of the society." It were to be wished,
 in consequence of this character, that they
 would quite erase that article in their con-
 fession of faith, drawn up by CALVIN
 himself, *viz.*

' We detest all the heresies which have an-
 ' tiently disturb'd the churches, and especially
 ' the diabolical imaginations of S E R V E T U S,
 ' who attributes to the L O R D J E S U S a fan-
 ' tastical divinity; forasmuch as he calls him
 ' the Idea and Pattern of all things, and
 ' names him personal or figurative S O N of
 ' G O D; and finally, forges for him a body of
 ' three elements uncreated, and thus mixeth
 ' and destroyeth the two natures.

Now to this very day, all the candidates
 for the ministry in *Switzerland*, and also
 in the *French* reformed churches abroad,
 which are very numerous in *Holland*, *Cleve-*
land, *Hanover*, *Zell*, *Brandenbourg*, *Prussia*,
&c. are bound, before their ordination, to
 subscribe that article of the confession;
 perhaps upon trust, and without having
 ever read one single word in Dr. S E R V E -
 T U S's book; as if it was not inconsistent
 with generous minds, to blacken the me-
 mory of men, who can't defend themselves,
 and whose characters can only be known
 thro' the vitiated eyes of their enemies.

In CALVIN'S *Theol. Tract.* there's a form Pag. 148.
 of confession of faith, which all the students
 of the publick school of *Geneva* are to make
 before the rector, wherein is this article:
 Altho' G O D is one simple essence, yet there is
 in him three distinct persons; wherefore I de-
 test all the heresies condemn'd by the first
 council of *Nice*, as likewise those condemn'd
 in the councils of *Ephesus* and *Calcedon*; to-
 ' gether

gether with all those errors that have been revived by **SERVETUS** and his followers.

*May the christian world learn to throw off all such shackles and fetters; and asserting the power of private judgment, possess themselves of the real liberty of the Sons of **GOD**.*

F I N I S.



