THE APOLOGIES OF JUSTIN MARTYR, TERTULLIAN, and MINUTIUS FELIX,

In Defence of the

Chriſtian Religion,

WITH THE

COMMONITORY OF *Vincentius Lirinenſis*,

Concerning the

Primitive RULE of FAITH,

Tranſlated from their Originals:

With NOTES, for the Advantage chiefly of Engliſh Readers, and a PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE upon each Author.

Together with

A PREFATORY DISSERTATION about the Right USE of the FATHERS.

By WILLIAM REEVES, M. A. Rector of *Craneford*, in *Middleſex*.

In Two Volumes.

Tu ſcito nobis nihil eſſe antiquius quam Chriſti jura ſervare, nec Patrum transferre terminos. Hieronym. Epiſ. 68. ad Theo.

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would be an Omiſſion, that few would pardon, but thoſe *Examples* themſelves,

No Man certainly has ſtudied the *Ancients* to better purpoſe than your ſelf; you have tranſcrib'd them in your Soul; they are the *Glaſs* you dreſs by, and a more beautiful Figure, a fairer Image of *Primitive Chriſtianity* is hardly to be hop'd for. You write, and you live ſo exactly after theſe *old Saints*, that I am really at a ſtand which to recommend moſt, the *Copy*, or the *Original*, whether *You* and *Your Works*, or *Them* and *Theirs*. For tho' the Rules and Examples in theſe Books, are wonderfully inſinuating and agreeable to a well diſpoſed Mind, yet Ink and Paper, Notion and Picture, are but cold Things, and warm nothing in compariſon of Fleſh and Blood, nothing in reſpect of that Wiſdom and Goodneſs we ſee with all the Charms of Life and Action about it. And a more charming Object in the World there is not, than an *accompliſh'd Chriſtian*, one who ſhines with all the Graces of a *poliſh'd Integrity*.

You

You want indeed, (and bleſſed be God for it) the Advantage of their *fiery Trials* to *illuſtrate* one ſide of your Virtue, to make your Fidelity more *blazing*: but whether the Wind or the Sun, Temptations of the rougher or the ſofter kind, have the greater Power, is not eaſie to determin; but Hiſtory ſeems to ſay, that good Men have wrapt their Religion faſter about 'em in bad Weather, and that Proſperity has ſpoil'd more Chriſtians than Perſecution. To you then, good Sir, I take the Liberty of addreſſing theſe Diſcourſes, upon no other Account, but becauſe I know you *live the great Things* in them; and becauſe Love has a Power of making Slaves more effectually than Intereſt; a *Captive* of which Quality, I profeſs my ſelf to be; and whoever ſhall live but half the time I have done under the Enchantments of a Converſation ſo wiſe and gracious, ſo inſtructive and beneficent, and every way ſo ingaging, will find it hard, extremely hard, to be leſs your *Servant* than I am. In plain Terms

therefore, I am forc'd to make you this Preſent, nor was there any avoiding it, but by falling out with my ſelf; and ſo much *Self-indulgence*, if you will not approve, I hope, for once, you will pardon.

Give me Leave likewiſe to remind you, Sir, who it was that propos'd the Undertaking, and encourag'd it to the End. You gave me the Confidence to believe, that by a Work of this Nature I might do ſome Service to the Chriſtian Faith, and the Chriſtian Morals, when ſome *Moderns* were doing their beſt to reform us out of both. You thought that Men long engag'd in the Faſhions and Vices of the Age, and who had *Gods* for their Turn, would be extremely inquiſitive and well ſatisfy'd, before they parted with every thing in Hand, for ſomething in Reverſion; and that ſuch a ſudden Deadneſs to this World, and ſo lively a Paſſion for the next, ſuch Strictneſs of Diſcipline, and Purity of Manners, that amazing Magnanimity, Patience, and Loyalty

Loyalty under the moſt provoking Injuries, that ſtrange Spirit of Humility, Meekneſs, and univerſal Charity, which make up a great Part of theſe *Apologies*, are ſo expreſſive and beautiful a Scene of the *Powers* of *True Religion*, and have kindled ſuch pure Fires, and gentle Paſſions in your own Breaſt, that you was of Opinion, whoever read and compar'd them with the preſent *Reverſe* of things, muſt needs be very far gone not to be affected with the Compariſon, and to be ſo far touch'd at leaſt, as to admire what he will not practiſe.

But above all, the many bold *Appeals* here recorded, the triumphant *Challenges* to *Emperor* and *Senate*, to put the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion upon this Iſſue; that if they would bring any one of thoſe falſe Prophets, that paſs'd for inſpir'd, to their Tribunals, and if any ordinary Chriſtian did not in the Name of *Jeſus* caſt out the evil Spirit, and put the Prophet to Silence; and not only ſo, but if he did not force *Æſculapius*,

Apollo, or any of thoſe *Dæmons* they worſhipp'd for *Gods*, forthwith to quit their Poſſeſſions with Fear and Trembling and gnaſhing of Teeth, and proclaim themſelves Devils in the preſence of their Worſhippers, and if he fail'd in any one Inſtance, the Chriſtians deſir'd no Mercy, but to be look'd upon as Cheats, and were willing to be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt Contempt and Cruelty imaginable. This I ſay, was ſo *publick* and *ſenſible* a Proof, ſo level to the loweſt Underſtandings, ſo daring and demonſtrative of a good Cauſe and a good Conſcience, that you judg'd it highly reaſonable for the leſs knowing People to be better acquainted with it; and I believe nothing can be found more miraculous and aſtoniſhing in all Chriſtian Antiquity.

The Devil, who in Scripture is ſtiled the *Prince*, and *the God of this World*, had reign'd as ſuch above two thouſand Years; upon the coming of Chriſt, the Oracles of a ſudden in a great meaſure were

were all ſtruck dumb; the Philoſophers preſently and Men of Parts ſet their Heads to work about the Cauſes of this ſtrange univerſal Silence; ſome aſſign one Cauſe, ſome another, and ſome lay it upon the Chriſtians themſelves; St. *John* declares, *For this purpoſe the Son of God was manifeſted, that he might deſtroy the Works of the Devil*; the unclean Spirits own him to be *Jeſus of Nazareth, the Holy One of God*, and beſeech him not to deſtroy them. *The Seventy return'd again with Joy, ſaying, Lord: even the Devils are ſubject unto us through thy Name.* After his Reſurrection, when he ſent out his Apoſtles to preach the Goſpel, he particularly promis'd the Power over evil Spirits both to them and their Followers; *And theſe Signs ſhall follow them that believe; in my Name they ſhall caſt out Devils*, &c. And with what Exultation, Triumph, and Aſſurance, the Primitive Chriſtians appeal'd to this Power over the *Heathen* Gods upon all Occaſions, is ſufficiently evident from theſe Apologies; and the *Caſting out the*

the Prince of this World, being the End of Chriſt's coming into the World; and the moſt plain, proper, and convincing Argument *that all the Gods of the Nations were Devils*, being to prove it by their own Confeſſion: This aſtoniſhing Power laſted longeſt in the Church, and was a ſtanding Miracle for ſeveral hundred Years together, till the Kingdom of Darkneſs was deſtroy'd, and the Chriſtian Religion became the Joy of the whole Earth. And was ever Argument like this, both for the Being of a God, and the Truth of the Goſpel?

But though Chriſt is ſaid to come on *purpoſe to deſtroy the Works of the Devil*, though he did it effectually to the Conviction of the *Heathen* World by a continu'd Miracle, unqueſtionably of above three hundred Years ſtanding, yet (if we may believe ſome Men) all this *Devil-craft* was nothing more than pure *Prieſt-craft* only; a bewitching Name, that in ſome meaſure

ſure ſupplies the Place of the Devil, and does his Buſineſs to a Wonder; for *Prieſt-craft* is an Anſwer to every Thing, a Charm againſt all the Force both of Reaſon and Revelation. Surely theſe *Prieſts*, if they were Men, were very ſtrange ones, and as Active, Bloody and Cunning, as we can poſſibly imagin Devils to be. But while theſe Men tax others with Credulity and Eaſineſs for believing a Matter of Fact atteſted by the general Conſent of all Hiſtorians both prophane and ſacred, what a Train of Incredibilities do they (poor Wretches!) with a ſeeming Complacency believe themſelves? They believe againſt *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, and all the *Primitive Fathers*, and what theſe ſay were acted by Devils, they affirm to be acted by Men. They believe that theſe *Prieſts*, were a ſuperior Order of Jugglers, who for two thouſand Years could ſucceſsfully impoſe upon Mankind in all the diſtant Places of the Earth, that they could make

make the whole World dance conſtant Attendance to their Temples and Oracles, at the Expence of numerous, coſtly, and impertinent Ceremonies; and perſuade Nations to leave their Country; and Kings, and Princes, as well as People, in ſpite of all the Reluctancies of Nature, to ſacrifice their Sons and their Daughters without a Murmur, and think it meritorious ſo to do; they believe likewiſe, that all theſe *Prieſts* ſucceſſively were ſo much the *ſame*, ſo ſtanch in Blood and Secrecy, that in this vaſt Tract of Time none could find in their Heart to relent, and betray the Impoſture; that this their Craft was above the Reach of Emperors, States-Men, and the wiſeſt Philoſophers in the wiſeſt Ages; that is, all the World, beſide the *Prieſts*, all this time were perfectly beſotted. And yet our *Scepticks* find that theſe *Active, Bloody, Cunning Prieſts*, were of a ſudden put all to Silence, Shame and Confuſion, they find all the *Demoniacks* cured, and all this effected by the moſt contemptible

tible Sect of Men living, and meerly by the Name of *Jeſus*, or the *Sign* of his Paſſion, and that this was the great Inſtrument in converting the *Pagan* World. Let not ſuch Men therefore eſpecially charge others with Credulity, who can readily ſwallow theſe and many more monſtrous Abſurdities, that attend the believing the ancient *Oracles* and *Poſſeſſions* to have been pure *Prieſtcraft* only; but the true Reaſons why theſe Unbelievers are ſo fond of laying all this Load of Craft upon *Prieſts*, are, becauſe they would inſinuate *Prieſts of all Religions to be the ſame*, and becauſe the Notion of Devils raiſes ſome Ideas that give them Pain. They can do pretty well with Religion upon ſpeculative Principles, but when we come with a Proof from the Confeſſion of *tormented Spirits*, this is ſo ſenſible an Argument, and gauls ſo violently, that they cannot forbear winching and being uneaſie; and then they muſt mend, or cry out, *All is Prieſtcraft.* And this being the Argument theſe

Apolo-

Apologies abound with, you thought it ſeaſonable they ſhould be made *Engliſh.*

I am very ſenſible, that the Time I have been now ſpending upon theſe Reaſons, I have been tranſgreſſing againſt the *Mode* of *Epiſtolary Dedications*, which are uſually laid out all upon the Perſons they are addreſs'd to, upon their Family, their Fortune, or ſomething elſe that is not *truly theirs*; and ſo ſtrongly perfum'd, that they overcome the Perception of what would otherwiſe offend. But I muſt tell you, Sir, that theſe were your own Reaſons for my entring upon theſe Tranſlations; and did they but come abroad in that irreſiſtible Language they came to me from your own Mouth, I ſhould not queſtion their good Succeſs upon others, as well as my ſelf; and the doing the leaſt Good to others, though out of ſeaſon, I am ſure would be the moſt agreeable Obligation I could lay upon your ſelf. Beſides, Sir, I know full well,

well, what Pain I muſt give you by an *Epiſtle* of this *Kind*; and what taſtleſs Things the Praiſes of Men are, eſpecially in this *Party-Age*, to one whoſe Converſation is ſo much in Heaven; he minds them no more, than a Traveller does what he hears upon the Road, when he is in Poſt-haſte to take Poſſeſſion of a vaſt Eſtate. The Commendations of our Conſcience are our richeſt Cordial; and we ſhall fare neither better nor worſe in the other World, for what we are thought of in this, but as we are in truth found to be by that God, who *ſeeth in ſecret, and will reward openly.* And therefore did I conſult your Pleaſure only, I wou'd ſay nothing of you, even upon this tempting Occaſion, but be as induſtriouſly ſilent, as you are of your own Charities. But we, particularly we of the *Clergy*, in Juſtice to ſuch uncommon Vertue, in Gratitude to ſo tender a Friend, and univerſal a Benefactor, and in Conſideration of the Publick Good, ought not in Conſcience to paſs by an Example of this

this kind, but with Thankfulneſs to God propoſe it to the Imitation of the World, who chuſe rather to live by *Example* than *Rule*; for if ſuch *ſhining Lights* ought not over-much to hide themſelves, ſurely thoſe they ſhine upon, are not to do it for them; I muſt then in compliance with Conſcience ſay ſomething, tho' at the hazard of your Diſpleaſure, and my own Weakneſs.

The Men who have won mighty Battles, or nicely manag'd ſurprizing Turns of State, the glittering Deſcriptions of Armies, and the *Glories* that ſurround the Head of the *Conqueror*; the Court that is made, and the Incenſe that is offer'd to the *Rich* and the *Fortunate*, with the flattering Gloſſes upon Avarice and Ambition, and the luſcious Panegyrick on ſuch, as have not even the *Form* of *Godlineſs*; theſe, I ſay, are the Characters now-a-days, that make the ſhining Figures in *Story*; theſe are the Examples dreſs'd up, and cultivated for the Entertainment and Imitation of the Age;

and

and what do theſe ſerve, but to inſpire our *Youth* with falſe Ideas of Gallantry and Greatneſs, to enrage that Fewel within them, and ſet thoſe Luſts and Paſſions all on Fire, which 'tis both their Duty and their Happineſs to ſubdue and regulate: What do theſe ſerve, I ſay, but to bring an ill Report upon our moſt Holy Religion; to make Patience, Meekneſs, Temperance, and Self-denial very ridiculous Things, and, in a word, to put every Chriſtian Vertue out of Countenance.

And therefore, as ever we hope to redreſs this growing Evil, we muſt ſet up *Hero's* of quite another *Make*; *Hero's*, who can forgive and bleſs their Enemies, and have overcome the *World* and *Themſelves*: *Hero's*, whoſe Heads are big only with Projects of Mercy, and whoſe Hands are perpetually ſtretch'd out in Prayer and Alms-deeds, and who are never at eaſe, but in going about doing Good to Mankind: In whom Religion ſits, as it were, in Triumph, with

all the Paſſions in Subjection about her, and with all the Luſtre that Prudence and Learning, good Senſe and good Breeding can beſtow, to make her amiable; in a word, *Hero's*, who can never be tax'd with making *Religion* their *Craft*, and *Godlineſs* their *Gain*, which is one of the weak and malicious Objections at preſent againſt believing the *Prieſts*;

——*For they defend*
Altars, on which their Lives depend.

Tho' I believe theſe *Objectors* wou'd not have greatly car'd to have *defended* the *Altar* upon the ſame Terms the *Prieſts* did in the Primitive Times of Perſecution. Theſe, theſe, I ſay, are the Examples that muſt make Men bluſh at their miſtaken Notions of Honour, and fall in Love with Chriſtian Vertue; and whenever we have them in ſo great Perfection, we muſt not ſpare to ſhew them to the World, if we deſign to bring

Primitive

Primitive Religion into Repute and Faſhion.

There is a Happineſs of Conſtitution, which I make bold in *Tertullian*'s Phraſe to call *naturally Chriſtian*; and which, as I remember, you us'd to call, *The Grace of our Mother's Bowels*; and excepting, thoſe who were *ſanctify'd from the Womb*, few of the Sons of Men ſeem more ſweetly compos'd and turn'd by Nature for *Chriſtianity*, and to enjoy a greater Meaſure of *Complexional* Vertue than your ſelf. The *good Seed* of moral Chriſtianity, and the Fear of God, was early caſt into the *good Ground*, and has brought forth an *hundred-fold*. You ſet out for the Kingdom of Heaven in the Morning of Life, and long before the Meridian of it, was ſo far advanc'd in the Way of Truth, ſo firmly fix'd upon the two *Vincentian* Pillars, *Scripture* and *Primitive Antiquity*, that I find you *diſputing with the Doctors* at an Age, when our *Gentry* find ſomething elſe to do with their Thoughts, than to lay

them out upon Religion. And for a Proof of this, let any one but read your excellent * *Letter to an* Engliſh *Prieſt of the* Roman *Communion at* Rome, and he will ſee a Combat in ſome reſpect not much unlike that between *Goliah* and *David*; an *experienc'd Prieſt* vanquiſh'd and argu'd down by one who was but a *Youth*, *and ruddy*, *and of a fair Countenance*. And tho' neither the Hardneſs of your Arguments, nor the *Softneſs* of your *Tongue*, could *break* his *Bones*, and bring him over in Triumph to the *Church* of *England*, yet have they prevail'd effectually on others; and a very late *Convert* of yours from *Popery*, is an Inſtance that Arguments are like *Wedges*, which go not well, but when they are driven by a gentle Hand. And ſuch is the Felicity of your Temper, that you *draw* no *Blood* in Controverſy, and where you cannot convince, you never gaul.

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* In a Book entituled, *Several Letters, which paſs'd between* Dr. George Hickes, *and a Popiſh Prieſt.*

Having

Having thus early ſecur'd your Principles upon the *Catholick* Foundation, your next Care was to live, as well as believe, as the *Primitive Catholicks* did; to *ſet your Affection on things above, and not on things on the Earth*; to make God your Hope, your Joy, your Life, your All; to love him with your whole Heart, and your Neighbour as your ſelf; and by continual Application to the Throne of Grace, and Converſe with the *ancient Martyrs and Confeſſors*, you have work'd your ſelf up into that holy and habitual Flame, as few burn with in ſo clear and conſtant a Paſſion, either for God or Man. The Devotions you have bleſs'd the World with, beſt ſpeak the *Abundance* of your *Heart*; for who can pray with that Heavenly Warmth and Perfection, but one who is always at Prayer? Nor can you conceal your Alms, notwithſtanding all your Pains, not to *let thy left hand know what thy right hand doth.*

Our Miſery is moſtly of our own making; a Captive in *Turkey* is not in truth ſo pityable an Object, as the Slave to his own Appetites; and he who, ſuppoſe, has five extravagant Luſts to pay Portions to continually, tho' five times richer than another, yet comparatively is more than five times poorer, and has fifty times more trouble than that other, who will have no Luſt to provide for. Nay, one imperious Paſſion, like a ſingle *Thorn in the Fleſh*, is enough to make a Man uneaſy, in ſpite of all the Enjoyments upon Earth. Here then you began the War betimes, and turn'd all your Philoſophy and Religion againſt theſe *Boſom-Enemies*, before they had gotten any *Strong Holds* in *Nature*; and what a perfect Conqueſt you have gain'd over *Self*, is wond'rous viſible from that perpetual Chearfulneſs and Serenity, which ſhines about you under every Condition of Life. You have no Fortunes now to make, nor any you fear to loſe; no Ambition or Malice to gratify, nor

any

any Deſigns, but againſt the *Kingdom* of *Darkneſs*. Thus it is you ſteer your Courſe with Safety and Pleaſure in dangerous Seas; thus it is, that in *Job*'s Phraſe, you are *hid from the Scourge of the Tongue*, when its *Arrows* fly thick from every Quarter. For the *Wiſdom* of the *Serpent*, and the *Innocence* of the *Dove*, are ſo happily united, that where you cannot pleaſe, you never offend. *And who is he that will harm you*, while you are ſo prudent a Follower of *that which is good? Who is he*, that can find in his Heart to *harm* you, while you are in Purſuit only how to cloath the Naked, to feed the Hungry, to inſtruct the Ignorant, and to be a *Father* to the *Miſerable* of all *Parties?*

The Trouble of Self-denial, which ſome eſteem ſo harſh, and hard a part of the Chriſtian Law of Religion, has been over with you for many Years, and by long Cuſtom is become now your *ſecond Nature*, the moſt eaſy and delightful Service in the World. For

the Pleaſure that the Proud and Revengeful take in ſacrificing to their Reſentments, you take in commanding thoſe Paſſions to be quiet. The *Dogs* and *Horſes*, the *Houſes* and *Gardens*, and *Pools* of *Water*, with *Men-ſingers*, and *Women-ſingers*, and other Gratifications of Fleſh and Blood, which the *Animal* Man ſo much dotes on, are ſtrange inſipid things to you, and rather your Pity, than your Pleaſure. The Game you hunt after, is to do good to the Bodies and Souls of Men, to plant *Nurſeries* of *Religion*, and to water them with your own Inſtructions, to raiſe up a *Righteous Seed* for future Generations, and to encreaſe the *Kingdom* of *Heaven*; and none can think the Pleaſure of ſuch a Life, but thoſe who live it: For there is Light and Gladneſs *ſown* for the Righteous, which they reap at preſent from every vertuous Action, and which encreaſes with Time, and improves upon Enjoyment, and leaves no ungrateful Reliſh behind it. But O! the Proſpect of that Day, when the Sick and Needy, the Hungry

Hungry and Naked, and the *many* you have *turn'd to Righteouſneſs*, ſhall ſtand all about you at the *Judgment-Seat*, and be telling of your Works of Mercy, and pleading for your exceeding great Reward in Heaven to that *King*, who ſhall then ſay, *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepar'd for you from the Foundation of the World: For I was an hungred, and ye gave me Meat; I was thirſty, and ye gave me Drink; I was a Stranger, and ye took me in:* For *inaſmuch as ye have done it unto one of the leaſt of theſe my Brethren, ye have done it unto me.* Who, I ſay, upon ſecond Thoughts, would not chuſe to enjoy your preſent Complacency, and raviſhing Proſpect, rather than to glitter a while, and become the Gaze and Talk of the People; rather than to be *ſowing Wind*, and reaping Vanity, and inſtead of doing Juſtice and Charity, to be treaſuring up the Cries of the Oppreſſed againſt the *Day of Wrath?* But I muſt no longer follow my Inclination, and therefore throw away my Pen, as the Painter in

Plutarch

Plutarch did his Pencil, in deſpair of finiſhing what I have but rudely begun. The bare Relation of your Life, wou'd be the greateſt Panegyrick.

May *your Light* thus *ſhine* long *before Men, that they may ſee your good Works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.* May you *come to the Grave in a full Age, like as a Shock of Corn cometh in, in his Seaſon*; and give me leave to do my ſelf the Honour of ſubſcribing,

HONOUR'D SIR,

Your moſt Humble and

moſt Obliged Servant,

Craneford, the 22d of *June*, 1709.

WIL. REEVES.

THE

THE

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PREFACE,

Concerning the

Right Uſe of the Fathers.

ONE *of the Ableſt* * Criticks, *and the moſt celebrated* Scourge *of the* Fathers, *after all his Curioſity and Liſt to expoſe their* Nakedneſs, *cannot but acknowledge*, That thoſe Times which came neareſt to the Apoſtles, were neceſſarily the pureſt, and leſs ſubject to Suſpicion of Corruptions either in Doctrine, Manners, or Chriſtian Diſcipline; it being reaſonable to believe, that if there be any Corruptions crept into the Church, they crept in by degrees, by little and little, as it happens in all other Things. *Which Conceſſion of his, by the way, I take to be a ſufficient Anſwer to his whole Book. It cannot therefore but be worth our while to tranſlate ſome of the next beſt Books to the* Bible, *to open a Paſſage for the Unlearned, into the Knowledge of the Pureſt Times of* Chriſtianity, *next to the Apoſtles*; *but not by* Scraps *and* Quotations, *which are neither ſafe nor ſatisfactory, but from*

* Daille of the Right Uſe of the Fathers, *cap.* 1.

the intire Authors *themſelves*; *and by ſhort Notes to lay before the People in the moſt inſtructing View we can*, *that* Primitive Form and Power of Godlineſs, *that Strength of Reaſon and Beauty of Example, whereby the old ſuffering* Heroes *Apologiz'd and Liv'd the* Gentiles *into* Chriſtians, *in an Age when Wit and Wickedneſs, with all the* Kingdom *of* Darkneſs, *were at the higheſt Elevation, and in Confederacy againſt them.*

And were but the Tranſlations *of the ſame Spirit with the* Originals, *I am perſuaded they cou'd not eaſily be read by well-diſpoſed People, without ſome good Effect upon their Underſtanding and Paſſions. For I find in as clear and deep a* * Writer *as any of the Age, among ſeveral Expedients for antidoting the Minds of the People againſt the Poiſon of the Times, this for one, viz.* A Choice Collection in Engliſh of the ancient Chriſtians, whereby the People might ſee the Doctrine, Manners, Rites, Cuſtoms, Polity, and Diſcipline, when the Church ſubſiſted purely upon its own Powers and Principles independently on the Empire. *This is the Plan I have follow'd, but who beſides this* Great Maſter *Himſelf of Stile and Antiquity, can come up to his own Rules, and happily reach that* Sublime *and Beauty of Tranſlation, he there preſcribes? 'Tis no eaſie Matter to enter into the* Soul *of an* Author, *and expreſs him to the Life; to hit off a* Good Like, *with all the diſtinguiſhing Graces; to animate a Picture, and make the* Verſion *glow with the Warmth and Spirit of the* Original. *How well I have*

* Dr. *Hickes*'s Preface to his Apologetical Vindication, *&c.*

ſucceeded

ſucceeded in the Attempt muſt be left to the Taſte and Judgement of the Reader.

The Holy Scriptures *(God be praiſed) are at liberty, and in* Engliſh; *but the next valuable Writings are ſtill under Lock and Key, and ſeal'd up as it were in* Greek *and* Latin *from the Underſtandings of the People; and in a* Church *reform'd upon the ancient Foot, and as yet ſhining with the Primitive Purity, in Doctrine, Ceremony and Government; 'tis unbecoming, methinks, to let thoſe* venerable Records *we reform'd by, and glory in, lye buried in their own Language, and of no more Uſe to the Generality of the People than a* Sun-Dial *in a Grave; eſpecially, ſince the* Papiſts *make ſuch a noiſe in vulgar Heads, with the Cry of* the Fathers, the Fathers, *as if all the* Saints *and* Martyrs *in* Chriſtendom *had been* Romaniſts. *But this is right* Romance *in a literal Senſe, and juſt ſuch another Rant only as that of* Thraſillus, *who in one of his mad Fits took the Fleet in the* Attick *Haven to be all his own, when he had not one Ship there. For when our Biſhop* Jewel *challeng'd* Harding, *to try the Difference between the* Church *of* Rome *and us, not only by Dint of Reaſon, and Teſtimony of* Scripture, *but by the Authority of the* Fathers, *wherein his* Antagoniſt *concluded the Sum of the* Roman *Strength to lye, the* Biſhop *brought forth the whole Hoſt of* Ancients *on the* Reformation-ſide; *whereas Maſter* Harding *could muſter up no better Friends for* Rome, *than* Martialis, Abdias, Amphilochius, *the* Decretals *of the* Popes, *and ſuch like notable Forgeries.*

Whoever ſets out in the Study of the Chriſtian *Myſtery without the Conduct of the* Fathers, *ſeems to me to be ſailing into the Ocean without his Compaſs, in danger of being* toſſed to and fro with every Wind of Doctrine, *of ſplitting upon new Plauſibilities, of beginning and ending with* Socinus, Epiſcopius, *and ſuch like preſumptuous and ſelf-ſufficient* Reaſoners. *But the* Catholick *Writers of the firſt Three or Four Centuries, as they were faithful* Guardians *of the* Goſpel *depoſited in their ſeveral* Churches, *ſo were they much better appointed for the Interpretation of it, than any other diſtant Succeſſors; for in the firſt Fervencies of Religion, the Profeſſors minded nothing elſe but to provide for their Poor, to guard againſt* Hereſie *and* Innovation, *and to live and dye by the* Faith. *Whereas the* moderate *and cooler* Chriſtians *in after Ages, began to ſtrike up a cloſer Alliance with the World preſent, to mix Party and Preferment in Debates for Truth, to fiſh for Gold, and Silver, and worldly Grandeur from the* Goſpel; *and in a word, to have ſome other Deſigns than purely upon Heaven. Beſides, the nearneſs to the* Apoſtles, *their actual Acquaintance with ſuch Men as heard the* Apoſtles *expound their own Doctrines, their Familiarity with the Cuſtoms, Traditions, and Phraſeology of the Times, and above all, the extraordinary Aſſiſtances of the Holy Spirit in thoſe early Days of Perſecution, are Advantages no* modern Interpreter *muſt pretend to.*

Now the Catholick *Doctors of the Firſt Ages, I find to be all unanimous in the Doctrine of the* Trinity, *the* Divinity *of* Chriſt, *the Neceſſity of*

Church-Communion, *the Form of* Church-Government, *&c. In the next place, I conſider the Nature of the Evidence this Unanimity is founded on, and I find it to be the ſureſt and moſt ſatisfactory Kind of Evidence that can be, namely the* Evidence of Senſes; *for whether ſuch and ſuch were the* Doctrines *and* Government *of the* Church *in the time of theſe* Writers, *is not a Queſtion of* Right, *but of* Fact. *Not whether theſe* Doctrines *and* Government *are True and* Apoſtolical, *for of that hereafter; but whether the* Catholick Church *actually Taught and Govern'd on this wiſe at ſuch a time or no; and therefore, tho' I might juſtly, perhaps, diſſent from a* Martyr *in Matters of* pure Reaſoning, *yet I muſt be ſtrangely Fool-hardy to call in Queſtion the* Teſtimony *of his* Senſes. *For Inſtance, I find* Juſtin Martyr *and* Tertullian, *with all the reſt of the holy* Fathers *about their Time, poſitively aſſerting the* Son of God, *the* Man Chriſt Jeſus, *to be truly and properly* God, *and explaining his* eternal Generation *without any diminution of the* Father, *by a* Ray from the Sun, *or the* Kindling of one Light from another. *Now, perhaps, tho' I may not think their* Reaſoning *or* Similies *hold exactly true in ev'ry Point, yet I am ſure as to the* Fact, *viz. That the* Divinity of Chriſt *was the* Article *they maintain'd, tho' they ſhou'd differ in their Explications of it. For Dr.* South *and Dr.* Sherlock *have reaſon'd very differently about the Principle of* Individuation, *with reſpect to the* Perſons *in the ever Bleſſed* Trinity, *yet this difference in the* Modes *of Explication affects not the* Myſtery *it ſelf, which is*

in truth inexplicable, but it proves the Trinity *to be the current Doctrine at the time of the Diſpute; and that Things* may be, *tho' we differ very much about the* Manner *of their* Exiſtence.

I find likewiſe ſome difference between two very great Saints *cotemporary with the* Apoſtles, *between* * Polycarp *and* Anicetus, *about the Obſervation of* Eaſter. *The Firſt pleading the Practice of St.* John *for* one *Time, the ſecond the Practice of St.* Peter *for* another *Time; from which unhappy Diſſention I conclude that* Eaſter *was certainly obſerv'd, and that* Polycarp *and* Anicetus *were not* Angels, *but* Men; *and Men too of like Paſſions with our ſelves, and withall, that they might both be in the right as to* Fact; *it being the known Practice of the* Apoſtles *to* become all things to all Men *in Matters of Indifferency, to comply with the Cuſtoms of every Place they came in, as far as innocently they cou'd; and therefore* Polycarp *might very well know St.* John *out of this prudential compliance keep* Eaſter *upon* one *Day at* one *Place, and* Anicetus *might know St.* Peter *keep it upon* another *Day in* another *Place for the ſame Reaſon. The Error then here committed was a Miſtake in* Judgment *and not in* Fact, *a diſproportion'd exceſſive* Zeal *in a matter not worth the Contention. But is this fair Arguing, the* Fathers *were out in their* Judgment, *therefore they were out of their* Senſes; *they Reaſon'd wrong, therefore they cou'd neither hear nor ſee right; but if* Infallibility *of* Judgment *is neceſſary to make a* competent Wit-

* *Euſ.* Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 14.

neſs

neſs *of* Fact, *there is not a* competent Witneſs *in the World. Beſides, if ſuch kind of Differences may be urg'd againſt the* Teſtimony *of the* Ancients, *I know not what will become of the very* Apoſtles *themſelves; for we find very great* Differences *between* Peter, Paul *and* Barnabas. *But thoſe* Enemies *of our* Church-Government, *who make ſo much of this Objection againſt the* Fathers, *wou'd do well to conſider, whether they can think it credible that ſuch holy Men ſo* violently *tenacious of any the leaſt thing they knew to be* Apoſtolick, *ſo over-zealous in ſuch a petty difference of* Time *about the Obſervation of* Eaſter; *whether they can really think it poſſible, that Men ſo* extremely *ſcrupulous and ſtirring againſt any Appearance of* Innovation, *ſhou'd be univerſally Still and Silent in ſo* momentous *a Change of* Church-Government, *as that from a* Parity *of* Preſbyters *to a* Superiority *of* Biſhops, *had they in the leaſt ſuſpected any ſuch Change or Alteration from the* Fundamental *Inſtitution of the* Apoſtles, *as the* Objectors *now complain of.*

But becauſe the Right Uſe of the Fathers *is a Point of late much controverted, and wherein I think my ſelf particularly concern'd upon the Account of theſe* Tranſlations, *I ſhall enter into the* Merits *of this* Controverſie *more diſtinctly; and in order hereunto the* firſt *thing I attempt, ſhall be to prove,*

That the moſt rational and ſafeſt Method to underſtand the holy Scripture, is to conſult the general Senſe of the Catholick Writers in the pureſt Ages of the Church.

2*dly*, To anſwer the moſt Material Objections againſt them.

And 3*dly*, To ſhew the Unhappy Conſequences of too lightly departing from them.

The firſt thing to be proved, is, That the moſt rational and ſafeſt Method to underſtand the Holy Scriptures, is to conſult the general Sence of the Catholick Writers in the pureſt Ages of the Church.

The Holy Scripture *then I take here for granted, to be a* Rule, *and the only perfect* Rule *of* Faith *and* Manners; *and the Perfection of it conſiſts herein, that it contains* fully *and* plainly *all Things neceſſary to Salvation: Not that it is ſo perfectly full in every* Mode *of Time, and* Circumſtance *of Worſhip, as to leave no Room for any particular Laws herein to ſucceeding* Governours; *nor ſo perfectly perſpicuous, as to require nothing of Ingenuity and Application on the Learner's ſide. For 'tis evident in* Fact, *that the* Scriptures *are not ſo abſolutely perfect, from the foremention'd Difference between two* Apoſtolick *Biſhops about the Obſervation of* Eaſter: *'Tis evident likewiſe from the* Original *Languages of the* Bible, *which require much Pains to underſtand, as well as Honeſty to apply them; and St.* Peter *himſelf tells us, that in St.* Paul's *Epiſtles*, Some Things are hard to be underſtood, which they that are unlearned and unſtable wreſt, as they do alſo the other Scriptures, unto their own Deſtruction. *And as to Matters of* Polity *and* Diſcipline, *which cou'd not be eaſily miſunderſtood in the firſt Ages of the* Church, *they are now confeſſedly much leſs plain*

from

from Scripture, *as is too evident from the unhappy Diviſions about them to this Day.*

Nor is it reaſonable to expect that the Goſpel *ſhou'd be full and plain in every Particular, not only becauſe ſuch Particulars wou'd ſwell it to an incredible Bulk, but becauſe it is not fitting in this State of Darkneſs and Tryal, that Men ſhou'd have the Intuition of Angels, and ſee thro' the whole* Myſtery of Godlineſs *at firſt ſight. It was deſign'd only for a* Touchſtone *as it were of honeſt and curable Diſpoſitions, and not to break in upon the Underſtandings of wicked Men, in ſpite of their Wills; accordingly, we find* * Novatianus *interpreting the* Word of God *one way,* Photinus *another;* Sabellius *another;* Donatus *another;* Arrius, Eunomius, Macedonius *another;* Apollinaris, Priſcillianus *another;* Jovinianus, Pelagius, Celeſtius *another; and in fine,* Neſtorius *another. Not to mention* Ludovicus Capellus, *and ſome other* Criticks *of the* new Way, *who by their Infinite* Emendations *(if I may ſo call 'em) have* mended *away the very* Body *of the* Sacred Text, *and by their* new-fangled *Interpretations have Expounded away the* Senſe *and* Soul *of it too into the Bargain.*

Now in this Maze and Labyrinth of Interpreters *the Queſtion is, which is the moſt adviſeable Way to take for the true Interpretation of* Scripture; *for upon this* † *Hinge it is, that all*

* Vincent. Lirin. *Cap.* 2.

† In hoc Cardine verſatur tota Queſtio de Scripturis; unde vera Scripturæ Interpretatio ſit petenda. *Whitaker* de Scriptu. Qu. 5. Ca. 3.

our

our Controverſies turn. Some Moderns *have been of Opinion that the* Scripture *it ſelf is the* Law *and the* Judge, *becauſe the* Word of God *is ſaid to be* || Quick *or* Lively; *but theſe* Expoſitors *muſt firſt prove the* Bible *to be literally* Alive, *and able to ſpeak for it ſelf, before they can prove it to be a* Rule *and* Interpreter *both. Others are for ſetting up a* Human Infallible Judge *of Controverſie, and if they cou'd but tell us where we might* infallibly *find him, we ſhou'd be very thankful for the Diſcovery; but to tell us there is ſuch a Judge, becauſe they think it better there ſhou'd be ſuch a one, is in effect to tell us, that we are all born with our Clothes about us, and Houſes ready made by our* Maker, *becauſe they think it better that we ſhou'd be ſo provided, than be at the Trouble of providing for ourſelves. But our* Cubit *of Reaſon, is not to be the Meaſure of Immenſe Wiſdom; nor is it juſt to conclude that what we think moſt convenient to be done, God muſt think ſo too. For by this way of arguing 'tis eaſie to prove Man, Woman, and Child to be* Infallible, *for it ſeems moſt convenient that we ſhou'd be all* Infallible, *rather than be at the pains of travelling God knows where, after one that is ſo, therefore we are all* Infallible. *Others are for ſetting the* Sun *by their own* Dyals, *for making* pure Reaſon, *excluſive of the primitive* Fathers, *the beſt Interpreter or Judge of* Scripture; *But I am apt to believe, what I ſhall make more fully out anon, that the Senſe of a Law is beſt underſtood by thoſe who liv'd near-*

|| *Hebr.* iv. 12. Ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

eſt

eſt the time of making it; *Beſides, our preſent Controverſies are moſtly concerning* Facts, *whether ſuch and ſuch* Doctrines *were taught, and ſuch a* Form of Government *inſtituted by the* Apoſtles; *and what can* pure Reaſon *do here, without the Teſtimony of the* Fathers, *concerning Matters of* Fact *at ſuch a diſtance? And for* Scripture, *the Sence of that is the Point in Debate, and ſo not proper to decide the Queſtion. Was the* Chriſtian *Religion indeed to be mended after it came out of the Hands of* Chriſt *and his* Apoſtles, *and the Work expreſly left to the* Reaſoners *of latter Days, ſomething might be ſaid for our* Modern Refiners; *but all the* Mending *that I know of late, has been only* making Holes *in the* Creed *and Conſtitution of our* Church; *and that ſome* free Thinkers *by the Help of* clear Ideas *have made a ſhift to reaſon themſelves* clearly *out of all* Goſpel-Myſtery, *and the very* Canon *of* Scripture *it ſelf.*

And laſtly, to mention no more, there are ſome Others *who lay Claim to the* Spirit *for the Interpretation of the* Letter, *and if the* Pretenders *cou'd make good their Claim, we ſhou'd be ruled by the* Prophets; *But Experience has taught us, what a wild Interpreter this Pretence to the* Spirit *has been*; *that by ſetting weak Heads and ſtrong Paſſions to work upon the* Bible, *Men have been* ſpirited *out of their Sences, and ran about ſtark* Bible-mad. *For having their Brains once turn'd by the* Teachers *to a* Fantaſtick Scheme *of* Liberty, *and their Minds all wound up and continually ply'd with the Notion of the* new Jeruſalem, *where the* Lord's People

were

were to reign moſt purely *under the* Lord's Diſcipline, *to* put down all Rule and all Authority and Power, the laſt Enemy that was to be deſtroy'd was *the Epiſcopate worſe than Death*, and when all Things ſhou'd be thus ſubdued unto them, tnen ſhou'd they be all in all; *and have ſuch a* precious Church *the like was never ſeen from the* Apoſtles *to that Day: While this Viſion, I ſay, was running in their Heads, and their Fancies all up after* Mount Sion, *whatever they read in* Scripture *ſeem'd to Chime in with their* imaginary Model; *All the gracious Words and mighty Promiſes they met with, they apply'd to their Party, they were the* Godly and Meek ones that were to inherit the Earth; *They were the* Simple whom God had Choſen to confound the Wiſe, *they were the* true Iſraelites *and the* Joſhuas, Deborahs, Baraks, Gideons, Jepthas, Sampſons, *&c. were all* Types *only of their* Leaders, *who now were to root out the* Idolatrous Nations *round about, and to eſtabliſh the* Kingdom of Chriſt *with perfect Liberty. Such are the Vagaries of this* fooliſh Fire, *which ſome call the* Spirit; *ſuch the dangerous Adventures of forſaking the* old *to follow* new Lights; *ſuch likewiſe is the Abſurdity of making* Scripture *a* Rule *and* Interpreter *both, and alſo of appealing to an* infallible Judge, *which neither* Scripture *nor* Antiquity *ſay one Word of, nor the* Makers *themſelves know where to find; and laſtly ſuch is the Pride and Folly of ſetting up naked* Reaſon *for the ſoundeſt* Interpreter, *excluſive of thoſe* antient *Helps which Providence has left for our Learning and Inſtruction in the* Chriſtian Faith;

I come

I come now therefore to what I affirm'd for the ſafeſt Method to underſtand the Holy Scriptures, *namely, the* general *Sence of the* Catholick Writers *in the pureſt Ages of the* Church; *This is the Rule our moſt Learned and Judicious* Reformers *went by, what their* Conſtitutions *preſcribe, and what Reaſon juſtifies, as I ſhall now ſhew particularly.*

For 1ſt, *Notwithſtanding the ingrate and diſhoneſt Practices of ſome late* unchriſtian Criticks, *the* Fathers *muſt be allow'd not to have been behind hand in the common Advantages of Men; for their Writings ſpeak 'em to be as great by Nature and Education, of as much* Point *and Solidity, Penetration and Brightneſs, and every Humane Way as well adjuſted for* Defenders *of the* Faith, *as any* Reaſoners *of the hugeſt Size in theſe declining Ages of the World. But* 2dly, *They not only ſet out with as great a* Genius, *with as good a Stock of Nature and Art, but they had the ſtart of us by far in many conſiderable Reſpects; for we now a days find it a great Impediment in our Courſe of Divinity, to learn but the Language, Idioms, Rites, Cuſtoms, and Diſcipline of the* Apoſtolick *Age, in order to underſtand the obſcurer Paſſages of the Goſpel, all which Advantages they were in a manner born to; ſo that what is our* Day-labour, *was their Inheritance.* 3dly, *They took all the pains imaginable to cultivate theſe natural Advantages; for laying aſide* worldly Wiſdom, *and* worldly Adherences, *and* every Weight, they preſſed toward the Mark for the Prize of the High Calling of God in Chriſt Jeſus. *Chriſtianity was the*

the Center *of their Studies; and the Powers of their Mind, like Rays of the Sun, were all united in this Point, and by this Union they became more* ſhining *and* burning Lights, *than thoſe in the ſucceeding Ages of Proſperity and Sunſhine, who began to think it* good for 'em to be here, *to ſet up their Staff on this ſide Heaven, to lower their Thoughts, and ſcatter their Affections about the Ends of the Earth; but in bad Weather, in times of Perſecucion, they wrapt Religion cloſer about 'em, they minded nothing elſe but the Buiſineſs of their Souls, and the Men of* one Buſineſs *are moſt likely to underſtand it beſt.* 4thly, *Paſſion, Party, and Prejudice, are things deadly apt to diſtort the Eye of the Mind, and contract a ſquinting Judgement; and if a Freedom from theſe is a neceſſary Preparation for Truth, the* Fathers *I hope may come in for as good a ſhare of this Qualification, as any of their* Succeſſors. *And* 5thly, *Before the* Chriſtian Faith *was made a Part of the* Civil *Conſtitution, the Profeſſors of it were extraordinary Sufferers, and conſequently ſtood in need of extraordinary Comforts and Aſſiſtances proportionate to their Wants, which they enjoy'd accordingly; For caſting out of Devils, curing Diſeaſes, * raiſing the Dead, and other miraculous Effuſions, we find not oft'ner in in the* Apoſtles, *than in the* Writers *of the ſecond Century, and not ſeldom in the* Writers *of the third; and therefore a greater Deference is certainly due to thoſe Times of* Inſpiration, *than to theſe Ages of* naked Reaſon.

* *See the following Preliminary to* Juſtin Martyr.

But

But farther yet; upon any emergent Diſpute about the Reading *or* Sence *of the* ſacred Text, *the Primitive* * *Cuſtom was to have Recourſe to the* Books *of thoſe Countries from whence they receiv'd their* Faith *and* Bibles *together; and there to collate their* Copies *with the* Authenticæ Literæ, *as* † Tertullian *ſpeaks, that is, with the* Originals *themſelves depoſited by the Apoſtles in the* Churches *they founded, and withal to enquire into the conſtant* Tenor *of Doctrine, and the* Traditionary Inſtructions *left there by the* Founders. *For tho' the* Apoſtolick Writings *contain all things neceſſary to Salvation, yet cannot they be ſuppos'd to contain the Tithe of what the* Apoſtles *ſaid and did; and conſidering the Practice of* Sects *in general, and the Zeal of the firſt* Chriſtian Converts *in particular, 'tis not to be imagin'd but thoſe faithful Diſciples and Followers of the* Apoſtles *drew up ſeveral* Summaries *of their* Life *and* Doctrine, *a* Journal *of ſuch things as they were Eye and Ear Witneſſes to, or had receiv'd upon the credible Teſtimony of ſuch as had been ſo; which* Summaries, *tho' not of equal Authority with the inſpired Writings, yet as Authentick as any* humane *Records, and of ſingular Uſe and Advantage to the Faithful of thoſe Times againſt riſing Hereſies, and eſpecially in Matters of Diſcipline and Ceremony, which are the moſt diſputable Points in Scripture. Theſe ſeveral* Abſtracts *in proceſs of time were collected into one Body, which together with the* Doctrines *of*

* See St. *Auſtin* againſt *Fauſtus, lib.* 11. *c.* 2.
† *Tertull. præſcript. c.* 33, 34, 36.

Apoſtolical Men, *in all probability make up the moſt Inſtructive Part of thoſe which bear the Title of* Apoſtolical *Conſtitutions, 'tho the numerous Tromperies, Hereſies, and Inconſiſtences ſince interlarded, make this* Collection *as we now have it, ſtand juſtly branded for ſuppoſititious. Now that which I would infer from hence is this; that theſe* Summaries *or* Journals *in their original Purity, or the Writings of thoſe who had actually attended upon the Apoſtles, or their immediate Succeſſors who had heard them explain themſelves particularly upon ſeveral Emergencies, and treaſur'd up thoſe* Paſtoral *Inſtructions, which the* Apoſtles *may well be ſuppos'd to deliver by Word of Mouth, to ſuch as they themſelves immediately appointed over the Flock of Chriſt; theſe, I ſay, were ſuch conſiderable Helps to* Chriſtian *Knowledge, as no modern Interpreter can lay claim to; and which ought in reaſon to give the Primitive Writers the very next Place, I think, to the* Apoſtles: *And ſo thought the Great* * Caſſander, *a Perſon of ſingular Piety, Learning, and Moderation, who was for making the* Church *in* Conſtantine's *Time the* Standard *of the* Reformation.

But becauſe a General Rule *is apt to ſit moſt eaſie and convincing, when illuſtrated with particular Examples, I ſhall put the Matter in this Light, and ſo leave it upon the Mind of the*

* Quia eorum, quæ literis prodita ſunt, Senſus & Intelligentia primis illis Diſcipulis & Apoſtolorum Auditoribus, manifeſtiſſima & notiſſima ſunt; ut quorum explicationem ab ipſis Apoſtolis Evangelii Præconibus, acceperunt. Caſſand. Defenſ. lib. de Offic. pii viri in &c.

Reader;

Reader: *The* general Rule *then is this*, viz. *That the Sence and Meaning of any Law or Inſtitution is beſt underſtood by the general Practice immediately following thereupon. For inſtance therefore, I find it ſaid* 1 Cor. 11. *v.* 26. As oft as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do ſhew the Lord's Death till he come. *But now it is not ſaid here, nor in any other place of the* new Teſtament, how oft *we are obliged* to eat this Bread and drink this Cup; *However finding, that the* firſt Chriſtians *look'd upon this* Commemorative Sacrifice, *as that which made way for their Prayers to God, and gave the Perfume and Efficacy to their publick Devotions, and therefore that they never ſolemnly met to worſhip God without it; this* general Practice, *I ſay, immediately following upon the firſt Inſtitution of the* Sacrament, *is to me an excellent Paraphraſe upon this* Text, *and makes it highly reaſonable to think, that we are are all obliged to embrace every Opportunity of* Communicating, *and to* eat this Bread and drink this Cup *as oft as we can, in Conformity to the* Primitive *Cuſtom.*

Again, 'tis urged that there is no particular expreſs Precept in the Goſpel for Infant-Baptiſm; *to which I might anſwer, that* Circumciſion made without Hands (*which St.* Paul *calls* Baptiſm) *ſucceeding in the Room of that* made with Hands, Infants *muſt be concluded as well qualify'd to be admitted into Covenant with God now by the* Spiritual, *as before by the* Carnal *Circumciſion; and* Circumciſion *being changed into* Baptiſm *without any Change of time, that muſt continue upon the old Foot without ſome expreſs*

Command to the contrary; and therefore there was no Occaſion for any particular expreſs Precept in the Goſpel for baptizing Infants. *But upon farther Inquiry I find it a conſtant Uſage in the pureſt Ages of the Church to* baptize Infants, *and to ſign 'em with the* Sign *of the* Croſs, *and therefore from ſuch a Foundation in* Scripture *join'd with the* general Practice *of the* Church *immediately enſuing upon the* Inſtitution, *I conclude* Infant-Baptiſm *a Point indiſputable, and the* Ceremony *of the* Croſs *to be* Apoſtolical. *For had there been any Innovation in this Caſe, I can hardly think but ſuch ſcrupulous Perſons wou'd have made as great a ſtir here, as they did about the Obſervation of* Eaſter. *However thus much is certain, that the* Primitive Fathers *had much better Opportunities of knowing the Apoſtles Mind for the Practice of* Infant-Baptiſm *and the* Sign *of the* Croſs, *than any of the* Moderns *can pretend to for laying aſide of either.*

Thus again it is ſaid, Acts 20. *v.* 7. That upon the firſt day of the Week, when the Diſciples came together to break Bread, *Paul* preach'd to them. *Now theſe Words ſeem fairly to intimate, that the* firſt Day of the Week *or the* Lord's Day, *was ſet apart or ſanctifi'd for Religious Worſhip; but then finding* Juſtin Martyr *who wrote but forty years after the Death of St.* John, *telling us in the following Apology,* That on Sunday all the Chriſtians in City or Country meet together, becauſe that is the Day of our Lord's Reſurrection, and then we have read unto us the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles,

ſtles; this done, the Preſident or Biſhop makes a Sermon to the Aſſembly, to exhort them to imitate and do the Things they heard; then we all join in Prayer, and after that we receive the Sacrament, and they that are willing and able give Alms. *Now finding this, I ſay, related by* Juſtin *and the* Fathers *in general, it clears up the foregoing* Text *beyond diſpute for the Religious Obſervation of the* Lord's Day *in the time of the* Apoſtles.

Thus likewiſe 'tis ſaid in Scripture, *That the* Powers that be are ordained of God, That we muſt needs be ſubject not only for Wrath but for Conſcience ſake: For this is thank-worthy, if a Man for Conſcience towards God endure Grief ſuffering wrongfully, for even hereunto were ye called; becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffer'd for us, leaving us an Example that we ſhou'd follow his Steps. *Now the Extent and Meaning of theſe* Texts *is the Queſtion in Debate; for the Reſolution of which, I conſider firſt the Words themſelves, and find it evident, that the neceſſary* Subjection *here ſpoken of, is not due to the* higher Powers *upon the ſcore of* Perſonal *Virtue, but becauſe they are* ordained of God; *and therefore that Reſiſtance by force of Arms purely upon the account of* ſuffering wrongfully, *is againſt the* Chriſtian *Law:* For even hereunto were we called, *and are preſs'd to it from the Example of Chriſt's* ſuffering wrongfully *for us; and becauſe the Suffering which we are not oblig'd by God to undergo, we cannot be ſaid to undergo* for Conſcience towards God. *But for Fear I ſhould be out in my reaſoning, I make enquiry into*

the general *Practice of* Chriſtendom *upon the firſt iſſuing forth of this* new unwelcome Doctrine *to Fleſh and Blood*; *and I find as univerſal Agreement in the Point of* Non-Reſiſtance, *as in any one Article of Faith*; *that the* Primitive Chriſtians *were always ready to ſuffer, where they could not obey*; *that they look'd upon* Nero, *and the moſt* Inhuman Emperours, *as God's* Miniſters, *and therefore ſubject to God alone, and that it was not for want of* * Power, *but meerly out of* Conſcience, *that they did not reſiſt. I am ſure likewiſe that* Self-Preſervation *was as much in Force, and* natural Rights and Liberties *as much* natural Rights *and* Liberties then, *as* now. *But then how far the Nature of* abſolute *and* mixt *Governments*, Abdication, *and other Circumſtances, may alter the Meaſures of Obedience, is not my Province to determine: All I think reaſonable to infer, is, that ſuch* conſcientious Sufferers, *who ſeem to have ſo much* Scripture *and* Antiquity *on their ſide, and who* know how to want *with the* Primitive *Quietneſs, are in a very pityable Condition, and ought to have great Allowances made for their Scruples. And for this, I think, I have the Authority of a very conſiderable* Caſuiſt; *for my Lord of* Sarum *has as much Charity with ſomething leſs Reaſon, I think, either from* Scripture *or* Antiquity, *even for the* Quakers; *For had* Swearing *in general been unlawful*, God *wou'd not have given us the Example of Swearing by himſelf, nor wou'd* Chriſt *have anſwer'd upon Oath*; *beſides St.* Paul *fre-*

* *See the Preliminary to* Tertullian's *Apology.*

quently calls God to Witneſs, and the Primitive Chriſtians *refuſed not to ſwear by the* Safety, *but the* Genius *of the* Emperor, *becauſe they look'd upon the* Genii *as Demons. However, becauſe 'tis ſaid,* Swear not at all, but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, leſt ye fall into Condemnation *(which according to the* Biſhop, *can only reſpect* Swearing in common Converſation) *this learned and charitable Perſon concludes thus,* * It muſt be confeſſed, that theſe Words ſeem to be ſo expreſs and poſitive, that great regard is to be had to a Scruple that is founded on an Authority that ſeems to be ſo full.

Laſtly, Another Controverſy which has cruelly canker'd *the Minds of Men, and almoſt eaten out the Heart of Religion, and eats on ſtill as unmercifully as ever, is the Caſe of* Church-Government. *Nor are Men to blame for ſhewing a juſt Regard for what they believe in Conſcience to be of* Divine Inſtitution. *And yet of all Controverſies, this of* Eccleſiaſtical Polity, *may in my Opinion, by the help of the* Fathers, *be as eaſily decided as any. For a* Form *of* Government *being an* Object *of* Senſe, *tho' Men may differ in their Judgment about the Meaning of Laws, yet cannot they differ ſo much in their* Eye-ſight, *as to miſtake a* Monarchy *for a* Common-Wealth. Church-Government *then being an* Object *of* Senſe, *wherein the Meaning of* Scripture *is the Point in debate,*

* Bp. *Burnet's* Expoſition on the 39th Article.

what fairer way of trying this Cauſe than by the general Senſe and Practice of the Chriſtian Church *in and immediately after the Time of the* Apoſtles? *Nor can the* contending Parties *refuſe joining Iſſue upon theſe Terms. For thoſe who admit the* Canon *of* Scripture *upon the Teſtimony of the* Fathers, *will find themſelves hard put to't for a Reaſon why they reject the very ſame Teſtimony in the Caſe of* Church-Government. *For certainly whether* Biſhops *were ſuperior to* Preſbyters, *was a* Matter *of* Fact *full as notorious, as whether* ſuch *and* ſuch *were the* Writings *of the* Apoſtles. *Nay, I may ſay more notorious, for the Superiority of* Biſhops *was viſible to all, no one* Chriſtian *cou'd be ignorant of it, and therefore there cou'd be no need of a* General Council *to define the* Form *of* Church-Government, *as there was to ſettle the* Canon *of* Scripture.

Now the only Argument as yet urged with any ſhew of Reaſon from Scripture *and* Antiquity, *for the Parity of* Biſhop *and* Preſbyter, *is this, That both theſe in* Scripture *are Terms* ſynonimous, *or different Names only for one and the ſame* Order *of Men. For Satisfaction herein I conſult the moſt ancient* Fathers, *and for the firſt Three hundred Years find not one* Chriſtian Writer, *who enumerating the* Orders *of the* Church, *or the* Biſhops *of his own Time ever uſes the words,* Biſhop *and* Preſbyter *promiſcuouſly, or ever thought 'em ſo uſed in* Scripture. *For inſtance,* Ignatius, *St.* John's *Diſciple,* Biſhop *of* Antioch, *and* Martyr, *mentions the diſtinct* Orders *of* Biſhop, Preſbyter *and* Deacon, *no leſs than ſixteen times in ſeven ſhort Epiſtles; but for the eaſe of the* Reader, *I ſhall*

ſet down one noble * *Paſſage only*, Be all obedient to your Biſhop, as Jeſus Chriſt was to the Father; and to the Preſbytery, as to the Apoſtles. The Deacons alſo reverence, as the Ordinance of God. Let no one meddle in Church-Affairs without Order from his Biſhop. Let that Euchariſt be look'd upon as valid, which is adminiſtred by the Biſhop, or his Licentiate. Where the Biſhop ſhall be preſent, there let the People be preſent alſo; as where Chriſt Jeſus is, there is the Church Catholick. Without the Biſhop, 'tis not lawful either to baptize, or celebrate the Love-Feaſt; but what he ſhall approve of, that is well-pleaſing to God, that ſo you may proceed upon ſafe and ſure Grounds in all your Actions.

Juſtin Martyr, *to the beſt of my Remembrance, never uſes the words we tranſlate* Biſhop *and* Preſbyter, *but towards the Concluſion of the following* Apology; *where his Deſign is only to deſcribe the Nature of the* Euchariſt, *with the ſeveral* Duties *of thoſe who officiated therein; and becauſe this Sacrament was adminiſter'd ſometimes by the* Biſhop, *and ſometimes by a deputed* Preſbyter, *he makes uſe of the general Term* προεσὼς *or* Preſident; *but the* Deacons *he names*

* Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. Τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε ὡς θεοῦ ἐντολήν. Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. Ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Οὐκ ἔξον ἐστὶν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὃ πράσσεται. *Ignat. Epiſt. ad Smyrnæos.* Sect. 8. p. 6.

particularly, their Part *herein being wholly and ſolely appropriated to their own* Order. Vid. Bp. Pearſ. Vind. Epiſt. Ignat. Cap. 13. p. 183.

But Irenæus, Polycarp's *Diſciple, and cotemporary with* Juſtin, *urges a* * *Succeſſion of* Biſhops *from the* Apoſtles *to his Time; and moreover adds, That the* Apoſtles *themſelves committed the Care of the* Churches *into their Hands, leaving them to ſucceed not only* in the Place, *but to the* Juriſdiction of the Apoſtles.

† Tertullian *challenges the* Hereticks *to trace up the Pedigree of their* Biſhops *to ſome* Apoſtle, *and to make out their Claim that way; putting the Proof of* Apoſtolical Churches *upon a Lineal Succeſſion of* Biſhops *from the* Apoſtles. *Now this had been a notable ſilly Challenge indeed, a Proof ſcandalouſly weak and inconcluſive, had it not been notoriouſly evident, that where-ever the* Apoſtles *founded* Churches, *they always appointed* Biſhops *to* Preſide *over 'em. And then, he not only mentions ſuch an* Apoſtolick Race *of* Biſhops *in general, but particularly Inſtances in* Polycarp *placed over* Smyrna *by St.* John, *and in* Clemens *ſet over* Rome *by St.* Peter. *And moreover adds,*

* Habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apoſtolis inſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi in Eccleſiis, & Succeſſores eorum uſque ad nos, quibus etiam ipſas Eccleſias committebant, quos & Succeſſores relinquebant, ſuum ipſorum locum Magiſterii tradentes. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 3.

† Evolvant ordinem Epiſcoporum ſuorum *(Hæretici)* ita per Succeſſiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Epiſcopus aliquem ex Apoſtolis vel Apoſtolicis Viris, qui tamen cum Apoſtolis perſeveraverit, habuerit Auctorem & Anteceſſorem; hoc enim modo Eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæ cenſus ſuos deferunt, ſicut Smyrnorum Eccleſia Polycarpum ab Johanne conſocatum refert, ſicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem; Perinde utiq; & cæteræ exhibent quos ab Epiſtolis in Epiſcopatum conſtitutos Apoſtolici Seminis Traduces habeant. *De Præſcrip. Hæret. c.* 32.

that

that all other Churches *are juſt ſo* Epiſcopally *conſtituted, and exhibit a* Catalogue *of* Biſhops, Deſcendants of the Apoſtolick Seed. *But for fear of being burthenſome with Quotations, and for completer Satisfaction in this Point, I refer to our moſt learned Biſhop* *Pearſon, *who has gone thro' the* Fathers *of the Second Century, and examin'd them diſtinctly upon this Head, and the Objections againſt 'em, and withal has given a particular Anſwer to the moſt celebrated Paſſages in the* Goſpel *urged for the* Presbyterian Cauſe *from this ſuppoſed* Community *of* Names.

The Heretick Aerius *was the* Broacher *of this Opinion,* εἶ τὸ αὐτὸν Ἐπίσκοπον, τὸ αὐτὸν Πρεσβύτερον, That Biſhop and Preſbyter were the very ſame; *an* Opinion *no ſooner publiſh'd but exploded by* Epiphanius, *and unheard of till the Fourth Century. True indeed, this* Community *of* Names *was taken up again, and ſtrenuouſly argu'd for (tho' not for the ſame Purpoſe with* Aerius) *by ſome* eminent Writers *both of the* Greek *and* Latin Church *juſt upon the brink of the Fifth Century. But then it ought to be conſider'd, that the* Authorities *of this Age are in a manner* modern, *and that they receive great Abatements not only from their Diſtance, but the Diſagreement among themſelves. For* Chryſoſtom *and his* Followers, *who make no doubt but that the* Two Orders *were diſtinct both in* Office *and* Dignity *under the* Apoſtles, *and as ſuch appointed by them, yet allow the Names* Biſhop *and* Preſbyter *to be*

* Pearſ. Vindic. Epiſt. S. Ignat. par. 2. c. 13.

reciprocally predicated of both. But Theodoret *will have* Biſhop *and* Preſbyter *apply'd indifferently to thoſe of the* Second Order *only, or whom we call* mere Preſbyters, *concluding thoſe we properly ſtile* Biſhops *to have went under the Title of* Apoſtles. *And Laſtly,* Jerome *agreeing with* neither, *will have the* inferior Prieſts *promiſcuouſly entitled* Biſhops *or* Preſbyters; *this* Second Order *of* Prieſthood *being in his Opinion originally, and for ſome time the* Firſt, *and that of the* Epiſcopate *an After-addition. Now from this Diſſention among the* latter Patrons *of* Titular-Community, *'tis to me pretty evident that the Names* Biſhop *and* Preſbyter *are not promiſcuouſly uſed in* Scripture; *for were they ſo uſed, I cannot but think it unaccountably ſtrange, that no* Apoſtolical Writer, *nay, no* Chriſtian Writer *at all that I know of, ſhou'd ever uſe the ſame* Words *with the ſame* Confuſion, *in imitation of the* Apoſtles. *However, granting theſe* younger Interpreters *to be in the right, yet will it no more follow from this* Confuſion *of* Names, *that* Biſhops *and* Preſbyters *are one and the ſame in Power, than that an* Emperor *and his* General *are one and the ſame in Power, becauſe the Word* Imperator *is indifferently uſed for both, as hath been well obſerv'd of late.*

After all, tho' Chryſoſtome, *and* Jerome, *and the reſt of that* Claſs, *are now the* Fathers *of Figure and moſt in vogue amongſt us, (ſo venerable are the* Minor-Fathers, *when they may be thought to ſerve a Turn) yet the Miſchief on't is, that theſe very boaſted* Patrons *of the* Preſbyterian Scheme *are expreſly againſt it; nor can they with all*

all the Arts of Accommodation *be made to conform with it. For every Man of 'em allows that* Superiority *of* Biſhops *we contend for, and withal aſſerts this* Superiority *to have been eſtabliſh'd by the* Apoſtles, *for fear there ſhould be as many* Schiſms *as* Congregations; *and they all unanimouſly grant the* Power *of* Ordination *to be entirely lodg'd in the* Biſhop. *For* * Chryſoſtome *ſpeaking as low and moderate of* Epiſcopacy, *as he well cou'd, ſays,* That Ordination is the ſole Point wherein Biſhops are ſuperior, and in this alone they ſeem to be above Preſbyters. *And even* Jerome *himſelf in the very place where he riſes higheſt in the Commendation of the* Preſbyterate, *he excepts* Ordination *as a Work appropriated to the* Biſhop. *And the Origin of the* Epiſcopate *in his Opinion ſtands thus;* † Before that by the inſtinct of the Devil Factions commenc'd in Religion, and the popular Cry was, I am of *Paul*, I of *Apollos*, and I of *Cephas*, the Churches were governed by a Common Council of Preſbyters; but after every one began to lay Claim to thoſe he baptiz'd, as if they were his own, and not Chriſt's, it was decreed all the World over, that one choſen out of the Preſbyters ſhould be ſet over the reſt, whoſe Office it ſhou'd be to take the whole Care of the Church,

* Τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑστερῆσθαι, καὶ τέλῳ μόνον δοκεῖν πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς Πρεσβυτέρους. *Homil.* 11. *in* 1 *Epiſt. ad Tim.*

† Antequam Diaboli inſtinctu Studia in Religione fierent, & diceretur in Populis, *Ego ſum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ*, Communi Presbyterorum Concilio Eccleſiæ gubernabantur; poſtquam vero unuſquiſq; eos quos baptizaverat, ſuos putavit eſſe, non Chriſti, in toto orbe decretum eſt, ut unus de Presbyteris electus ſuperponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis Eccleſiæ Cura pertineret, & Schiſmatum Semina tollerentur. *Hieron. in Comment. ad Titum.*

and

and that ſo the Seeds of Schiſm might be deſtroy'd. *I have ſet down the Paſſage at length, becauſe it is look'd upon as the* Preſbyterian *Pillar, and as full of Force as the* Trojan *Horſe, to the utter Ruin of the* Epiſcopate. *Now that the* Church *was govern'd by a* Common Council of Preſbyters *till the* Diviſions *at* Corinth, *is an Opinion wherein, according to my little Skill in Antiquity, St.* Jerome *ſtands ſingle; and upon theſe* Diviſions, *that a* general Decree *ſhou'd be iſſu'd forth for a* new Order *of* Biſhops *all the World over, and this* Decree *taken Notice of by no* Writer *before* Jerome, *is ſomewhat ſtrange. But ſuppoſing it true, 'tis from hence evident beyond Contradiction, That in the Time of* Paul, Apollos, *and* Peter, *about whom theſe* Schiſms *aroſe, the* Epiſcopal Order *was eſtabliſh'd. Beſides, this ſame* Author *gives us to underſtand,* * That the Apoſtles ordain'd Preſbyters and Biſhops thro' every Province. *He* † *affirms likewiſe,* Biſhops, Preſbyters, and Deacons, to have the ſame Authority in the Church, as *Aaron* and his Sons, and the Levites had in the Temple. *He gives us alſo a* Catalogue *of the* Biſhops *of* Rome *from St.* Peter; *and tells us, that* James *the* Juſt *was the firſt* Biſhop *of* Jeruſalem; *another* Catalogue *of the* Biſhops *of* Antioch *from* Peter; *and in his Liſt of* Aſia, *not only ſays, that* Polycarp *was ordain'd* Biſhop *of* Smyrna *by St.* John, *but ſtiles*

* Quod fecerunt & Apoſtoli per ſingulas Provincias Presbyteros & Epiſcopos Ordinantes. *Ad Matthæi, cap.* 23.

† Quod Aaron & Filii ejus, atq; Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc ſibi Epiſcopi Presbyteri & Diaconi vindicent in Eccleſiâ. *Epiſt. ad Evagr.*

him

him Totius Aſiæ Princeps, Prince of all Aſia.

If then the Churches, *according to* Jerome, *were govern'd by a* Common-Council *of* Preſbyters *till the* Contentions *at* Corinth, *I aſk whether the* Apoſtles *had then Authority to fix a* ſuperior Order *of* Biſhops all the World over *for the Prevention of the like* Schiſms *for the Time to come. If they had, and actually did leave all* Chriſtendom *under* Epiſcopal Government, *then I wou'd know, whether ſuch an* univerſal Apoſtolical Decree *is reverſible by any Authority but that which made it? Now to ſolve this by a* Diſtinction *between a* Divine *and* Apoſtolical *Inſtitution, in a Caſe of ſuch Extent and Importance, is in my Opinion to ſolve it by a* Diſtinction *without a* Difference. *For did not the* Apoſtles *act by that* Divine Commiſſion *from* Chriſt, As my Father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend I you? *Did they not by Virtue of this* Commiſſion *ordain* Biſhops, *as well as* Preſbyters in every Province, *according to* Jerome? *Does not he affirm* Biſhops *thus* Apoſtolically *inſtituted, to be of the ſame* Divine *Authority in the* Church, *as* Aaron *was in the* Temple? *Did not the* Apoſtles *appoint the* Order *of* Deacons *to take care of the Poor? and does not* Ignatius *call this* Apoſtolick Appointment, *in the Paſſage above cited,* the Ordinance of God? *And to think that the* Apoſtles *ſhou'd make an* Order *of* Biſhops *of their own Heads only, and ſet that* Order *above* Preſbyters, *which is confeſſedly a* Jure Divino-Order, *is in my Opinion to think very indifferently of the* Apoſtles? *Why then, the* Order *of* Deacons *may continue, now the Poor are provided for by* Lay-Over-

Overſeers, *and the* Order *of* Biſhops *may not, now we are overrun with* Schiſms, *I wou'd fain ſee any other Reaſon for this, but only that* Deacons *are below* Preſbyters, *and* Biſhops *above 'em. For if* Biſhops, *who in the* Chriſtian Church *anſwer to* Aaron *in the* Temple *according to* Jerome, *may be laid aſide by Humane Authority, why not* Prieſts *and* Levites, *or* Preſbyters *and* Deacons? *And then we may ſhake Hands with the* Author of the Rights, *and vote for no* Orders *in the* Church *at all. How then our* Preſbyterian Diſſenters *can defend themſelves under St.* Jerome's *Shadow, and make the* Order Epiſcopal, *one* Article *for a juſt Ground of* Separation, *which their* Patron *aſſerts to have been eſtabliſh'd by the* Apoſtles *for the Prevention of* Schiſm all the World over, *paſſes my Underſtanding; and is a Point they ought ſeriouſly to lay to Heart, as they would not be accountable at the Laſt Day for all the Diviſions, Jealouſies, and Tempeſts, which upon this very Score have been rais'd amongſt us, and that St.* Jerome *himſelf does not riſe up in Judgement againſt them.*

Now put theſe things together, Church-Government *is the Point in Diſpute, the* Superiority *of* Biſhops *we think fairly made out from the very* Letter *of the* Sacred Text, *and ſo thought all the moſt ancient* Fathers; *this* Primitive *Interpretation is farther confirm'd by the Practice of the* Apoſtles, *who* enthron'd *many* Biſhops *with their own Hands; it was never diſputed till the Fourth Century, and then by an* Heretick, *and condemn'd as ſoon as diſputed. The* Epiſcopate *was unanimouſly allow'd to be* Apoſtolical, *and above*

the

the Preſbyterate *in* Dignity *and* Juriſdiction, *by thoſe very* Writers, *who in* Scripture *aſſert them both to go by the* ſame Name. *No one* Church *can be produced where the* Epiſcopal *Government did not take Place. No general* Council *met to appoint it; the* Armenian *and* Perſian Churches *in the* Eaſt, *thoſe of* Spain *in the* Weſt, *of* Africa *in the* South, *and of* Great Britain *in the* North, *ſubmitted to* Biſhops *without Exception. And the Proof we have for all this, is the univerſal Teſtimony of thoſe* Writers, *upon whoſe Authority we admit the* Canon *of* Scripture.

Here then I wou'd aſk a conſcientious Diſſenter, *whether in his Heart he can believe that the* Primitive Saints *and* Martyrs *wou'd invade the* Epiſcopal *Power of their own Heads, and in defiance of the* Apoſtles, *who were ſo over Tenacious of the* Apoſtolick *Practice in the minuteſt Matters? Whether they wou'd attempt this without any Worldly Motive, but greater Loads of Care and Affliction, for* the Care of all the Churches *lay upon them, and the Storm generally fell firſt and hardeſt upon the* Biſhops; *and Men do not uſually invade upon ſuch Principles; and if they did, whether it was poſſible for the* Invaders *to prevail in ſo ſhort a time over* Chriſtendom, *and without Oppoſition, or one word of Complaint from the* degraded Preſbyters *againſt the* uſurping Prelates? *For* Uſurpations *of this* Sacred Kind, *we know with a Witneſs, never come in without remarkable Clamours and Convulſions, are ſeldom perfectly forgotten, and the* Revolution *ſkin'd over without a Scar. That* Biſhops *therefore ſhou'd obtain where ever the* Goſpel *did,*

did, ſo ſoon, and with ſuch univerſal Silence, cannot be accounted for any other way, than that the Goſpel *and the* Epiſcopate *came in upon the ſame* Divine Title.

Biſhop, Preſbyter *and* Deacon *then were the Three* Orders *of the* Church *from the Beginning to the Days of* John Calvin, *who was a wiſe and learned Man, but he was a* Man, *and notably diſtinguiſh'd his Frailty upon theſe two Accounts. For firſt, as is evident from* * *himſelf, and the* † Writer *of his Life, he thruſt himſelf into the* Sacred Function, *without* being lawfully called and ſent to execute the ſame. *And 2dly, without conſulting other* Churches, *without any reſpect to the Sense and Practice of all* Chriſtian Antiquity, *he of his own Head drew up a* new Scheme *of* Eccleſiaſtical Polity, *wherein he excludes the* Epiſcopal Order, *and lodges the whole Power of the* Church *in a* Miniſter *with* Lay-Elders; *and taking Advantage of the Fondneſs and Neceſſity of the People, and the Abſence of the* Biſhop, *made 'em ſwear as abſolutely and unconditionally to his* new Scheme, *as if every Tittle of it had been dictated from Mount* Sinai; *tho' by his own Confeſſion but* intimated *in* Scripture, *and this* Intimation *never thought of by any of the* Ancients, *nor any Strictures of ſuch a* Form *entertain'd in any* Church *upon Earth before his own Time. The* French Churches, *with that of* Scotland *threw themſelves into the* Geneva-Model; *but we of* England *with more Modeſty, and upon ſurer*

* *Calvin*, lib. 4. Inſtitut. cap. 34. item. Epiſt. 190.
† Beza in vita Calvini ſub init.

Grounds,

Grounds, follow'd the plain Sence of Scripture, *authoriz'd by the Interpretations, and the univerſal Practice of the* pureſt Churches *in the* pureſt Ages; *and ſo Reform'd from the Corruptions of* Rome, *but kept cloſe to the* Primitive *Doctrine, and* Primitive *Government; concluding, that we might as well Reform our ſelves out of the Inferior* Orders *of* Preſbyter *and* Deacon, *as that of* Biſhop. *And that if any one of theſe* Apoſtolick Inſtitutions *might be null'd by human Authority, ſo might the reſt, and ſo we might come to have a new Form of* Church-Government *every* Moon, *or if that ſeem beſt, none at all. And therefore, tho' I have all imaginable* good Will *and* Charity *for the* Foreign *Churches, who* under their Hands have teſtify'd *their Readineſs to conform with us, were they in our Place, and plead Neceſſity for their Difference, yet being no Judge I ſhall not take upon me to determine how far this Plea now will juſtifie or excuſe them. But this Plea of theirs, undoubtedly, can never reach our* Home-Diſſenters, *who have nothing to object againſt the Moderation of our preſent* Biſhops (*as* Calvin *had againſt thoſe of* Rome) *but only that they are* Biſhops. *And therefore I cannot think it either reaſonable or lawful, to write our ſelves out of an* Apoſtolical Inſtitution, *confirm'd by the concuring Sence and Practice of all the* Fathers, *by a Preſcription of fifteen hundred Years ſtanding, by the Judgment of our own* Reformers *and* Martyrs, *and by our preſent Eſtabliſhment; I can never think our ſelves, I ſay, oblig'd in Charity to write our ſelves out of this complicated Authority into a Complyance with ſuch Conſciences, as make*

ſuch Biſhops *one Article for* Schiſm, *which their* pretended Patron *St.* Jerome *makes decreed by the* Apoſtles *for the* Extirpation of the Seeds of Schiſm all the World over.

Thus I have endeavour'd to make out the firſt *Thing propos'd*, viz. *That the moſt rational and ſafeſt Method to underſtand the holy* Scripture, *is to conſult the* general Sence *of the* Catholick Writers *in the pureſt Ages of the* Church. *And this I have done by ſhewing the natural and moral Advantages of the* Ancients *above the* Moderns, *for the better underſtanding of the Minds of the* Apoſtles: *And tho' perhaps I might juſtly have advanced their Authority higher in* Matters *of* pure Reaſoning, *from the* extraordinary *Effuſions of the* Spirit, *which were very plentiful in the firſt Ages, yet I choſe chiefly to conſider 'em as* Witneſſes *of* Fact *only*; *becauſe in this View our* fineſt Reaſoners *cannot queſtion their Sufficiency, without calling in queſtion at the ſame time the* Genuineſs *of the* Goſpel. *And to make this Matter yet more intelligible, I have taken for granted what I believe will be hardly conteſted*; *namely, That the Sence or Meaning of any Law or Inſtitution is beſt underſtood by the general Practice, immediately enſuing thereupon*; *and this Rule I have illuſtrated by five Inſtances, which are not very eaſily made out from the bare Words of* Scripture, *but fully clear'd up by the Practice of the* Ancients: *And I have inſiſted the longer upon the Inſtance of* Epiſcopacy, *becauſe that* Eminence *is the Mark of many an ill Eye, and the Ground of the greateſt Heart-burnings and Diviſions among ſt us*; *and becauſe from the Foundations in the*

Goſpel, *and the Superſtructure and Settlement of all Churches after the ſame Form by the* Apoſtles, *and their immediate Succeſſors, we may as demonſtrably conclude the* Ordet *of* Biſhops *to be of* Apoſtolical, *that is, of* divine *Appointment, as we can conclude any thing from Hiſtory. And now upon the whole, I think I may with Reaſon affirm the* Primitive Chriſtians *to be not only the moſt faithful* Guardians *of the* Canon, *but of the* Sence *of* Scripture *alſo; and therefore when I ſee ſome Men playing their whole Artillery againſt 'em, and running Riot upon the* abſolute *Perfection of* Scripture, *the better only to run down the Uſe of the* Fathers, *and by getting them out of the way to fall foul upon the* unguarded Letter, *and Murther it to their own purpoſe, it puts me in mind of the like Practices upon their* Sovereign, *as upon the* Scripture: *For juſt ſuch* hollow Panegyricks *came whiſtling from the ſame Quarter, that a* good King *wou'd reign moſt* glorioufly *without his* Guards, alone *ſecure in the Hearts and Affections of his People, and when they had importun'd him out of his* Forces, *how they* decided *his Perſon I need not tell. And thus much concerning the Uſe and Service of the* Fathers.

I come now in the ſecond place *to* anſwer *the* moſt material Objections againſt them.

The Deſign of Criticiſm *at firſt was to reſcue injur'd* Authors *from the Depredations of Time and Moths, or much worſe Vermine, to enlighten and beautify their Sence, and reſtore 'em to their original Perfection. But now 'tis the* Art *of* finding Fault *only, or rather of making Wounds for the Reputation of a Cure, and vending Wit at the*

Price of Honesty. And finding Fault *being what we are naturally disposed to, and Correction an Act of Authority which we all admire*; Criticks *have multiply'd in great Quantities from this Corruption. Happy the Man, who can but discover a* Spot *in the* Sun, *or in some celebrated* Writer; *how noble the Discovery, and the seeming Blemish to be illustrated above all his other indisputable Beauties? For instance, we ordinary Folks have all this while taken* Joseph *for a mighty honest upright Man*; *and for his Religion, the peculiar Care of Providence*; *and for his Benefactions to* Egypt, *the Darling of* King *and* People; *and afterwards* Idoliz'd *under the* Egyptian Apis. *But alas! no such matter, we have been miserably misled by* Moses, *and quite out in our* Mythology; *for the* * Modern Criticks *have found out this same* Joseph *to have been an* arrant Minister of State, a Promoter of arbitrary Principles, and a downright enslaver of the People, *and that his Memory was therefore odious, and consequently the* Story *of his being worship'd under the* Symbol *of* Serapis, *a silly groundless Story. Thus again, from an* † iota *or* one Tittle, *to Question* whether Jesus Christ was not a Cabalist, *sounds little better in my Ears than to question* whether he was not a Conjurer; *however this is new, and out of the way, and therefore wonderful. In like manner to give broad Hints that after all the Care and and Integrity of the* Ancients, our

* See *Basnage's Supplement to Josephus, cap.* 19. *l.* 3. *Sect.* 12. *p.* 219.

† Ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου. *Matth. cap.* v. *v.* 18. *Basnage's Supplement to Joseph. l.* 3. *cap.* 21. *p.* 229.

Bible

Bible is not yet as it ſhould be; *to make* Sarah *and* Hagar, *which St.* Paul *really thought to be* Types *of the* Two Covenants, *to be the Iſſue only of St.* Paul's Allegorizing *Fancy, or which is much the ſame, borrowed from ſome vulgar* * Midraſch, *that is, ſome* Jewiſh *Whimſies. Theſe, I ſay, are marvellous Diſcoveries, freſh and ſparkling, and ſuch as never enter into the Head of an* ordinary Chriſtian. *Whether the Learned Mr.* Baſnage *in his* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *as well as* Le Clerc, *have not run extravagant Lengths in this way of* Criticiſm, *I ſhall leave to their Readers. But as the beſt Fruit is moſt ſubject to* Vermin, *ſo the* Fathers *have been eminently* Peſter'd *with this ſort of* Criticks: *Every* Mote *in their Eye, by the Powers of the* Critical Magick, *thickens into a* Beam; *and the moſt puiſny Objection againſt the firſt and faithfulleſt Servants of Chriſt is magnify'd to a Demonſtration, not only againſt the* Opinions *they held, but againſt their Authority even in* Matters *of* Fact; *the chiefeſt of which* Objections *I ſhall now particularly conſider.*

The firſt Objection *is taken* from the Difficulty of knowing what the true Sence of the ancienteſt Fathers was, *and to make out this, 'tis urged,* that moſt of the Writings for the Three firſt Centuries are loſt, in which 'tis poſſible we might have met with very different Relations, from what we find in thoſe now Extant.

Now this, to ſay the beſt of it, is a very odd way of Arguing, weak in it Self, and worſe in its

* Mr. *Clerc's Annotations* on *Galat.* cap. 4. *v.* 21. See more to this purpoſe in Mr. *Baſnage's Supplement.* cap. 21. l. 3. p. 230, 231.

Conſequences. For the Queſtion *before us, is,* concerning the True Senſe of the Fathers we have, *and the* Objection *is grounded upon a* Preſumptive *one in thoſe we have not; in this caſe then the loſt Writings muſt be produced to juſtifie this Preſumption, or the* Objection *is pure Dream and Imagination. And if ſuch Surmizes may ſerve for Proofs, or the loſs of ſome Writings invalidate the reſt in Being,* Hiſtorical Certainty *is quite at an End; and if a Man has a mind to gratify himſelf with* Perhaps's *and* Poſſibles, *he may gainſay any Matter of* Fact *in* Hiſtory; *becauſe, had we all the* Hiſtories *of thoſe Times, 'tis* poſſible perhaps *we might find it to be as he fancies; and the Conſequence will be, that the* Scriptures *themſelves are Queſtionable, becauſe the Teſtimony of many of the* Fathers *are wanting, which might have contradicted thoſe we have. Nay,* * Calvin † Peter Martyr, ‖ Zanchy, ** Whitaker, *and others, make no doubt but ſome* Canonical Scriptures *are wanting, from whence* ‖‖ Bellarmine *argues againſt the ſufficiency of the* Canon, *which is the very Argument here turn'd againſt the Authority of the* Ancients. *But the Anſwer is ſhort, and will ſerve for both,* viz. *That what is left is ſufficient, or Providence would have left us more; and what we never had, we have nothing to Anſwer for; but not to believe upon a Competency, is to be ſullen and ſtarve becauſe we have not All,*

* Calvin in Epiſt. Judæ.
† Pet. Mart. Loc. Com. Claſſ. 1. cap. 6. num. 27.
‖ Zanch. in Hoſeam ſub init.
** Whitak. de Scripturis, Quæſt. 3. cap. 3.
‖‖ Bellarm. de verbo Dei lib. 4. cap. 4.

or to deny our Maker, *becauſe he has not made us* Angels. *But this is ſo weak an* Objection *that I will purſue it no farther, only I wou'd fain ſee a good Reaſon, why we ſhou'd not conclude, that the* Fathers *(ſuppoſing them honeſt) which are loſt, ſhould rather confirm thoſe in Being, than contradict 'em; for the* Catholick Writers *which are loſt, were once Extant, and Read, and Approv'd, and many Fragments preſerv'd by* Euſebius *and others, and theſe Fragments diſcover nothing* Heterodox, *nor the* Collectors *of them ſuſpect any ſuch thing, and therefore why ſhould we?*

Reaſon 2. 'Tis difficult knowing the Sence of the Fathers, becauſe that their Writings of the Firſt Centuries treat of Matters very far different from the Controverſies now on foot about Religion.

To which I anſwer, 1ſt, *That 'tis not poſſible that the whole Race of Controverſies from the beginning of the Goſpel to the Concluſion of the World, ſhould be all diſtinctly ſtated and defin'd by the* Primitive Writers; *and if Poſſible, not Reaſonable, for by the Application of a* General Rule *I may diſtinguiſh* Strait *from* Crooked, Right *from* Wrong, *without a* particular *Inſtruction in all the infinite variety of* Curves; *and a* Phyſician *who has plainly preſcrib'd all I am to do for the Recovery of my Health, has no occaſion to ſet down every* Particular *I am not to do, or all the numberleſs ways of Deſtroying my ſelf.* 2dly, *Moſt of the* Modern *Heterodoxies are but new Turn'd, or Refinements upon the* Old, *and therefore the Anſwer* then *will in a great meaſure ſerve* now. 3dly, *As to* Tranſubſtantiation, Saint-Worſhip,

the Infallibility *of the* Pope, *and ſuch like Points, the very ſilence of the* Ancients *in theſe Caſes is a loud Argument againſt 'em. And* 4thly, *This Reaſon, if it makes any thing againſt the* Fathers, *makes more againſt the* Scriptures: *For in the* Bible *we have no* Polemick *Diſcourſes, no ſet Treatiſes on purpoſe about the Points now in Diſpute, but the* Fathers *enlarge upon the* Sacred Text, *improve Hints, ſet obſcure Paſſages in a fuller Light, give us an Account of many* Apoſtolick *Traditions, Rites and Cuſtoms, and particularly argue againſt, and condemn many Hereſies, of which the* Scriptures *ſay not one word; and therefore the want of an explicit Anſwer to all Queſtions which ſhall ariſe, holds ſtronger againſt the Writings of the* Apoſtles, *than thoſe of their* Succeſſors. *And thus it is the* Papiſts *argue againſt the Perfection of the* Scriptures; *There are many Controverſies now (ſay they) in Religion, whereof the* Scriptures *make no mention, ſuch as the number of* Canonical Books, *of* Sacraments, *the Form of* Trine-Immerſion, Rebaptization, *the Obſervation of the* Lord's Day, *&c. the* Scriptures *therefore are not a perfect Rule of Controverſie, becauſe there is no knowing the Sence of the* Apoſtles *in theſe Caſes: Now if the* Objectors *will not allow of this arguing in the* Papiſts *againſt the* Scriptures, *why they will urge it againſt the* Writings *of the* Ancients *which handle abundance more Controverſies than the* Scriptures *do, is a Queſtion I wou'd fain ſee anſwer'd.*

Reaſon 3. That thoſe Writings which go under the Names of the Ancient Fathers, are not all truly ſuch, but a great part of 'em ſuppoſititious

poſititious and forged, ſo that you know not what is Theirs, and what is not.

The Caſe of ſpurious *Books, and* ſpurious *Children, I take to be much the ſame; and ſhou'd I argue thus, That thoſe Children which go under the Names of their* Reputed Fathers, *are not all truly ſuch, but a great part of 'em* Baſtards, *ſo that there's no knowing which are theirs, and which not: I hope our* Fathers *wou'd cry out ſhame on the Argument, or elſe it wou'd make mad work in the World; and yet the Argument holds equally good both ways, againſt the* Legitimacy *of Children, as well as the* Genuineſs *of Books; that is, the Argument is good for nothing, for the* Spuriouſneſs *of* ſome, *ought not to affect the* Genuineſs *of* others; *and there is no manner of Conſequence, that becauſe ſome falſe Pieces have been Father'd upon* Juſtin Martyr *and* Tertullian, *therefore theſe* Apologies, *which were never Queſtion'd, ought to lye under the ſame Imputation. So that before we take upon us to* Baſtardize, *we muſt give particular Reaſons for ſo doing: And he who will not believe a Book, or a Child, to be the lawful Iſſue of that Man, whoſe Name it bears, when he has no Reaſon to ſuſpect the contrary, ought to believe nothing upon leſs grounds than Demonſtration, and never to Eat or Drink till he can Demonſtrate the Goodneſs of the Food; and however this way of Reaſoning may ſuit with his* Head, *I dare ſay it will not agree very long with his* Stomach.

2dly, *If the* Spuriouſneſs *of ſome Pieces may attaint the Reſt, why do the* Objectors *make uſe of the* Fathers Occaſionally, *when they fancy it may*

may ſerve their turn? Why do they admit the Canon *of* Scripture *upon the Authority of the* Fathers; *for to admit their Teſtimony in one Caſe, and to reject it in another equally Clear and Univerſal, is to play Faſt and Looſe, and act upon no Principles at all.*

3dly, *Suppoſing a Book, not to be that* Author's, *whoſe Name it bears, or to be* Anonymous, *yet if it was manifeſtly written in the firſt Ages of the* Church, *and quoted and approv'd by the* Catholick *Writers of that or the following Centuries, I ſee no ground to Object againſt it, unleſs we will affirm a good Book, without the* Author's *Name, to be good for nothing.*

4thly, *There is an End of all* Hiſtorical *Evidence, of all Law, Friendſhip, and Commerce in the World, if the Suppoſititiouſneſs of ſome Writings, the Forgery of ſome Deeds, the Falſhood of ſome Friends, the Adulterating of ſome Coin, muſt affect all the reſt. Nay, there is an End of all* Goſpel, *for many* ſpurious *Pieces have paſs'd under the Name of the* Apoſtles. *But now if there be no Rules to diſtinguiſh what is* Apoſtolick *from what is not, why do we receive the* New Teſtament? *If there be, I ask, why theſe Rules will not ſerve in the Caſe of the* Fathers, *as well as the* Apoſtles? *For to ſay, that Providence has interpos'd to preſerve the* Divinely-inſpired Writings *from all ſorts of Injury, is what we find to be falſe in Fact, becauſe there have been* ſpurious *Pieces Father'd upon the* Apoſtles, *as well as their* Succeſſors.

A Fourth Reaſon *why 'tis ſo hard coming at the Sence of the Fathers, is,* That thoſe Writings

tings of the Fathers which are Legitimate, have been in many Places corrupted by Time, Ignorance, Fraud, *&c.*

This Reaſon differs from the Former, as Clipping *does from* Coining, *and the ſame Anſwer might ſerve for Both; but 'tis made a diſtinct Article upon which the* Objectors *flouriſh with great Indulgence; and the better to amuſe the* Reader *with a fine ſhew of Learning, give in a very Tragical Declaration of the many* Corruptions *which from time to time have befel the* Ancients. *And had they been in the Humour, cou'd have wept over the Holy* Scriptures *in the ſame Tone, and told us how ſadly they too have ſuffer'd by* Time, *by the* Ignorance of Tranſcribers, *and by* Frauds, both Pious and Malicious, *and withal, quoted a moſt genuine Paſſage out of* Tertullian, *to let us know how cruelly the* Hereticks *mangled the* Sacred Text, *and that* Marcion *us'd a* Knife *inſtead of a* Style, *not to Corrupt, but Cut it to his Liking; and ſo perhaps the* various Lections *in Dr.* Mills's *late Edition of the New Teſtament, will in good time be urged by ſome* Criticks *againſt the Authority of the* Goſpel. *But does not* * *St.* Auſtin *tell* Fauſtus, That if any Diſpute ariſes about various Readings, which are but few in Number, and ſufficiently known to the Learned, we have recourſe to the Books of thoſe Countreys, from whence we receiv'd our Copies and Religion together, and are willing they ſhou'd determine the Controverſie. Or if there ſtill appear any Difference, the greater number of Copies ought to be preferr'd before the leſs;

* *Auguſtin againſt Fauſtus*, lib. 11. c. 2.

thoſe

thoſe which are moſt Ancient, to thoſe of a later Date; and the Original Languages to all others. Thus do they proceed, who, when they meet with any difficulties in the Holy Scriptures, ſearch and examine things with a deſire to be Inſtructed, and not merely for Diſpute and Cavil.

But is it not the common Fate of Books to ſuffer by frequent Tranſcriptions? are they not all ſubject to the Teeth of Time, Moths, *and* Criticks, *unleſs preſerv'd like the* Children *of* Iſrael's *Clothes, by continued Miracle? Why then may not St.* Auſtin's *Rule ſerve us for the* Fathers, *as well as the* Apoſtles? *Why may not the general Deſign and Sence of an* Author *be underſtood, notwithſtanding ſome Corruptions, as eaſily as we diſtinguiſh an* Old Acquaintance, *tho' ſomething disfigur'd by the* Small Pox? *Are not theſe* Errata *and* Frauds, *in a great meaſure, now detected and cured by comparing* Manuſcripts *and other Helps of the* Critical Art *in learned and honeſt Hands? Do we build any ſtrange Doctrines upon any ſuſpicious Paſſage, or any ſingle* Father, *and not upon their unanimous Conſent clearly deduced from many of their Works, and from many Places therein, which were never queſtion'd? Do not the* Ancients *as they now ſtand corrected in the beſt* Editions, *agree with the* Scriptures *in* Faith, Manners, *and* Church-Polity? *And how came they, after all theſe Corruptions, thus to Tally with the* Goſpel *in Fundamentals, unleſs it be Objected alſo that the* Goſpel *and the* Fathers *are Corrupted both alike? Before then the* Objectors *cry down an* Author *for Spurious, or Corrupted in Whole*

or

or in Part; let 'em bring forth their ſtrong Reaſons for their loud Clamours; let 'em rally their Forces, and try their ſkill over again upon Ignatius; *for while that* Martyr's Epiſtles *are ſuffer'd to paſs for Genuine, there lies an inſuperable Bar in the way of ſome Men; and that they are Genuine, our Excellent Biſhop* Pearſon *has, I think, demonſtrated, to the eternal Shame of the* Dallæans *and all their* Adherents.

A Fifth Reaſon *is*, That the Stile of the Fathers is ſo incumbered with Figures and Rhetorical Flouriſhes, *&c.* that there is hardly any knowing what they wou'd be at.

This is much eaſier ſaid than prov'd; and were it neceſſary to ſet out the Primitive Writers *in their Native proper Colours, I cou'd with half the pains their Adverſaries have taken to Diſfigure 'em, ſhew as noble Plainneſs, as manly Reaſoning, as moving Metaphors, and juſt Flights in them, as in any of the* Moderns, *enough I am ſure to deſerve better of us for their* Writings, *(if not for their Lives) according to* Horace's *Rule of* Criticiſm, Ubi plura nitent, non ego paucis offendar maculis. *But Tropes and Figures we are not concern'd about, but only whether the* Fathers *have expreſs'd themſelves intelligibly in* Matters *of* Fact. *A Certain* * Author *has furniſh'd us with One and Fifty Reaſons for the Obſcurity of the* Scriptures; *but be theſe Reaſons as they will, I think I may truly ſay, That the* Writings *of the* Prophets *and* Apoſtles *abound with Tropes and Metaphors, Types and Allego-*

* Flacc. Illyric. de Ratio. Cognoſc. Sacr. Literas, *cap.* 1.

ries

ries, Parables and dark Speeches, and are as much, nay much more unintelligible in many places, than the Writings *of the* Ancients; *and yet theſe in a great meaſure are now brought to Light by the Diligence of Learned Men. But ſuppoſing they were not, how do theſe Figurative Expreſſions affect the plain* Hiſtorical *part of the* Bible? *For inſtance, cannot I know, That* in the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; *That this* Word *or* Logos *took upon him Human Nature in the Womb of a* Virgin, *did many Miracles, was at length Crucified Dead and Buried, and Roſe again the Third Day, and ſometime after aſcended into Heaven; cannot I underſtand theſe* Relations *of* Fact, *becauſe there are ſome other things hard to be underſtood in St.* Paul's Epiſtles, *and harder yet in the* Revelations? *All therefore that can be argu'd from hence againſt the* Fathers *with any ſhew of Reaſon, is, that ſuch dazling Figures may ſometimes render their Opinions leſs diſtinct and certain, but how they can weaken their Teſtimony in* Matters *of* Fact, *is what I want to know. For ſuppoſing them now and then in the Clouds, and ſoaring out of ſight in Metaphor and Alluſion; yet when they deſcend in view again, and tell us plainly, that the* Order *of* Biſhops *was of* Divine Apoſtolick Inſtitution; *and give us a Catalogue of ſucceeding* Biſhops, *from the* Apoſtles *to their own Time, and withal tell us, That ſuch and ſuch were the genuine* Writings *of the* Apoſtles; *why is not their Teſtimony as Intelligible in one Caſe, as in the other? For I take it to be full as eaſie to diſtinguiſh* naked *Truth, or a ſimple Relation of*

Fact

Fact *from Oratory and Flouriſh, as to tell whether a Man be Dreſs'd or Undreſs'd. After all, if this* Objection *be of any Force, why don't the* Objectors *except againſt theſe* Figurative Hyperbolical Fathers *for every Thing, even for the* Canon *of* Scripture? *Why don't they ſuſpect ſome Dangerous* Trope, *ſome* Snake *under every Flower? If they ſay, that they quote them only when they ſpeak diſtinctly, ſimply, and without a Metaphor, let them prove that we do otherwiſe, or elſe I am ſure we are in no wiſe concern'd in this Objection.*

Reaſon 6. That the Fathers oftentimes conceal their own private Opinions, and ſpeak thoſe Things which themſelves believ'd not, *&c.*

To Charge the Holy Martyrs *and* Confeſſors *of Old with the Latitude of a* Jeſuit, *with ſhuffling and lying for the Truth, when in their* Apologies *they enter ſo many Proteſts againſt it, and ſcorn to be excus'd from Torments and Death by any Arts of Inſincerity and Equivocation; this is ſo foul an* Article, *that nothing leſs than Demonſtration can juſtifie a ſuſpicion. But let us ſee how they make good the Charge. Why in the firſt Place we are given to underſtand from ſome paſſages out of St.* Jerome, *for their Length only conſiderable, That in his* Commentaries *upon the* Scriptures, There is a Rhapſody of different Opinions tumbled together in a heap, without ſo much as intimating either which is Good or Bad, or probable, or neceſſary, or to the Purpoſe or not. *Now this is* Falſe *in* Fact, *and the* falſe Accuſer of his Brethren *cou'd not but know it, for he has play'd the ſlippery Part here himſelf, which he charges*

charges upon the Fathers, *leaving out a paſſage which puts quite another Face upon the Matter. For* * *St.* Jerom *tells us, that it was the* way in Commentaries to lay down the Opinions of others as well as their own, but withal, openly to declare which were Heretical, and which Catholick. *But is not this too the way of* Commenting *now a days; and why is it more* Tricking *in the* Ancients, *than the* Moderns?

2dly, *If there is no way of diſtinguiſhing St.* Jerome's *Opinion from what is not, why do his* Accuſers, *upon occaſion, deal ſo much with this* ſlippery Saint? *Why do they depend ſo mightily upon his Opinion, and not ſuſpect they are in the Hands of a* Heretick, *when they are magnifying the* Father?

But 3dly, *Suppoſing ſuch a Rhapſody of Indiſcriminate Opinions in the* Ancient Comments, *What's all this to thoſe who are not* Commentators? *What are Opinions and Notions to* Teſtimonies *concerning* Fact? *Can there be a wilder Inference, than becauſe* Jerome *and others, in their* Expoſitions *upon* Scripture, *have amaſs'd together many Opinions beſides their own; therefore* Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, *and* Minucius Felix, *in theſe* Apologies, *concerning the Faith and Manners of the* Chriſtians *in their Time, have not written their own Minds, but the Opinions of other People?*

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* Mos in Commentariis, & illis, & aliis noſtram & aliorum Sententiam explicare, Aperte confitentes quæ Hæretica, quæ Catholica. *Hieronym. adverſus Ruffin.* lib. 3. cap. 3.

But this is not all; *for the* Fathers *are tax'd with* Inſincerity *and* Reſerve *where one wou'd be apt leaſt of all to ſuſpect it: Theſe* Holy Men, *we are told, were as arrant* Jugglers *even in the* Pulpit, *as in their* Commentaries; *for in Expounding the* Scriptures *to the People where the* Catechumens *were preſent, if they chanc'd to fall upon a paſſage touching the* Sacraments, *they wou'd* make bold to wreſt the Text, *the better to diſguiſe theſe* Myſteries, laying before them that which they accounted not the beſt and trueſt, but what they thought beſt ſerv'd to the purpoſe of Amuſement; juſt as we pleaſe little Children with an Apple, or ſome Toy, to take off the deſire they have to ſomething of greater Value. *The Truth of the Matter, as we have it from St.* Juſtin, *towards the Concluſion of the following Apology, in ſhort, was only this. The* Catechumens *were kept under ſtrict Diſcipline for ſome time, before they were admitted to the Privileges of the* Faithful, *both for their better Inſtruction in the Chriſtian Principles, and for a Tryal of their Sincerity; and were the* Prophane *or* Uninitiated *ever raſhly admitted to the* Pagan *Myſteries without any Preparatory or Purgation? Does not our* Maſter *tell his* Apoſtles, He had many things to ſay unto them, but they cou'd not bear them now? *Do not the* Apoſtles *ſay that* Milk *is for* Babes, *and* ſtrong Meat for them of full Age? *And is not this now a very notable Inſtance of the Diſſimulation and Tricking of the* Fathers, *that they took ſo much care about the Qualifications of the* new Converts, *in Catechizing and Inſtructing them according to their Capacity, in feeding 'em*

with Milk, *and not letting 'em all at once into the moſt Sacred Myſteries, as if nothing of Reverence, Knowledge, and Probation, was requir'd to the* Profeſſion *and Privileges of a* Chriſtian.

But to blacken 'em a little more ſtill under this Head, 'tis farther urged, That the Fathers, in diſputing with the Adverſaries of their Faith, thought it lawful to ſay or conceal, or reject any thing for the Advancement of their Cauſe, tho' otherwiſe true and allowable; *This, I believe, is what* Julian *the* Apoſtate *wou'd have hardly charg'd upon the* Chriſtians; *for never did Men keep up more ſtrictly to the* Apoſtle's *Rule, of* Abſtaining from all appearance of Evil, *than the* Ancients *did*; *but this is* doing *the groſſeſt* Evil, that Good may come of it. *And what is ſtranger yet, this Lye is father'd upon their* pretended Patron *St.* Jerom, *and juſtify'd by his Authority alone, from a mighty long* * *Quotation, which to me proves nothing in the World, but only that the* Art of Diſputing *is like that of* Fencing, where we threaten one Part to hit another; *and moreover, that they often argu'd from the Conceſſions of an Adverſary, which are a good Argument,* ad hominem, *whether the Conceſſions be true or falſe. But all this is ſo palpable a Slander, that I will not give it an Anſwer*; *theſe* Apologies *are a Demonſtration againſt it*; *only one cannot but obſerve, how ſome Men, to ſerve a Cauſe, will ſtick at nothing, but write thro'* Thick *and* Thin, *and Beſpatter* Martyrs *and* Confeſſors *with Lying for the Truth, who dyed in the open*

* Hier. Epiſt. 50 ad Pammach.

Defence

Defence of it, when they cou'd have ſav'd their Lives for a Word ſpeaking, *as you will ſee hereafter.*

Reaſon 7. That the Fathers have not always held one and the ſame Belief, but have ſometimes chang'd ſome of their Opinions, according as their Judgment hath grown riper thro' Study or Age.

Reaſons ſurely are very ſcarce things, where this is preſs'd to ſerve for one; the Reader *need only ſee the Argument naked to ſee its weakneſs, and thus it ſtands in Form: Thoſe Men, who upon maturer Deliberation, have ſometimes chang'd ſome of their Opinions, and conſequently as they improv'd in Years and Study, might change ſome others, are not to be Credited; but the* Fathers *have ſo chang'd,* &c. *therefore the* Fathers *are not to be Credited. According to this way of Arguing, I ſay, then, excepting the* Bible, *there is not a creditable Book in the World; for there never was a* Writer, *but ſome time or other, I believe, chang'd his Opinion in ſome Points.* Angels *then or* Inſpired *Perſons ought only to write Books, becauſe nothing leſs than Infallibility ought to be a Motive for Belief. The* Objector *needed not to have given himſelf the trouble of fouling ſo many Pages with the Errors of the* Ancients, *for we own 'em to be Men, and conſequently as ſubject to Miſtake as Death; but the Point to be prov'd, was, that Learned and Honeſt Men who miſtake in one caſe, are not fit to be Believ'd in another; that becauſe St.* Auſtin *retracted many things, therefore he is to be credited in nothing; that becauſe* Daillé *wrote a* Treatiſe of the Right Uſe of the Fathers,

which in his Riper Judgment he * *ſeems to have Retracted, or however might have done, had he liv'd and ſtudied longer; therefore nothing* Daillè *ſays is to be minded. If this Conſequence be juſt, then we ought never to Read or Write, or Preach or Believe any thing, but the* expreſs Word *of God.*

But 2dly, *'Tis here ambiguouſly ſaid, That the* Fathers *have not always held* one and the ſame Belief; *the* Form of Sound Words, *or* Creed, *I hope they always held; the* Divinity *of* Chriſt, *the Neceſſity of* Church-Communion, *&c. Now if the* Fathers *were Unanimous in theſe and other Opinions; if they liv'd to a full Ripeneſs of Underſtanding, and never Recanted to their dying day, is it not Reaſonable to conclude, that they wou'd not have Recanted had they liv'd longer?*

3dly, *Suppoſing ſome of 'em not at Years of Diſcretion, or Ripeneſs of Judgment, this can only affect their Reaſonings, for I hope a Man may hear and ſee as well at Thirty as Threeſcore; he can tell whether ſuch and ſuch Writings were deliver'd to him for* Sacred Scripture; *whether* Priſbyters Ordain'd, *and held* ſeparate Meetings *in defyance of their* Biſhop; *whether the* Croſs *in* Baptiſm, *the Adoration of the* Sacramental Elements, Image-Worſhip, *and the like, whether theſe, I ſay, were the Practice of the* Church *in his Time or not, any one in his Senſes might tell without any great Perfection of Judgment; or do Men uſe to Retract their Teſtimonies about* Matters *of* Fact, *if they live to ſee and hear longer?*

* *Daillè*, Noveauté des Traditions Romains.

But

But I am perfectly aſham'd of this Reaſon, for it proves only that nothing is too abſurd for ſome Men to queſtion, even the Whiteneſs *of* Snow, *or the* Reality *of* Motion, *when the* Sceptical *Fit is upon 'em. And ſhou'd the* Supreme Power *proceed againſt the* Subject *upon the ſame Surmiſes, as theſe* Objectors *do againſt the* Ancients, *they might hang every Man in the Kingdom for* Murder; *for 'tis a difficult piece of Buſ'neſs to prove a Negative, to demonſtrate a Man not to be a Murderer, and all Men are ſubject to Sin, and 'tis poſſible, had they liv'd longer to conſider on't, they might all have publiſh'd their Repentance under their own hands.*

Reaſon 8. That it is Neceſſary, and withal very hard to diſcover how the Fathers held all their Opinions, whether as Neceſſary, or Probable only, and in what degree of Neceſſity or Probability.

To make this Reaſon look the bigger, there is premis'd a long Account of the Nature of Neceſſary *and* Contingent *Propoſitions, for the Illuſtration of which, we are bid to compare theſe two,* Chriſt is God; *and* Chriſt ſuffer'd Death, being of the Age of thirty four or thirty five Years. *The former of theſe is* Neceſſary, *becauſe* Chriſt *cou'd not but be God; the latter is* Contingent, *becauſe if he had ſo pleas'd, he might have ſuffer'd at the fortieth or fiftieth Year of his Age. Of theſe two Propoſitions 'tis affirm'd,* that the firſt we cannot deny without renouncing Chriſtianity, but the ſecond, tho' true and clearly enough Collected from the Scriptures, we may deny without any great danger, as ſuppoſing it falſe.

But, with the Objector's *good leave, I take this for a very bold Assertion; for admitting that* Christ *is God, and that* he suffer'd at such an Age, *to be Propositions equally clear, and expres's in* Scripture, *I think we are equally oblig'd to believe both alike, not indeed as equally necessary, but as True; because 'tis the* Word of God *which speaks in both Cases; and be the Matter* Great *or* Small, Necessary *or* Contingent, *we cannot gainsay* Divine Revelation, *without great Danger. But to our purpose, by virtue of this Division into* Necessary *and* Contingent, *we are told how perplex'd a business it is to know the Sence of the* Fathers, because 'tis necessary we shou'd know, not only whether they believ'd such things or not, but also how they believ'd or not believ'd them; that is to say, whether they held them as Propositions Necessarily or Probably, either True or False; and besides, in what degree either of Necessity or Probability they placed them. *Now all this to me, tho' it may be very* Logical, *seems very impertinent. For when our* Saviour *said,* Ye believe in God, believe also in me, *and* Do ye now believe? *Does he prescribe the Degrees, or weigh out the just quantity of* Faith *they were to believe him with? Thus again, when he puts the question to the* Blind Man, Dost thou believe on the Son of God? *the Answer is,* Lord I believe. *Here are no* Logical *Questions and Answers,* how and in what manner he believ'd; whether he held this Proposition as necessary or Probable, and in what degree of Necessity or Probability he held it; *the Question was* Simple, Dost thou believe? *and*

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the Simple *Anſwer*, I believe, *was ſufficient. When the* Fathers *therefore tell us, that ſuch were the* Writings *of the* Apoſtles, *the Doctrine, Rites, Cuſtomes, and Polity of the* Church *in their Time, don't we know how to underſtand 'em, becauſe we don't know how they held ſome Opinions, whether as* Neceſſary *or* Probable, *&c? For hold 'em how they will, an* Error *in* Opinion *can never prejudice a* Teſtimony *concerning* Fact. *Beſides, with what Zeal and Labour did the* Ancients *guard againſt* Jews, Heathens, *and* Hereticks? *with what Care and Caution did they inſtruct the* Converts *in all the Requiſites to Salvation? How do they condemn all Innovations in Doctrine and Government, not only occaſionally in their Writings, but in ſet Treatiſes againſt 'em? What a Bulk and Figure do* Provincial *and* General Councils *make in* Eccleſiaſtical *Hiſtory? How full and particular their Explanations of the* Creed? *How frequent their* Anathema's *to the Unbeliever and Diſobedient? How little do they inſiſt upon their own private Opinions, for inſtance, to name but one, does not* Juſtin Martyr *tell* Trypho *concerning the* Millenary *Notion, that* many good Chriſtians, in this point, were of his Mind, and many not, *without any Reflection upon the Diſſenting Party? And now after all this, to object againſt the* Fathers *for not letting us know how they held their* Opinions, *is very Diſingenuous, not to ſay Diſhoneſt; and this Objection, I am afraid, falls heavier upon the* Apoſtles *than their* Succeſſors, *who ſurely are more large and explicite in their* Expoſitions *of the* Chriſtian *Religion, and in the Condemnation of* Hereſies, *than*

the Apoſtles *were, as ſtrange Doctrines encreas'd in every Age. However, thus much is certain, Stated, and Definitive, that the* Univerſal Church *Anathematiz'd thoſe who did not profeſſedly believe all the Articles of the* Chriſtian Faith, *as they did; and thoſe alſo, who held not this* Unity *of* Faith *in the Bond of Peace, nor Conform'd in Matters of a lower Order, or attempted any thing relating to the Church, without leave from their* Biſhop.

Reaſon 9. We ought to know what hath been the Opinion, not of one or more of the Fathers, but of the whole Ancient Church, which is a very hard Matter to be found out.

Now this and the other two following Reaſons *are much the ſame, and therefore one Anſwer may ſerve for all. Firſt then, 'tis ſo far from being* a very hard Matter, *that to a willing Mind 'tis wondrous eaſie* to find out what hath been the Opinion, not of one or more of the Fathers, but of the whole Ancient Church, *in all Points neceſſary to Salvation; and what are not ſo, are not neceſſary to be known. Moreover, 'tis allow'd that* Juſtin Martyr *and others cou'd not be* Ignorant what was the Publick Doctrine of the Church, and that they heartily and conſtantly embrac'd it: *But the miſchief of it is,* That they took the liberty to treat of Matters not determin'd by general Councils, or deliver'd in any of the Creeds, *&c. This, no doubt, was ſcurvily done of the* Fathers, *that they ſhou'd offer to give us their Sence of* Scripture, *of* Apoſtolick *Rites and Cuſtoms, and Confute and Condemn* Hereſies, *or* Treat of any thing *not within the expreſs*

preſs Determination of the whole Ancient Church. *But why might not they take the Liberty which every* Modern Commentator *takes now adays? Does* Daillè *keep within the bounds he preſcribes the* Ancients; *and in his* Abuſe of the Fathers *and other* Writings, *deliver nothing* ſave what the Church has clearly deliver'd its Judgment upon? *Well, but what muſt thoſe do who chanc'd to live before* General Councils *were to be had? Why, e'en nothing that I know of, but Read the* Sacred Text, *and Religiouſly abſtain from all* Commenting, *or delivering any* Opinions, *but what are contain'd in expreſs Words of* Scripture; *and conſequently it was mighty ill done of that* Diſciple *of St.* John, *the* Biſhop *and* Martyr Ignatius *to write his* Epiſtles, *and among other Speculations to deliver it as his* Opinion, That the Laity were to be Obedient to their Biſhop, as Chriſt Jeſus was to the Father; and to the Presbytery as to the Apoſtles; and to Reverence the Deacons, as the Ordinance of God, *before he was ſure of this nice Point from the Reſolution of the* whole Ancient Church, *all which was little enough to make the diſtaſtful Notion Relliſh. However thus much is certain, That the* Interpretations *and* Teſtimonies *of the earlieſt* Fathers *(many of which are now loſt) were the great Helps and Authorities which* Poſterity *in* Councils *proceeded on in Condemning* Hereſies, *Eſtabliſhing* Creeds, *and ſettling the* Canon *of* Scripture.

But 2dly, *To put the difficulty of knowing the Sence of the* Church Univerſal *in the ſaddeſt Colours, we are told that* Particular Churches have had great Differences in Opinions and Cuſtomes,

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and therefore 'tis a very diſputable Point, which of the differing Churches were in the Right; *I grant it, and ſay again, that if the Difference be not about* Fundamentals, *we may be ſecurely Ignorant. Does the* Church *of* England *build any more upon theſe* diſputable Opinions *than her* Adverſaries? *Or does their Difference in ſome Things affect their Credibility in All? What if they did diſagree about the Obſervation of* Eaſter, *a* buſineſs *confeſſedly* of no great Importance, *and wherein, as I have ſhewn, both* Parties *might be in the right, as to the* Apoſtolick *Practice, are we not therefore to believe 'em about* Epiſcopacy, *wherein they are all Unanimous? I grant again, that the* Faſt *of* Lent *was differently obſerv'd in divers* Churches, *and ſay with our own* Article, *That* it is not neceſſary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike; *and that* every particular or national Church hath Authority to Ordain, change and aboliſh Ceremonies or Rites of the Church Ordain'd only by Mens Authority, ſo that all things be done to edifying.

Laſtly, to advance one Step higher, we are told that 'tis not only Difficult, but Impoſſible to know exactly what the Belief of the Ancient Church, either Univerſal or Particular, hath been touching any of thoſe Points now in Controverſy among us.

For to know this, according to his Definition of a Church, *we muſt know, it ſeems, either the Opinion of every* Individual Member *of that* Church, *or of its* Repreſentatives, that is to ſay, the Clergy. *Now to know the* Belief *of the* Church

Church *in the firſt Sence, he with great variety of Harangue has ſhewn to be impoſſible, and therefore ſay I needleſs; juſt as needleſs, as to viſit every* Hoſpital, *and to conſult the Politicks of every* Member *in* Bedlam, *in order to* know exactly *the Strength and* Wiſdom *of the* Nation. *And our* Cenſor, *after he has eas'd himſelf of his Wit for ſome Pages, confeſſes as much,* viz. That it is not neceſſary that we ſhou'd know the Opinions, in Points of Religion, of all particular Perſons, which are almoſt Infinite in Number, and for the moſt part very ill grounded and uncertain; but that it is ſufficient if we know what the Belief hath been of the Paſtors, that is to ſay, of the Church, taken in the latter ſence. *Now, as in the former Caſe, he was forc'd to be a little ſevere upon the* People, *for the good of his Argument, ſo here again to ingratiate, he makes 'em full amends, and according to Method, Whips the* Clergy *upon the Back of the* People; For it cannot be deny'd *(ſays he)* but that both Ignorance and Malice have oftentimes as great a ſhare here, proportionably, as they have among the very People it ſelf; and that there are ſometimes found, even among the plain ordinary ſort of Chriſtians in a Church, thoſe that are more conſiderable both for their Learning and Piety, than the Paſtors themſelves. *And here he runs the ſame Lengths again to prove the* Paſtors *more divided in their Opinions than the* People, *and makes it a* Wonder, if where four Clergy Men, of the more Learned and Politer ſort were met together, two of 'em ſhou'd not, upon ſome Point or other of the Faith, differ in

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Judgment from the main Body of their Church. *But now this great Maſter of Controverſy himſelf ſhou'd have told us, whether the Belief of ſuch Opinions is neceſſary; and if it is, which way we are to take in this diverſity of Diſputes, where neither* Prieſt *nor* People *is to be truſted; but if we may ſafely ſuſpend our Faith amidſt theſe Differences, why all this Pother about 'em to no purpoſe? I wou'd aſk likewiſe this* Perſecutor *of the* Ancients, *whether he thinks there were any a-* among the plain ordinary ſort of Chriſtians *in the Churches of* Antioch *or* Smyrna, more conſiderable, both for their Learning and Piety, *than* Ignatius *or* Polycarp? *Whether thoſe ſet over the* Flock *of* Chriſt *by his* Apoſtles, *who had the gift of* Diſcerning Spirits *for this very purpoſe, were ſufficiently qualify'd for the* Cure *of* Souls; *and whether they did faithfully diſcharge that Office; and if ſo, whether the ſame Faith and Practice will not carry us as ſecurely to Heaven, as our Forefathers; and whether all neceſſary Points were not yet more fully Treated, Stated, and Defin'd by ſucceeding* Writers *and* Councils, *and the Primitive Pens continually drawn againſt every Invaſion of the* Faith? *And what now wou'd our* Modern *Waſpiſh* Critick*s have? Wou'd they have more of the* Fathers, *than to give an account of the Doctrine, Manners, Rites, and Cuſtomes of the* Church *in their Time, and of what they learn'd from credible* Traditions, *and other Authentick Records and Writings then Extant? Why yes truly, they wou'd have more; they wou'd have 'em, it ſeems, have written ſet Tracts againſt the* Pope's Supremacy, Tranſubſtantiation, *&c. that is, of*

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Controverſies, many Hundred Years before they had a Being; *for* touching any of the Queſtions now on Foot, the Fathers are ſilent, *and therefore of no Uſe*; *and yet when theſe Gentlemen are in the vein of Writing againſt the Corruptions of* Rome, *then this very ſilence is judg'd a good negative Argument againſt 'em*; *and 'tis urg'd, and juſtly too, that no* Article *ought now to be impos'd as* Neceſſary, *which was unheard of in the pureſt Times of* Chriſtianity.

After all, this Reaſon can affect Notions only and Opinions, and not Teſtimonies *about* Fact, *which are the main Things we depend upon the* Fathers *for*; *for when* Juſtin Martyr *tells me upon his own Knowledge*, That the Chriſtians in his Time met altogether upon *Sunday*, and had Common Prayer, and Leſſons out of the Scriptures, after which, the Preſident made a Sermon, and adminiſter'd the Euchariſt in both Kinds to the People, and mingled the Wine with Water, *&c. I may take the* Martyr's *Word for this, I hope, without turning over every individual* Writer *of that Age. Or ſuppoſe the* Fathers *which are extant tell me, ſuch were the* Writings *of the* Apoſtles; *is it reaſonable to reject their Teſtimony?* becauſe, *forſooth*, 'tis poſſible that others might have held the contrary, tho' they did not write in defence of it; or becauſe, perhaps, they might have written in defence of it, and their Books have been ſince loſt; for how ſmall is the number of thoſe in the Church who had the Ability, or at leaſt the Will to Write? And how much ſmaller is the number of thoſe whoſe Writings have been able to ſecure themſelves

ſelves either againſt the Injury of Time, or the Malice of Men? *And where ſhall we ever fix, if ſuch Imaginations may paſs for Arguments?*

Theſe are all the Reaſons *under the firſt General; and a Man muſt be in mighty want of* Reaſons, *to call in the Lame and the Blind at this rate to his Aſſiſtance; for a greater Waſt of good Words, with leſs Argument, is hardly to be met with than in this concluding Chapter.*

The ſecond general Objection *is*, That the Fathers are not of ſufficient Authority for the deciding of our Controverſies in Religion. *And the firſt* particular Reaſon *for this, is*, That the Teſtimonies given by the Fathers touching the Belief of the Church, are not always True and Certain.

Now not to diſturb the Critick *in his Dream, in his imaginary Triumphs upon the laſt Engagement, let us take a view of his* New-rais'd *Forces; and the Ground his firſt* Reaſon *is bottom'd upon, is this; That* Matter *of* Fact *being of a more Compounded, and conſequently more Perplex'd Nature than* Matter *of* Right, *the* Fathers poſſibly may have erred, in giving us an account hereof; and that therefore their Teſtimonies in ſuch caſes ought not to be receiv'd by us as infallibly true; neither yet may we be thought hereby to accuſe the Fathers of Falſhood; for how often do the honeſteſt Perſons that are, innocently Teſtifie ſuch Things as they thought they had ſeen, which it afterwards appeareth that they ſaw not at all; for Goodneſs renders not Men Infallible. *Now for my part, I have been always ſo ſilly, as to think a* Matter *of* Sence, *of* Sight *eſpe-*

cially, no ſuch Perplexed Matter; *and to* ſee *a* King de Facto *full as eaſie, as to* know *a* King de Jure. *If* Goodneſs *then* will not render Men infallible, *I hope it may render 'em* credible Witneſſes of Fact, *or elſe why do we receive the* Canon *of* Scripture *upon Teſtimony? or where ſhall we find a* Credible Witneſs *upon Earth, if to be ſo, he muſt needs be* Infallible? *The Point then here to have been labour'd, had been to have prov'd the* Fathers *all out of their* Senſes, *or rather not to have been* Men, *but* * Drills, Weweena's, Cuchepy's, *or* Couſheda's; *and then their buſineſs had been done effectually all at once, and their* Teſtimony *quite deſtroy'd, as being not* Human. *And this, by the help of the* Modern Philoſophy, *had been no hard matter; for it had been only ſuppoſing the* Eyes *and the* Ears *of theſe* Fathers *to have been a little out of the Shape, and the Faſhion of* Modern Eyes *and* Ears, *and then to be ſure they had been all* Drills; *and this had been but a very reaſonable Suppoſition, ſince none of them, it ſeems, cou'd ſee and hear well enough to be believ'd. The Inſtances produced to invalidate the* Teſtimony *of the* Ancients, *are ſome* Philoſophical *diſputes about the* Creation *or* Traduction *of* Humane *Souls, the* Corporeity *of* Angels, *and ſuch like Speculations, to which it will be time enough to return an Anſwer, when either of 'em are prov'd to have been the ſtated Doctrines of the* Church.

Reaſon 2. The Fathers themſelves Teſtifie againſt themſelves, that they are not to be be-

* Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s Anſwer to Mr. *Lock*'s Letter. *p.* 129.

liev'd

liev'd abſolutely, and upon their own bare Word in what they deliver in matters of Religion.

Well, and were not the Fathers *very honeſt* Folks *for thus* Teſtifying againſt themſelves? *In this I hope their* Teſtimony *may be taken, and that they may paſs for* Credible, *tho' they confeſs themſelves* Fallible. *But notwithſtanding this* Fallibility, *do they any where declare* that they are not to be believ'd upon their own bare Word, in what they deliver *about* Matter *of* Fact? *As for making their Notions* Canonical, *and as* Abſolutely *Concluſive as* Sacred Scripture; *let thoſe who do it, anſwer for it. But for us, we look upon the* Divinely-inſpired Writings *only, as binding in themſelves; and upon the* Fathers, *as much better qualify'd for the Interpretation of the* Scriptures, *than the* Moderns; *who, tho' in truth ſuch* Pigmies, *are yet ſo Tall in Imagination, as to fancy they can take a nicer view of the* Sacred Text *meerly upon their own Legs, than upon the Shoulders of the* Ancients. *In all this* Chapter, *therefore, the* Author *is Fighting only with Giants of his own making, where he is Amaſſing together numerous Quotations, Heaps upon Heaps, only to prove that the Opinions of the* Fathers *are no farther binding, than as they are Conſonant either to* Scripture *or* Reaſon; *and conſequently,* that they ought to be examin'd by the one and the other, as proceeding from Perſons that are not Infallible, but poſſibly may have erred. *For which Reaſon he expreſſes his Diſpleaſure againſt* the Courſe which is at this Day obſerv'd in the World for the Diſcovery of Divine Truth; for we are now in Doubt, ſuppoſe, what the Sence

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and Meaning of ſuch a piece of Scripture is; here (*ſays he*) ſhall you preſently have the Judgment of a Father brought upon the ſaid Place, quite contrary to the Rule St. *Auſtin* giveth us, who wou'd have us examin the Fathers by the Scriptures, and not the Scriptures by the Fathers. *Now this Method of coming at the Sence of* Scripture, *which he is ſo much diſguſted at, ſeems to me the Beſt of Methods; what St.* Auſtin *himſelf took, and what he adviſes: For this* Father *was not ſo much a* Child, *as to adviſe Men to* Search the Scriptures *for the Sence of the* Fathers, *but to ſearch them in order to ſee whether the Doctrine of the* Fathers *was not agreeable to that of the* Apoſtles. *And therefore all this Outcry againſt appealing from God to Man, from* Scripture *to the* Ancients, *is meer* Paralogiſm; *for the appeal is only to the beſt Human* Judges, *about the meaning of the Word of God.*

Reaſon 3. It appeareth plainly by their Manner of Writing, that the Fathers never intended that their Writings ſhou'd be our Judges in Matters of Religion.

This is chiefly grounded upon St. Jerome's *ſaying,* That he had allotted himſelf but three days for the Tranſlating of the three Books of *Solomon*, viz. *Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes*, and the *Canticles*; and that he never did any thing almoſt but in haſt, and at full ſpeed; and whoever heard a Judge excuſe himſelf by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of Time, *&c. From St.* Jerom's *writing ſo frequently in haſt, all I can conclude, is, that he wrote with leſs Accuracy and Imbelliſhment, than otherwiſe he wou'd have done; but the Queſtion is not about Delicacy of*

Expreſſion, but Truth; and if St. Jerom *was an honeſt Man, (as I hope his greateſt* Admirers *will not deny) he wou'd certainly take care, tho' in haſt, to write truly, if not finely, or elſe not to write at all.* 2dly, *Suppoſing St.* Jerome *did write in haſt, what is this to thoſe* Saints *who never offer to excuſe themſelves upon the ſame Topick? But they do not deliver themſelves with the* Air *and* Authority *of a* Judge, *and therefore perhaps their Writings are not to be look'd on as* Definitive. *But are not* Embaſſadors *to produce their* Credentials, *and* Judges *their* Commiſſion, *before they act in the Quality of either? Chriſt and his* Apoſtles *firſt juſtify their Miſſion by Miracles, and then Teach as* having Authority; *and tho' they did not argue with* Swords *and* Staves, *and* burn *Men to make 'em* Believers, *yet when they had profeſs'd the Faith, the Profeſſors were puniſh'd for Diſobedience, and* Ananias *and* Saphira *had not ſuffer'd, had they made no Pretenſions to Chriſtianity.*

Thus, in theſe Apologies, *we find a Summary of the Chriſtian Faith, and a Challenge to juſtifie it by Miracle*; That if they did not caſt out Evil Spirits in the Name of their Maſter, and make thoſe very Spirits proclaim themſelves Devils in the preſence of the whole Senate who worſhip'd 'em for Gods, they were willing to be proceeded againſt as Cheats with the utmoſt Severity. *And was not this Miracle the ſame Proof of* Divine Authority *in them, as in the* Apoſtles? *They laugh indeed at Compulſion upon the Underſtanding, but yet are for Correcting an unruly Will, and for Reducing* Offenders *to a better Mind and Sence of their Offences, by a ſevere courſe of Diſcipline and Penance*;

Penance; *and therefore, tho' they argue only with the* Heathen *from Reaſon, Scripture, and Miracle, yet when* Converted, *they Exhort and Rebuke, Catechiſe, Admit, and Eject 'em with the Authority of* Spiritual Judges; *and nothing was done in the* Primitive Church *without the* Biſhop's *Order. Did not the firſt* General Councils *deliver themſelves with the* Air *and* Authority *of* Judges? *Or did they draw up their* Creeds *and* Canons *in haſt, and exhibit 'em only as* probable Propoſitions, *and no farther binding than as they ſeem'd Reaſonable to the* People? *or did they not affix their* Anathema's, *and urge the Belief of 'em under pain of Damnation? And therefore to ſay, that the* Fathers *did not write as* Judges, *becauſe they did not write themſelves* Infallible; *and to Rake up every ſeeming Error to ſhew their Infirmity, is in effect to ſay nothing, but only, that to be* Judges, *Men muſt be* Infallible. *If this* Author *means (as he ſeems to do) That the Writings of the* Fathers *are not of equal Authority with thoſe of the* Apoſtles, *he argues againſt no Body*; *for had our* Reformers *been of this Opinion, we had had 'em all Tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and read in our* Churches *upon the ſame Foot with the* Bible; *for every* Divinely-inſpired Writing *is of the ſame Authority.*

The Fourth and Fifth Reaſons *are*, That many of the Fathers have erred in divers Points of Religion: And moreover, ſtrongly Contradicted one another, and maintain'd different Opinions, in matters of very great Importance.

Theſe two Reaſons *might have been put together, but for the more Diverſion with theſe* Holy Men, *they are divided, and fill up two long Chap-*

ters. However, he puts on the Face of a Mourner, and with an Air of Pity and Compaſſion calls the World to Witneſs, how much it goes to his Heart to rip up the Errors of theſe Learned and Pious Souls, but that Truth and Juſtice ought to prevail above all other Conſiderations; and then aſking their Pardon, the Critick *proceeds to* Execution, *and gives 'em his* Blow *of* Grace. *But in truth, the poor Man had been undone, but for ſome miſtakes of the* Fathers, *for finding fault is his Meat and Drink; and how much he loves to feed upon Corruptions of the beſt Kind, we may ſee by the following Meſs. For here we have a Diſh of all their ſeveral Errors in* Grammar, Hiſtory, Philoſophy, Chronology, Geography, Aſtronomy, and what not? *ſome of which, perhaps may be Errors, ſome are in diſpute at this day, but moſt of 'em clear'd up and vindicated by* Criticks *of another ſort. But alas! may not a Man be* Orthodox, *without being an* Aſtronomer, *or a* good Chriſtian, *without being a* good Muſician? *Or is there any Conſequence in this: The* Fathers *have erred in* Grammar, *therefore they have erred in* Faith. *Had this Gentleman, in one of his* Critical Fits, *thought good to let fly againſt the* Divinely-inſpired Writings, *he cou'd have made as Merry with* Moſes, *as he has done with the* Fathers, *for calling the* Moon *one of the* * Great Lights; *and for telling us of* Waters above the Firmament, *and of the* Windows of Heaven; *he cou'd have expos'd* Joſhua's *Ignorance for bidding the* Sun ſtand ſtill, *and* David's *too,*

* Gen. i. 16.

for

for ſaying that the Sun rejoiceth as a Gyant to run his Courſe; *whereas, according to the* Copernican *Syſtem, the* Sun *is demonſtrably the* Centre *of the World. He wou'd have pitied the Weakneſs of the* Holy Men *of old, for talking of the* Ends, Sides, *and* Corners *of the* Earth, *whereas all the* Modern Sons *of Science know it to be* Spherical. *He cou'd have been very Witty likewiſe upon the Miſtake in the* * Kings *and* Chronicles, *about the Meaſure of* Solomon's *Brazen Sea, whoſe* Diameter *is ſaid to be Ten Cubits, and its Circumference thirty; whereas every* Modern Geometrician *knows, that the more exact Proportion between the* Diameter *and the* Circumference, *is not as Ten to Thirty, but rather as Seven to Twenty two. And ſo again, for* Chronology *and* Arithmetick, *he cou'd have flouriſh'd upon the Errors of the* Sacred Writers *in theſe Reſpects, and told us how in* † *ſome places the Poſterity of* Abraham *is ſaid to have ſojourn'd in the Land of* Ægypt *four hundred Years; whereas* ** *other* Scriptures *tell us that they ſtay'd thirty Years longer; and thus in* || *one Paſſage, the number of* Jacob's *Houſe, who came into* Ægypt, *is computed to be Seventy, whereas* *† *elſewhere they are ſaid to be Seventy Five. But here the Anſwer is ſhort and ſufficient, that the* Scripture *was not deſign'd to make us Philoſophers, but only* Wiſe unto Salvation, *and therefore ſpeaks not exactly according to the Philoſophick, but popular Account of Things; and ſo here in numbring of* Jacob's *Houſe, conforms to the common*

* 1 King. vii. 23. 2 Chron. iv. 2. † Gen. xv. 13. Acts vii. 6.
** Exod. xii. 41. Gal. iii. 17. || Gen. xlvi. 27. *† Acts vii. 14.

way of uſing a round number for the whole. Since then the Holy Ghoſt *was not pleas'd totally to exempt the* Sacred Penmen *from all kinds of Inſignificant Error, this buſie Perſon methinks might have ſpar'd the* Ancients *for the like, and cover'd them with the excuſe of* * Acoſta, Facilè condonandum eſt Patribus, ſi cum cognoſcendo colendoq; Creatori toti vacarent, de Creaturâ minus aptè aliquâ ex parte opinati ſunt. The Fathers are very pardonable for not having ſuch exact and adequate Notions about the Creature, conſidering they gave up themſelves entirely to the Knowledge and Worſhip of the Creator. *But this is not all, for we are told,* that the Fathers have ſtrongly contradicted one another, and maintain'd different Opinions in Matters of very great Importance. *Now theſe* Matters of very great Importance *have been often ſerv'd up before, but to give us an utter Surfeit of the* Fathers, *they are brought to Table again; and they are ſuch as theſe; The various Opinions about the* Millenium, *the Obſervation of* Eaſter-day, *the* Infuſion *or* Generation *of the* Soul, *the* Reality of Samuel's Ghoſt, *the* Faſt on Saturdays, *the* Age of Chriſt, *the* Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, *&c. All which are Queſtions* Problematical, *ſuch as were and are differently maintain'd to this Day, and with Innocence; of which a Chriſtian may be ſafely Ignorant without any danger to his* Faith. *As to the* Proceſſion *of the* Holy Ghoſt, *which at firſt ſight ſeems the moſt ſhocking difference, 'tis in truth to as little purpoſe as any of the reſt; for whoever believes a*

* De nat. novi Orbis. *lib.* 1. *c.* 2.

Trinity

Trinity *of* Divine Perſons *in the* Unity *of the* God-head, *or* one Eſſence, *believes ſufficient, without more explicit Notions of the Modes of the Eternal* Generation *and* Proceſſion, *which are Myſteries beyond the Depth of any Created Intellect: And I muſt needs ſay, that it had been much better, if ſome great Men had only prov'd the* Matter *of* Fact, *viz. That ſuch an Article is expreſs in* Scripture, *and atteſted by all the firſt* Catholick *Writers, and ſo left it as a Doctrine Incomprehenſible. And now after all theſe good endeavours to render the* Fathers *contemptible, I anſwer firſt, that ſuppoſing 'em to* contradict one another ſtrongly *in ſome Points, we lay not any ſtreſs upon theſe* Contradictory *Opinions. Secondly, This very* Contradiction *in Matters of little or no Moment, is a very good Reaſon to believe 'em where they are all Unanimous, it being from hence evident, that they wrote not by compact, but purely for the ſake of Truth. Thirdly, They are all of a Mind in the great Fundamental Articles of the* Chriſtian Faith, *tho' they ſhou'd differ in the manner of Explication, and uſe ſome Expreſſions with leſs Guard and Caution, before* Hereſies *gave occaſion to ſpeak and Define more ſtrictly. And laſtly,* Errors *in* Opinion *ought never to unqualifie honeſt Men for* Witneſſes *of* Fact.

The ſixth and laſt Reaſon *is,* That neither thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, nor the Proteſtants, do acknowledge the Fathers for their Judges in Points of Religion, but do both of them reject ſuch of their Opinions and Practices as are not for their Guſt.

As for thoſe of the Church *of* Rome, *'tis a*

ſhrewd ſign, we ſay, that they are conſcious of the Weakneſs of their Cauſe, that they will not ſtand the Teſt *of* Antiquity: *But for our own* Reformers, *ſure I am, that they declin'd not the Tryal, but appeal'd to the Judgment of the* Fathers, *not only (as this* Author *wou'd have it) for the Confutation of* Romiſh *Novelties, but alſo for the Eſtabliſhment of their own Doctrines. And tho' they did not look upon 'em as* Infallible, *yet they look'd upon 'em as the beſt Appointed* Judges *ſince the* Apoſtles, *which is all we contend for. For 'tis not the part of a* Judge, *(as the* Objector *ſeems all along to ſuppoſe) to make Laws, but to Interpret thoſe already made. And therefore, tho' I grant him,* that the Scripture contains all things neceſſary both for the Service of God, and the Salvation of Mens Souls, *yet I deny his Conſequence,* That therefore nothing elſe is neceſſary; *for he himſelf muſt allow, ſtrength of Reaſon and Application, a great ſkill in* Greek, *in the Cuſtomes and Controverſies of the* Apoſtolick *Age, with an unbyaſs'd Will, to be neceſſary Qualifications for underſtanding the Goſpel, or elſe that all Men are* Judges *alike; and therefore ſay I, no Men ſo well Accompliſh'd for Interpreters of* Scripture, *as thoſe who ſat at the* Feet *of the* Apoſtles, *or their immediate Succeſſors, and ſpoke the Language, and liv'd among the Cuſtomes, and minded nothing elſe but to* know Chriſt and him Crucify'd, *ſuppoſing them without the extraordinary Aſſiſtances of the Spirit in thoſe extraordinary Times of Suffering. I grant likewiſe this* Gentleman *his fine* Similies, that Brooks of Water, the farther diſtant they are from their Springs, the more Filth they contract; and that a Man

a Man in Years loſes a great deal of his Infant ſimplicity; *and for this very Reaſon conclude, that the* Chriſtian *Religion runs purer, and ſhines with more Native Beauty and* Apoſtolical *Plainneſs in the* Writers *of the firſt four Centuries, than in thoſe of the ſucceeding and more corrupted Ages.*

And moreover, ſuppoſing a Falling away, *even in the Sence of this* Author, *yet the* Apoſtles *who forewarn'd this* Apoſtacy, *forearm'd no doubt againſt it; and the beſt proviſion againſt it, was to ſet up not only Pious and Orthodox, but Prudent and Active Biſhops over the ſeveral Churches they founded; Men not taken up with the little things of this World, and with their* Faces *towards* Jeruſalem, *and yet for the Worſhip upon Mount* Gerizim, *but ſuch as wou'd* contend earneſtly for the Faith, *Polity, and Diſcipline,* which was once deliver'd unto the Saints, *and in all things* Moderate, *but in the grand Concerns of God and Religion: Now about the Choice of ſuch Biſhops, the Apoſtles who cou'd* diſcern Spirits *cou'd not be ignorant; and ſuch conſequently was St.* Ignatius, *when he was ſet over* Antioch *by St.* John; *and continuing Faithful to the day of his Martyrdom, what Reaſon can there be to queſtion the Purity of his Doctrine,* tho' the Myſtery of Iniquity was then a working? *And if I cannot queſtion him as a* Doctor, *much leſs ſurely can I queſtion him as a* Witneſs *of* Fact; *for a Man of Integrity, I hope, may be a competent* Witneſs *in any Age. So that he who urges the* Falling away *of* ſome, *againſt the Belief of* others, *may with the like Reaſon urge the Apoſtacy of* Judas *againſt the Credibility of St.* Paul.

I will not go about to perſue this Writer *thro' all his*

his Wood of Quotations, to ſhew only how both Proteſtants *and* Papiſts *have taken the liberty of departing from the* Ancients, *in* Opinion, Ceremony, *and* Diſcipline; *for granting all he contends for, I ſay* Firſt, *That in all neceſſary Points of* Doctrine *and* Church-Government, *we hold with the* Primitive *Chriſtians.* Secondly, *In ſome* Ceremonies *we differ, and this too by the Authority and Example of the* Ancients; *tho' I cannot but think that the more we all Conform to the Pattern of the* Catholick Church *in the eldeſt and pureſt Times, even in the* Externals *of Worſhip, ſo much the better, ſo much the more Cordial our Love and Union, the more Beauty, Order, and Harmony, the more like Children of the ſame Family, and Servants of the ſame Maſter.* Thirdly, *as to* Diſcipline; *and in this indeed, I cannot ſay, we ſo much differ from the* Ancients, *as that we have none at all: For of old, all notorious* Offenders *of what Quality ſoever, were immediately cenſur'd and ſeparated from the* Faithful, *and by them ſo ſtrictly avoided, not only in this or that particular Church, but all Chriſtendom over, that Shame and Solitude brought 'em to a Sence of their Evil ways, and forc'd 'em to ſubmit to a long and* ſevere *courſe of* Penance; *and happy did they think themſelves at laſt, if with Prayers and Tears they might be admitted to the Peace of God and the Church again; ſuch was the Primitive way of reducing Sinners to Conſideration and Amendment, many of whom had liv'd on without Reflection till the day of their death, might they have paſs'd uncenſur'd as in theſe Times of Relaxation; and had the* Church *never call'd in the Aſſiſtance of the* State, *but kept the* Powers *diſtinct, and*

acted

acted ſolely within her Spiritual *Juriſdiction, and gravely, maturely, and conſtantly, proceeded againſt ſcandalous Offenders; I can ſee no Reaſon why her Cenſures ſhou'd not be as much dreaded now, as in her firſt ſtate of* Independence *and* Perſecution; *and the* Power *of the* Keys, *I believe, had been more Venerable without the* Axe *of the* Magiſtrate; *But by mixing Powers, the* Spiritual one, *by degrees is well nigh quite ſwallow'd up, and 'tis the grand Queſtion now adays, whether the* Church *has any inherent Power of her own, but only as ſhe is Authoriz'd from the* State, *that is, whether* Biſhops *ceas'd not to be* Biſhops *after* Conſtantine's *Converſion, or the* Sacerdotal *Power devolved not upon the* Civil Magiſtrate *upon his turning* Chriſtian? *If then the Number or Quality of Offenders is by long Remiſſneſs grown too great for* Cenſure, *if for fear of bearing too hard upon* Diſſenters, *the Church cannot proceed againſt the groſſeſt Sinners, or obey the* Canon *in refuſing the Sacrament to a* Schiſmatick *without incurring the* Penalty *of the* Law, *'tis not that we diſlike the* Diſcipline *of the* Ancients, *but that our Circumſtances will not admit of it, and we hope our Calamity will not be our Crime*; until then the ſaid Primitive Diſcipline be reſtor'd again, (*which we ſay* is much to be wiſhed) *we muſt be ſure to wait God's good time with the* Primitive *Patience, and declare God's wrath againſt Sinners, where we cannot like the* Ancients *enforce it. For according to* * Bernard, We ought not to omit what we can do, becauſe we cannot do as we ought.

* Debeone omittere quod poſſum, quoniam quod debeo minime poſſum? *Bern. Ep.* 175.

And

And now I have done with the Seventeen Reaſons *of the Celebrated Mr.* Daillè *againſt the Uſe and Authority of the* Fathers, *and do hope that this ſhort Anſwer may ſerve for an* Antidote *againſt the Poiſon of that long and ſpiteful Book; and by this time, I dare ſay, that the* Reader, *as well as my ſelf, has taken a ſurfeit of* Reaſons. *But neither one nor the other had been troubled with ſo many Particulars, had not I found moſt of the Arguments* * *Reviv'd of late, and Reinforc'd with freſh Supplies, not only to Invalidate their Reaſonings and Teſtimonies in the point of* Epiſcopacy, *but in many other unhappy Differences between us and our* Diſſenting *Brethren: And becauſe I wou'd do Juſtice to the Memory of thoſe* Saints *and* Martyrs, *who deſerv'd much better Treatment from the* Chriſtian *World; and moreover, becauſe I wou'd make way for Cultivating the Study of the* Ancients, *and for more* Tranſlations *of this kind. For were the Writings of the* Fathers, *ſuch as they are here Repreſented, the* Reader, *but eſpecially the* Tranſlator, *ought both to be ſent to the* Workhouſe *for better Employment. But whoever loves the Sport, will ſoon find Wit and Dirt enough to Beſpatter, and ſomething to Pin upon the wiſeſt and beſt Man living, to ſet Children and Fools a Laughing. Let him but, in Imitation of Mr.* Daillè, *deſcribe* Noah *only by his Drunkenneſs, or* David *by his Adultery, or* Peter *by his Denyal; let him but draw a ſhade over the Wiſdom, Goodneſs, or Beauty of the Perfecteſt in their Kind, and lay on his Colours purely upon their Follies, Vices, and Blemiſhes, and we ſhall not find*

* Def. of Moder. Nonconf. p. 1. p. 144, &c.

one

one Wiſe, Good, or Beautiful Perſon in the World. 'Tis a much eaſier matter to Cut than Cure, to be Witty than Wiſe, and a very ordinary Hand will ſerve to Deface, what a Pearſon *or a* Grabe *only can Reſtore and Beautify. And now after all his Pains, and Ambitious Ornaments, to dreſs up the* Fathers *once more in the* Skins *of* Wild Beaſts, *and to* Martyr *'em over again, I think I cannot do better than to ſhut up their Character in the Words of their* Enemy.

" *Firſt of all, therefore, (ſays he) you ſhall find* " *in the* Fathers, *very many earneſt and zealous* " *Exhortations to Holineſs of Life, and to the Ob-* " *ſervation of the Diſcipline of* Jeſus Chriſt. *Se-* " *condly, You ſhall there meet with very ſtrong and* " *ſolid Proofs of thoſe* Fundamental Principles *of* " *our Religion, touching which we are all agreed:* " *And alſo many excellent things laid open, tend-* " *ing to the right underſtanding of theſe* Myſteries; " *and alſo of the* Scriptures *wherein they are con-* " *tained. In this very particular their Authority* " *may be of good uſe unto you, and may ſerve as a* " *probable Argument of the Truth. For is it not a* " *wonderful thing to ſee, that ſo many great Wits,* " *born in ſo many ſeveral Ages, during the ſpace* " *of fifteen hundred Years, and in ſo many ſeveral* " *Countries, being alſo of ſo different Tempers,* " *and who in other things were of ſo contrary Opi-* " *nions, ſhou'd notwithſtanding be found all of them* " *to agree ſo conſtantly and unanimouſly in the* Fun- " damentals *of* Chriſtianity? *that amidſt ſo great* " *Diverſity in Worſhip, they all adore one and the* " *ſame* Chriſt; *preach one and the ſame* Sanctifi- " cation; *hope all of them for one and the ſame*

Immor-

" Immortality; *acknowledge all of them the ſame*
" Goſpels; *find therein all of them great and high*
" Myſteries; *and I take the liberty to add, live*
under one and the ſame Form of Church-Govern-
ment) " *For, I beſeech you, what probability is*
" *there, that ſo many Holy Men, who were endued*
" *(as it appeareth by their Writings) with ſuch*
" *admirable Parts, with ſo much ſtrength and clear-*
" *neſs of Underſtanding, ſhou'd all of them be ſo*
" *groſly overſeen, as to ſet ſo high a Price and*
" *Eſteem upon this* Diſcipline, *as to ſuffer even to*
" *Death for it; unleſs it had in it ſome certain*
" *heavenly Virtue, for to make an Impreſſion in the*
" *Souls of Men? What likelihood, that ſeven or*
" *eight Dogs, and as many Atheiſtical Hogs, that*
" *Bark and Grunt ſo ſottiſhly, and confuſedly againſt*
" *this Sacred and Venerable Religion, ſhou'd have*
" *better luck in lighting upon the Truth, than ſo*
" *many excellent Men, who have all ſo unanimouſly*
" *born Teſtimony to the Truth? What wonder is it*
" *if a Whoremaſter, or a Bawd, or an ambitious*
" *Perſon cry down that* Diſcipline, *that condemneth*
" *theſe Vices to everlaſting Fire? To take any notice*
" *of what ſuch wretched things as theſe ſay, is all*
" *one, as if you ſhou'd judge, by taking the Opinion*
" *of Common Strumpets, of the Equity or Injuſtice*
" *of the Laws that enjoin People to live honeſt.*
" *But ſeeing theſe Holy Men were born and brought*
" *up in the very ſame Infirmities with the others;*
" *we cannot doubt but that they alſo naturally had*
" *ſtrong Inclinations to thoſe Vices, which our Sa-*
" *viour Chriſt forbiddeth, and very little Affection*
" *to thoſe Virtues he commandeth. Foraſmuth*
" *therefore, as notwithſtanding all this, they have*

" *yet*

" *yet all of them conſtantly maintain'd that his Do-*
" *ctrine is true*; *their Teſtimony certainly in this*
" *caſe neither can, nor ought in any wiſe to be ſu-*
" *ſpected. So that altho' they had not any of thoſe*
" *great and incomparable Advantages of Parts and*
" *Learning, above the Enemies of Chriſtianity*;
" *their bare Word however is much rather to be*
" *taken than the others*; *ſeeing that theſe Men are*
" *manifeſtly carried away by the Force of their vile*
" *Affections, of which the other cannot poſſibly be*
" *ſuſpected guilty.*

But beſides this, he allows another very conſi-derable Uſe *of the* Fathers, *namely, that upon the Broaching of any New Doctrines as Neceſſary to be Believ'd, the* Ancients *may be Properly and Seaſonably Appeal'd to, againſt the Impudence of Such* Innovatours; *and if it can be prov'd, that the* Fathers *were utterly Ignorant of any Such* Fancies, *as theſe Men propoſe to the World,* We ought then certainly to conclude, that no ſuch Doctrine was ever preach'd to Mankind; either by our Saviour Chriſt, or by his Apoſtles. For what probability is there, that theſe Holy Doctors of former Ages, from whoſe Hands Chriſtianity has been deriv'd down unto us, ſhou'd be ignorant of any of thoſe things which had been Revealed and Recommended by our Saviour, as important and neceſſary to Salvation? *So that after all this* clutter *of* Objections, *we have at length the* Objector *granting, that the* Fathers *were Warm and Excellent* Preachers *and* Livers *of the* Pure Chriſtian *Religion*; *and Indubitable* Proofs *of the Truth of it, and incomparably qualify'd* for the Underſtanding of its Myſteries, *and* alſo of the Scri-

ptures wherein they are contain'd; *and withal, an undeniable Answer to all* Novelties, *as* neceſſary Articles; *and if ſo, then I have all I have been contending for, and from the Mouth of Mr.* Daillè; *and certainly,* (*ſays* Tertullian) we may believe the Evil Spirits upon their Word, when they confeſs againſt themſelves.

I come now in the laſt Place *to ſhew* ſome of the unhappy Conſequences of too lightly departing from the Fathers.

Tho' all the neceſſary Foundations of Faith *and* Manners *are plainly laid down in the* Goſpel, *tho' the* Apoſtles *no doubt inſtructed their* Succeſſors *in many particulars about the* Government *and* Diſcipline *of the* Church, *which we find not in the* Goſpel; *yet certain it is, that they rais'd not the Structure to that* Heighth *and* Beauty, *and ſet every thing in that Perfection of Order they wou'd have done, had the* Civil Power *been on their ſide; for we find* Diſorders *and* Hereſies *putting forth even in the* Apoſtolick *Age. However, notwithſtanding theſe Spots and Imperfections, the Church was purer and perfecter by much in her* Infancy, *than in her* declining *Age. This, I ſay, is evident in Fact, from the Teſtimony of all ſorts of Writers at that Time; and that it muſt have been ſo, is as evident for theſe* two *Reaſons:* Firſt, *That the* Church *was then in a* State *of* Perſecution; *and 'tis not the way of Fleſh and Blood, for ſuch* Veterans *in* Wickedneſs *as have always been in the Service of the World and the Luſts thereof, to come over to a Perſecuted Religion, and to quit their preſent Poſſeſſions for a Happineſs in Reverſion they cou'd not Reliſh.* Secondly, *The* Diſcipline

of the Church *was then ſevere and ſearching; and if her Purity and Affliction cou'd not defend her from* occaſional *Friends, her Rod ſoon found 'em out, and drove 'em from her Communion. But after the* Emperours *came to ſubmit to the* Croſs, *and the Beauty of* Preferment *ſhone full in the Eyes of the* Preachers; *when Peace, and Plenty, and Court-Favours invited warmly on one hand, and the* Sword *of* Diſcipline *was ſheathing up on the other, then Abuſes came pouring in amain, and propagated in abundance, till at length the Church was over-flow'd with that Deluge of Corruption we found it under at the time of* Reformation. *If then from Teſtimony, and for theſe two Reaſons, beſides thoſe already mention'd, the* Primitive *Church muſt have been Comparatively the Pureſt and Perfecteſt in all Reſpects, then the departing too lightly from ſuch a Church, muſt needs be attended with very ill Conſequences; for when we lay aſide our* Rule, *there's no End of Error; the* Effects *of which, I ſhall touch upon in theſe following Particulars,* Doctrine, Holineſs, Unity, *and* Diſcipline.

And Firſt *as to* Doctrine. *The many different* Confeſſions *of* Faith *now abroad in the World, are a manifeſt Proof that all are not in the Right, unleſs they can differ and be in the right both together. And as* Hereſies *encreas'd, ſo* Creeds *were enlarg'd by a fuller and more expreſs Proviſion againſt 'em; and for this reaſon we may conclude, that fewer Hereſies aroſe in the Weſtern than the Eaſtern Churches, becauſe the* Roman *Symbol continu'd longeſt in its Original Simplicity. But now That Church which boaſts of Infallibility, is fulleſt of Error;* How is the faithful City become an Harlot?

And how like one too does ſhe varniſh over her Adulteries *with the Colour of* Antiquity, *and after all,* wipe her Mouth, and ſay, I have done no Wickedneſs? *And how came this Work of Darkneſs to its preſent Bulk and Enormity, but by Cloſeting and Corrupting the* Fathers, *by Expurgations, Interpolations, Traditions, and what not? Might but the* Scriptures *have continued the Rule of Faith, and the* Ancients *the Judges of the Sence of that Rule, we had never had as many Mediators in Chriſtian, as Heathen* Rome, *nor Purgatory, nor private Maſſes, nor Angel-Saint-Image, or Relique-Worſhip, and many other profitable Abſurdities Canoniz'd for Articles, tho' unheard of in the Pureſt Ages of the Church; but this is too large a Field.*

And as the Papiſts *have* killed the Prophets, and garniſh'd their Sepulchres, *murder'd the* Ancients *with all the ſhew of Reverence for* Antiquity; *ſo on the contrary, others have ſet up their* Idol Reaſon *in open Defiance of their Authority. For* * Socinus *talking of his huge Skill in Divinity, values himſelf extremely for* having no other Maſter but his Uncle *Lælius,* or rather ſome very few of his Writings, with plenty of his Remarks, for his whole ſtock of Inſtruction. *And what was the Effect of this mighty Genius's ſetting up in Divinity upon his own and his Uncle's ſtock of Reaſon only, in Defyance of the* Fathers? *Why, he made a ſhift to Reaſon himſelf out of his Chriſtianity and his Senſes into this notable Abſurdity, viz.* To make Chriſt

* Quin etiam in univerſa ipſâ Divinarum rerum Scientiâ quæcunq; tandem illa in me ſit, præter unum Lælium Patruum meum, qui jam diu mortuus eſt, vel potius præter quædam paucula ab ipſo conſcripta & multa annotata, nullum prorſus magiſtrum me habere contigit. *F. S.* ad Super. Epiſt. Squarcialupi Reſponſio. *p.* 361. *Fol.*

a meer

a meer Man, and yet to Worſhip him as a God; and to exclude the Holy Ghoſt, in whoſe Name we are baptiz'd out of the Godhead. *By ſcorning Authorities; and* Dint *of free Thinking, he came to that prodigious pitch above the* Ancients, *as to make a new Diſcovery of the* Rights of the Chriſtian Church, *and has left noble Hints for his* Sons *of* Reaſon *to finiſh, for the Improvement of the preſent Age. For this Enemy of the ever Bleſſed Trinity ſays,* * There is no ſcruple to be made but that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may be celebrated by any Company of Men profeſſing the name of Chriſt, *tho' the Scripture I think is expreſs, that* no Man taketh this Honour to himſelf, but he that is called of God as *Aaron* was.

He makes no ſcruple likewiſe to declare † Water-Baptiſm no laſting Precept, nor ever enjoin'd either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles to ſuch as had any way declar'd publickly for Chriſt, or been brought up in his Religion from their Childhood. *As to thoſe Precepts and Declarations in* Scripture, *ſuch as,* Go ye therefore, and Diſciple all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: He that believeth and is Baptized, ſhall be ſaved: Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: Re-

* Quod ad Cœnam Domini attinet, nihil eſt cur ſuſpicari poſſimus, eam a quolibet Chriſti nomen profitentium cœtu celebrari non poſſe. ad Matth. Radecium Epiſt. 3. p. 383.

† De aquæ Baptiſmo ego ita ſentio, eum Eccleſiæ in perpetuum præſcriptum non fuiſſe, nec unquam, ut illum acciperent iis præceptum neq; a Chriſto, neq; ab Apoſtolis fuiſſe, qui jam ipſi Chriſto aliâ quacunq; ratione publice nomen dediſſent, vel a primis annis in Chriſtianâ diſciplinâ educati atq; inſtituti eſſent. ad Matt. Radecium Epiſt. 3. p. 383, 384.

pent, and be Baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the Remission of Sins, &c. *These and many more like Passages, as expres's as words can well be for the necessity of* Water-Baptism, *and always so understood by the first* Catholick *Writers, who constantly interpos'd a considerable time between the* Catechetical *Instructions, and the* Baptism *of Adult Persons; these, I say, are all eluded by* Socinus, *by being content with himself alone even in matters of History; who* * *resolves the Baptism in the places just cited, partly into a meer Ablution of the Soul, or inward washing away of Sins by Repentance, and partly evades the Necessity of Baptism by making the Precept neither Universal nor Perpetual; and all this for fear of coming to a Confession of* Original Sin, *which your great pretenders to Reason are not fond of; so hard a thing is it to find any Text plain enough for some Men, who affect to lose themselves in a new way, rather than to go Right in an Old one with Company.*

Thus again Episcopius *and* Curcellæus, *Men of fine Parts, of subact Judgment, and great Politeness, but both too great strangers to the* Fathers, *have well nigh trod in the steps of* Socinus *in most of the foregoing Errors; for by overlooking all that's Primitive, the universal Consent of the earliest Doctors in their Writings, and the most solemn Determinations of their Successors in Councils, and by Presuming upon waxen Wings, meer Reason only, in the highest Mystery, they signaliz'd their Rashness by falling into fatal Mistakes even in matters of Faith;*

* De Baptis. aquæ *F. S.* Disputatio.

*for they * argu'd againſt the Neceſſity of Believing God the Son to be of the ſame Subſtance with God the Father, and find fault with the Word* ὁμοούσιον, *as a Bone of Contention, a novel Term, and not in uſe before the* Nicene *Council. But if Chriſt be not of the ſame Subſtance with the Father, he muſt be a Creature, and then it muſt be a Breach of the firſt Commandment to Worſhip him as a God. Beſides, the ſtupendiouſneſs of the Father's Love emphatically conſiſts herein, that he ſent his* Only begotten Son, *not one made of a Virgin only for that purpoſe, but the Son of his Boſome and Eſſence,* to ſave Sinners. *And herein alſo conſiſts the exceeding* Philanthropy *of Chriſt, that being God of God before all Worlds, he wou'd deſcend to take upon him our Nature, and to ſuffer in it for our Sins; for had he been a meer Man only, what wonder, if he was contented to ſuffer as he did, to be exalted as he is. So that the Divine Œconomy, and the whole Myſtery of our Redemption is debaſed and vilify'd to the loweſt degree, by the not Belief of this Article. And therefore the* Nicene *Fathers had great Reaſon to contend ſo earneſtly for the* Conſubſtantiality *of the Son, and to make uſe of the* Term *they did, which is fully expreſſive of Chriſt's Divinity, and uſed too by the* Fathers *before that Council, as our moſt Learned Biſhop* Bull *has ſufficiently prov'd againſt* Epiſcopius; *which Treatiſe had he liv'd to ſee, I verily believe, wou'd have convinc'd him of the vanity of his Reaſoning, and his want of Antiquity.*

Thus again, others of freſher Date, by leaning ſolely upon their own Underſtandings, and the Ad-

* Vid. Curcæl. Præfat. ad Epiſcop. de neceſſitate credendi modum Filiationis Divinæ Jeſu Chriſti. Inſtitut. Theolog. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 34.

vantage of clear Ideas, *wou'd prove* Chriſtianity not Myſterious, *and contract the twelve Articles of the Apoſtles Creed into one, and that too a very Ambiguous one, namely,* That Jeſus of *Nazareth* is the Chriſt or Meſſiah, *that is,* the Anointed of the Lord, or an extraordinary Perſon ſent from God. *Nor am I much ſurpriſed to find the Great* Author of the Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity *ſo ſparing of his Faith, and peculiar in his Notions of Religion, (to ſay no worſe of it) when I find him ſo great a ſtranger to Chriſtian Antiquity, as to beg his Friend's Information,* * Whether any Miracles were done after the times of the Apoſtles. *I am very willing to believe Mr.* Lock's *ſincerity for Truth, but by his Letters lately publiſh'd, one wou'd be apt to imagine, that he and* Philip a Limbourg, Le Clerc, *and a few others, were the only Perſons in Reality concern'd for Truth. But I hope the* Martyrs *were as much concern'd for Truth as the* Lockiſts, *and therefore to ſet aſide the* Ancient Creeds, *and to ſubſtitute a* ſingle Article *of his own Head in contempt of the Fathers, and at every turn to drop the ſpitefulleſt Reflections upon the* Chriſtian Prieſthood; *this, I ſay, in my Opinion, does not ſo well comport with that Candor and Impartiality for Truth they ſo liberally beſtow upon each other in theſe Epiſtles. And had they ſpent more time upon the* Fathers, *I dare ſay, they had not been worſe* Reaſoners, *nor worſe* Chriſtians.

But thus it will always be, when Men will be wiſe by themſelves alone, and meaſure Divine

* De Miraculis poſt Apoſtolorum tempora certiorem fieri cupio. Non ego ſatis verſatus in Hiſtoriâ Eccleſiaſticâ, ut quid de iis ſtatuam norim, *&c.* *Lock*'s Letters. *p.* 338.

Truths

Truths by their Line of Reaſon; there will be nothing but tinkering in matters of Religion, *and perpetual mending of* Creeds, *when the only thing to be mended is their Manners. Which brings me to the* ſecond ill Effect *of departing from the* Fathers, *and that is, in the* Point of Holineſs.

Whoever reads over theſe Apologies, and compares 'em with the fifth of St. Matthew, *will find the hardeſt Lines in that* Chapter, *in the Lives of the Primitive Chriſtians*; Loving, Praying, *and* doing good under the bittereſt Provocations: Chaſtity *and* Temperance, Purity *and* Patience, Poverty *and* Thankfulneſs, Courage *and* Non-Reſiſtance, *were the Virtues they preach'd and practis'd in the plain Sence, and up to the full extent of the Letter, without ſhifting and doubling Diſtinctions and Evaſions, to put a trick upon the Precepts, and ſatisfie the Law and their Luſts into the bargain. Theſe perſecuted People had the ſame ſelf Preſervation, the ſame force of Appetite, and the ſame Reluctances in Nature as we have, and therefore no doubt made as careful Inquiries into the extent and obligation of theſe grim Duties as we can do. And we have our Maſter's word, that People ſo diſpos'd to* do the Will of his Father, ſhall know of the Doctrine *and its Meaning*, whether it be from God, *much better than thoſe, who ſtudy the* Scriptures, *as ſome do the* Statute Book, *only to avoid the Penalties; not ſo much for going to Heaven, as for not going to Hell. Theſe are the* Students *that are ſo againſt the* Fathers, *becauſe the* Fathers *are ſo againſt them. The Lives aud Interpretations of* Martyrs, *the Zeal and Stiffneſs of thoſe hardy inflexible Chriſtians are ſevere and*

frightful things, nor do comport well with Times of Suppleneſs and Complyance with whatever ſort of Religion. The Principles of Chriſtian Morality were then fixt and indiſputable; *and* tho' Briers and Thorns were with 'em, *and they* dwelt among Scorpions, *yet without mincing the matter, they deliver'd the moſt unpalatable Truths in the moſt Perſecuting Times, and were themſelves the Examples of what they Taught. But now we have ſo many Queſtions and Quirks, not only about the Practice, but even the* Theory *of* Holineſs, *that Men hardly know what either to believe or practiſe. For we have* burning Hereticks, *and* depoſing Princes, *for Goſpel*; Penance, *and* Pilgrimage *for real Holineſs*; *we have* Faith *without* Works, Saints *without* Morality, *and* Morality *without* Faith; Chriſtianity *without* Sacraments, *a* Church *without a* Prieſthood, Communion *without* Unity, *and* Loyalty *without* Obedience. *Theſe are ſome* [illegible] *ill Conſequences of depending upon our ſelves only, of Reaſoning from* Scripture *without the Practice of the* Ancients, *whoſe Writings Providence has ſpar'd us for our Inſtruction and Example*; *the neglect of which, I take to be both a Cauſe of our Unholineſs, and an Aggravation of our Sin.*

Another ill Effect *of not knowing, or at leaſt of not regarding* Primitive Chriſtianity, *is the* want of Union and Order. By this ſhall all Men know that ye are my Diſciples *(ſays our Maſter)* if ye love one another; *and*, See how theſe Chriſtians love one another, *was the Heathen Proverb in the time of* Tertullian. *Love and Union was then the Badge or* Phylactery *that diſtinguiſh'd the* Chriſtian Sect *from all others. The Church of Chriſt was then*

then a well regulated Society, *like a natural Body, wherein all the Members maintain their reſpective Relation, and act in a due ſubordination to, and dependence upon, one another; no diſpute or Schiſm about* Fundamentals *of* Faith *or* Government *aroſe in any Church, but they all ſympathiz'd as Members of the ſame Body, and bewail'd it univerſally, and forthwith apply'd all the Lenitives of Perſuaſion to heal the Breach; and if theſe prov'd ineffectual, proceeded to ſeverer Methods of Penance and Excommunication. For they* * *concluded with St.* Paul, That without Church-Unity there was no Inheriting the Kingdom of God. *For the better Preſervation of which Unity, they had their* Συσατικαὶ, *or* Commendatory *Epiſtles mention'd by St.* Paul, *which were Letters granted by the Biſhop to ſuch of his Clergy as were going into another Dioceſe, to teſtifie the Soundneſs of their Faith, and the Integrity of their Lives; and to ſuch likewiſe, as had been under Excommunication, or at leaſt ſuſpected ſo to have been, to declare their Abſolution, and recommend 'em to be again receiv'd into the number of the Faithful. But now this* Union *and Correſpondence between Churches is in a manner quite laid aſide; every one forms its own way of Worſhip and Polity, without conſulting another; nay, one Epiſcopal Church can look upon the Ruin of another, without interpoſing a Prayer for its Recovery, as is done for the welfare of other reformed Churches, and as is preſcribed by the* 55*th Canon. But* from the Beginning it was not ſo; *for no ſooner was* Aerius *ſowing his Tares, and Anti-*

* Cypr. de Unit. Eccleſ. *p.* 184.

Epiſcopal

Epiſcopal Principles, but immediately the Phinehas's *ſtood up and Condemn'd the* Heretick, *and ſo the* Plague was ſtayed from *the Church of Chriſt. We can no longer ſay, that* Jeruſalem *is at Unity in it ſelf, and that the Church is but one, for 'tis rent into Factions and Parties; and Chriſtians divide now a days not only upon juſt Grounds, but we have a Church within a Church, and Strife, and Hatred, and Nick-names of Diſtinction, between thoſe of the ſame Communion; and we have different Sects and Communions where we are united in one common Faith and Intereſt.* Theſe things, my Brethren, ought not ſo to be. *But 'tis not likely to be otherwiſe, while there is not Primitive Honeſty and Greatneſs of Soul enough to lay before the People plainly the great* Sin *of* Separation, *about matters indifferent in their own Nature. For if* Schiſm *be a Sin, and a* damnable *one too, as the* Apoſtle *affirms, then it can never be too often inculcated; that tho' the* Civil Power *may excuſe from the* Penalty, *it can never take off from the* Guilt. *But while we go on at this rate with our mollifying Oyntments, and are for* ſowing Pillows *only, and providing for the Repoſe of Sinners; while we are continually* Haranguing *upon a* falſe Moderation, *and can reject a* Schiſmatick *with one Hand, and give him the Communion with the other, what do we elſe but teach the People to Err upon Principle, and to look upon* Church-Communion *as no wiſe neceſſary to Salvation? Something, 'tis true, muſt be allow'd to the Iniquity of the Times; but ſure I am, that ſo many ſmooth things upon this Head wou'd never have been prophecy'd under the* Primitive Warmth *of Chriſtianity. If then, the* want of Union and Order

is

is the Bane of all Society, either Spiritual or Civil; if the People by knowing nothing of Antiquity, *judge only of the Primitive Church by the Doctrines and Cuſtomes they hear and ſee in the places they live, and conſequently conclude, that the Chriſtians of old were as* Moderate *and* Indifferent *about* Unity *and* Order *in Religion as the Moderns; and if this be a very dangerous and fatal Miſtake, then certainly 'tis a Duty incumbent on every* Paſtor *to undeceive his* Flock, *and both in Seaſon and out of Seaſon, to ſet 'em right in the notion of* Church-Communion, *and the Sin of* Separation. *And the way to do this, is* firſt *by the* Tenor *of the* Goſpel, *and then by the* Practice *of the* pureſt *Ages; it being, I think, ſufficiently evident from what has been ſaid, that what was the conſtant Opinion and Practice of the Times neareſt the* Apoſtles, *and is moreover ſuitable to the Precepts and Spirit of the* Goſpel, *ought to be had in very high eſteem by all Chriſtians. This I take to be the only way of Reforming upon a ſure and laſting bottom, aud to draw neareſt to Perfection, by reducing things (as far as may be) into their natural and primitive Channel.*

I come now in the laſt Place *to the Point of* Diſcipline. *The* noiſe of the Seas, *and the* madneſs of the People *go together in* Scripture *and Experience, and we may as well preach* ſtilneſs *to the one without a Sea-Wall, as Obedience to the other without Diſcipline. Whoever reads over but the tenth Book of* Sleidan's Commentaries, *will ſee ſuch a Scene of Conſecrated Cruelty, Beaſtlineſs, and Blaſphemy, as will make the* Hair of his Fleſh *(in* Job's *phraſe)* ſtand up, *and put him hard to't from an Imagination of Hell broke looſe upon Earth, to form an Idea of Wickedneſs equal to what he will there*

there find in fact from the Anabaptiſts *at* Munſter. *And when the* Ancient Fences *of the Church are broken down, and the Reins of Diſcipline let looſe upon the Necks of the People, and Enthuſiaſm the Spur, they ſeldom ſtop ſhort of the ſame Pitch of Religious Frenzy. We have felt ſomething like it at home, and what has been, may be. For not only the* Power *of the* Keys, *but the very Name of* Church *in the Sence of the* Ancients, *is now a perfect Jeſt in the Sence of ſome* Moderns. Chriſtian Liberty *is look'd upon, not meerly as a Gracious Delivery from our ſelves, from the Guilt and Powers of Sin, and* Satan, *and from the Yoke of* Moſes, *but as a Total Exemption from the Fundamental Laws of Society and* Order; *that is, the Goſpel-Diſpenſation is ſuch a* Perfect Law *(if I may ſo term it) of Libertiniſm or Levelling, that the* Congregation are Holy every one of them; *not every Man only, but every Woman, tho' expreſly forbidden by St.* Paul *ſo much as to ſpeak in the Church, has now it ſeems the ſame Authority to admit into it by Baptiſm, as a Prieſt. So that in ſhort,* the Powers that are, *both* Sacerdotal *and* Civil, *according to the new way of Goſpelizing, are not from* God *but the* People; *and conſequently all Power being inherent in them, they can determine the Form and Execution of it as they will, and Officiate (if they pleaſe) in any part of the Prieſtly Function; tho' it may not ſeem ſo Auguſt and Agreeable to Sovereign Majeſty to do every thing by it ſelf, for the People to be* Maſters *and* Miniſters *both, and to ſerve at the Altar in Perſon, when they* Ordain *the Clergy to do it for 'em. But while the People are poiſon'd with ſuch Schemes of Licentiouſneſs, and permitted to ſleep under the pleaſing Deluſion, and to look upon the Primitive*

Diſci-

Diſcipline of the Church, as an Arbitrary thing of meer Human Inſtitution only, and conſequently alterable at pleaſure; this Error, I ſay, if ſuffer'd to go on at this rate, is not unlikely to end, not only in the Ruin of the Church as a Society, but in the utter Diſſolution of Chriſtian Morality. And therefore I ſhall take upon me to prove, that the Primitive Diſcipline, *as to its Eſſentials, is a neceſſary and inviolable Order of God; and this I ſhall ſhew, from the* Nature of the thing, *from the* expreſs Word of God, *and from the* conſequent Practice of the Univerſal Church; *and if theſe* three *will not amount to a Demonſtration of a Divine Eſtabliſhment, I ſhall deſpair of ever knowing what will.*

And firſt, from the Nature of the Thing. *The God of Order never appoints any* Government, *but therewithal appoints the* Means *neceſſary to that End. And if he ſecur'd the Polity of the* Jewiſh *Church, which was to be diſſolv'd in the fulneſs of Time, with ſuch a Hedge of* Ceremony *and* Diſcipline; *'tis not reaſonable to believe, that he left the moſt perfect and laſting Church of Chriſt without any particular* Rules *of* Government; *eſpecially ſince Chriſt has manifeſtly fixt the* Orders *of Church-Governours upon the* Jewiſh *Model; and in the caſe of private Differences (as ſhall be more fully evinced anon from* Matth. xviii. 15, 16, 17.) *proceeded upon the order in practice amongſt the* Jews. *Had the* Primitive *Paſtors admitted Men into the Church without diſtinction, and retain'd them as Members in ſpite of their Sins, the Chriſtian Society had been juſtly charg'd by the Heathen, as a College of Debauchery; but by admitting ſo cautiouſly, and upon ſuch a ſolemn Vow of Holineſs in the preſence of the Congregation; and ſo likewiſe by publickly cenſuring*

ſuring, Suſpending, and Excommunicating the Incorrigible upon the Non-performance of the Baptiſmal-Covenant; *by ſuch Acts of* Diſcipline, *I ſay, the Church gave a publick Proof, and the moſt Authentick Teſtimony to* thoſe without, *of the Purity and Holineſs of the Chriſtian Profeſſion.*

The Uſefulneſs therefore and Neceſſity of ſuch Diſcipline *for the Reputation and Order of the Church, proves it to be from God, as well as the* Doctrine *it ſelf. But* Secondly, *If notorious Sinners may be ſuffered to live in the* Communion *of the Church, and to enjoy the ſame Privileges with the* Faithful; *is not ſuch a Toleration a Temptation to Sin on, and to believe, by ſeeing no difference made here between the Good and Bad, that there will be none hereafter; but by being Members of the ſame Fraternity, they have the ſame Title to Happineſs, notwithſtanding their Sins; that they ſhall all go to Heaven in a Body, and be ſav'd, not ſo much for the goodneſs of their Lives, as their Adherence to a* Party? *But now by ſeeing themſelves cut off from the* Chriſtian Body, *their Party-hopes will be cut off too; and by finding no Communion to be had with an* Orthodox *Church, without an* Orthodox *Life, and no Salvation in oppoſition to ſuch Communion, they will ſee the Miſery of their Condition; and this will be apt to bring 'em to a right notion of Things, to a better Mind, and better Manners.* Thirdly, *By* Cutting off *the* Incurable, *the ſound are preſerv'd. The Minds of Men are as apt to Infection, as their Bodies; and we are not fond of Living where the Plague is, purely to try the ſtrength of our Conſtitution. But if* Atheiſts *and* Deiſts, Socinians *and* Antinomians, *may lye undiſtinguiſh'd, uncenſur'd in the Boſome of the Church,*

who

who can tell where the Plague will ſtop, and that the Contagion may not ſpread by degrees throughout the Community? Beſides, the Shame and Fear of Diſcipline *are mighty Checks upon the Inclinations of the leſs Virtuous; and the Good likewiſe are confirm'd and ſtrengthen'd by ſeeing Juſtice done upon the Wicked; and the Honour of the Church is vindicated from Scandal; and therefore from the Nature of* Diſcipline *I argue it to be of Divine Authority, becauſe the Church of God as a Society cannot ſubſiſt without it.*

To this Argument from the Nature *of the* Thing *I add, in the* next *place,* the expreſs Word of God. *Our Lord himſelf in the* * *Caſe of private Treſpaſſes, commands the injured Perſon to go firſt and tell the Treſpaſſer his fault friendly by himſelf, and if that will not gain him, to take with him one or two more, and if he ſhall neglect to hear them, to tell it unto the* Church, *and if that proves ineffectual, he is to be look'd upon as an* Heathen Man and a Publican. *And that the Governours of the Chriſtian Church ſhou'd not queſtion the Power of Excommunicating upon ſuch Occaſions, which was in practice among the* † Jews, *our Lord thus ſolemnly determines the Point,* Verily I ſay unto you, whatſoever ye ſhall bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever ye ſhall looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven. *This then evidently declares an* Authority *in the* Church *to interpoſe in the caſe of private Differences, and to Excommunicate too upon neglect of her Authority; and if ſo, the Argument holds much ſtronger, in the caſe of ſuch publick Offences, as reflect upon the*

* Matth. xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18. † *Vid.* Buxt. Florileg. *p.* 297.

whole Community, and ſtrike not only at the Honour, but the very Being of the Church. St. Paul *ſeverely reprimands the* * Corinthians for not having taken the Inceſtuous Perſon from among them; *which ſuppoſes a Power in the Church of expelling that filthy Perſon, by charging it as a Crime that they had not done it, and for a precedent for the future Excommunicates him himſelf. The ſame Apoſtle* † *elſewhere delivers himſelf in this Authoritative Form,* We command you in the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye withdraw your ſelves from every Brother that walketh diſorderly, and not after the Tradition which he hath received of us. *And to put the matter out of queſtion, the main Deſign and Drift of St.* Paul's *firſt Epiſtle to* Timothy, *is to mind him of his Authority, and to furniſh him with Rules about the Government and Diſcipline of the Church. To this purpoſe he lays before him the particular* Qualifications *of Church* Officers, *and what meaſures the Paſtors ſhou'd take about Information; how they ſhou'd proceed as to Cenſures, and the other principal Parts of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; and then adds,* Theſe things command and teach, let no Man deſpiſe thy Youth. *And having deliver'd himſelf to the like Effect in his Epiſtle to* Titus, *he concludes with the like Charge,* Theſe things ſpeak, and exhort, and rebuke with all Authority; let no Man deſpiſe thee. *From theſe and many other Paſſages to the ſame purpoſe I conclude, that either nothing in the Goſpel is Intelligible, or elſe that the* Scriptures *juſt now cited, evidently contain theſe following Orders,* viz. That impenitent Sinners of any kind, are not to be

* Corinth. cap. 5. † 2 Theſſal. iii. 6.

continued

continued in Church-Communion, but to be proceeded againſt by Admonition, Cenſure, Suſpenſion, and if theſe will not bring 'em to Confeſſion and Amendment, they are to be rebuked with all Authority, and cut off from the Corporation of Chriſtians. *Secondly*, That private Chriſtians are Commanded by St. *Paul* in the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to withdraw from ſuch Offenders, and with ſuch Perſons no not to eat; *that is, as* Tertullian *and* Theodoret *underſtand the Paſſage, with ſuch we are not to eat at our own, much leſs at our Lord's Table. And* Thirdly, That *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church, are the only Perſons with whom the exerciſe of this ſpiritual Power is entruſted. *If theſe Rules of* Diſcipline *are not clear from Scripture, we may raiſe a Cloud about any thing.*

But granting the Goſpel *not ſo* clear *and* full, *as at firſt view it ſeems to be, for the manner of* Diſcipline, *and the* Officers *to be entruſted with it; yet if with theſe ſeemingly plain* Texts *we will compare the* univerſal Practice *of the* Primitive Church *(which certainly is the beſt Commentary) we muſt have a mighty mind to be blind, if we cannot ſee the meaning. For nothing in Hiſtory is more notorious, than that the* Succeſſors *of the* Apoſtles *were very ſtrict in the Tryal and Examination of the* Candidates *for Chriſtianity, and that they put Offenders under a long and ſevere courſe of* Penance, *proportionate to their Crimes, and did not reſtore the* Excommunicate *till they had given good Proof of their Sincerity and Repentance, and made full Satisfaction to the*

Church; and that nothing of this Nature was tranſacted without the Biſhop's *Order. I am not ignorant, that the* Primitive *Church vary'd as to ſome Circumſtances, and us'd their Diſcretion as to length of Time, or degrees of* Penance, *&c. but as to the Subſtance of* Diſcipline *in the Particulars now mention'd, there was as univerſal Agreement, as about the* Sacraments *themſelves. If then the Goſpel it ſelf ſeems ſo expreſs and clear for ſuch a kind of* Church-Governours, *and for ſuch a* Form *of* Diſcipline, *and if the Practice of the firſt Chriſtians exactly ſuits with this* Scheme, *then we can have no greater Demonſtration in the Queſtion before us; for the Primitive* Biſhops *were extremely fearful of Innovating in any Point, and many of 'em had their Rules, not only from the Letter of the Goſpel, but from the very Mouths of the* Apoſtles.

Thus then ſtood the Government *and* Diſcipline *of the Church in the time of theſe* Apologiſts; *thus it maintain'd its Authority and Holineſs in the hardeſt and moſt perſecuting Seaſons, and increas'd and multiply'd till it became the Glory of the whole Earth; but when the Tempeſt was over, and the Church on the Sunny ſide; when Great Men were to be humour'd, and the* Naamans *wou'd be cured in State, and be Chriſtians upon their own Terms, then came up the* moderating *Methods, and Abatements of the primitive Rigor; then began the Market of profitable Inventions, of* Indulgences, auricular Confeſſions, private Penances, Satisfactions, *and the whole Trade of Commutation; all manifeſt Traces and Abuſes of the Old ſubſtantial Diſcipline, for the more eaſe*

and

and convenience of Fleſh and Blood. But when theſe and many other abominable Corruptions were grown too common and too big to go down with a knowing Age, then the World fell to work upon Reformation, *but upon different Views, different Principles. The Great Men of little Religion were for Reforming the Church out of its* Revenues, *and ſtripping the Clergy into* Bare *Preachers, with little Subſiſtence and leſs Authority; for fear of a Relapſe under the Temptations of Plenty and Power. Others again turn'd at the very mention of* Biſhop, *and wrote againſt all ſorts of Order and* Church-Diſcipline *with as much Fury, as if whatever was practiſed in the Church of* Rome, *was* Antichriſtian. *In ſhort, all were wonderful Harmonious in pulling down, and removing the Rubbiſh, but not ſo unanimous in ſetting up what was* Primitive *and* Apoſtolical *in its ſtead; no, not* Calvin, *nor* Bucer *themſelves, who* * *complain ſo loudly and pathetically of the want of Diſcipline. I am far from arguing now for a Rigid Conformity to the* Ancients *in every point of Diſcipline, but as to the main or Eſſence of it, I think it as plainly and expreſly founded in* Scripture, *as* Baptiſm *and the* Supper of the Lord; *and that notorious Drunkards, Swearers, Adulterers, Murderers, and ſuch like, ſhould Communicate in all the Privileges of the Church, and that the Faithful ſhou'd familiarly converſe with ſuch infectious Perſons; or that Excommunicates ſhou'd be reſtor'd to the Peace of the Church, without*

* Calvini Epiſt. & Reſponſa. pag. 336. Epiſc. de Anim. curâ.

any Proofs of their Amendment; this I take to be as clearly againſt the Letter of the Goſpel, as Idolatry againſt the ſecond Commandment.

'Tis objected indeed, That tho' Order and Diſcipline are neceſſary, and commanded in the Goſpel, yet as to this or that particular Way or Form of Diſcipline, Churches are at Liberty. *But to this I anſwer; had the Goſpel commanded* Diſcipline *in general only, without queſtion Churches then had been at liberty to have Regulated themſelves as they judg'd moſt proper to their preſent Circumſtances; but where the Apoſtles have interpos'd, and preſcrib'd particular Rules of Diſcipline, and commanded the Obſervation of 'em over and over again* in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, *without the leaſt intimation of Diſpenſation or Change; and which Rules moreover were ſtrictly and univerſally obſerv'd by the Primitive Church for ſome Centuries; there, I ſay, 'tis not ſufficient to have Diſcipline of another ſort, but we muſt have the Diſcipline preſcrib'd by the Apoſtles. For Inſtance, 'tis an* Apoſtolical *Order, and preſs'd in the* Name of Jeſus Chriſt, to withdraw our ſelves from every Brother that walketh diſorderly: To note that Man, and have no company with him that he may be aſhamed. *I ask then, whether this Rule is not neglected now in this particular, and whether the neglect of it is juſtifiable, and ſuch a* diſorderly Walker *to be convers'd with, and cheriſh'd in the boſom of the Faithful? 'Tis an* Apoſtolical *Order, and conſtantly obſerv'd of Old*, that ſcandalous Livers ſhou'd be debarr'd the Holy Myſteries. *Is this Rule diſpenſable at pleaſure, or practicable at preſent? 'Tis an* Apoſtolical

ſtolical *Order*, That impenitent Sinners ſhou'd not only be debarr'd ſome Privileges, but quite cut off from the Chriſtian Community, and not re-admitted till Satisfaction made to the Church, and good Proof of their Repentance. *Is this an Order* pro hic & nunc *only*; *or are Excommunication and Satisfaction to the Church, things to be mention'd now with ſafety? Or indeed have we any Office for the* Re-admiſſion of Excommunicates, *which ſeems to be a* Deſideratum *in our excellent Liturgy, and occaſion'd purely by the want of Diſcipline? And* laſtly, *the Adminiſtration of Church-order and Diſcipline was committed by the Apoſtles to the Biſhops as their Succeſſors, and by them to the inferior Clergy; they were the Perſons Originally entruſted with the ſole Power of judging in caſes purely Spiritual, of inflicting Penances, Suſpenſions, Excommunications, and providing for Order and Decency in the Church of Chriſt: And thus was the Eccleſiaſtical Power exercis'd conſtantly in the firſt and pureſt Ages of Chriſtianity. What the preſent Practice is, need not be told; and by what Authority, either from Scripture or Antiquity, ſuch* Eccleſiaſtical Polities *are erected, where Paſtors and People act jointly, or where Church-Men have ſometimes the leaſt ſhare in the ſpiritual Juriſdiction, is what I am at a loſs to know. For where the manner of Government, and ſome particulars in Diſcipline are poſitively fixt by the Apoſtles, there we are not at liberty to alter.*

It has been likewiſe urg'd with Confidence enough, That by the Magiſtrate's turning Chriſtian, the neceſſity of Church-Diſcipline is ſu-

perſeded, and the Adminiſtration of it much ſafer in the hands of the Laiety than the Clergy, and that two Independent Powers in the ſame State are contradictory, and deſtructive of each other.

I readily grant that a Chriſtian Magiſtrate, who beareth not the Sword in vain, *but with a knowing Zeal draweth it againſt* Evil-doers, *in the Defence of* thoſe that do well, *is highly Inſtrumental to the Glory of God, the Credit of Chriſtianity, and the Good of his Country; I acknowledge freely alſo, that the* Spirit *of Reformation now* moving *upon the Hearts of many excellent* Lay-Chriſtians, *and quickning them to the Execution of the Laws of the Land, and the Proclamations of her Majeſty againſt Immorality and Prophaneneſs, is a mighty check upon* diſorderly Walkers, *and has given a new Life and Reſurrection to Piety and good Manners, and in ſome meaſure made amends for the lamentable Relaxation and Decay of Diſcipline; but then I muſt as freely own likewiſe, that the Laws of the State are not the Diſcipline of the Church; the* Things *of* Cæſar, *and the* Things *of* God, *are not under the ſame Predicament, but of a quite different Nature; each have their proper Boundaries and Reſtrictions. The Powers of Church and State are not, cannot be, two Sovereign independent Powers, with reſpect to the ſame Things, for this indeed wou'd introduce perpetual claſhing and confuſion; but the Church has nothing to do to interfere or meddle in Affairs of State, it touches neither Life, nor Limb, nor Civil Property, nor diſables any one from being a Member of the Commonwealth; and there-*

therefore in its own Nature is not prejudicial to the Authority of the Civil Power. For all Chriſtians by their own Law are expreſly forbid to reſiſt the Civil Magiſtrate under pain of Damnation; and in the full Height and Rigor of Diſcipline, when Church and State were at the utmoſt Variance, we find our Apologiſts *thus acquitting themſelves to the* Senate *upon this Article.* Did you ever hear of any ſuch thing as a *Rebel-Chriſtian?* Had ever *Cæſar* his Taxes paid more conſcientiouſly, or was more faithfully ſerv'd in Peace or War than by Chriſtians? Had ever Huſbands better Wives, Parents better Children, Maſters better Servants, than thoſe who came over to the Faith? *So that we find, that the Primitive Power of the Church in Regulating her own Members in Matters purely Spiritual, independently on the State, was ſo far in Fact at its firſt Inſtitution from Intrenching upon the Civil Authority, that it advanced Obedience to Princes, and ev'ry Relative Duty to the higheſt Perfection, and ſecur'd 'em upon the Sureſt Foundation. As to the* Objection *againſt* Church-Diſcipline *in the Hands of the* Clergy, *(for the Clergy now a-Days are to be loaded with every Thing) drawn from the Accidental Abuſe of it, 'tis meer Cant and Paralogiſm: For wou'd we deal fairly, we muſt argue from the Natural Tendency of ſuch a Diſcipline in ſuch Hands, and not from the Accidental Abuſes of it, The Original Inſtitution of Church Power is certainly in its own Nature Productive of great Temporal Bleſſings to any Kingdom; are the Clergy then of a quite different Conſtitution from other People? Are Men Intoxicated by Ordination, and*

enter

enter into Covenant with Miſchief, and Commence Tyrants *by Turning* Miniſters *of* Chriſt? *If not, where is the Force of this Argument againſt Diſcipline, from the Abuſes of it in the Hands of the Clergy? What Things, I pray, are not ſubject to Abuſes? the Worſhip of God, the Sacraments, the Scriptures, have been all abus'd; not one Office from the* Scepter *to the* Conſtable's-Staff, *but ſome time or other has been abus'd; and are all Theſe then to be laid aſide for fear of Corruption? if not, why is the Government of the Church to be wreſted out of the Epiſcopal Hands for this Reaſon?*

But this is not all, for the Queſtion turns not ſo much upon the Nature *of the* Diſcipline, *as the* Authority *of its* Founder: *For if* Chriſt *has ſet up a Kingdom of his own, perfectly diſtinct from that of* Cæſar, *and ſet apart his own* Miniſters, *and lodg'd the Government in their Hands alone, with particular expreſs Rules about Order and Diſcipline, and promis'd* to be with them to the end of the World; *and if Men will call this Government Tyrannical, it reflects directly upon the Founder; however 'tis a Tyranny of Divine Inſtitution, and muſt be obey'd, be the Conſequences of Obedience what they will. And if ſuch a Form of Church-Government, and the Particulars of Diſcipline already mention'd, are not evident from* Scripture *and* Church-Hiſtory, *'tis in vain to argue any thing from either; if they are evident, then tho' Circumſtances may be varyed, yet as to Subſtance, they are Both Invariable, becauſe of Divine Appointment; unleſs the Word of God can as evidently be produced for the Inveſting the* Civil Magiſtrate *with an entire Au-*

thority

thority in Spiritual Matters upon his Embracing Chriſtianity; this then is the Point to be proved.

After all, what is this Tyranny, *or Abuſe of* Church-Power, *which is charged upon our* Church? *Why nothing but a Primitive Right of Proceeding againſt Notorious Sinners, either by Cenſure, Suſpenſion, or Excommunication, according to the Nature of the Crime, and the Degrees of Obſtinacy; and upon Hearty Repentance, to Receive 'em again. And is this any more Tyranny, than what the meaneſt Society pretends to over its Members, as well as the Church? without which, there will not in Time be ſo much as the Face of Religion, or the very* Virtue *of Hypocriſy left amongſt us. Now that which I wou'd leave upon the Mind of my Readers from hence, is this; 1ſt, That we ſearch the* Scriptures, *and the Primitive* Fathers *to know what Particulars in Diſcipline are appointed by God, and do what we can to have them Reſtor'd to Life again. 2dly, That we Conſider ſeriouſly what the* Reformation *of* Manners, *and the Reputation of* Chriſt's *Church require farther in Point of Diſcipline, and herein Copy after the Ancients in what is moſt edifying. And, 3dly, That we take all the Care imaginable not to exceed the Bounds of our Commiſſion, and intrench upon the Civil Prerogative, but perſue our Orders as deliver'd in Scripture, and Underſtood and Practis'd by the Firſt and Faithfulleſt* Miniſters *of* Chriſt; *then ſhall we proceed upon the moſt warrantable Grounds, and be ſure to* Render unto Cæſar the Things that are Cæſar's, and unto God the Things that are God's.

I have now done with the Three Things propos'd; viz. Concerning the Uſe and Authority of the Fathers; Concerning the Objections againſt them, *and* The ill Conſequences of too lightly Departing from them.

And if I have prov'd the Ancients, *incomparably the beſt* Interpreters *of the Divinely-inſpired Writings*; *if I have done Juſtice to their injur'd Memories, or in ſome meaſure wip'd off the Dirt and Calumny of Ill-given* Criticks; *if I have expos'd the Tragical Effects of indulging our private fancies in Religion, and of ſurrendring up our ſelves entirely to the Conduct of* clear Ideas *in* matters *of* Faith, *without vouchſafing to conſult thoſe who were inſtructed by the Apoſtles. If I have gone out of the way a while, the deeper to imprint the Indiſpenſibleneſs of the* Primitive Diſcipline *in ſome Particulars*; *and if theſe are but too ſeaſonable Subjects in this* Age *of* Licentiouſneſs, *where Men will be* Chriſtians *without* Baptiſm, *and* Prieſts *of their* own *Ordination, and Eat and Drink at their* own Tables *in Remembrance of* Chriſt, *in the Nature of a* Grace-Cup *merely*; *Then I hope Digreſſions of this Kind may be Tolerable in ſuch a* Criſis; *and that I ſhall not be condemn'd at leaſt by the* Lovers *of Chriſtian* Antiquity, *for being ſo Long in the Vindication of the* beſt Men *next the* Apoſtles, *and the beſt Books next the* Bible. *I was willing likewiſe to ſay what I cou'd, to infuſe an Ambitious* Warmth *into the Younger* Clergy *of entring upon the* Study *of* Divinity, *with the* Scriptures *in Conjunction with the* Fathers, *and to Form their Notions, and Faſhion their Minds by the Doctrine and Example of* Chriſt

Chriſt *and his* Apoſtles, *and the Noble Army of* Martyrs; *and not to take up, and quench their Thirſt with the Corrupted Streams of Modern Syſtems; and the* Publick, *I'm ſure, has nothing to fear from a* Clergy *ſo Initiated. For they will inſtruct their People in Primitive Holineſs, and Primitive Obedience; They will have a juſt and knowing Zeal for the Unalienable* Rights *of the* Chriſtian Church, *and a judicious Charity and Tenderneſs for their* Diſſenting *Brethren; They will never preach up the* Church *into* Secular *Dominion, nor preach it down to a* Kirk *for the ſake of Unity. They will do what* is poſſible, *according to the Apoſtle's Rule, to live peaceable with all Men; they will part with their* Coat *and* Cloke *alſo towards an* Accommodation, *but they cannot be ſo* Comprehenſive *as to part with their* Head; *they cannot in duty to Chriſt and his Apoſtles, or in Reſpect to their* Succeſſors *till of Yeſterday, comply with an* Ordination *without a* Biſhop. *They are ready to pay all Deference to the* Moderns *in Points of Philoſophy, but can ſee no reaſon to depart from the* Ancients *in ſuch Matters of* Divinity, *as they univerſally agree upon. And therefore I ſhall ſpeak yet but once more in the behalf of the* Fathers, *and that too in the Words of* Job, * Enquire, I pray thee, of the former Age, and prepare thy ſelf to the ſearch of their Fathers. For we are but of Yeſterday, and know nothing. Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee, and utter Words out of their Heart.

* Job chap. 8. ver. 8, 9, 10.

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ERRATA.

PREF. p. x. l. 23. r. *convenient*. p. lxxxviii. l. 19. for *other*, r. *of the*. p. 16. No. l. 3. for *ſome*, r. *ſame*. p. 27. No. l. 1. r. *ſuſpenſion*. p. 28. No. l. 4. r. ϛ. p. 29. l. 11. for *mortal*, r. *immortal*. p. 65. No. l. 2. r. πνεῦμα. l. 5. r. πίστεως. p. 73. l. 14. after *bide*, add *themſelves*. p. 81. No. l. 7. r. *potirentur*. p. 83. No. l. 5. r. ἐνδιαθέτῳ. p. 84. No. l. 4. r. λόγον. p. 94. l. 14. r. *opiniatrety*. p. 107. No. l. 25. r. Ιησῦν. l. 29. r. ἐλθόντῳ. p. 115. No. l. 26. r. πεφεσεῶς. l. 31. r. πεφεσεῶς. p. 116. No. l. 21. πόθειον, &c. *begins a new Note*. p. 117. No. l. 23. r. εὐχαειτήσας. l. 37. r. εὐχαειτία. p. 118. No. l. 15. r. ἀναμνήσϛ. p. 119. No. l. 1. r. ἐπιβλέπης. l. 2. r. καλαπέμλης. l. 17. r. πᾶς. ib. r. ἐπιφημϛ. ib. r. λέξων. p. 120. l. 37. for *moſt*, r. *muſt*. p. 182. No. l. 25. r. ἐδιπλαάχθησαν. p. 187. l. 10. r. *Saturday*, p. 268. No. l. 1. r. *Xenophon*. l. 14. r. *Xenophon*. p. 269. No. l. 25. r. πολλοὶ. p. 276. No. l. 22. r. *Delphi*. p. 277. No. l. 1. r. Avib. l. 2. r. ἐξπαθημῶν. l. 19. r. Deorum. p. 290. No. l. 10. r. ON. p. 299. No. l. 4. r. Καῖσας. p. 308. No. l. 4. r. πείσεσι. *ibid.* Ϛημαίνϛ. p. 328. No. l. 13. r. Χρῆσι. p. 365. No. l. 28. r. □. p. 366. No. penul. r. Scripturis. 367. No. l. 10. r. Ατλικίζων.

A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE TO THE FIRST APOLOGY OF St. *JUSTIN*.

THE Life of *Juſtin* the Philoſopher and Martyr, is drawn by ſo great a Maſter, and is in Truth, conſidering the Materials, ſuch a finiſh'd Piece, that I may both ask and anſwer the Queſtion in the Preacher's Words, *What ſhall the Man do that cometh after Him? Even That which hath been already done.* But not to afflict the Learned in ſaying over again, what has been ſo well ſaid by our Excellent Dr. *Cave*, I ſhall take notice of what is too commonly omitted, not to ſay unjuſtly maintain'd by moſt Writers, to the Prejudice of this great Saint, and the Authority of all his Writings; I ſhall likewiſe touch upon what I judge moſt edifying and inſtructing, and what may conduce to ſet the following Apology in the beſt Light for an Engliſh Reader.

Juſtin was a Native of *Neapolis*, a noted City of *Paleſtine*, within the Province of *Samaria*, anciently called *Sichem*, the Son of *Priſcus*, and Grandſon of *Bacchius*, a Grecian by Birth and Religion. In the Perſon of this Philoſopher, when in his Gentile State, we have the Portraiture of a Man amaz'd and bewilder'd in Philoſophy and the Wiſdom of the World, and after [a] Searches and Reſearches, and tumbling from Sect to Sect, quite tir'd out in the Queſt of God and Happineſs, and in the Condition of a benighted Traveller, full of Darkneſs, full of Anxiety, not knowing how to ſtand ſtill, nor which way to take, till happily meeting with a venerable [b] Old Man, he was led into the way of Truth, and directed to the Sacred Scriptures, where he found Reſt to his Soul. No ſooner had he light upon this Wiſdom from above, *This one Pearl of great Price, but he went and ſold all that he had and bought it:* [c] All the vain Treaſures he had amaſs'd together from the *Pythagoreans*, *Peripateticks*, *Stoicks*, and even from his beloved *Plato*, he diſpoſſeſs'd himſelf of them all, as a Glorious Incumbrance only upon his Mind, and embrac'd the Fooliſhneſs of the Goſpel and a Crucify'd Maſter, at the certain Expence of Life and every worldly Comfort; the [d] beſt Philoſophers he found had enrich'd themſelves with the Spoils of Holy Scripture, and

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[a] See *Dial. cum Tryph. p.* 219.

[b] This Venerable Old Man is conjectur'd by ſome to have been an Angel, and if the Dialogue with *Trypho* be a real Dialogue, the Conjecture is not unreaſonable; for that *Juſtin* in this Solitude ſhou'd chance to meet with ſuch a grave and wiſe old Man as could let him into the moſt myſterious Depths of the Chriſtian Philoſophy, and when he was conceited that Platoniſm wou'd ſoon lead him into the very Fruition of God, that he ſhould be ſo eaſily convinc'd to lay aſide the World and the Wiſdom of it, and be ſo paſſionately in Love with the Goſpel, looks altogether miraculous. *Vid. Memoires par le Sieur D. Tillemont. Tom.* 2. *p.* 334.

[c] *Dial. cum Tryph. p.* 224. *c.* 225.

[d] *Apol.* 1. *Sect.* 71.

that

that a poor Chriſtian, who could not diſtinguiſh a Letter, could talk more ſenſibly of the Divine Nature than even *Plato* himſelf; and the Sweetneſs of their Temper, their univerſal Charity, and unparallell'd Patience, *&c.* ſpoke a thouſand times more convincingly, than all the gilded Vapours of Philoſophy, which glar'd in the Head only, but ſeldom reach'd the Heart, and excepting *Socrates*, never made a Martyr; for as *Zeno* was wont to ſay, he had rather ſee one *Indian* burnt, than hear a hundred fine Reaſons for enduring Pain, ſo does our good *Juſtin* acknowledge that by Dint of Chriſtian Paſſive Courage he was in a great meaſure wrought into Conviction.

When I read the manner of his Converſion, and hear the good old Guide ſaying what little Deference he had for his admir'd Sages, *Plato* and *Pythagoras*, οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ μέλει Πλάτωνος, οὐδὲ Πυθαγόρου, *Dial. cum Tryph. p.* 224. and ſending him to the Scriptures only for Inſtruction; when I ſee the Martyr all on Fire with this Divine Philoſophy, and his Paſſion for earthly Wiſdom quite extinguiſh'd by this Heavenly Light, and confeſſing that the Chriſtian was the only Philoſopher; when again I hear him complain of the lamentable Reaſonings and wretched Inconſiſtences of Human Brain, and that nothing is to be depended on but the Divinely inſpir'd Writings, *Paræn. ad Græc. p.* 8, 9. when I hear him ſay in his ſecond Apology, *p.* 152. ὅτι οὐκ ἀλλότρια ἐστι τὰ Πλάτωνος δόγματα τῶν Χριστοῦ, *that the Doctrines of* Plato *are not alien to thoſe of Chriſt*; and withal affirming in this, that *Plato* had all his Divinity from *Moſes* and the Prophets; when I find this Chriſtian Philoſopher thus emptying himſelf of all his former Notions, and clearing his Mind of that Learned Lumber, I cannot but think that the Martyr has hard uſage after all this Self-denial, to be ſtill charg'd for indulging his Fancy, and Platonizing even in the great Articles of the Chriſtian Faith. Reaſon good indeed, that *Daniel Zuicker* and

his Brethren ſhou'd thus charge him, for he has too frequently and too expreſly aſſerted the Divinity of the *Logos* and the Prophetick Spirit; and therefore as ever they hope to be credited, they muſt be ſure to blaſt his Authority, and make him introduce the Trinity not from the Scripture, but the Schools; tho' the notorious Difference between *Plato* and *Juſtin* in this very Myſtery, is in it ſelf ſufficient to juſtifie him from Platonizing in Fundamentals, * if his Sincerity is not.

With as good Reaſon is St. *Juſtin* thus tax'd by theſe Hereticks, as St. *John* was by the Platoniſt *Amelius*, who upon reading the firſt Verſes of his Goſpel, cry'd out, *Per Jovem Barbarus iſte cum Platone noſtro ſentit*, By *Jove* this Barbarian has been ſhirking from our Maſter *Plato*. The Author of the *Hiſtorical Vindication of the Naked Goſpel*, lays about him terribly in his Preface againſt 'the Corrupters of the Primitive 'Purity of the Goſpel with Pagan Philoſophy and Pa'gan Ceremonies, and the Obtruders of the *Platonick* 'Enthuſiaſm upon the World for Faith, Myſtery, and 'Revelation; he ſays, that *Platoniſm* was tranſported 'from *Greece* into *Egypt* and *Syria*, and there imbi'bed by the *Jews* in their Diſperſion, and ſo came 'to be the current Opinions amongſt 'em in the time 'of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, and this perhaps 'was the Occaſion, as Learned Men obſerve, that we 'find ſuch *Platonick* Phraſes and Forms of Speech in 'the New Teſtament, and eſpecially in the Goſpel 'of St. *John*. Thus we have St. *John* himſelf charg'd with *Platonizing*, becauſe he has too poſitively aſſerted the Divinity of Chriſt, and conſequently the Holy Ghoſt that inſpir'd him is by the ſame Author accus'd of Philoſophizing from a Heathen, in an Article that paſſes all Underſtanding; but 'tis the Glory of *Juſtin*

* See *Caſaubon* ſeverely animadverted upon by *Lanſelius* for the ſame Charge in his Diſputation annex'd to *Juſtin*'s Works.

to

to be traduc'd by ſuch Men, as will not ſtick to traduce an Apoſtle.

Thus much I thought my ſelf oblig'd to premiſe in vindication of the Martyr, from an Imputation too commonly granted by good Writers, but always pleaded by Hereticks in abatement to his Authority in the Doctrine of the Trinity, and which would be a Blot on his Integrity, a Blemiſh on all his Works, were it not falſe in Fact; and becauſe I verily think that *Du Pin* and other great Criticks have not done our Author juſtice in this point: For certainly a Perſon ſo ſincere in all his Dealings with God and Man, ſo humble and ſubmiſſive in all his Reaſonings, and ſo entirely Chriſtian in Word and Deed, ſhould not eaſily be granted to blend Chriſtianity with *Platoniſm*, and to play the Philoſopher in the moſt tremendous Myſtery of the ever Bleſſed Trinity; and when he has ſo expreſly renounc'd both the Riches and the Wiſdom of the World, we may in my opinion as reaſonably tax him with Covetouſneſs, as *Platoniſm*.

This Orthodox and faithful Servant of *Jeſus Chriſt* was at *Rome*, when the Perſecution rais'd under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* began to break out, where he compos'd this Excellent Apology in behalf of the Chriſtians: It is commonly called the Second, and as ſuch plac'd in the Editions of his Works, but is now on all hands agreed to be the Firſt; for *Euſebius* affirms the other not to be preſented till the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus* the Philoſopher, and Succeſſor of *Antoninus Pius*, wherein he foretels his own Death by the malicious Contrivance of one *Creſcens* a *Cynick* Philoſopher, whom he had convinc'd of Ignorance and Debauchery.

The Deſign and Subject of this Apology, is to lay before the Emperor, the Senate, and the People, the Injuſtice of their Proceedings againſt the Chriſtian Sect: He tells them that they were hunted after with all the Sagacity of Malice, and when diſcover'd, moſt

inhumanly dragg'd to the Tribunal, and there againſt the known Rules of Equity, and without ſo much as the Formalities of Juſtice condemned; that the Judges inquir'd not into their Crimes, but their Religion; that the Name of Chriſtian was Article ſufficient for the worſt of Deaths; that a Man might profeſs himſelf a Rebel, a Robber, a Murtherer, or any thing, much ſafer than a Chriſtian; that the Gods they worſhipped were the Spirits of Dead Men, and Devils, and theſe were the prime Agents in their Ruin: He anſwers the Charge of Atheiſm by profeſſing the Worſhip of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt: He confeſſes indeed that they did not worſhip with ſuch waſteful and expenſive Sacrifices as they did; but what they laviſh'd away upon vain Gods, the Chriſtians laid out upon the Poor and Needy; that the Chriſtian Sacrifices were Bread and Wine and Water only, wherein they agniz'd the Lord and Maker of all things, and commemorated the Death of Chriſt, join'd with the rational Service of Prayers, Praiſes, and Thankſgivings: He argues their Innocence from their Principles, and draws up a Summary of Chriſtian Ethicks from the Goſpel, and herein ſhews how far Chriſt has advanc'd Morality above the Standard of Philoſophy, he proves their Practice agreeable to their Principles, that ſince they were Chriſtians, they were new Creatures, they had quite another Situation and Turn of Soul, their Thoughts continually upward, and all their Projects upon a World to come, and they wanted Death only to put 'em in poſſeſſion of God and Eternal Happineſs; that their Religion had already made a glorious, but unbloody Conqueſt upon great part of Mankind, and by living up to their moſt Holy Faith they had liv'd their Enemies into Converſion, and happy wou'd it be for Kingdoms and Empires, did all Men believe and live as they did: He ſhews what little reaſon they had to object againſt the worſhipping the crucify'd Son

of

of God, they who had ſuch a Pack of *Jove*'s Children both Sons and Daughters in Worſhip amongſt themſelves, many of which ſuffer'd Death, tho' not upon the Croſs: He argues the Divinity of the Chriſtian Religion from antient Prophecies; and tho' Prophecy in it ſelf is an Argument unanſwerable, yet has it a mighty acceſſion of Force and Beauty, when addreſs'd to a People who had the Fulfilling it, as in many caſes the *Romans* had: He argues it likewiſe from the Miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and from the ſupernatural Progreſs it made ever ſince the poor Apoſtles departure from *Jeruſalem*; and that, contrary to all other Sects, the Chriſtians ſhould encreaſe and ſpread from the Blood of their Hero's, and from their continual Succeſs and Advancement by the ſtrange unheard-of Arms only of Prayer and Patience. Towards the Concluſion of this Apology we have a Deſcription of Two, and but Two, Sacraments in the Primitive Church, namely, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, and a Summary of that Faith which was requir'd of Perſons who came to be baptiz'd, which was not a bare Belief of this ſingle Propoſition, *That Jeſus of Nazareth was the Chriſt or the Meſſiah*, but an explicit Profeſſion of Faith in God the Lord and Maker of all things, and in *Jeſus Chriſt* crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate*, and in the Holy Spirit who ſpake by the Prophets, with a ſolemn Engagement to live as becometh the Goſpel: He mentions alſo the joint Faſtings of the Congregation and Competent, or the Perſon to be baptiz'd, for the Remiſſion of his former Sins, and then he is led to a Pond of Water and immerged in the Form aforeſaid. Then follows a Deſcription of the Euchariſt, the Adminiſtration of it in both Kinds by the Biſhop, the Qualifications of a Communicant, the Heads of Common Prayers in which the People join'd, and in which they did not join, the Kiſs of Charity, the ſameneſs of the Elements after Conſecration, and their converſion into

the Nouriſhment and Subſtance of our Fleſh; the Collections at the Communion depoſited in the hands of the Biſhop, and for what Uſes, with an account of their Aſſemblies upon the Lord's Day: Which Qualifications render this Apology one of the moſt conſiderable Records of Chriſtian Antiquity, wherein we have the moſt Fundamental Articles of our Faith expreſly aſſerted, the Sacrament adminiſtred to the People in both Kinds, our ſet Forms of Prayer juſtify'd, our way of Worſhip and Ceremony vindicated, to the Honour of the Church of *England*, to the Reproach of that of *Rome*, and to the Shame of all our Adverſaries.

This Apology is the more valuable upon the ſcore of its Antiquity; for the Author in his Epiſtle to *Diognetus* ſtyles himſelf *a Diſciple of the Apoſtles*, and [f] *Photius* mentions him with the moſt honourable Character, ἀνὴρ ὅτε τῷ χρόνῳ πόῤῥω τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὅτε τῇ ἀρετῇ, *that he was a Man little behind even the Apoſtles themſelves either in point of Time or Virtue*; ſo very little, that there is hardly the diſtance of fifty Years between St. *John*'s Revelation and St. *Juſtin*'s Apology; and if the Chriſtian Faith liv'd not to theſe Years in its Original Purity, it came up and was cut down like a Flower, and liv'd not to the Age of Man; and if a Religion in which all the Sacred Trinity of Perſons had their reſpective Charges, and for which the World had been forming from the Fall of *Adam* by a long Succeſſion of Prophecies and Providences extraordinary; if a Plant thus planted by our Heavenly Father, and water'd by the Blood of his Son, and nurs'd up by his Holy Spirit; if ſuch a Religion was ſo ſoon corrupted in its very Eſſentials, what muſt we think of Providence, and that Promiſe which ſays that the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it? But if the Miracles done by the Apoſtles are an undeniable Argument for the Purity of the Faith in the Apoſtolick

[f] *Biblioth. Cod.* 234.

Age,

Age, then the ſame Miracles done by their Succeſſors, and in the ſame Name of the Crucify'd Jeſus, are as good an Argument for the like Purity in the Ages following; and to the Power of ejecting evil Spirits in the Name of Jeſus crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate* does *Juſtin* Martyr appeal in many [g] places; and *Iræneus Juſtin*'s cotemporary, ſpeaks, I think, as magnificently of the miraculous Gifts and Graces of the Church in his time, as I find any where in the New Teſtament concerning the very Age of the Apoſtles; [h] he ſays, that the Signs and Wonders wrought by Hereticks, were neither beneficial to Mankind, nor wrought in the Name of Jeſus (which by the way were two good Rules to diſtinguiſh True from Falſe) but by ſacrificing to infernal Demons, and ſuch like Magick Incantations; that the Miracles of the Faithful were always for the publick Good, and done in publick, and in the Name of Chriſt; They cur'd the Blind and Deaf, the Lame and Sick of the Palſie, and of any other Diſeaſe; They cur'd 'em by the ſame Ceremony as the Apoſtles did: *viz.* By impoſition of Hands, by the ſame Faſtings and Prayers, and by the ſame Invocation of the ſacred Name of Jeſus crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate*; they rais'd the Dead, and that too (as he affirms) *ſæpiſſime*, *very commonly*, which the very Apoſtles are ſeldom ſaid to do, and the Perſons ſo raiſed, did not juſt riſe only, but liv'd and convers'd among 'em for many Years; they ejected Devils, they had the Gift of Prophecy, of Tongues, and diſcerning of Spirits, *&c.* Theſe and many more miraculous Graces recounted by *Irenæus*, are not ſpoken of as things paſt and over, and ſuch as he had receiv'd by hear-ſay only, but as the common Privileges of all the

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[g] *Apol.* 2. p. 45. *Dialog. cum Tryph.* p. 269. *Dialog. cum Tryph.* p. 254. p. 256.

[h] *Iren.* lib. ii. cap. 56.

Churches

Churches in his Time, ſuch Miracles as, *per ſingulos dies in opitulationem Gentium perficerentur*, were done every Day for the Benefit of the Gentiles, ſuch as he himſelf had ſeen and heard in the publick Aſſemblies of the Church, and which were confirm'd by the Teſtimony of the univerſal Church. I ſhall now leave it to any Man to judge, what Deference and Authority is juſtly due to the Writings of ſuch Perſons as liv'd and taught in this Seaſon of Miracles, and ſign'd their Doctrine with their Blood, as our *Juſtin* did; and whether the Church continued not in its Original Apoſtolick Purity in that Age, when all the mighty Works were done by the Succeſſors, as were done by the very Apoſtles themſelves.

As to the Genuineſs of this Apology, tho' imperfect in ſome places either by the Negligence or Ignorance of Tranſcribers, yet has it always paſs'd for the undoubted Iſſue of *Juſtin* the Martyr; [1] *Euſebius* places it in the front of thoſe Works of *Juſtin*, which were preſerv'd till his Time, and withal adds, that he was a Perſon of ſuch Authority with the Ancients, that *Irenæus* expreſly quotes him by Name, in his 4th and 5th Book againſt Hereſies, and I may add too that, he has tranſcrib'd from this very Apology almoſt word for word in his 3*d*. Book cap. 2. and ſo again, likewiſe in his 2*d*. Book cap. 56. and elſewhere; and how frequently *Tertullian* in his Apologetick has imitated this of *Juſtin*, the Reader will ſoon find; but to put the Matter beyond diſpute, the Martyr himſelf makes mention of this very Apology in his Dialogue with *Trypho*.

In the tranſlating, I made uſe of the Edition publiſh'd at *Oxford* by the very learned Dr. *Grabe*; and as to the manner of the Verſion, give me leave to ſay, that as I have not been ſo ſervily faithful on the one Hand, as to render word for word, ſo have I not

[1] *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* lib. 4. cap. 18.

been

been ſo much a Libertin on the other, as to run out into the Exceſſes of a Paraphraſe, I have kept a ſtrict Eye upon the Original, and been true to the Senſe, Order, and Conſtruction of the words, to the beſt of my Skill in that Language and my own; ſo that the meaneſt Reader may depend upon the Integrity of the Verſion, and he who deſigns to go thro' the Fathers in their Mother Tongue, will find himſelf much eas'd in his Travels, and much ſooner at his Journey's End; and in the Study of Divinity not to begin with the Fathers, is not only an abſurd Contempt of the beſt Men, and the ſoundeſt Chriſtians, but is in effect to begin at the wrong end, and to ſtudy backwards; I found it unavoidable now and then, not to put in a word or two in order to illuſtrate the meaning of the Text, and to continue the Thread and Coherence of the Argument, for his Digreſſions are frequent, and his Periods and Parentheſes ſometimes of great length and obſcurity; for as [k] *Photius* long ago obſerv'd, This great Man took little care in dreſſing his Thoughts, and ſetting off the Chriſtian Truths with the Imbelliſhments of Art, and according to the Wiſdom of the World; and therefore his Writings, though very learned, are not bright and ſparkling, nor have they the Grace and Elegancy of poliſh'd Diſcourſes. This Character is verify'd throughout all his Works, which are extremely full of Citations both from ſacred and prophane Writings, without Order, without Ornament; but to me there is a deal of Force and Beauty, if I may ſo ſpeak, in this very Art of Diſorder and Negligence, there is a ſtrange Power in naked Truth, as ſtrangely and as differently moving from that of formal Eloquence, as the preſſing Cries of a Man in a Storm are from the Deſcriptions of a Poet; the Martyr writes like an honeſt Servant who is more concerned about the faithful Delivery of his

[k] *Phot.* c. 125. p. 304.

Meſſage,

Meſſage, than about Finery and Flowers of Rhetorick, he knew with St. *Paul* that *the Kingdom of God was not in word, but in Power*; I have therefore conſider'd his way of Diction, and endeavour'd to make the Greek Father ſpeak Engliſh worthy of himſelf, with Authority and Plaineſs, without any Pomp and Glitter of Expreſſion, and to preſerve not only the Senſe, but the Spirit of my Author from evaporating in the Transfuſion.

In my Annotations I have ſtudiouſly avoided dry and barren Criticiſms, nor have I interrupted and perplex'd my Reader with various Lections, nor cram'd him with the tedious Collections of *Langus* and *Kortholtus*, this, I confeſs, I ſpeak in a kind of Indignation, becauſe both theſe Annotators have never help'd me in time of need, and are for ever quoting, where one needs them not; Dr. *Grabe* lets in more Day upon an obſcure Paſſage in four Lines, than is to be found in their whole Maſs of Quotations; his Notes therefore, which are moſt edifying, I have interwoven with my own, and refer'd to thoſe which are purely critical; I have very ſeldom departed from this judicious Perſon, and where I have, I have given my Reaſons for ſo doing; I have likewiſe noted ſuch Specialties, as have been excepted againſt in this Apology, and where I have been longer than ordinary, it has been either to vindicate this faithful Servant and Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt from the Calumnies of Hereticks, and the Cavils of the Sons of Latitude, or elſe to ſet ſome Primitive Cuſtoms which are but juſt hinted at in a fuller Light for the Benefit of the Unskilful.

I have now nothing more to ſay, but only to deſire the Reader to warm himſelf by this Fire, to fill his Mind with a juſt Idea both of the *Form* and the *Power of Primitive Godlineſs*. What a thing that was, he will have but a faint Notion of from the Writings, and a much fainter, God knows! from the

the Practices of this degenerate Age; the Firſt Chriſtians wrote about Matters, their Hearts, as well as Heads were full of; they ſpeak with the Paſſion and Sincerity of dying Men, and therefore we may reaſonably expect more powerful and piercing Perſuaſives from a Profeſſor in Flames than from one in Eaſe and Security.

And if this little Treatiſe in the Defence of Chriſtians, ſhall in any wiſe contribute to revive the ancient Spirit of Chriſtianity amongſt us, and bring *old Moderation* into faſhion, which was not a moderate Love or Lukewarmneſs for God and Religion, but a mighty tenderneſs for the Perſons of Men, with a juſt Hatred of their Sin, and a moſt fervent Zeal for the great Articles of Faith, and the ſpiritual unalienable Rights of the Chriſtian Church; if this I ſay ſhall contribute any thing to make Men live more lovingly, ſoberly, and godly, I have my end; nor ſhall I think my time ill ſpent in Tranſlation, tho' leſs glorious in Opinion, but perhaps not leſs perplexing, than original Productions.

THE

THE FIRST APOLOGY OF St. JUSTIN FOR THE CHRISTIANS TO ANTONINUS PIUS.

I. TO the [a] Emperour *Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Auguſtus Cæſar*; and to his Son *Veriſſimus* the Philoſopher; and to *Lucius* the Philoſopher, the Natural Son of *Cæſar*, but the

[a] From this liberal Inſcription of Titles, you may ſee, that St. *Juſtin* was not of the ſame Spirit with our *Quakers*, in point of Salutation; for the underſtanding of which Inſcription you are to take notice that the Firſt named in it, is the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, the Adoptive Son of *Adrian*; the Second called *Veriſſimus*, is *Marcus Antoninus* the Philoſopher, the Adoptive Son of *Antoninus Pius*; the Third is *Lucius Verus* the Son of *Ælius Verus*, who had been *Cæſar*, and was the Adoptive Son of *Antoninus Pius*. The Titles here beſtow'd by the Martyr were the moſt beloved ones; for the Family of the *Antonines* from *Adrian* to *Commodus* affected the Title of Philoſophers, as much as that of Fathers of their Country, *&c.*

Adopted

Adopted of *Pius*, the Lover of Learning; and to the Sacred Senate, and to all the People of *Rome*; in the behalf of Men of all Ranks and Nations unjuſtly loaded with publick Odium and Oppreſſion, [b] I *Juſtin* the Son of *Priſcus* and Grandſon of *Bacchius* Natives of *Flavia* [c] *Neapolis* of *Paleſtine Syria*, I who am one of this ſuffering Multitude, [d] humbly offer this Apology.

II. 'Tis the Voice of Reaſon, and ever attended to by Men truly pious and worthy the Name of Philoſopher, that Truth alone is the thing to be had in the higheſt Honour, and to hold the firſt place in our Affections, and the Ancients to be follow'd not one ſtep farther

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[b] Ἰουστῖνος Πείσκου τοῦ Βακχείου &c. *Jerome* in his Catalogue makes *Priſcus Bacchius* the Father of *Juſtin*, and herein is followed by *Chriſtophorſon*, and by all the Verſions of *Juſtin*, till That corrected by the Learned Dr. *Grabe*; but 'tis evident from the Conſtruction of the Words, that *Priſcus* was the Father, and *Bacchius* the Grandfather; for τοῦ ἀπὸ φλαυΐας being of the Plural Number cannot agree with Πείσκου τοῦ Βακχείου of the Singular, if it was but one Perſon. The Great *Du Pin* has taken up with this common Miſtake, and the Ingenious Author of the Notes upon him has overlook'd it alſo; which I the rather wonder at, becauſe the Excellent Dr. *Cave*, whom he is pleas'd ſometimes to animadvert upon, wou'd have ſet him to rights in this matter in his moſt accurate Life of this Martyr. *Vid. Tom.* I. *Spicileg. Patr. Sæc.* II. *p.* 134. and *Valeſ.* Notes upon *Euſeb. p.* 66.

[c] This *Flavia Neapolis* anciently went by the Name of *Sichem*, a noted City of *Paleſtine* in the Province of *Samaria*, and from a Colony ſent thither by *Flavius Veſpaſian* called *Flavia*. *Vid. Not. Valeſ. ad Euſeb. lib.* 4. *cap.* 12.

[d] Ἔντευξιν. *Valeſius* in his Notes upon this Word in *Euſebius*, *p.* 66. ſays that ἐντυγχάνειν is to go and ſupplicate the Emperour either by a Petition in Writing or by word of Mouth, and ſo τὸ προσφώνησιν καὶ ἔντευξιν ποιεῖσθαι are both included in this Verſion, whether it was deliver'd in Writing, or by word of Mouth, according to *Perionius*.

than

than they are Followers of Truth. The ſame right Reaſon dictates alſo, that we are not only not to ſtrike in with any Sect of Men, unjuſt either in Practice or Principle, but moreover that a Lover of Truth muſt by all means, and before Life it ſelf, and in defiance of all the Menaces of Death, chooſe to ſquare his Words and Actions by the Rules of Juſtice, whatever it coſt him: And whereas you wear the Glorious Titles of *Pious and Philoſophers, and Guardians of Juſtice and Lovers of Learning*; tho' theſe, I ſay, are the darling Characters you affect to be diſtinguiſh'd by ev'ry where; yet whether you make 'em good or no, ſhall be ſeen by the following Diſcourſe; for we come not here with a deſign to flatter, or ingratiate by the power of Fine Words, but we come in plain terms, to demand Judgment according to the ſtricteſt and exacteſt Rules of Juſtice; that neither Prejudice, nor the Vanity of getting into the good Graces of ſuperſtitious Men, nor blind Paſſion, or a ſcandalous Report which has ſo long prepoſſeſs'd you, might any longer prevail with you to paſs Sentence againſt your ſelves *by condemning the Innocent:* For 'tis a Maxim among us Chriſtians, that we cannot poſſibly ſuffer any Real Hurt, if we cannot be convicted of doing any Real Evil: [e] *You may Kill indeed but you cannot hurt us.*

III. But

[e] Ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνασθε, βλάψαι δ' οὔ. In this Sentence I doubt not but our Martyr had reference to that of *Plato*, where we have the ſame Senſe in almoſt the ſame Words, and in

III. But that you may not look upon this as a senseless Bravado, or bold Flourish only, we pray the Charge against Christians may be examin'd into, and if upon examination the Allegations prove true, let 'em be punish'd accordingly, [f] *or rather do you who are the Judges award the Punishment, and not leave it to the discretion of the Mob.* But if nothing criminal can be made out against us, you cannot surely judge it reasonable, to injure an harmless People barely upon an evil Report; tho' let me tell you, while thus you consult not your Judgment but your Passion in the distributions of Justice, you'll pull down the Mischief upon your selves which you are heaping upon us. Ev'ry Man of Sense must own it the fairest and most equitable way of Proceeding in Courts of Judicature, for the People to deliver in a just unexceptionable Declaration of their Words and Actions; and then for the Magistrates to proceed to Sentence, not as the Lust of Tyranny and Oppression pushes on, but as Piety and true Wisdom steer their Judgment. By this Expedient, happy will the Prince and happy will the People be who are in such a Case; for 'tis a Saying

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an Apology: For thus *Socrates* tells the *Athenians*, Ἴσως γὰρ ἂν ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνατε τοιοῦτον ὄντα οἷον ἐγὼ λέγω, οὐκ ἐμὲ μείζω βλάψετε ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. ἐμὲ γὰρ οὐδὲν βλάψει οὔτε Μέλητος οὔτε Ἄνυτος, &c. *Plato*'s Apology of *Socrates. Camb. Edit.* p. 26.

[f] Μᾶλλον δὲ κολάζειν. I have follow'd Dr. *Grabe*'s Conjecture in the Version of these Words. But Dr. *Cave* translates 'em thus: *Nay, let 'em be more severely punish'd than other Men.* Prim. Christianit. p. 83.

of [g] one of the Ancients, *That till Magiſtrates and People both thus philoſophize, the Body Politick will never be well.* Accordingly therefore it ſhall be my Buſineſs in the firſt place, to lay before the Publick a faithful Memorial of our Life and Doctrine, that we may not thank our ſelves for our Sufferings, which for want of due Information you may inflict upon us; but then remember, 'tis your Parts and Duties, according to the aforeſaid Rule of Reaſon, to ſee, that when you have heard the Cauſe, you are found to judge righteous Judgment; for believe me, you will be without Excuſe before God for the time to come, if after you underſtand the Chriſtian Cauſe, you refuſe a Chriſtian Juſtice; the bare Appellation of a Name without any Fact falling under that Name, is looked upon as neither good nor evil; and as for our Name which is tantamount to a Crime againſt a Chriſtian, if we are try'd upon that Article, we muſt certainly be acquitted as very good Men; but as we ſhou'd deem it unreaſonable when convicted of real Crimes to plead a bare Name only in arreſt of Judgment, ſo on the other ſide, if both with reſpect to our Name, and the Nature of our Polity, we are found altogether innocent, it lies at your Door to take care, leſt by unjuſtly puniſhing a People convicted of no Evil, you your ſelves deſervedly ſmart for ſuch Injuſtice. Praiſe and Puniſhment

[g] *Platonis Lib.* V. *de Repub.* And it being a Saying alſo familiarly in the Mouths of theſe Emperors, it is the more pertinently made uſe of by the Apologiſt.

then

then cannot with reaſon be charg'd upon a meer Name, unleſs there be Actions either good or bad to juſtifie the Charge; but 'tis very notorious that when any of your own Religion are brought to Trial, you never puniſh before you convict 'em; [h] but when a Chriſtian is indicted, you ſnatch at the Shadow of his Name, for a ſubſtantial Crime; whereas wou'd you but give your ſelves leave to conſider that Name, you wou'd find it more becoming to animadvert upon the Accuſers, than the Accuſed; for [i] we are indicted by the Name of Chreſtians, but now χρηστὸς is a word for kind or good; and ſuch a word ſurely cannot be a juſt Foundation for Hatred; again, if any of the Accuſed retract the Name of Chriſtian, you take him preſently at his Word, and acquit him, as having nothing more criminal to charge againſt him; but he who has the Cou-

[h] This is the general Complaint which runs thro' all the Ancient Apologies, that they were accus'd, condemn'd, and executed meerly for the Name of Chriſtian; and this Name in truth was their Boaſt, their Ornament of Grace, the Chain about their Neck in which they glory'd above all the Titles here below; and therefore when the Champion *Attalus* was led about the Amphitheater in Scorn, he had a Tablet before him with this Inſcription, *This is Attalus the Chriſtian*, Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. 5. p. 162. And when Chriſtianity had well nigh ſubdu'd the World, *Julian* the Apoſtate ſet himſelf to baniſh this Name from the Face of the Earth, and always in Deriſion call'd the Chriſtians, Galileans; and not only ſo, but made a Law, that they ſhou'd only be called by that Name. *Naz. Invect. in Julian.* 1. *p.* 81.

[i] The Ignorance and Malice of perſecuting upon the account of this Name, you'll find in *Tertullian*, cap. 3. *Lactan.* lib. 4. cap. 7. our Saviour is called *Chreſtos* by *Suetonius*, *in vitâ Claudii*; but *Tacitus* who liv'd in the ſame Age with him, is right in the Name both of Chriſt and Chriſtians. *Quos vulgo Chriſtianos appellabat*, and then adds, *Auctor nominis ejus Chriſtus. Tacit. Annal. lib.* 15.

rage to ſtick to the Profeſſion of his Name, is certain to ſuffer for ſo doing; when the Life of the Profeſſor, and the Non-profeſſor both ought to be the Subject of your Inquiry, that the Merits of both might be manifeſted by their Actions.

IV. [k] But as ſome Diſciples have ſo learn'd their Maſter Chriſt, as to witneſs a good Confeſſion, and when put to the Queſtion have by their Chriſtian Bravery ſo wrought upon their Enemies as to win 'em over, if not to embrace the Faith, yet at leaſt to admire it; ſo on the contrary, others by not living up to their Holy Profeſſion, have given occaſion to the diſſolute part of Mankind to blaſpheme Chriſtianity in general for their ſakes; but neither is this right, for many among you put on the Name and Habit of a Philoſopher, whoſe Lives are not of a piece with their Dreſs, or ſuitable to their Profeſſion, and you know very well, that there have been thoſe who have held and propagated Opinions contrary to the Ancients, and yet have all been cloath'd alike with the

[k] The Lives of the Primitive Profeſſors were one of the greateſt and moſt ſenſible Arguments, that by degrees ſubdu'd the Heathen World to Chriſtianity; this was the Motive that work'd upon our *Juſtin*, he ſaw prodigious Sufferings and prodigious Patience, he ſaw that their Principles were above the Standard of the beſt Philoſophy, and what they taught, they liv'd, and conſequently that ſuch good People muſt have good reaſon for what they did and ſuffer'd ſo extraordinarily, — *I thought with my ſelf* (ſaid he) *that it was not poſſible for ſuch Perſons to wallow in Vice and Senſuality, it being the Intereſt of the wicked and voluptuous to avoid Death, to diſſemble with Princes and Magiſtrates, and to do any thing to ſave their Skins.* And this from a Platonick brought him over to be a Chriſtian. *Apol.* 1. according to the *Cologn* Ed. *p.* 50.

Name

Name of Philoſopher; nay, there have been Profeſſors of Atheiſm, and your Poets have very liberally indulged their Muſe upon the Uncleanneſs of *Jove* and his Family, and the ſucceeding Wits who tread in their Steps, and eſpouſe the ſame Opinions, are ſo far from being taken up and proſecuted, that you aſſign 'em publick Penſions and Honours for thus ſweetly expoſing your Gods.

V. Why then may not we Chriſtians meet with a little of this good Uſage, we who will give Security not to do any Harm, or to harbour any Opinions that have a real Tendency to Atheiſm? But you hold not the Scales of Juſtice even, for inſtigated by headſtrong Paſſions, and driven on alſo by the inviſible Whips of evil Dæmons, you take great care we ſhall ſuffer, tho' you care not for what; for [1] verily I muſt tell you, that heretofore theſe impure Spirits under various Apparitions went into the Daughters of Men, and defiled Boys, and dreſs'd up ſuch Scenes of Horror, that ſuch as enter'd not into the Reaſons of Things, but judg'd by Appearance only, ſtood aghaſt at the Specters, and being ſhrunk up with Fear and Amazement, and never imagining 'em to be

[1] This he alſo repeats in his other Apology; and how current this Opinion was before and after the time of *Juſtin*, you may ſee in the Notes *ad Spicileg. Patr. Sæc.* 1. *p.* 369. They concluded theſe evil Spirits to have a finer ſort of Body which was refreſh'd from the Nidours and Steams of the Sacrifices, and from the amazing Power they exercis'd upon Mankind, together with a miſtaken Paſſage in Scripture, as I have ſhewn in my Notes upon *Tertull. cap.* 22. aroſe this Opinion.

Devils, call'd 'em Gods, and invok'd 'em by ſuch Titles, as every Devil was pleas'd to Nickname himſelf by. When *Socrates* therefore, by dint of true Reaſon, diligently apply'd himſelf to bring theſe hidden Works of Darkneſs to Light, and to reſcue Mankind from the Impoſitions of Devils, then theſe very Devils ſtruck in with Men of the ſame black Spirit and delight in Miſchief, to [m] get *Socrates* taken off for an ungodly wicked Fellow, and an Introducer of new Demons; the ſame Train have they laid againſt us, and are working our Ruin with all their might; for not only *Socrates* employ'd his Share of Reaſon among the *Greeks*, to argue 'em out of theſe Impoſtures, but even the very *Logos* or Reaſon it ſelf took upon Him the Form and Nature of a Man to deſtroy the ſame Kingdom of Darkneſs among the *Barbarians*; upon whoſe Word it is, that we aver theſe *Dæmons* to be not only not good, but evil and abominable Spirits, whoſe Actions Men of any Affection for Virtue would be aſham'd to imitate; and for this worſhipful Rea-

[m] That when *Socrates* was ſetting up the worſhip of one God at *Athens*, one Article of *Melitus* againſt him, was, that he was Ἄθεος an Atheiſt, and an Introducer of ſtrange Gods, ſee the aforemention'd Apol. of *Plato*, *p.* 18. and in what Senſe *Socrates* and other virtuous Philoſophers are ſaid to have been Partakers of the Divine *Logos* I will ſhew hereafter. I keep to the Term *Logos* in the Engliſh, becauſe I think it leſs ambiguous, and more expreſſive of the Perſonality of the Son of God than barely the Word, as we render it in St. *John*; and becauſe *Juſtin Martyr* is thought to be ſomething particular, as you'll ſee anon, in the Explanation of it.

ſon

ſon is it that we are branded with the Name of [n] Atheiſt.

VI. And thus far we frankly confeſs the Charge, that with reſpect to the Gods in worſhip among you, we are Atheiſts, but far otherwiſe in reſpect of the moſt true God, the Father of Righteouſneſs, Purity, and ev'ry Virtue, a God infinitely remov'd from the leaſt mixture or ſpot of Evil; Him and His only begotten Son, (who [o] has inſtructed us in what I juſt now mention'd concerning theſe evil Spirits, and likewiſe acquainted us with another Hoſt of good and Godlike miniſtring Spirits) Both theſe, I ſay, together with the Spirit,

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[n] Chriſtianity was called *The Atheiſm*; and by the Emperor *Julian* is ſeldom call'd by any other Name. And thus *Lucian* ranks the Chriſtians with Atheiſts and Epicureans. *Pſeudomant*, p. 828. Tom. 21.

[o] Καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων, &c. *Bellarmin*, *Petavius*, and other Doctors of the *Romiſh* Church, have notoriouſly play'd the Jeſuite upon this Paſſage, and forc'd *Juſtin* to ſpeak for the worſhip of Angels in this manner, by the help of a Comma after ταῦτα;—*God and his Son who has thus taught us, and the Hoſt of good Angels, and the Spirit who ſpake by the Prophets, we worſhip*, &c. So that here we have the Third Perſon in the ever bleſſed Trinity to be worſhipped in the fourth Place after the Angels; but to ſee how knaviſhly they have dealt with our Author in this Place, and for a fuller Explication of the Words, I refer to the excellent Biſhop *Bull* in his *Defenſ. Fid. Nic. p.* 70. whoſe Senſe I have follow'd, but Dr. *Cave* tranſlates it thus, *Him and his only begotten Son, (who inſtructed us and the whole Society of good Angels in theſe Divine Myſteries)* Prim. Chriſtianity p. 13. And for this Senſe is Dr. *Grabe* in his Annotations. It appears indeed from the Apoſtle's Caveat in his Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, that Angel-worſhip crept into the Church very early, but it was always cry'd out againſt, and at laſt publickly condemn'd by the whole *Laodicean* Council, Can. 35. and beſides you will quickly find *Juſtin* in this very Apology ſaying, that *God only is to be worſhip'd*; and repeating the Trinity of Perſons as the Object of Worſhip, without any mention of Angels,

who ſpake by the Prophets, we worſhip and adore, and our way of worſhipping is [p] in Spirit and Truth; and as we have been taught, ſo are we ready to communicate the ſame freely, to every one that is willing to learn.

VII. But perhaps 'twill be objected, that ſome Chriſtians have been taken up and convicted as Evil-doers: well, I'll grant the Objection and more, not only that ſome, but many, and at many times, have been thus duely convicted upon a fair Tryal; but then I muſt tell you again, that you condemn'd not the Perſons aforeſaid as Criminals, but as Chriſtians. Moreover, we confeſs that as all the Sects in general among the *Greeks* went under the common Name of Philoſopher, tho' extremely different in Opinions; ſo [q] truly among the *Barbarians*, the Profeſſors of this new Wiſdom, whether in reality or Appearance only, go all by the ſame Title, and are denominated Chriſtians; wherefore we pray that all thoſe who are indicted by the Name of Chriſtian, may be examin'd as to their Actions, and that every Perſon convict may ſuffer as an Evil-doer, and not as [r] a Chriſtian; and if he be found not guilty, that he may be diſcharg'd as a Chriſtian, who has done nothing worthy of Puniſh-

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[p] Λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, I tranſlate Spirit and Truth, according to that of St. *John*, in πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, to which *Sylburg* ſays they allude.

[q] *Clemens Alexandrinus* often calls the Jews, *Barbarians*; and *Epiphanius* calls Chriſtianity, *The Barbariſm*, Lang.

[r] *And not as a Chriſtian*, in alluſion to that of St. *Peter*, 1 *Pet.* cap. 4. v. 15.

ment.

ment. And as to our falſe Accuſers, far [f] be it from us to deſire you to puniſh 'em, their own painful Wickedneſs, and utter Ignorance of all that's good and amiable, is Puniſhment in abundance.

VIII. I cou'd wiſh you wou'd take this alſo into Conſideration, that what we ſay is really for your own Good, for 'tis in our Power at any time to eſcape your Torments, by denying the Faith when you queſtion us about it; but [t] we ſcorn to purchaſe Life at the Expence of a Lye; for [v] our Souls are wing'd with a Deſire of a Life of eternal Duration and Purity, of an immediate Converſation with God the Father, and Maker of all Things; we are in haſte to be confeſſing and finiſhing our Faith,

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[f] Οὐ γὰρ τοῦτ' καλ]ηλοῤῥήν]ας κολάζειν ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσομεν] This relates to the Reſcript of *Adrian* ſubjoyn'd to this Apology, wherein ſevere Penalties are threatned to the falſe Accuſers of Chriſtians.

[t] Mental Reſervation was a thing unknown to the Primitive Chriſtians, they look'd upon a Lye as bad in all, but monſtrous in a Chriſtian, as being a Renunciation of that Truth to which they had engag'd themſelves in Baptiſm, and therefore would not lye to ſave their Lives. Accordingly *Tertullian* rejects the Motion of ſaving Life by equivocating with the utmoſt Scorn and Contempt. Ap. c. 27.

[v] A Chriſtian, ſays *Tertullian*, thanks his Judges for condemning him. *Apol. cap.* 46. And when *Lucius* was charg'd by *Urbicius* for being a Chriſtian, becauſe he offer'd to ſpeak for one he thought had hard meaſure, he immediately confeſs'd the Charge, and was forthwith condemn'd, and thank'd his Judge for ſo doing. *Juſt. Mar. Apol.* 2. *p.* 43. And when *Arrius Antoninus*, Proconſul of *Aſia*, ſaw the Chriſtians voluntarily come thronging to Execution, he order'd ſome few only to be executed, crying out to the reſt—*O unhappy People, if you have ſuch a mind to dye, have you not Halters and Precipices enough to end your Lives with, but you muſt come here for Execution. Tertul.* ad Scap. c. 4. p. 71. So certain their Hopes, and ſo ſtrong their Paſſions for the Enjoyments of the other World.

being

being fully perſuaded that we ſhall arrive at this Beatifick State, if we approve our ſelves to God by our Works, and expreſs our Paſſion by our Obedience for that divine Life which is never interrupted by any claſhing Evil. But to lay before you in ſhort, what we expect, and what we have learn'd from Chriſt, and what we teach the World, take it as follows: *Plato*[w] and we are both alike agreed as to a future Judgment, but differ about the Judges; *Rhadamanthus* and *Minos* are his Judges, Chriſt ours. And moreover we ſay, that the Souls of the Wicked being reunited to the ſame Bodies ſhall be conſign'd over to eternal Torments, and not as *Plato* will have it, to the [x] Period of a thouſand Years only; but if you will affirm this to be incredible or impoſſible, there is no help but you muſt fall from Error to Error, till the Day of Judgment convinces you we are in the right.

IX. But we cannot vouchſafe to worſhip with numerous Victims, and [y] Garlands of Flowers,

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[w] Πλάτων δὲ ὁμοίως] *Vid.* Plat. *in Gorgia Tom.* 1. *Edit. Serrani pag.* 524. *& in Apol. Socrat.*

[x] Οὐχὶ χιλιονταέτη] *Vid.* Plat. *Timæum p.* 42. *Tom.* 3. *Edit Serran.* This Paſſage of *Juſtin* is expreſs for the Eternity of Hell Torments, and is a clear Comment upon that Place of *Juſtin* in his *Trypho*, where this Eternity of Torments may ſeem doubtful.—Αἱ ψυχαὶ) κολάζονται ἐς' ἂν αὐτὰς καὶ ἕτερον, καὶ κολάζεσθαι, ὁ Θεὸς θέλῃ. Dial. cum Tryph. 223.

[y] Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θυσίαις πολλαῖς καὶ πλοκαῖς ἀνθῶν] The Primitive Chriſtians ſtartl'd at every thing that had but the leaſt ſymbolizing with the Heathen Idolatry; they looked upon the very making of Idols without any deſign to worſhip them as an unlawful Trade, and inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity. *Tertull. de Idolat. c.* 6. *p.* 88.

The

Flowers, the Work of Mens Hands, what you muſt help into the Temple, and being ſo placed think fit to dub 'em Gods; for we know 'em to be ſenſeleſs inanimate Idols, and in nothing reſembling the Form of God, (for we cannot conceive God to be any wiſe like what is drawn to repreſent and honour him by) but in Imitation only of thoſe evil Spirits who have impos'd upon the World under ſuch Titles and Apparitions. But what need I mention to ſuch knowing Perſons, as you are, how the Artiſts manage the Subject Matter of their Gods, how they hack it and hew it, and caſt it and hammer it, and not ſeldom from Veſſels of Diſhonour, by changing their Figure only, and giving 'em another turn by the help of Art, out comes a worſhipful Sett of Things you call Gods. This we look upon not only as the higheſt flight of humane Folly, but as the moſt injurious Affront to the True God, who is a God of Glory and Form ineffable, thus to transfer his incommunicable [z] Name

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The Council of *Ancyra* condemn'd thoſe to a two Years ſuſpenſio from the Sacrament, who ſat down with their Heathen Friends upon their Feſtivals in their Idol-Temples, tho' they touch'd not one bit that was offer'd to the Idol. *Can.* 7. Nay, if a Chriſtian did but wear a Garland (a thing uſually done by the Heathen Prieſts) he was excommunicated for two Years; nay, if he did but go up to the Capitol to ſee the Gentile Sacrifices, and did not ſee them, he was puniſh'd as if he did. *Concil. Illiber. Vid. not. Albaſpin. Can.* 55. *p.* 69. *Can.* 59. *p.* 71. happy had it been for Chriſtendom had this Averſion to Idols continu'd to this Day.

[z] Ὃς—ἐπονομάζεται] To this purpoſe we find in the Book of *Wiſdom*, cap. 13. and cap. 14. v. 21. *They did aſcribe unto Stones and Stocks the incommunicable Name.*

upon

upon ſuch corruptible and helpleſs things, as Wood and Stone. Beſides, the Artificers of what you worſhip, are the lewdeſt of Men, and not to mention Particulars, practis'd in all ſorts of Wickedneſs, as you your ſelves are very ſenſible of; Men who debauch the Girls while they are helping 'em to make your Gods. O Stupidity of Men as Thunderſtruck! that ever you ſhould let ſuch Beaſts have an Hand in making your Gods, and put them and the Temples which hold 'em, under the Protection of ſuch Villains, never reflecting what an execrable Crime it is, either to think or ſay, that Men have the Care and keeping of the Gods!

X. And while we look upon God, as the Giver of all good Things, we can never think he ſtands in need of the material and groſs Oblations of Men, but we are taught, and moſt firmly believe and know, that they only are the acceptable Worſhippers of God, who form their Minds by the Mind Eternal, and expreſs it in Temperance, Juſtice, Humanity, and ſuch other Virtues as are the eſſential Excellencies of the Divine Nature, or the more proper inmoſt Perfections of Him, who is a God [a] unnameable; and this Almighty Being ſo good in

[a] *A God unnameable*] This is a Title we have more than once in this Apology, and is very frequent in the other Writings of this Martyr; particularly in his firſt Apology according to the vulgar Editions,—ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ θεῷ ἀγεννήτῳ ὄντι, οὐκ ἔστιν, &c. p. 44. In theſe and the Words following, *Juſtin* teaches that God the Father and the Son have no proper Names, but Appellations only, which we give them upon the account of their good Works

in himſelf, made all things in the Beginning for the good of Man, out of a Chaos of rude ill-favour'd Matter; and they who walk according to his Will, and demonſtrate their Worthineſs by their Works, we are ſure will be admitted into the Divine Preſence, there to reign with him, where Corruption and Suffering never come. For as he created us at firſt, when we were not, ſo by the ſame Power will he reſtore us to Being again, and Crown with the mortal Enjoyment of himſelf, ſuch as have made it their Choice to pleaſe their Maker; for tho' we had no Choice in our Creation, yet in our Regeneration we have; for God perſuades only, and draws us gently in our Regeneration, by co-operating freely with thoſe rational Powers he has beſtow'd upon us. And we are verily of Opinion, that it wou'd be for the Intereſt of all Men living, not only to tolerate the Learning of the Chriſtian Faith, but to give it all the publick Encouragement poſſible; for that inward conſcientious diſcharge of our ſeveral Duties, which humane Laws can never reach, the Wiſdom which is from above wou'd bring about effectually, were it not for thoſe falſe and atheiſtical Accuſations which are ſow'd about the World by Diabolical Spirits, who take Advantage to ſtrike in with that original Sin and

Works and Actions, *&c.* and the Reaſon he gives for this Aſſertion is this, That the unbegotten God being eternal, and his Son eternally coexiſting with the Father, there could be none before them to impoſe a Name upon them.

Proneneſs

Proneneſs to all Evil that reigns in our Nature, and which is ſure to enter into Confederacy with them, but of all their Accuſations we are intirely Innocent.

XI. But upon the firſt Word you hear of our Expectations of a [b] Kingdom, you raſhly conclude it muſt needs be a Kingdom upon Earth, notwithſtanding all we can ſay, that 'tis one in Heaven, and tho' you have ſuch an experimental Proof to the contrary from our profeſſing our ſelves Chriſtians upon examination, when we know Death to be the certain Conſequence of ſuch a Profeſſion; but were our Thoughts fixt upon a Kingdom of this World, we wou'd ſurely deny our Religion for the Safety of our Lives, and have recourſe to all the Methods of Concealment, to ſecure us in a whole Skin againſt that good Day we expect. But ſince our Hopes do not faſten upon things preſent, the Preſervation

[b] The Primitive Chriſtians were ſo warm'd with the Expectation of a Kingdom in the Heavens, that they did little elſe but prepare to dye, and took the firſt Opportunity they cou'd of getting out of the World; and being continually diſcourſing of, and comforting one another with the Hopes of this Kingdom, were overheard by their Enemies, and falſly accus'd as Treaſonable Affectors of the Empire, when alas (as *Juſtin* Martyr here aſſures the Emperors) they meant nothing leſs, and what contributed very much to this Paſſion for Death, was an Opinion they generally had of the Day of Judgment being near at hand, a terrible Day which they earneſtly pray'd they might not be Spectators of; this Opinion was ſtarted early, as appears by that Caution given by St. *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians* about it, 2 *Theſſal.* cap. 2. v. 3, 4; and it laſted for ſome Ages after, as is evident from ſeveral places in *Tertullian*, *de cult. famin.* lib. 2. c. 9. *ad uxor.* lib. 1. c. 5. which I mention here once for all becauſe the Reader will meet with this Opinion in the Apologies before him.

of

of our Lives is the leaſt of our Concern, becauſe we know our Murtherers can cut us ſhort but a few Days, for all muſt dye.

XII. I muſt tell you likewiſe, that of all Men living we are the greateſt Promoters of Peace, and bring you in the moſt powerful Auxiliaries to eſtabliſh it in your Dominions, by teaching that 'tis impoſſible for any Worker of Iniquity, any covetous or inſidious Perſon, any one, either Vitious or Virtuous, to hide himſelf from God; and that every one is ſtepping forward into everlaſting Miſery or Happineſs according to his Works; and if all Men were once fully poſſeſt with a Notion of theſe things, who wou'd make the bold Adventure to embrace the Pleaſures of Sin for a Seaſon, with his Eye upon Eternal Fire at the end of the Enjoyment? who wou'd not ſtrive all he cou'd to check himſelf upon the brink of Ruin, and to adorn his Mind with ſuch Virtues as might give him Admiſſion to the good things of God, and ſecure him from everlaſting Vengeance? But as to the Penalties of your Laws, Offenders are not ſo careful about lying hid from them, becauſe they know you to be but Men, and therefore poſſible to be put upon, and upon the ſcore of that Poſſibility are encourag'd to ſin on; but were they fully perſuaded of the Impoſſibility of concealing any thing from God, not only the Works of their Hands, but even the Motions of their Minds, the direful Storm of Wrath they ſee juſt dropping upon their Heads, wou'd

wou'd needs make 'em prepare with all ſpeed for a better Courſe of Life, as you your ſelves will grant.

XIII. But you ſeem to be afraid, that ſuch a Notion of God's Omniſcience ſhou'd force every one to be good, and ſo quite and clean ſpoil the Trade of Puniſhing; Executioners perhaps may be afraid of this, but pious Princes ſurely never can; but ſuch Fears, I am verily perſuaded, are the Suggeſtions of evil Spirits, who get their Sacrifices and Worſhip by exacting upon the Follies of wicked Men; but you who ſet up for *Pious and Philoſophers* will not, we ſuppoſe, be drawn into the ſame unreaſonable Practices; but if you, like other weak People, will be born down with the Iniquity of the Times, and make Truth give place to Cuſtom, do your worſt; (but ſuch wicked Princes as have no Regard for Truth, can do no more than Robbers in a Deſart) for the *Logos* has declar'd you ſhall not thrive long in your idolatrous Courſe; that *Logos*, who next to God his Father, we know to be the Supreme and Juſteſt of Kings, and above all the Principalities and Powers in Nature. For as all Men are ſhy of taking up with Poverty, Suffering, or Diſgrace, meerly for the ſake of Cuſtom; ſo is ev'ry Perſon of Senſe equally unwilling to do, what Reaſon declares is not to be done, *notwithſtanding it has the Plea of Cuſtom for its Practice.*

XIV.

XIV. Our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, from whom we take the Name of Chriſtians, the Son and [c] Apoſtle of that God, who is the Supreme Lord and Maker of the Univerſe, has foretold our Sufferings; which to us is a manifeſt Confirmation of the Truth of all his other Doctrines, becauſe we ſee theſe things fulfill'd according to his Prediction; for this or nothing is the Work of God, To declare a thing ſhall come to be, long before it is in Being, and then to bring about that Thing to paſs according to the ſame Declaration.

XV. And now I might ſpare my ſelf the Trouble of ſaying a word more, conſidering the Truth and Juſtice of our Propoſals; but becauſe I am ſenſible how difficult a Task it is for Men bowed down with aged Ignorance, to be ſet ſtraight in a Moment; and for a farther Satisfaction to the Lovers of Truth, I ſhall inlarge in its Defence, knowing it not impoſſible, to get the better of Ignorance by ſetting Matters in a fuller Light,

XVI. In the firſt place then, 'tis certain we cannot juſtly be branded for Atheiſts; we who worſhip the Creator of the Univerſe, not with Blood, Libations, and Incenſe, (which we are ſufficiently taught He ſtands in no need of) but we exalt Him to the beſt of

[c] Ἀπόστολος.] Chriſt is called the Apoſtle of God from his being ſent by him into the World, and is ſo ſtiled, *Heb.* 3. 1. *Conſider the Apoſtle and High-Prieſt of our Profeſſion, Chriſt Jeſus.*

our Power with the [d] rational Service of Prayers and Praiſes, in all the Oblations we make unto Him; believing this to be the only Honour worthy of Him, not to conſume the Creatures which He has given us for our Uſe and the Comfort of thoſe that want, in the Fire by Sacrifice; but to approve our ſelves thankful to Him, and to expreſs this Gratitude in the rational Pomp of the moſt ſolemn [e] Hymns at the Altar in Acknowledgment

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[d] Λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας.] What the Latin Tranſlator means by his *Oratione Precum ac gratiarum actionis*, I cannot well tell; but I think he can by no means be right in the Tranſlation of theſe words; the Sacrifices of old, both of Jew and Gentile, were offer'd in a corporeal way, by Slaughter, Fire and Incenſe, but the Sacrifice of Chriſtians is offer'd only λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας, *by way of Prayer and Thankſgiving*, as Mr. *Mede* tranſlates theſe words, p. 358. So that according to this learned Perſon, theſe words are to be underſtood of the Manner of Offering; the Bread and Wine the Matter of the Chriſtian Sacrifice, are offer'd λογικῶς ſpiritually; which the Fathers in the firſt Council of Nice call ἀθύτως θύεσθαι, *to be ſacrificed without ſacrificing Rites:* And this Senſe is farther confirm'd by what follows, where *Juſtin* argues againſt the groſs way of the Gentiles ſacrificing, by conſuming in Fire what God made for our Nouriſhment. Ὅσῃ δυνάμεις] which I tranſlate, *to the beſt of our Power*, I take notice of only by the by in this place, becauſe I ſhall have occaſion to explain it more fully hereafter; only I believe the impartial Reader will hardly conceive this Paſſage to be a good Proof for extemporary Prayer.

[e] Πομπὰς καὶ ὕμνους.] Dr. *Grabe* obſerves that the word Πομπὴ often ſignifies that publick Pomp and Pageantry which was exhibited at the Heathen Sports; and from hence concludes that 'tis tranſlated hither to ſignifie thoſe Prayers which are recited with more than ordinary Solemnity at the Celebration of the Euchariſt. The mention of Hymns in this Place, and not one word of 'em in that, where *Juſtin* is giving an Account of their way of publick Worſhip, is a plain Argument that he did not deſign to acquaint them with every Particular they did at their religious Aſſemblies, for there is no doubt but ſinging of Pſalms was a part of Divine Service, and as a main Part too mention'd by *Pliny* in his Letter to

ment of our Creation, Preſervation, and all the Bleſſings of Variety in Things and Seaſons; and alſo for the hopes of a Reſurrection to a Life incorruptible, which we are ſure to have for asking, provided we ask in Faith. Who that knows any thing of us, will not confeſs this to be our way of worſhipping? And who can ſtigmatize ſuch Worſhippers for Atheiſts? The Maſter who inſtructed us in this Kind of Worſhip, and who was born for this very purpoſe, and crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate*, Procurator of *Judea*, in the Reign of *Tiberius Cæſar*, is Jeſus Chriſt, whom we know to be the Son of the true God, and therefore hold him the ſecond in order, and the [f] Prophetick Spirit the third, and that we have good Reaſon for worſhipping in this Subordination, I ſhall ſhew hereafter. For here they look upon it as downright Madneſs, to aſſign to a Crucify'd Man the next Place to the

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to *Trajan*,—*Secum invicem canere*—They ſang Pſalms together, or alternately, or by Turns; for ſo perhaps the Words may ſignifie: Theſe Pſalms were partly *David*'s, partly extemporary Raptures while Inſpiration laſted, or ſet Compoſitions taken out of the Holy Scriptures, or of their own compoſing, as you'll find in *Tertul. Apol. cap.* 39. and this continu'd till the Council of *Laodicea* order'd that no Pſalms compos'd by private Perſons ſhou'd be recited in the Church. *Can.* 59.

[f] Here again you ſee the Sacred Trinity of Divine Perſons mention'd in their Order, and the Prophetick Spirit in the third Place; which evidently ſhews that the Interpoſition of Angels Sect. 6 muſt be looked upon only as in a Parentheſis, and that St. *Juſtin* no more intended thoſe Miniſtring Spirits for the Objects of Chriſtian Worſhip, than he intended they ſhou'd take Place of the Holy Ghoſt in the Order of Worſhip.

Immutable, Eternal God, * Parent of all things, being entirely in the dark as to the Myſtery of this Order; and therefore I adviſe you to give diligent Attention, while I expound it to you.

XVII. But firſt I am to caution you againſt thoſe Spirits, which I have already accus'd for practiſing upon you, that they do not delude and pervert you from reading and underſtanding what I am now propoſing to your Conſideration; (for to hold you in Slavery and Bondage is the Prize they contend for, and ſometimes by Viſions in Sleep, ſometimes by magical Impoſtures, they make ſure of all ſuch as are little concern'd about their Salvation) I cou'd wiſh you wou'd follow our Example, who by the Perſuaſions of the *Logos* have revolted from theſe ſpiritual Wickedneſſes, and come over to the Obedience of the only unbegotten God, thro' his Son Jeſus Chriſt. We who heretofore gave our ſelves a [g] Looſe to Women, now ſtrictly contain within

* The Reader will find in this Apology God continually called Ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων, and Πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων, *Maker of all Things, and Father of the Univerſe*; and therefore he is deſir'd once for all to take notice, that our Author repeats this Attribute ſo often, becauſe ſome Hereticks in his time deny'd God to be the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and he expreſly mentions *Marcion* for one, Sect. 35. who taught another God greater than the Creator of the World.

[g] Οἱ πάλαι μὲν πορνείαις χαίροντες, &c.] This wonderful Change in Manners is often appeal'd to by the Primitive Converts; and that Men ſo long bent to Luſt and Paſſion ſhou'd be ſet upright in a Moment, I look upon as a Miracle in Morality; for nothing but the mighty Grace of God, and the brighteſt Hopes of future Happineſs, cou'd prevail with all ſorts of Men thus to embrace

in the Bounds of Chaſtity; We who devoted our ſelves to magick Arts, now conſecrate our ſelves entirely to the good unbegotten God; We who lov'd nothing like our Poſſeſſions, now produce all we have in common, and ſpread our whole Stock before our indigent Brethren; We who were pointed with mutual Hatred and Deſtruction, and wou'd not ſo much as warm our ſelves at the ſame Fire with thoſe of a different Tribe, upon the account of different Inſtitutions, now ſince the Coming of Chriſt cohabit and diet together, and pray for our Enemies; and all our Returns for Evil are but the gentleſt Perſuaſives to convert thoſe who unjuſtly hate us; that by living up to the ſame virtuous Precepts of Chriſt, they might be filled with the ſame comfortable Hopes of obtaining the like Happineſs with our ſelves, from that God who is the Lord of all Things.

XVIII. But before I enter farther into the Explication of the Chriſtian Myſteries, it will not be amiſs to give you a Taſte of the very Doctrines deliver'd by Chriſt himſelf to ſhew that we are no Cheats, nor have any Deſign to trick upon you in this matter, and I ſhall leave it to you to examin, as Princes who are well able, whether this is not the very Doctrine of Chriſt, and the ſame we preach

brace the Chriſtian Faith at the certain Expence almoſt of their Lives; and from the bittereſt Enemies, and the lewdeſt of Men, to become the moſt loving, forgiving and chaſteſt People in the World.

to the World. His Diſcourſes are ſhort and ſententious, for he was no trifling Sophiſter, *but Chriſt the Power of God, and the Wiſdom of God.* Thus then he has deliver'd himſelf concerning Chaſtity; [h] *Whoſoever looketh upon a Woman to luſt after her hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart before God. And if thy right Eye offend thee, pluck it out, it is better for thee to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven with one Eye, rather than having two Eyes, to be caſt into Hell Fire. And whoſoever ſhall marry her that is divorc'd from her Husband commit-Adultery. And there are ſome which are made Eunuchs of Men, and ſome who have made themſelves Eunuch for the Kingdom of Heaven's ſake, but all cannot receive this Saying.* [i] So that

Matt. 5. 29, 28. 18. 9.

Matt. 5. 32. 19. 9.

Matt. 19. 11, 12.

[h] Ὃς ἂν ἐμβλέψῃ.] In Scripture-Quotations you are to obſerve that *Juſtin* does not tye himſelf to the very words of the Text, but their Senſe only.

[i] In times of Perſecution very many Chriſtians abſtain'd from Marriage, to be freer from the Cares of the World, and more expeditious in the Service of God and their Brethren; and thoſe who married, did it (as our Martyr elſewhere ſays) only for the ſake of Children, and the bringing them up in the Chriſtian Religion; but the Firſt Fathers were extremely ſevere againſt ſecond Marriages, looking upon them but as a better Kind of Adultery; and by the Apoſtolical Canons ſuch as engag'd in ſecond Marriages after Baptiſm, were made incapable of any Degree in the Miniſtry; however this Severity is much abated, if it is to be underſtood (as ſome ſay it is) of ſuch only as had two Wives at once; for we are told by a learned Perſon, that there were three ſorts of Bigamy, the firſt, a Man's having two Wives at once, this was condemn'd by the Roman Laws; the ſecond, when the former Wife being dead, the Man married a ſecond time; a third, when for any ſlight Cauſe a Man put away his Wife by a Bill of Divorce; which was but too frequently done, and allow'd by the Laws of thoſe Times, but condemn'd by the Church; and of this laſt ſort of Bigamy, many of the ancient Canons are to be underſtood. *Vid. Juſtell. Not. in Can.* I. *Conc. Laod.*

ſuch

ſuch kind of ſecond Marriages of Perſons divorced; and the very looking upon a Woman to luſt after her, which are not criminal by humane Laws, by our Maſter's Laws are Adultery; for not only the Adulterer in Fact, but in Will, is condemn'd by Chriſt: And for good Reaſon, becauſe the inward Deſires, as well as the outward Actions, are equally manifeſt to God. And I can produce abundance of both Sexes, who have from their Childhood [k] been diſcipled unto Chriſt, and liv'd in a conſtant Courſe of ſpotleſs Virginity to ſixty or ſeventy Years of Age; and I cannot but glory in being able to produce ſo many Inſtances of Chriſtian Purity out of ev'ry Nation. But why ſhou'd I go about to muſter up a numberleſs Multitude of ſuch, who have taken leave of their Intemperance, and came over to the Chriſtian Inſtitution? For Chriſt called not the Juſt, and

[k] Οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν.] This Paſſage I think is hardly capable of being wreſted to ſignifie leſs than the Baptiſm of Children; for the Martyr ſpeaks of ſuch as had been *diſcipled* unto Chriſt from their Childhood, and this *Diſcipling* we know was by Baptiſm, *Matt.* 28. 19. where we have the ſame word μαθητεύω and theſe Diſciples he ſays alſo continu'd Virgins all their time, which is another Argument of their being baptiz'd from their Childhood; but above all, the oppoſing theſe Children to ſuch as had chang'd from Intemperance, and conſequently were Men, and converted and baptiz'd upon a due Conſideration of the Chriſtian Principles: This Oppoſition, I ſay, makes it plain to me, that he meant ſuch Perſons as were diſcipled into Chriſt, before they were capable of learning the Chriſtian Doctrine by Inſtruction. Now this Apology is not fifty Years younger than St. *John*'s Revelations, and if a Perſon of *Juſtin*'s Learning and Curioſity was able to know ſuch a plain matter of Fact as Baptiſm, and if the Martyr had Sincerity enough to declare it ingenuouſly, then I take this to be a very ſtrong Proof for Infant-Baptiſm.

Temperate, but the Impious, Incontinent, and Injuſt to Repentance, according to his own Saying, *I came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance*, for our heavenly Father delights not in the Correction, but the Amendment of Sinners.

Matt. 9. 13.

XIX. Concerning the Duty of univerſal Love, he thus teaches; *If ye love them which love you, what do ye more than other Men? For Sinners do the ſame. But I ſay unto you, pray for your Enemies, love thoſe that hate you, and do good to them which curſe you and deſpitefully uſe you.* Concerning giving Alms to the Poor, and againſt vain Glory in doing 'em, he commands thus; *Give to ev'ry one that asketh, and from him that wou'd borrow turn not away. And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive again, what Thank have ye? Do not Publicans the ſame? Lay not up for your ſelves Treaſures upon Earth, where Moth and Ruſt doth corrupt, and where Thieves break through and ſteal; but lay up for your ſelves Treaſures in Heaven, where Moth and Ruſt doth not corrupt. For what is a Man profited, if he ſhall gain the whole World, and loſe his own Soul, or what ſhall a Man give in exchange for his Soul? Lay up for your ſelves therefore Treaſures in Heaven, where neither Moth nor Ruſt doth corrupt; Be ye kind and merciful as your Father is kind and merciful, who maketh his Sun to riſe upon Sinners, on the Evil and on Good. Take no Thought what you ſhall eat or what you ſhall put on, are you not much better than Birds and Beaſts? And yet God taketh care of them,*

Matt. 5. 44, 46.

Mat. 5. 42. Luk. 6. 30, 34.

Matt. 6. 19, 20.

Matt. 16, 26. Luk. 9. 25.

Matt. 5. 45, 48.

Matt. 6, 31, &c.

them. Be not therefore ſolicitous what you ſhall eat or wherewithal ye ſhall be cloathed, for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of theſe things; but ſeek ye the Kingdom of God, and all things ſhall be added unto you. For where your Treaſure is, there will your Heart be alſo. Take heed that ye do not your Alms to be a Spectacle to Men, otherwiſe ye have no Reward of your Father which is in Heaven. Matt. 6. 21. Matt. 6. 1, &c.

XX. Concerning Patience, Submiſſion and Meekneſs, theſe are our Maſter's Rules. [1] *Whoſoever ſhall ſmite thee on thy right Cheek, turn to him the other alſo, and him that taketh away thy Cloke, forbid not to take thy Coat alſo. Whoſoever is angry with his Brother without a Cauſe ſhall be in danger of Hell-fire; whoſoever ſhall compel thee to go a Mile, go with him twain. Let your Light ſo ſhine before Men, that they may ſee your good Works, and glorifie your Father which in Heaven.* A Chriſtian Hand muſt by no Means be lifted up in Reſiſtance; for Chriſt will not have his Diſciples like the reſt of Matt. 5. 39, 40. Matt. 5. 22 Ibid. v. 16

[1] *Whoſoever ſhall ſmite thee on thy right Cheek, turn to him the other alſo.*] *Iſidore* the *Peluſiote* upon this Paſſage, *Ep.* 127. l. 3. p. 269. has ſo truly expreſs'd the Primitive Spirit, and the Turn is ſo engaging, that I will not ask Pardon for ſetting it down. The King of Heaven (ſays he) came down to inſtruct the World in the Laws of an Heavenly Converſation, which he has propos'd in a way of Conflict, quite contrary to that in the Olympick Games, for There he that fights and conquers, wins the Garland, Here he that is beaten and bears it with Patience, receives the Crown; There he that is ſmitten and returns Blow for Blow, Here he that turns the other Cheek is celebrated the Victor, in the Theatre of Angels; for the Chriſtian Victory is meaſur'd not by Revenge but Patience: This is the new Law of Crowns, this the new way of Conflict and Contention.

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the World, but orders them to ſhine with a diſtinguiſhing Patience and Meekneſs, and to win Men over from their Sins by ſuch gentle Arts of Converſion. And I cou'd give you a Proof of the Influence of ſuch bright Examples from many Converts among us, who from Men of Violence and Oppreſſion were transform'd into quite another Nature, perfectly overcome by the Paſſive Courage of their Chriſtian Neighbours, or by obſerving the new aſtoniſhing Patience of ſuch injured Chriſtians as they chanc'd to travel with, or the Experience they had of their Fidelity in their Dealings.

XXI. Concerning ſwearing not at all, and a perpetual Regard to Truth in all our Com-
Matt. 5. 34. munication, he thus ordains: [m] *Swear not at all, but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay; for whatſoever is more than theſe cometh of Evil.*

[m] Some of the Ancient Fathers from this Text, *Swear not at all*, held the taking of an Oath unlawful; but far the greateſt part of them were of another Opinion, and interpreted this Prohibition, of ſwearing by the Creatures, (which was the Caſe of the Jews, and which our Saviour and St. *James* principally aim at, and which is countenanced by the Text when rightly pointed) and of vain raſh and falſe Swearing. It wou'd be well indeed if the Honeſty of Chriſtians now-a-days did ſuperſede the Neceſſity of Oaths, and that their Majeſty was not proſtituted by their Multitude, and the Meanneſs of the Occaſion; but that 'tis lawful to take an Oath, we have our Maſter's Practice, who anſwer'd upon Oath; and St. *Paul*'s often calling God to Witneſs, to juſtifie the Thing, and the Military Oath taken by the Chriſtian Soldiers, puts it out of doubt; the Form of which is thus ſet down by *Vegetius* an Heathen, *viz. They ſwore by God, Chriſt, and the Holy Spirit, and the Majeſty of the Emperor, which next to God is to be lov'd and honour'd by Mankind.* And this you'll find exactly agrees with the Account given long before of the Chriſtians by *Tertullian* Apol. c. 32.

Concerning

Concerning the Worſhip of God only, he thus appoints: *This is the firſt Commandment, Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve, with all thy Heart and with all thy Strength*, the Lord thy God which made thee. And a certain Perſon coming to him, and addreſſing him in theſe Words, *Good Maſter*, he return'd him this Anſwer, *There is none good but God only*, who made all things. Matt. 4.10. Matt. 19. 16, 17.

XXII. But thoſe now, who are found not to make his Precepts the Rule of their Lives, are to be looked upon as no Chriſtians, let them ſay never ſuch fine Things of his Law; for 'tis not the Sayers, but the Doers that ſhall be juſtify'd. *Not every one that ſaith unto me Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven. Whoſoever heareth theſe Sayings of mine and doeth them, heareth him that ſent me. Many will ſay unto me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drank in thy Name, and done Wonders? and then will I ſay unto them, Depart from me, ye that work Iniquity. Then ſhall there be wailing and gnaſhing of Teeth, when the Righteous ſhall ſhine forth as the Sun, but the Wicked ſhall be turned into everlaſting Fire. Many ſhall come to you in my Name in Sheeps Cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves. Ye ſhall know them by their Fruits. But every Tree that bringeth forth not good Fruit, is hewen down and caſt into the Fire.* But Chriſtians in Word only, who talk theſe Precepts, but live 'em not, ſuch we beg may ſmart for their Hypocriſie. Matt. 7.21. Ibid. v. 24. Matt. 7.21. Matt. 13. 42, &c. Matt. 7.15, 16, 19.

XXIII.

XXIII. As[n] to Tribute and Cuſtom, no Men living take ſuch Pains to pay their Collectors ſo faithfully as we do, who pay 'em in Obedience to our Lord's Command; for when ſome came to him with this Queſtion, *Is it lawful to give Tribute unto Cæſar or not? Tell me* (ſays he) *whoſe Image this Money bears? they ſay unto him Cæſar's, then ſaith he unto them, render therefore unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* Accordingly therefore we render unto God[o] only the Tribute of divine Worſhip, and to you a chearful Obedience in all things elſe, acknowledging you to be Emperors and Rulers upon Earth, and withal[p] praying, that Imperial Majeſty may be always found in the Company of true Wiſdom. But if neither our Prayers, nor all our Contributions for the Good of the Publick, will touch you with any Concern for Chriſtians, we ſhall be no Loſers; for we believe, or rather are fully aſſur'd, that ev'ry

Matt 22. 17, &c.

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[n] To this purpoſe *Tertullian* argues, *Apol. c.* 42. that tho' they wou'd not pay Taxes for the Maintenance of the Heathen Temples, yet they made ſufficient amends for this, in their faithful Payments of all the reſt. The Truth is, the primitive Chriſtians were ſtrictly conſcientious in every thing, but in nothing more (as you will find in theſe Apologies) than in what related to the Publick, and concern'd their Duty and Obedience to Rulers and Governors, and thoſe too very often the worſt of Men.

[o] Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν.] We worſhip God alone. Angels therefore not to be worſhipped, and Chriſt and the Holy Ghoſt which are worſhipped, conſequently God.

[p] *Tertullian* likewiſe *Ap. c.* 39. tells us, 'Twas a ſolemn part of the Church in his time, to pray for the Happineſs and Proſperity of the Princes under whom they liv'd. And the Church of *England* is ſo truly primitive in this Point, that her Liturgy has been thought too much clogg'd with Prayers for Kings.

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one according to his Demerits ſhall ſuffer in eternal Fire, and ſhall give a ſtrict Account to God in Proportion to the Power he is intruſted with, as Chriſt has declar'd, *For unto whomſoever God has given much, of him ſhall be much required.* Luk. 12. 48.

XXIV. Turn back your Thoughts upon the paſt Emperors, and you'll find they all dy'd like other Men; and cou'd you but diſcover One, to be in a State of Inſenſibility, you wou'd make a welcome Diſcovery to the wicked World; but ſince [q] all departed Souls continue in Senſation, and everlaſting Fire is treaſur'd up for the Unrighteous, let me adviſe you to look well about you, and lay theſe things ſeriouſly to Heart. For even [r] Necromancy, and the Inſpection of the Entrails of ſound Children, and the calling out the Souls of dead Men, and what the Magicians term Dream-ſenders and Familiars, and many other Practices of

[q] Here we have two things expreſly aſſerted by *Juſtin Martyr*; One, that all departed Souls are in a State of Senſation, againſt Dr. *Coward*'s Notion of their being in the ſame ſenſeleſs State with the Body, till the Reſurrection; the Other, that all the Wicked whatſoever ſhall ſuffer eternal Torments, againſt the learned Mr. *Dodwell*, in his *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving from the Scriptures and the Firſt Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal*, &c.

[r] The ſeveral Species of Magick you'll find mention'd by *Tertullian Ap. c.* 23. the Sum of what he drives at in this Section, is, to prove the Immortality of human Souls from the Practice of Magicians, in raiſing up, and converſing with departed Spirits; *the Inſpection of the Entrails of young Children*, ſuppoſes that the Souls of theſe Children ſtood by and aſſiſted the Inſpectors in the Revelation of things to come; for a more particular Account of this horrid Practice, and for the meaning of the Words ὀνειροπομποὶ and παιδοσκόποι, I refer the more learned Reader to Dr. *Grabe*'s Notes upon this Apology.

the Dealers in this Black Art, may induce you to believe that Souls after Death are in a State of Senſation; and moreover thoſe [f] Perſons who are violently caught up, and daſh'd down again by departed Spirits, and who paſs among you all for Dæmoniacks and mad, and likewiſe the *Amphilochian*, *Dodonæan*, *Pythian*, and other like Oracles, and alſo the Doctrines of many of your Writers, ſuch as *Empedocles*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and *Socrates*, and *Homer*'s Ditch, and *Ulyſſes*'s Viſit to the Infernal Shades, and their Confabulations with him. Theſe, I ſay, all argue the Immortality of human Souls, and ſeveral others of the ſame Opinion about Spirits with our ſelves, with whom we deſire the like Treatment, as having not a leſs but a much greater Faith in God, than they ever had, being under a full Expectation of being reſtor'd to theſe Bodies, after they are dead and rotten, becauſe we know that with God nothing is impoſſible.

XXV. And truly what to any conſidering Perſon would ſeem more incredible, were it not that we our ſelves are in a Body, than to be told, that 'tis poſſible for Bones and Nerves, and Fleſh to be ſpun out from a ſeminal Drop, into ſuch a thing as we ſee Man to be; I ſpeak this by way of Hypotheſis; ſuppoſing, I ſay, before you were in the ſtate you now are, and

[f] Such were the two Dæmoniacks in the Country of the *Gergeſenes*, who came out of the Tombs, *exceeding fierce, ſo that no Man might paſs by that way*, Matt. 8. 28. and from their dwelling only among Tombs, theſe Spirits were concluded to be the Souls of dead Men.

generated

generated of ſuch Parents, any one ſhou'd come and ſhew you this ſeminal Drop, and the Picture of Man, and withal aver it to be poſſible for ſuch a Creature to riſe out of ſuch a Principle, which of you would think it credible, before he ſaw the Production? Not one, I dare ſay, would deny it to be impoſſible. In the ſame manner you are now poſſeſs'd with a disbelief of a Reſurrection, becauſe you never ſaw a Perſon riſe again from the Dead: But as at firſt you wou'd not believe it poſſible for this little ſpeck to work it ſelf into a Man, tho' now you ſee it true in Fact; ſo ought you to conclude it as practicable for Humane Bodies cover'd in the Earth, and dead like Seed, to ſpring again in their Seaſon at the Almighty Word, and put on Incorruption. But how ſuitable ſuch a Power is to God which thoſe cut out for him, who affirm ev'ry thing to depart into that original Matter from whence it came, and after that Departure to be gone for ever, and irrevocable even beyond the Call of God himſelf; whether this, I ſay, is a becoming Notion of Almighty Power, I will not now enquire; but this I will venture to ſay, that theſe Gentlemen would never have believed it poſſible that themſelves and the whole World cou'd have been what they now find they are, and from ſuch Principles.

XXVI. [t] But we have juſtly preſum'd it the moſt

[t] This great Philoſopher and Chriſtian Martyr was ſo far from thinking with our modern Reaſoners, that his Faith ought to go no

moſt rational, to believe what may ſeem inconſiſtent with the Nature of things, and to Men impoſſible, rather than ſtand out and imitate others in a fooliſh Infidelity, eſpecially
Luk.18.27. ſince our Maſter Chriſt hath taught us, *That the things which are unpoſſible with Men, are poſſible with God; and likewiſe given Orders not*
Mat.10.28. *to fear them that kill the Body, and after that have no more that they can do, but fear him who after he hath killed, is able to deſtroy both Soul and Body in Hell.*

XXVII. Now Hell is that Place where the wicked Livers, and ſuch as disbelieve the Revelations of God by Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer; and the *Sybil*, and *Hyſtaſpes* have both given out that this whole Syſtem of Corruptibles ſhall be deſtroy'd by [u] Fire; nay, the *Stoicks* have a Conceit, that God himſelf ſhall be reſolved into Fire, and that there ſhall riſe a new World refin'd from the Ruins of the old; but we conceive far more honourably of God, than to range the Creator of the Univerſe among things ſubject to Alteration.

XVIII. If then we hold ſome Opinions near of Kin to the Poets and Philoſophers in greateſt repute among you, and others of a diviner Strain, and far above out of their Sight, and

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no farther than *Clearneſs and Connection of Ideas*, that he thought it reaſonable, and becoming finite Minds, to believe beyond the Ken of mortal Eye, and to conclude that poſſible to God, which to us might ſeem impoſſible.

[u] *Eſſe quoque in Fatis reminiſcitur affore tempus,*
Quô Mare, quô Tellus, correptaque Regia Cœli
Ardeat, & mundi moles operoſa laboret. Ovid. Metam. Lib. I.

have

have Demonſtration on our ſide into the Bargain, why are we to be thus unjuſtly hated, and to ſtand diſtinguiſh'd in Miſery above the reſt of Mankind? For in ſaying that all things were made in this beautiful Order by God, what do we ſeem to ſay more than *Plato*? When we teach a general Conflagration, what do we teach more than the *Stoicks*? When we aſſert departed Souls to be in a State of Senſibility, and the Wicked to be in Torments, but the Good free from Pain and in a bliſsful Condition, we aſſert no more than your Poets and Philoſophers. By oppoſing the Worſhip of the Works of Men's Hands, we concur with *Menander* the Comedian, and ſuch as affirm the Workman to be greater than his Work; and by declaring the *Logos*, the Firſt-begotten of God, our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt to be born of a Virgin without any humane Mixture, and to be crucify'd and dead, and to have roſe again and aſcended into Heaven; we ſay no more in this, than what you ſay of thoſe whom you ſtyle the Sons of *Jove*.

XXIX. [v] For you need not be told what a Parcel of Sons, the Writers moſt in Vogue among

[v] The Kingdom of Darkneſs had well-nigh overcaſt the whole World, when the Sun of Righteouſneſs roſe upon it, the Worſhip of falſe Gods obtain'd every where but among the Jews, and this univerſal Idolatry being one of the greateſt Obſtructions to the Light of the Goſpel, and the prevailing Sin of theſe times, the Reader muſt be content to find the firſt Chriſtian Apologiſts very large upon this Head, in order to root out this pack of Vanities, and to ridicule and argue 'em out of the World; and becauſe the Worſhip of a crucify'd Man, was that which they moſtly ſtuck at, *Juſtin* makes a Parallel, and ſhews that this Chriſt, the God of

mong you, aſſign to *Jove*; there's *Mercury*, *Jove*'s Interpreter, in Imitation of the *Logos*, in worſhip among you, and your grand Teacher; there's *Æſculapius* the Phyſician ſmitten by a Bolt of Thunder, and after that aſcending into Heaven; there's *Bacchus* torn to pieces, and *Hercules* burnt to get rid of his Pains; there's *Pollux* and *Caſtor*, the Sons of *Jove* by *Leda*, and *Perſeus* by *Danae*, and the Mortal *Bellerophon*, who fell from his *Pegaſus*; not to mention *Ariadne*, and others like her, tranſlated into Conſtellations, according to your Writers. Moreover, I would fain know, why you always deifie the departed Emperors, and have a Fellow at Hand to make Affidavit, that he ſaw *Cæſar* mount to Heaven from the Funeral Pile? Nor can I think there is any need of repeating to ſuch Knowing Perſons, the Extravagancies recorded of every Son of *Jove*, only to put you in Mind that they are recorded for the better corrupting and improving young Students in the Arts of Debauchery; for every one thinks it noble to equal the Gods in Wickedneſs. But far be it from Men of Senſe to harbour ſuch Opinions of the Gods, namely, that their *Jove* the Supreme, and Father of all the Gods, ſhould be a Parricide, and the

Chriſtians, neither as the Son of God, nor of a Virgin, nor as a crucify'd Man, could juſtly be objected againſt, and deny'd divine Worſhip, by thoſe who had ſo many Sons and Daughters of *Jove*, and ſuch too as ſuffer'd Death, in conſtant Worſhip amongſt themſelves. But this kind of Idolatry being now quite out of Doors, I ſhall not trouble the Reader with any Notes upon the Gods of the Heathen, as thinking it altogether unedifying, and therefore, once for all, refer the more Curious to the Remarks of Dr. *Grabe*, in his Edition of this Apology.

Son

Son of a Parricide, and be captivated by the vileſt Luſts, and deſcend upon *Ganimede* and a Crew of notorious Adultereſſes, and beget Children after his own Likeneſs. But as I have ſaid, theſe are the Stratagems of wicked Spirits; whereas we teach, that ſuch only ſhould be crown'd with a bleſſed Immortality, who have imitated God in Virtue, and thoſe who have liv'd wickedly, and not repented to the Amendment of their Lives, we believe ſhall be puniſh'd in Fire everlaſting.

XXX. As to the Son of God call'd Jeſus, ſhou'd we allow him to be nothing more than Man, yet the Title of the Son of God is very juſtifyable upon the account of his Wiſdom; for is not God ſtil'd by your own Writers, *Father of Gods and Men?* But now if we ſay that the *Logos* of God is properly the Begotten of God, by a Generation quite different from that of Men, as I have already mention'd, yet even this I ſay is no more than what you might very well tolerate, conſidering you have your *Mercury* in worſhip under the Title of the Word and Meſſenger of God. As to the Objection of our Jeſus's being crucify'd, I ſay, that Suffering was common to all the foremention'd Sons of *Jove*, but only they ſuffer'd another kind of Death; ſo that Chriſt does not ſeem at all inferior to them upon the Score of the Difference of his Suffering, but much ſuperior even in this very reſpect of his Paſſion, as I ſhall prove in the following Diſcourſe, or rather indeed have proved already; for the Excellency of ev'ry one is to be judg'd of by

the Nature and End of his Actions. As to his being born of a Virgin, you have your *Perſeus* to balance that; as to his curing the Lame and the Paralytick, and ſuch as were Cripples from their Birth, this is little more than what you ſay of your *Æſculapius*.

XXXI. But in order to make it more plain, that whatever we have declar'd from Chriſt and his preceding Prophets, is true and older than any of your Writers, and that we deſire to be believ'd, not becauſe we deliver many the ſame things with them, but becauſe we deliver the Truth and nothing but the Truth, and that Jeſus Chriſt alone is properly the Son of God, as being the *Logos*, and Firſt-begotten, and Power of God, and by his Counſel was made Man, and taught theſe Doctrines for the Converſion and Reſtoration of Mankind, before whoſe coming in our Fleſh theſe ſame evil Spirits by their Inſtruments, the Poets, dreſs'd up Fables to repreſent theſe things as already paſt and over, on purpoſe to defeat the good Deſigns of his Coming; juſt ſuch another pack of ſcandalous wicked Lyes they have at preſent invented to render Chriſtians odious, for which they cannot produce one Witneſs, nor any thing like Proof, as I ſhall preſently make appear.

XXXII. But firſt, I cannot but take notice that tho' we hold ſome Opinions like thoſe of the *Greeks*, yet the Name of Chriſt is the only thing we are hated for, and tho' never ſo innocent, yet we are dragged to Execution like Criminals; while others in other Places

have

have the Liberty of worſhipping Trees, and Rivers, and Mice, and Cats, and Crocodiles, and many other ſuch like ſilly Animals; nor do the ſame things neither paſs univerſally for Deities, but different Countries different Gods; inſomuch that they charge each other with irreligion, for not worſhipping the ſame Deities; and yet, forſooth, the only thing you accuſe us for, is, for not worſhipping the ſame Gods, for not offering Libations, and the Nidors of Fat, and plaited Garlands, and Victims to departed Spirits; and you need not be told, that the ſame Deities obtain not every where, for what ſerves ſome for a God, ſerves others for a Sacrifice.

XXXIII. I muſt tell you in the next Place, that we Chriſtians out of all parts of the World, who formerly were Worſhippers of the Sons of *Semele* and *Latona*, *Bacchus* and *Apollo*, whoſe abominable Amours and Practices with Men 'tis a Shame to mention, and who ador'd *Proſerpina* and *Venus*, a Brace of Goddeſſes, whoſe Myſteries you now celebrate, one ſtark ſtaring mad for *Adonis*, the other raviſh'd by *Aidoneus* or *Pluto*; we who ador'd *Æſculapius*, or any of thoſe who paſs among you for Gods, now through Jeſus Chriſt have them all in the greateſt Contempt, tho' at the utmoſt Peril of our Lives; but dedicate our ſelves to the Service of the Unbegotten Impaſſible God, who never had, we are ſure, any Affair with *Antiope* and ſuch like, nor any thing to do with *Ganimede*, nor ever ſtood in need of the help of the hundred-handed Giant, which your *Jove*

is ſaid to have obtain'd at the Suit of *Thetis*, nor ever ſolicitous to ſhew his Gratitude for his Deliverance, that her Son *Achilles* ſhou'd have ample Satisfaction for being depriv'd of his Harlot *Briſeis*, and revenge the Affront at the Expence of many of the *Grecians* Lives. We heartily pity thoſe who can believe ſuch Stuff about the Gods they worſhip, but we know that the wicked Spirits are at the bottom of all theſe Impoſtures.

XXXIV. Thirdly, 'Tis notorious that after Chriſt's Aſcenſion into Heaven, theſe ſame accurſed Spirits furniſh'd out a Sett of Men, who gave out themſelves to be Gods; and yet were you ſo far from puniſhing ſuch Villains, that you did 'em the greateſt Honour. For *Simon*, a certain *Samaritan* of the Village *Gitthon*, who in *Claudius Cæſar*'s time, by his Magick Arts with the Powers of Darkneſs, did ſuch wonderful Feats in the Imperial City of *Rome*, that he gain'd the Reputation of a God, and accordingly is honour'd by you, like your other Gods, with a Statue erected upon the *Tybur*, between the two Bridges, with this Latin Inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, *To* [w] Simon *the Holy God.* And the *Samaritans*, almoſt in general,

[w] *John Daille*, in his *Abuſe of the Fathers*, (for that ought to be the Title of the Book) inſtead of recommending the Authority of ſuch Men, who liv'd ſo near the Apoſtles, both in point of Time and Virtue, inſtead of inſiſting upon their general Agreement in Articles Fundamental, and other truly admirable and edifying Excellencies in their Writings; this Author, I ſay, chiefly pleaſes himſelf in picking Holes, and expoſing, what he calls Faults, in the beſt Light for a malicious Eye; like an ill-natur'd Painter, who draws a Shade over all the Beauties of a Face, and mainly employs his

general, tho' very few of other Nations, confeſs and worſhip him as the firſt and principal God; and a certain *Helena* who ſtrolled about with him at that time, and had been a common Proſtitute in the Stews, they intitle the next

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his Pencil to magnifie Scars and Pockholes; and this Paſſage, among others, he has pitch'd upon for the Diſcredit of *Juſtin Martyr*. The good Father, ſays he, (in his fleering way) was miſtaken, and inſtead of *Semoni*, read *Simoni*, and for *Sanco*, *Sancto*; whereas our learned Criticks now inform us, it was only an Inſcription to one of the Pagan Demi-Gods, *Semoni Deo Sanco*. The learned Dr. *Grabe*, who is juſt the Reverſe of *John Daille*, and employs his Learning to keep us upon the ancient bottom, and juſtifye the Fathers from the Errors of Tranſcribers, yet even he is of Opinion that our *Juſtin* was impos'd upon in this Inſcription, and *Valeſius* himſelf concludes ſo likewiſe; and the main grounds they go upon, is, that in the laſt Age there was a Statue dug up with this Inſcription, *Semoni Sango Deo Fidio Sacrum*; if this ſhou'd be a Miſtake of our *Juſtin*, it is no great matter; but 'tis a Miſtake wherein *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Euſebius*, *Auſtin* all concur. But when I conſider that our Martyr himſelf was a *Samaritan*, and liv'd in the next Age, that he was a Perſon of great Learning and Gravity, of a Genius wonderfully inquiſitive about Matters of this Nature, that he was at this time at *Rome*, where ev'ry one, no doubt, cou'd inform him (if he had not Latin enough for the Inſcription) what ſtrange God this was the Statue of, as eaſily, as any one about *London* cou'd tell now whoſe the Statue is at *Charing-Croſs*; that he preſented this Apology to the Emperors and Senate of *Rome*, to whom he wou'd be careful what he ſaid, and not in two different Places inſiſt upon the ſame thing, and preſs for the demoliſhing of this Statue, which if not the Statue of *Simon Magus*, muſt needs be reſented as a bold and notorious Fable, and have a very ill Effect upon his Apology and the Chriſtian Cauſe. When I conſider theſe things, I ſay, they weigh much more with me on the ſide of *Juſtin*, and the other Fathers, than a Conjecture merely grounded upon the Statue lately dug up, does againſt them. Moreover, we learn from *Baronius* and *Gruter* that there were other Statues to this *Semoni Sango* in ſeveral Places of *Italy*, beſides that in the *Tiberine* Iſland, and ſo the Fathers could not be eaſily miſtaken about this Pagan Demi-God; and *Lactantius* and St. *Auſtin* expreſly mention this *Sangus* as the God of the *Sabines*; and the Chriſtian Writers do likewiſe affirm, that the Statue of *Simon Magus* was erected by publick Authority, whereas this to *Sangus* was of private Donation by *Sextus Pompeius*; the Statue of *Sangus* was

next Intelligence to him; and one *Menander* likewiſe, a Samaritan, of the Village *Cappare-tæa*, and a Diſciple of *Simon*, ſet on work by the ſame *Dæmons*, and reſiding at *Antioch*, impos'd upon many by the ſame Magick Arts, as we very well know, and wrought up his Followers into a Perſuaſion that they ſhould never [x] dye, and there are ſome of his Sect who are poſſeſs'd with the ſame Frenzy to this Day.

XXXV. There is one *Marcion* alſo of *Pontus*, who at this time inſtructs his Diſciples, in the Doctrine of another God, greater than the Creator of the World, and who, by the Aſſiſtance of evil Spirits, has ſpread this Poiſon ſo effectually about every Nation, as to prevail upon many to ſubſcribe to the Blaſphemy, and deny the Maker of the Univerſe to be God, profeſſing another greater Deity, and a Creator of greater Worlds; and yet all this ſort of Men go by the Name of Chriſtians, as I have already ſaid; juſt like the Philoſophers, who tho' they differ never ſo much in Principles, yet all take upon 'em the common

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of Stone, that of *Simon Magus* of Braſs. So that here we have two Statues of different Materials, and with different Inſcriptions, and yet they muſt be one and the ſame, becauſe the Fathers are to be diſcredited. Unleſs therefore *Daille* and *le Clerk* can prove that the *Tiberine* Iſland could not hold two Statues, they prove nothing to the Purpoſe; but ſome Men never think they make a good Figure but when they ſtand upon the Ruins of Chriſtian Antiquity. See this Matter fully clear'd, in a Book call'd *Defenſio S. Auguſtini adverſus Joan. Phereponi Animadverſiones.* p. 176.

[x] A Doctrine much perhaps of the ſame Complexion with what Mr. *A——ill* broach'd lately, tho' not, I believe, with the ſame Succeſs of Followers.

Title

Title of Philoſopher. But [y] whether theſe Hereticks are really guilty of thoſe curſed and ſcandalous Actions, which are induſtriouſly ſpread abroad about Chriſtians, ſuch as putting out the Candles, and promiſcuous Copulations,

[y] Becauſe the Reader will meet with this horrid Charge againſt Chriſtians in all theſe Apologies, of promiſcuous Mixtures, and devouring an Infant at their Meetings, I think it will not be impertinent in this Place to acquaint him with the Grounds of ſuch falſe and malicious Accuſations. *Origen* fathers 'em upon the Jews, as if they had invented them on purpoſe to bring Chriſtianity into Diſgrace, and theſe Lyes (ſaith he) ſucceeded ſo well, that even ſome in his time wou'd not hold the leaſt Converſation with a Chriſtian; but tho' the Jews had Malice enough to invent any thing to the Prejudice of Chriſtians, yet I can hardly be perſuaded that all this was pure Lye and Invention without any ground. We know that in the moſt early times of the Goſpel, there were ſeveral ſorts of Hereticks, ſuch as *Simon Magus*, *Menander*, *Marcion*, *Marcus*, *Baſilides*, *&c.* who all cover'd themſelves over with the gilded Name of Chriſtians, and yet were all guilty of theſe horrid Abominations charg'd upon Chriſtians in general. *Irenæus adv. Hereſ. lib.* 1. *c.* 1. *p.* 28. and *c.* 9. *p.* 70. reports that they debauch'd in private the Women which they had perverted and brought over to their Sect, (as many with Shame and Sorrow acknowledg'd upon their Return to the Church) and not only ſo, but they openly marry'd the Women they had ſeduced from their Husbands, and laugh'd at the chaſt and Orthodox Chriſtians, as a parcel of Blockheads, ſtyling themſelves the Pure, the Perfect, and the Seeds of Election. *Clemens Alexandrinus* likewiſe *Strom. l.* 3. *p.* 430. tells the ſame Story of the *Carpocratians* that *Minutius Fælix* does of the Chriſtians, namely, that both Men and Women uſed to meet at *Supper*, in Imitation of the Love-Feaſt, and after they had been well warm'd with Meat and Drink, put out the Candles, and promiſcuouſly mixt with one another. And *Epiphanius* tells us of the Gnoſticks, *Hæreſ.* 26. *p.* 42. that they had their Wives in Common, and when a Stranger of their own Sect came to them, both Men and Women had a Sign to know one another by, *viz.* by ſtretching out their Hands by way of Salutation, and by tickling each other in the Ball of their Hand, they knew the Stranger to be of their Party. Amongſt their Brethren the *Carpocratians*, they were wont to mark their Diſciples and Proſelytes under the right Ear with a ſlit or hole, and this agrees with the Charge of the Heathens, that they knew one another at firſt ſight, by privy Marks and Signs, and what perhaps is refer'd to in *Minutius Fælix*. Beſides, *Epiphanius*,

ons, and the devouring of human Fleſh, I cannot ſay; but this I am ſure of, that you don't harraſs and deſtroy 'em, as you do us, for theſe deteſtable Doctrines: But I have compos'd a Treatiſe of all theſe Hereſies, which I am ready to produce for your Satisfaction, if you are ready to peruſe it.

XXXVI. But we who are truly Chriſtians, are ſo far from maintaining any unjuſt or ungodly Opinions, that expoſing of Infants, which is ſo much in Practice among you, we teach to be a very wicked Practice; firſt becauſe we ſee that ſuch Children, both Girls and Boys, are generally all train'd up for the Service of Luſt, for as the Ancients bred up theſe Foundlings to feed Cows, or Goats, or Sheep, or Graſs-Horſes, ſo now-a-days ſuch Boys are brought up only to be abus'd againſt Nature; and accordingly you have a herd of theſe Women and effeminate Men, ſtanding proſtitute for Sale in every Nation; (and you traffick with ſuch kind of Cattel, and take Toll and Cuſtom for their Wickedneſs, when all ſuch monſtrous Practices ought to be quite and clean

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us, *Hæreſ.* 26. *p.* 43. tells us that the *Gnoſticks* at their Meetings were wont to take an Infant begotten in their promiſcuous Mixtures, and beating it in a Mortar, to ſeaſon it with Honey and Pepper, and ſome other Spices and Perfumes to make it palatable, and then like Swine or Dogs to devour it, and this they accounted their *Perfect Paſſover*. Now this being the Practice of theſe Abominable Hereticks, who had the Forehead to ſtyle themſelves Chriſtians, it is no wonder if both Jews and Gentiles, who were greedy of any Occaſion to blacken the Chriſtians, ſhou'd load them all in general with theſe deteſtable Crimes, either not knowing 'em to be falſe, or elſe not willing to diſtinguiſh between Chriſtians true or falſe.

rooted

rooted out of the World. And beſides, whoever has to do with ſuch wicked Creatures, not only defiles himſelf with a Mixture repugnant to all the Laws of Religion and Temperance, but 'tis a great Chance that the Sinner does not pollute himſelf with ſome of his own Children or neareſt Relations. Some there are who proſtitute their own Wives and Children, and others are cut publickly for Pathick Obſcenity, and their Inſtruments made a Sacrifice to the Mother of the Gods. And of all the eſtabliſhed Deities among you, a painted Serpent is the greateſt Symbol and Myſtery: And ſuch Actions as you commit in the Face of the Sun, and are creditable Vices among you, as if you had not one Spark of Divine Light left; thoſe you charge upon us, tho' this Charge will do no harm to us, who are entire Strangers to ſuch Sins; but to the Doers of them only, and to ſuch as falſly lay 'em to the Charge of Chriſtians. But the Ring-leader and Prince of evil Spirits is by us called the Serpent, and Satan, and falſe Accuſer, as you may eaſily find from our Scriptures, who together with all his Hoſt of Angels, and Men like himſelf, ſhall be thruſt into Fire, there to be tormented World without end, as our Chriſt has foretold; and the Reaſon why God has not done this already, is out of Mercy to ſuch of Mankind, as he foreſees will repent and be ſav'd; ſome of which are now in Being, and others as yet unborn: And from the Beginning he made Mankind intelligent and free Creatures, fit for the Choice and Practice of Truth and Goodneſs; ſo that every

every Sinner ſhould be without Excuſe before God; for we are endu'd with Reaſon, and form'd for Contemplation. If any one therefore ſhall disbelieve the Providence of God, or ſhall deny his Exiſtence, notwithſtanding the Evidence of his World, or aſſert him to be a Being delighted with Wickedneſs, or as unactive as a Stone, and that Vice and Virtue are nothing in themſelves, and depend only upon the Opinions of Men; this, I ſay, is a conſummate piece of Impiety and Injuſtice.) And another Reaſon againſt expoſing Infants, is, that we are afraid they ſhould periſh for want of being taken up, and ſo bring us under the Guilt of Murther.

XXXVII. Moreover, the End of Chriſtians in marrying, is the Chriſtian Education of their Children, and ſuch as refuſe to marry contain themſelves perpetually within the Bounds of Chaſtity. And to give you a very perſuaſive and ſenſible Argument, that promiſcuous Copulation is none of the Myſteries in Practice amongſt us; a Chriſtian Youth ſent a Petition to *Felix* the Preſident of *Alexandria*, to give a Surgeon leave to cut him, for without leave from the Preſident, ſuch kind of Operations are interdicted; but when *Felix* wou'd not ſign the Petition, the Youth perſiſting in his Reſolution, at length ſatisfy'd his Conſcience and thoſe about him who were of his Mind, by performing the Operation upon himſelf. I do not think it improper in this Place to put you in mind of the late *Antinous*, whom all were prevail'd upon by Fear to worſhip as a God,

God, notwithſtanding they well knew what he was, and whence his Original; but leſt any one ſhou'd object, that we can ſhew no Reaſon why our Chriſt ſhou'd not be look'd upon as a mere Man, and his Miracles the Effects only of Magick, and therefore cry'd up for the Son of God, I ſhall enter upon the Proof of his Divinity, not ſo much truſting to the Reports of Men, as the Predictions of Prophets, and neceſſitated to believe, becauſe we ſee things with our own Eyes already fulfill'd according to theſe Predictions, and a fulfilling on ev'ry Day; and this, I believe, you your ſelves will grant to be the ſtrongeſt Demonſtration of the Truth imaginable.

XXXVIII. There were of old, among the Jews, certain Prophets of God, by whom the Prophetick Spirit made Proclamation of things to come, long before they were in Being; theſe Prophecies, juſt as they were deliver'd, were committed to Writing by the Prophets themſelves in their own Hebrew Mother-Tongue, and the Books put into the Cuſtody of the Kings of *Judæa* then in Being. When *Ptolomy* therefore, King of *Egypt*, was ſetting up his Library, and very inquiſitive about the moſt curious Collection of all ſorts of Books, being inform'd of theſe Prophetick Writings, he diſpatch'd an Embaſſador to the [z] *Jewiſh* High Prieſt, who was at that time inveſted with

[z] Τῷ ἀρχ' Ἰουδαίων τότε βασιλεύοντι Ἡρῴδῃ] This is another Paſſage which that *Orbilius Patrum*, *John Daille*, has choſen to expoſe what he thinks to be the Nakedneſs of this Father; for (ſays he)

with the Regal Power, to requeſt of him a Preſent of theſe Prophecies, and accordingly the Royal High Prieſt ſent them in their Original Language, but the Contents of theſe Books being not intelligible to the *Egyptians* in the Hebrew Tongue, he ſent a ſecond Embaſſy to deſire him to ſend over Men to tranſlate 'em into Greek; and by theſe Means theſe Books are in Being with *Egyptians* to this Day, and this Tranſlation is in the Hands almoſt of every Jew all the World over; which tho' they read, they underſtand not, but blindly take Chriſtians for their Enemies, and when ever it is in their Power treat us as cruelly as you do; which I doubt not but you will readily grant me. For in the laſt Jewiſh War, *Barchochebas*, the Ringleader of the revolting Jews, order'd the Chriſtians only to be dragg'd to the moſt grievous Torments, unleſs they wou'd renounce and blaſpheme Jeſus Chriſt.

XXXIX. Now in theſe Books of the Prophets, we find it foretold, that there was one a coming into the World, who being born of a Virgin, and grown up to Man's Eſtate,

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he) *Juſtin Martyr*, ſpeaking of the Tranſlation of the 70 Interpreters, affirms, That *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Herod* King of *Judæa*, whereas the Truth of the Story is, that he ſent to *Eleazar* the High Prieſt, two hundred, forty, and odd Years before *Herod* came to be King of *Judæa*: Dr. *Grabe*, who makes it his Buſineſs to do Juſtice to the Primitive Fathers, who deſerve ſo well of the Chriſtian World, well knew that his *Juſtin* was a Perſon too well qualify'd to be guilty of ſo notorious an overſight in point of Chronology, and in a matter ſo near his own time, has by a happy Conjecture reſtor'd him to himſelf, by ſubſtituting ἱερεῖ inſtead of Ἡρῴδῃ, which, no doubt, was a Blunder in the Tranſcriber, *Vid.* Notes upon this Place.

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ſhou'd cure ev'ry Diſeaſe and Malady in Nature, and raiſe the Dead, and be treated with Spite and Ignominy, and at length this Jeſus our Chriſt ſhou'd be faſten'd to a Croſs, and dye, and riſe again, and aſcend up into Heaven, and that he was truly the Son of God, and ſhou'd be worſhipped under that Title, and that he ſhou'd ſend out ſome to preach theſe Tidings to every Nation, and that the Gentiles ſhou'd come over to the Faith in greater Numbers than the Jews; and theſe very Prophecies went of him, before his Coming, ſome [a] five thouſand, ſome three, ſome two, ſome one thouſand, and ſome eight hundred Years only; for in all theſe ſucceeding Generations there was a Succeſſion of ſome Prophets or other.

XL. And the great Prince of Prophets, *Moſes*, thus expreſly ſignify'd: *The Sceptre ſhall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the People be, binding his Foal unto the Vine, and waſhing his Garments in the Blood of Grapes.* 'Tis incumbent therefore upon you, to make diligent Enquiry how long the Jews had a Prince or Ruler properly their own, and you will find, until the Appearance of Jeſus Chriſt our Maſter, the great Expoſitor of theſe Prophecies, little underſtood before; and you'll ſee it exactly verify'd according to what the Divine, Holy, and Prophe- Geneſ. 49 10, &c.

[a] *Some five thouſand, ſome three,* &c.] The more Curious will find the Chronology of theſe ſeveral Periods adjuſted by Dr. *Grabe* in his Notes upon this Place.

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tick Spirit foretold by *Moſes*, *That a Law-giver ſhou'd not depart from Judah, until Shiloh come*; for *Judah* was the Father of the Jewiſh Nation, and from whom they took the Name of Jews. But after the Coming of *Shiloh*, you your ſelves reign'd over the Jews, and reduc'd their whole Kingdom into a *Roman* Province; that Part of the Prophecy which ſays *that unto him ſhall the gathering of the People be, or that he ſhall be the Expectation of the Gentiles*, denotes the general Expectation of his ſecond Coming; a Truth your own Eyes bear witneſs to, and the thing proves it ſelf; for you ſee all ſorts of Men big with the Hopes of his ſecond Coming in Glory, who was crucify'd in *Judea*, after which Crucifixion you immediately became Maſters of their whole Country.

XLI. Moreover, *the binding his Foal unto the Vine, and waſhing his Garments in the Blood of Grapes*, was a ſignificative Symbol of what Chriſt was to do and ſuffer; for there ſtood the Foal of an Aſs ty'd to a Vine at the Entrance of a certain Village, which he order'd his Diſciples to go and bring him, upon which he got and rode into *Jeruſalem*, where the ſtately Temple of the Jews then was, which you ſince have raz'd to the Ground: And to fulfil the Sequel of the Prophecy, he was afterwards crucify'd. For *waſhing his Garments in the Blood of Grapes*, prefigur'd the Paſſion he was to undergo, purifying by his Blood ſuch as ſhou'd believe in him; for what, by the Prophet, the Divine Spirit calls his *Garments*, are the Faithful, in

whom the *Logos*, the [b] Seed of God dwells. *The Blood of Grapes* typifies that he who was to come, ſhou'd have Blood, but not of Humane, but of Divine Generation; and the firſt Power next to God the Father, and Lord of all, is his Son the *Logos*; but how this *Logos* was incarnated and made Man, ſhall be declared in order. But as Man had no Hand in making the Blood of the Grape, but God only; ſo this is an Emblem that the Blood of the *Logos* was of no human Extraction, but deſcended from the Power of the moſt High, as I have already declar'd.

XLII. *Iſaiah*, another Prophet, foretels the ſame things, but in other Words: *There* [c] *ſhall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Rod ſhall come forth out of the Root of Jeſſe, and to it ſhall the Gentiles ſeek.* Now this ſhining Star out of *Jacob*, and this Rod out of the Root of *Jeſſe*, is Chriſt; for he was conceiv'd by the Power of God, and born of a Virgin of the Seed of *Jacob*, the Father of *Judah*, from whence aroſe the Jewiſh Nation; and *Jeſſe*, according to this Ora- Iſ. 11. v. 1. Ibid. 1. 10.

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[b] Τὸ πρὸς τῦ θεῦ σπέρμα, ὁ λόγος.] I take the Liberty to diſſent from Dr. *Grabe* in this Place, who thinks that πνεῦμα ought to be reſtor'd in the room of σπέρμα, becauſe of the Word οἰκεῖ; but Chriſt is ſaid to dwell in the Faithful, as well as the holy Spirit. Κα]οικῆσαι τ χειςὸν διὰ τ πίςεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, *that Chriſt may dwell in your Hearts by Faith*, Epheſ. *cap.* 3. *v.* 17. and in many other Places to the ſame purpoſe; but moreover, the main Deſign of *Juſtin* in this Prophecy, is to eſtabliſh the divine Generation of Chriſt, and therefore he emphatically calls him τὸ πρὸς τῦ θεῦ σπέρμα, *the Seed of God*, in Oppoſition to ἀνθρώπειον σπέρμα, *the Seed of Man*, which immediately he twice repeats in expounding the *Blood of the Grape*.

[c] Ἀνα]ελεῖ ἄρχον ἐξ Ἰακώβ] See Dr. *Grabe*'s Conjecture upon this Prophecy.

cle, was reckon'd among his Anceſtors, but he was the Son of *Jacob* and *Judah* in a Lineal Succeſſion.

XLIII. Again, concerning his being to be born of a Virgin, hear the expreſs Words of
Iſ. 7. 14. the ſame Prophet *Iſaiah*, and they are theſe, *Behold a Virgin ſhall concieve, and bear a Son, and ſhall call his Name Immanuel*, that is *God with us*. For ſuch things as were incredible and impoſſible to be, in the Opinions of Men, God by the prophetick Spirit foretold ſhou'd be; that when they found ſuch things in Being, the very Predictions ſhou'd make it hardly poſſible to diſbelieve them. But that ſuch as underſtand not the Prophecy before us, may not turn the Objections upon us which we charge upon the Poets, and father this Conception upon a luſtful *Jove*, I ſhall endeavour to ſet the Words in a clearer Light. This Expreſſion therefore, *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive*, manifeſtly declares that a Virgin ſhall conceive without any Carnal Concurrence, for upon that ſhe muſt ceaſe to be a Virgin; but the Power of God coming down upon the Virgin, overſhadowed her, and made her conceive in the pure State of Virginity; and the Angel of God
Luke 1. 31. and 35. which was ſent to her, delivers his Embaſſy in theſe Words: *Behold thou ſhalt conceive in thy Womb by the Holy Ghoſt, and bring forth a*
Matt. 1. 21. *Son, and he ſhall be called the Son of the Higheſt, and thou ſhalt call his Name Jeſus, for he ſhall ſave his People from their Sins.* As the Evangeliſts have taught us, whom we believe, and the rather, becauſe the prophetick Spirit by the

the ſame *Iſaiah* has foretold he ſhou'd be born, juſt as we have now declar'd. *By the Spirit and Power of God*, we ought to underſtand the very *Logos*, who according to the aforeſaid Prophet [d] *Iſaiah*, is *the Firſt-begotten of God*. This Spirit coming down and overſhadowing the Virgin, did impregnate her, not in a carnal way, but by a Power Divine. Jeſus is an Hebrew Word, and in Greek σωτηρ, that is Saviour, in Alluſion to which the Angel deliver'd himſelf thus to the Virgin, *And thou ſhalt call his Name Jeſus, for he ſhall ſave his People from their Sins.*

XLIV. That the Prophets were inſpir'd by nothing but the Divine Wiſdom or *Logos*, who cou'd foreſee things at ſuch a Diſtance, is what I believe you your ſelves will grant me; but where this *Logos* was to be born, hear what *Micah*, another Prophet, ſays, and thus it ſtands: *And thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah art not the leaſt among the Princes of Judah, for out of thee ſhall come a Governour that ſhall rule my People Iſrael.* Now this *Bethlehem* where Chriſt Jeſus was born is a certain Village in *Judea*, about thirty five Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, as you may ſee in the Cenſual Tables of *Cyrenius*, the firſt [e] Prefect of *Judea*; and how Chriſt after he was born liv'd in Obſcurity, and how this Obſcurity of Life was

Mich. 5. 2. *as it is cited by St.* Matt. *cap.* 2. *v.* 6.

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[d] See Dr. *Grabe*'s Conjecture about the Corruption of this Place.

[e] Ἐπίτροπος.] For the underſtanding of this Word, Dr. *Grabe* refers to *Grotius* in *cap.* 2. *Luc.* And whoever deſires to ſee more, may conſult *Vales.* upon *Euſeb. Hiſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. and *Montac. Apparat.* 4. *p.* 156, &c.

foretold likewiſe, we have our Prophets *to* ſhow, for thus they ſpeak;[f]——

Iſ. 9. 6. XLV. *Unto us a Child is born, and a young Man given, and the Government ſhall be upon his Shoulders:* Now this was a prophetick Deſcription of the Power of the Croſs, to which he apply'd his Shoulders at his Crucifixion, as I ſhall manifeſt in the Progreſs of this Diſcourſe. And again, the ſame *Iſaiah*, as he was mov'd Iſ. 65. 2. by the prophetick Spirit, ſays, *I have ſpread out my Hands to a rebellious gainſaying People,* Iſ. 58. 2. *which walketh in a way that is not good: They ask of me the Ordinances of Juſtice, they take delight in approaching to God.* And by another Pſalm 21. 17, 19. Prophet in other Words, he ſpake thus: *They pierced my Hands and my Feet, and upon my Veſture did they caſt Lots.* But *David*, both a King and a Prophet, who ſpake this, ſuffer'd nothing like it. But the Hands of Jeſus Chriſt were pierc'd and extended upon a Croſs, while the Jews revil'd and deny'd him to be the Chriſt. For, according to the Prophet, they lead him to the Judgment-Seat, and flouted him ſaying, *Thy Judgment be upon us. They pierced his Hands and Feet*, refers to the Nails that faſten'd 'em to the Croſs; and when they had crucify'd him, the Crucifyers *parted his Garments, and upon his Veſture did they caſt Lots.* And for the Truth of this you may ſatisfie your ſelves from the Acts of *Pontius Pilate*; and how literally it was prophecy'd that he ſhou'd make

Matt. 27. *here you have not the very Words, but the Senſe only, as Juſtin often does cite in this manner.*

[f] ——Here is a Deficiency, and of what, conſult Dr. *Grabe.*

his Entrance into *Jeruſalem* upon the Foal of an Aſs, I ſhall lay before you the Words of the Prophet [g] *Zachariah: Rejoyce greatly, O Daughter of Zion; ſhout, O Daughter of Jeruſalem; behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and ſitting upon an Aſs, and a Colt the Foal of an Aſs.* Zachar. 9. 9. according as they are cited by Matt. 21. 5.

XLVI. But when you hear the Prophets ſpeaking, as it were, under the Names of different Perſons, you muſt not look upon the Men who ſpeak, ſo much as upon the Divine *Logos* who inſpires 'em; for ſometimes he perſonates a Prophet, ſometimes he ſpeaks in the Perſon of God the Lord, and Parent of the Univerſe; ſometimes in the Perſon of Chriſt, ſometimes under the Repreſentation of the People in Conference with the Lord, or his Father; and there is nothing more familiar than this way of introducing ſeveral Perſons ſpeaking, tho' the whole was compos'd by one, even among your own Writers. Now the Jews not animadverting to this manner of perſonating in the prophetick Writings which they had in keeping, overlook'd Chriſt, even before their Eyes, and mortally hate us who affirm him already come, and to have been crucify'd, and prove it demonſtrably to have come to

[g] Τῷ Σοφονίᾳ.] Here is another terrible overſight charg'd upon our Martyr by *John Daille*, namely, that he quotes this Prophecy out of *Zephaniah*, which is only to be found in the Prophet *Zachariah*; but had this Cenſor been as good at mending, as he is at making Holes, he might have found this very Prophecy cited by *Juſtin*, from out of *Zechary*, for thus he ſpeaks, προεφητεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζαχαρίου ἐνὸς τῶν δώδεκα, — ἵνα· — χαῖρε σφόδρα θύγατερ Σιών, &c. Dialog. cum Tryp. p. 273.

pass according to the Prophets Predictions.

XLVII. A plain Example of which, you have in the Words of *Isaiah* the Prophet, just now mention'd, deliver'd in the Person of God the Father: *The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Master's Crib; but Israel doth not know, my People doth not consider. Ah, sinful Nation, a People laden with Iniquity, a Seed of evil Doers, wicked Children, ye have forsaken the Lord.* And again, elsewhere, the Prophet speaks in the Person of the Father: *What is the House ye build unto me? saith the Lord; the Heaven is my Throne, and the Earth is my Foot-stool.* And again, elsewhere: *Your New Moons and Sabbaths my Soul hateth; your great Day of fasting and resting I cannot away with; when you come to appear before me, I will not hear you; your Hands are full of Blood, bring no more vain Oblations; Incense is an abomination unto me; I am full of the Fat of Lambs, and the Blood of Goats; who has requir'd these at your Hands? But loose the Bands of Wickedness, and undo the heavy Burthens; bring the Poor that are cast out of thy House, and cover the Naked, and deal thy Bread to the Hungry.* And what these Commands of God by his Prophets were, you may understand by these Examples.

Is. 1. 3.
Is. 66. 1.
Is. 1. 11, 12, 13, 14.
Is. 58. 6, 7.

XLVIII. When the prophetick Spirit speaks in the Person of Christ, he speaks in this wise, *I have spread out my Hands to an incredulous and gainsaying People, which walketh in a way that is not good*; and again, *I gave my Back to the Smiters, and my Cheeks to them that struck them; I hid not my Face from Shame and spit-*

Is. 65. 2.
Is. 1. 6, 7, 8.

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ting, For the Lord God will help me, therefore ſhall I not be confounded; therefore have I ſet my Face like a Flint, and I know that I ſhall not be aſhamed, he is near that juſtifyeth me. And again, *They parted my Garments among them, and caſt Lots upon my Veſture; they pierced my Hands and my Feet. I laid me down and ſlept, and roſe again for the Lord raiſed me.* And again, *They ſhoot out the Lip, and ſhake the Head, ſaying, Let the Lord deliver him.* All which you may plainly ſee was fulfill'd in Chriſt by the Jews; for while he was crucifying, they diſtorted their Lips, and wagging their Heads, ſay'd, *He that raiſed the Dead, let him ſave himſelf.* Pſal. 21. 17, 19. Pſal. 3. 6. Pſ. 21. 8, 9. Matt. 27. 39.

XLIX. When the prophetick Spirit perſonates a Prophet in foretelling things to come, he ſpeaks thus: *Out of Sion ſhall go forth a Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jeruſalem, and he ſhall judge among the Nations, and ſhall rebuke many People, and they ſhall beat their Swords into Plough-ſhares, and their Spears into pruning Hooks; Nation ſhall not lift up Sword againſt Nation, neither ſhall they learn War any more.* Iſ. 11. 3, &c. And that this Scripture was thus fulfilled, you have good Grounds to believe; for there went out of *Jeruſalem* into the World, Men in number but twelve, and thoſe too, Men of no Learning, and of as little Eloquence; but they went forth in the Power of God, and publiſh'd to every Nation, that they were ſent to inſtruct 'em in the Word of God, and ſent by Chriſt. And this has had ſo good an Effect, that we, who heretofore were continually devouring each other, will not now ſo much as lift up

our Hand againſt our Enemies, nor tell an untruth to eſcape thoſe that are hunting after our Blood, but cheerfully confeſs Chriſt, and as cheerfully go to Execution for ſo doing, tho' we might eaſily come off by the help of that Mental Reſervation in your Poet, *My Tongue has ſworn, but my Mind has not.* But now if the Soldiers you liſt, and who Article with you to be true, can prefer their plighted Troth before all the Endearments of Life, Parents, Country, and ev'ry Relation; if they can ſtake their All upon their Allegiance to you, who can reward 'em with nothing incorruptible; how ridiculous wou'd it be in Chriſtians, we whoſe Souls are ſet upon nothing but the Joys of Immortality, not to charge thro' every Affliction, for the Prize we ſo paſſionately deſire, and which we are ſure to be crown'd with by Him who is able to give.

Eurip. Hip.

L. Hear alſo in what manner the prophetick Spirit delivers himſelf, by the Mouth of Him who was both Prophet and King, concerning the Preachers of the Goſpel, and the Publiſhers of Chriſt's Coming into the World: *Day unto Day uttereth Speech, and Night unto Night ſheweth Knowledge: There is no Speech nor Language where their Voice is not heard; their Sound is gone out through all the Earth, and their Words to the end of the World; in them hath he ſet a Tabernacle for the Sun, which is as a Bridegroom coming out of his Chamber, and rejoyceth as a Giant to run his Courſe.*

Pſ. 18. 3, &c.

LI. Shou'd I add more of *David's* Prophecies to theſe I have already produc'd, I am of Opinion

Opinion it might be both pertinent and uſeful; for from hence you might take a Survey of that kind of Life which the prophetick Spirit exhorts Men to, and you might ſee *Herod* the King of the Jews, and the Jews themſelves, and *Pilate* your Procurator of *Judea*, and his Soldiers, all conſpiring againſt Chriſt, and how it was foretold, that in ſpite of all this Oppoſition, every Nation ſhou'd come at length to believe in Him: And here likewiſe you may ſee how God calls him His Son, and promiſes to ſubdue all His Enemies unto Him, and how the Devils ſhou'd labour with all their Might, to hide from the Power of God the Parent, and Lord of all things, and from the Power of his Chriſt; and laſtly, how God ſhou'd invite all Men to repent before the Coming of the Day of Judgment. The Words of Prophecy are theſe: *Bleſſed is the Man that walketh not in the Counſel of the Ungodly, nor ſtandeth in the Way of Sinners, nor ſitteth in the Seat of the Scornful, But his Delight is in the Law of the Lord, and in his Law doth he meditate Day and Night, And he ſhall be like a Tree planted by the Rivers of Water, that bringeth forth his Fruit in his Seaſon, his Leaf ſhall not wither, and whatſoever he doeth ſhall proſper; The ungodly are not ſo, but are like the Chaff which the Wind driveth away, Therefore the ungodly ſhall not ſtand in the Judgment, nor Sinners in the Congregation of the Righteous; For the Lord knoweth the way of the Righteous, but the way of the Ungodly ſhall periſh. Why do the Heathen rage, and the People imagine a vain thing?* Pſalms *the firſt and ſecond entire.*

thing? The Kings of the Earth ſtood up, and the Rulers took Counſel together againſt the Lord and againſt His Chriſt; Let us break their Bonds aſunder, and caſt away their Cords from us. He that ſitteth in the Heavens ſhall laugh, the Lord ſhall have them in Deriſion. Then ſhall he ſpeak unto them in his Wrath, and vex them in his ſore Diſpleaſure; Yet have I ſet my King upon my holy Hill of Sion. I will declare the Decree the Lord hath ſaid unto me, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I ſhall give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the Earth for thy Poſſeſſion; Thou ſhalt break them with a Rod of Iron, thou ſhalt daſh them in pieces like a Potter's Veſſel. Be wiſe now therefore, O ye Kings, be inſtructed, ye Judges of the Earth. Serve the Lord with Fear, and rejoyce with Trembling; Obey his Doctrine, leſt the Lord be angry, and ye periſh from the right way, when his Wrath ſhall be kindled on a ſuddain; bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in him.

LII. And again, in another Prophecy, which the prophetick Spirit deliver'd by the ſame *David* concerning Chriſt's Kingdom, which was to commence juſt after his Crucifixion, he ſpeaks in this wiſe: *Sing unto the Lord all the whole Earth, and be telling of his Salvation from Day to Day, For the Lord is great, and cannot worthily be praiſed, he is more to be feared then all Gods, for all the Gods of the Heathen are but the Idols of Devils; but it is the Lord that made the Heavens, Glory and Worſhip are before him, Power and Honour are in his Sanctuary: Aſcribe unto*

Pſal. 99. v. 1. to v. 11.

unto the Lord, the Father everlaſting, Worſhip and Power, bring Preſents, and come into his Courts. Let the whole Earth ſtand in awe of him, and be made ſo faſt in his Worſhip, that it cannot be moved; Let them rejoyce among the Nations, for the Lord reigneth from the [h] *Tree.*

LIII. But becauſe the prophetick Spirit ſpeaks of Futurities as things paſt, and leaſt this ſhou'd prove any Offence in the Reader's way, I ſhall clear it a little more particularly. I ſay, then, that what the Spirit knows muſt certainly come to paſs, he declares as already fulfill'd; and that we are thus to underſtand his Words, will be very evident, if you reflect a little upon the Paſſages I have quoted; for [i] *David* about 1100 Years before the Crucifixion of Chriſt in our Fleſh, gave out the Prophecies aforeſaid, and not One, either of his Predeceſſors or Succeſſors, were ever crucify'd, or brought ſuch glad Tidings to the Gentile World. But our Jeſus Chriſt, after his Crucifixion and Death, roſe again and aſcended into Heaven, and enter'd upon his Kingdom, and what he proclaim'd to all Nations by his Apoſtles, ſpreads an univerſal Joy upon the Hearts of ſuch, as

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[h] *Vid. Dial. cum Tryp. p.* 298. And in Alluſion to the Croſs are thoſe Words in the Book of *Wiſdom: Bleſſed is the Wood whereby Righteouſneſs cometh.* Wiſd. *cap.* 14. *v.* 7.

[i] Δαϋὶδ ἔτεσι χιλίοις καὶ πενταχοσίοις.] Here again Dr. *Grabe* has wip'd off a ſad Blemiſh, which the aforeſaid *John Daille* wou'd fix upon *Juſtin* in point of Chronology, and has plainly prov'd it to be an Error in the Scribe; ſee the Notes upon this Paſſage.

are

are in Expectation of that Immortality which is brought to Light by his Goſpel.

LIV. But leaſt any ſhou'd collect from what has been ſaid, that we are Aſſertors of fatal Neceſſity, and conclude that [k] Prophecy muſt needs infer Predeſtination, we ſhall clear our ſelves as to this Point alſo; for we learn from theſe very Prophets, that Rewards and Puniſhments are to be diſtributed in Proportion to the Merits of Mankind; and it is a Truth we our ſelves profeſs: For if it be not ſo, but all things are determin'd by Fate, then farewel Freedom of Will; and if this Man is deſtin'd to be good, and that evil, then neither the one nor the other can be juſtly approv'd or condemn'd; ſo that unleſs we ſuppoſe that Mankind has it in his Power to chooſe the Good and refuſe the Evil, no one can be accountable for any Action whatever. But to prove that Men are Good or Evil by Choice, I argue in this manner,—We ſee in the ſame Perſon a Tranſition to quite contrary Actions; but now was he neceſſitated either to be good

[k] That the Pagans were very much inclin'd to infer with the Stoicks a fatal Neceſſity from the Prediction of things to come, is evident from what *Origen* replies to *Celſus* upon this Subject. *Orig. contra Celſ.* lib. 2. p. 72. I know that our Martyr is thought hardly of, for magnifying the Power of Man's Will, but this is notoriouſly evident to have been the current Doctrine of the Fathers, thro' all the firſt Ages, till the Riſe of the *Pelagian* Controverſie, tho' they all acknowledg'd χρειαν ἐξαιρετον a mighty Aſſiſtance of Divine Grace, to raiſe up the Soul for divine and ſpiritual things. And *Juſtin* tells his Adverſary, that 'tis vain for Man to think of rightly underſtanding the Prophets, unleſs he be aſſiſted μὴ μεγάλης χάριτος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ θεᾶς *by a mighty Grace deriv'd from God.* Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 319.

or bad, he would not be capable of this Contrariety, nor ſo often vary from one to the other; beſides there wou'd not be this Diverſity of Virtuous and Vicious in the World; for either we muſt ſay with you, that Deſtiny is the Cauſe of Evil, and then Deſtiny wou'd act contradictorily to her ſelf, in being the Cauſe of Good; or elſe I muſt ſay, what I have ſaid already, that you conclude Virtue and Vice to be in themſelves nothing, but to receive their Eſtimate of Good or Bad from the Opinions of Men only, which according to right Reaſon is a conſummate piece of Impiety and Injuſtice.

LV. But this I will tell you is Deſtiny, inevitable Deſtiny, that thoſe who chooſe to walk in the Paths of Virtue, ſhall meet with proportionate Returns of Honour, and thoſe who prefer the contrary Courſe, ſhall be puniſh'd accordingly; for God has not made Man like Trees or Beaſts, without the Power of Election; for he that has no hand in making himſelf Good or Bad, but is born ſo ready made, is no proper Subject for the Diſtributions of Juſtice; for neither the Good nor the Evil are ſuch by themſelves, but only as they are framed by the Hand of Deſtiny.

LVI. Moreover, the holy prophetick Spirit has inſtructed us in the Doctrine of Free Will by *Moſes*, who introduces God, ſpeaking to the new made Man, in this manner, *Behold Good and Evil is before you, chooſe the Good.* And again, by another Prophet, *Iſaiah*, he ſpeaks to the ſame Effect, in the Perſon of God the

Deut. 30. 15, 19. *See Dr.* Grabe's *Notes upon this.*

Iſ.1.16,20. the Father, and Lord of the Univerſe: *Waſh ye, make you clean, put away the Evil of your Doings, learn to do well, judge the Fatherleſs, and plead for the Widow. Come now, and let us reaſon together, ſaith the Lord, though your Sins be as Scarlet, they ſhall be as white as Snow; tho' they be red like Crimſon, they ſhall be as Wool; if ye be willing and obedient, ye ſhall eat the Good of the Land, but if you refuſe and rebel, the Sword ſhall feed upon you, for the Mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.* And whereas it is ſaid that the *Sword ſhall feed upon you*, and not that the Diſobedient ſhall be cut off by Swords, I muſt tell you by the bye, that the *Sword of God* is Fire, which ſhall prey upon thoſe who have made Wickedneſs their Choice, and therefore he ſays, *the Sword ſhall feed upon you, the Mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it*; whereas had he ſpoken of a common Sword which cuts off, and diſpatches in a Moment, he wou'd not have us'd the Word *feeding upon*, which intimates a gradual Deſtruction.

LVII. When *Plato* therefore ſaid, [l] *That the Blame lyes at his Door who wills the Sin, but God wills no Evil*; he borrow'd the Saying from *Moſes*, for *Moſes* is [m] older than any of your *Greek* Writers; and as to all their Notions about the Immortality of the Soul, and Puniſhments after Death, and their divine Theories, and ſuch like Doctrines, the Phi-

[l] *Plat. de Repub. lib.* 10. *p.* 617. *Edit. Henr. Stephani.*

[m] At the eaſieſt Computation between *Moſes* and *Homer* there are above 600 Years; nay, *Cadmus*, the firſt Inventor of Letters among the *Græcians* was ſome Ages *junior* to *Moſes*.

loſophers

loſophers and Poets plainly took their Hints from the Prophets, which they conſulted and built upon, and by this means the Seeds of Truth ſeem to be ſcatter'd about the World; but 'tis evident they underſtood 'em not as they ſhou'd do, from the manifold Contradictions amongſt 'em.

LVIII. By maintaining therefore, that future Events have been foretold by the Prophets, we do not maintain that the things foretold came to paſs by any fatal Neceſſity, but from that divine Preſcience which foreſees all the Actions of Men, without neceſſitating them to act. And ſince a juſt Retribution of Rewards and Puniſhments, is a current Opinion in the World, God has been pleas'd to ſecond this Notion by the prophetick Spirit, the more to awaken Mankind, and to print a future Judgment perpetually upon their Minds, and withal, to ſhew that his Providence is concern'd about us, and obſerves all our Actions.

LIX. But it was brought about by Devil-craft, to be made a Capital Crime to read the Books of *Hyſtaſpes* [n] *Sybilla*, and the Prophets, upon

[n] The great Objection againſt the *Sybilline* Oracles, *&c.* is, That they ſo plainly and expreſly foretel Chriſt to the Heathen World, as plainly, if not more, than the Prophets did to the Jews; but was not Chriſt as manifeſtly foretold by *Baalam* the Aramitick Sorcerer, as by the Prophet *Iſaiah?* Did not *Job*, who was not of *Iſrael*, ſpeak of the great Article of the Reſurrection? *cap.* 19. 25. Did not *Daniel* in his Captivity communicate his Prophecies to the Gentiles, as well as the Jews? And was not a Prophet ſent to *Jeroboam*, an Iſraelite indeed by Birth, but a Pagan in Religion? All which plainly prove, that God never deliver'd Himſelf more plainly by his Prophets, than when he tranſacted with Gentiles, and not

upon a Preſumption that Men wou'd not venture upon ſuch Books for better Information, at the peril of their Lives, but rather ſit down contented Slaves to the Powers of Darkneſs. But the Devils miſs'd their Aim, for we are not only not afraid to read theſe Scriptures, but,

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not with Jews. And this likewiſe proves what *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us in *6. Stro. p.* 270. that as God rais'd up Prophets among the Jews to bring 'em to Salvation, *Sic & ſelectiſſimum quemque è Paganis ſervare voluiſſe, Prophetas ipſis proprios, propriâ ipſorum dialecto excitando*; and to theſe Sybils, *Juſtin, Clemens, Origen, Euſebius, Lactantius*, ſend the Heathen for the Truth of Chriſtianity, and lay'd ſo great a ſtreſs upon them, that they were called Sibyliſts. But now, had all theſe Books of the Sybils been Chriſtian Forgeries (not to mention the baſeneſs of ſuch pious Frauds abominated by the firſt Chriſtians) they would never have been ſo fillily impudent, as to have appeal'd to them before the Emperors, and to the whole World. And *Origen* wou'd never have challeng'd *Celſus*, or any of the Heathens, to give a conſiderable Inſtance where theſe Books were interpolated by Chriſtians, which, no doubt, they wou'd have triumphantly produc'd, had they any ſuch Interpolations to produce, *Orig. contr. Celſ. lib.* 1. Moreover 'tis certain, that in *Cicero*'s time, the *Sibylline* Prophecies were interpreted by ſome in favour of *Cæſar*, as predicting a Monarchy. *Cic. Div. l.* 2.—*Eum, quem revera Regem, &c. That if we wou'd be ſafe, we ſhou'd acknowledge him for a King, who really was ſo.* Which Interpretation *Cicero* after *Cæſar*'s Death was ſo much offended with, that he quarrels with the Oracles and the Interpreters, *Quamobrem Sibyllam quidem ſepoſitam, &c. Wherefore let us ſhut up the Sibyl, and keep her cloſe; that according to the Decree of our Anceſtors, her Verſes may not be read without the expreſs Command of the Senate.* And then adds, *cum Antiſtitibus, &c. Let us alſo deal with the Quindecimviri and the Interpreters of theſe Sibylline Books, that they wou'd rather produce any thing out of 'em than a King.* And that in the Eclogue of *Virgil*—*Ultima Cumæi venit, &c.* written about the beginning of *Herod* the Great, and flatteringly apply'd to *Pollio*'s Son *Saloninus* ſpeaks of ſuch a Golden Age, and Renovation of all things, as cannot be fulfilled in the Reign of any earthly King, and in a Strain Prophetick. The ſame Year that *Pompey* took *Jeruſalem*, one of the *Sibyl* Oracles made a mighty Noiſe, *viz. That Nature was about to bring forth a King to the Romans.* And *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Auguſtus*, ſays, *That this ſo terrify'd the Senate, that they made a Decree, that none born that Year ſhould be educated, and that thoſe whoſe*

but, as you ſee, frankly offer them to your peruſal, preſuming they may be well accepted by all; but if we gain a few only, we ſhall be great Gainers, for God will look upon us as good Husbandmen, who have done our beſt, and will reward us accordingly.

LX. But to return from this Digreſſion to the Prophecies concerning Chriſt, it was pro-

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whoſe Wives were with Child, apply'd the Prophecy to themſelves. And *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Saluſt*, and *Cicero*, all ſay that it was this Prophecy of the *Sibyls* which ſtir'd up *Cornelius Lentulus* at that time, he hoping that he was the Man deſign'd for this King of the *Romans*. The Words of *Suetonius* in the Life of *Veſpaſian* are very remarkable—*Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & conſtans opinio, eſſe in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæâ profecti rerum poterentur*; and to the ſame purpoſe are thoſe of *Tacitus* (Hiſt. l. 5.) *Pluribus perſuaſio inerat, Antiquis Sacerdotum Literis contineri, eo ipſo tempore fore, ut valeſceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur.* Now that which I look upon as the moſt probable Account of theſe expreſs Prophecies concerning Chriſt, I mean how they came to be ſo riſe among the Heathens, is this, That the Jews in their Diſperſion took all Occaſions to ſpeak the moſt magnificent things of their expected Meſſiah; and that theſe Prophecies, by the more than ordinary Grace of God, ſhone brighter and clearer upon their Minds during their Captivity, as the great Support to them under their Exile; and that the Jewiſh Oracles came to be admitted into the *Sibylline* Books lay'd up in the Capitol, I believe was upon this Occaſion. Now the Books of the Sibylls were of two Kinds, Thoſe bought by *Tarquin*, and burnt with the Capitol in the time of *Sylla*; and theſe we find, from *Livy*, were full of nothing but Idolatry and Superſtition. But after the rebuilding of the Capitol, there were others brought from *Erythræ* by the three Embaſſadors deputed for that purpoſe; and afterwards upon the ſame Deſign were others ſent by *Auguſtus*, as *Tacitus* tells us, Annal. lib. 6. *Quæſitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam & Siciliam & Italicas Colonias Carminibus Sibyllæ, datum Sacerdotibus negotium, quantum humanâ ope potuiſſent, vera diſcernere*; and to the ſame purpoſe *Suetonius*, *Aug. cap.* 31. Now who can doubt but in this Search after the Sibylline Oracles, many of the Jewiſh Prophecies were picked up (eſpecially thoſe famous ones concerning the new King) and carry'd with the reſt to *Rome*; for after the firſt were burnt with the Capitol, who could poſſibly diſtinguiſh the one from the other? And therefore *Tacitus* cautiouſly adds in the aforecited Paſſage, *quantum humanâ ope potuiſſent.*

phecy'd, That after his Reſurrection God the Father of all things ſhou'd take Him up into Heaven, there to reign till He had put down His ſpiritual Enemies, the whole Hoſt of Darkneſs, under His Feet, and till the Number ſhou'd be fulfill'd which he foreknew wou'd be Men of Piety and Virtue, for whoſe ſake He ſuſpends the general Conflagration. Hear the Words of the Prophet *David* to this Purpoſe,

Pſal. 109. 1, &c. *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou at my right Hand untill I make thine Enemies thy Footſtool. The Lord ſhall ſend the Rod of thy Strength out of Sion, rule thou in the midſt of thine Enemies. Thy People ſhall be willing in the Day of thy Power, in the Beauties of Holyneſs; From the Womb have I begotten thee before the Morning Star.* Now theſe Words, *The Lord ſhall ſend the Rod of thy Strength out of Jeruſalem*, are Predictive of that moſt powerful Doctrine, which the Apoſtles after their Departure from *Jeruſalem* proclaim'd to the whole World; which very Doctrine we embrace and teach ev'ry where, tho' we know 'tis Death by your Law to teach it, or ſo much as profeſs the Name of Chriſt. But if the Chriſtian Profeſſion muſt ſtill meet with ſuch bitter Treatment, remember what I told you before, that the fartheſt you can go is to take away our Lives, but the Loſs of this Life will certainly be no ill Bargain to us; you indeed, and all ſuch wicked Enemies, without Repentance, ſhall one Day dearly pay for this Perſecution in Fire everlaſting.

XLI. But leſt Men of perverſe Minds for the ſtaggering of Chriſtian Converts ſhou'd object, that we our ſelves allow Chriſt not to have been born above an hundred and fifty Years in the time of *Cyrenius*, and that He broach'd His Doctrine under *Pontius Pilate*, and from hence cry out, that all Mankind before the Birth of Chriſt muſt conſequently have been innocent, I ſhall by way of Prevention ſolve this Doubt. One Article of our Faith then is, That Chriſt is the Firſt begotten of God, and we have already prov'd Him to be the very *Logos*, or univerſal Reaſon, of which Mankind are all Partakers; and therefore thoſe who live by Reaſon are in ſome ſort ° Chriſtians, notwithſtanding they may paſs with you for

° For the better underſtanding of this Paſſage which is ſo ſeverely excepted againſt by *Daille*, *Caſaubon*, and others, you are to obſerve in what ſenſe our *Juſtin* uſes the Word λόγος; and his Notion is plainly this, That Chriſt was the Eternal λόγος or Wiſdom of his Father, the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος καὶ οὐσιώδης, the inward ſubſtantial Word of his Father, the Fountain of Reaſon, as the Sun is the Fountain of Light, and that from Him there was a λόγος or Reaſon naturally deriv'd into every Man, as a Beam and Emanation of Light from that Sun; to which purpoſe *Origen*, who is exactly of the ſame Opinion, expounds that of St. *John*, *In the Beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God; that was the true Light that lighteth every Man that cometh into the World.* Orig. Com. in Joan. p. 25. *vide etiam* p. 40. Upon the ſame Occaſion *Juſtin* in his ſecond Apology, p. 46, calls Chriſt the τὸ παντὸς λόγον, *The univerſal Word or Reaſon.* And *Heraclitus* and thoſe who liv'd according to Reaſon in part, are here ſaid to live κατὰ σπερματικοῦ λόγου μέρος, according to the ſeminal Word ſown in their Nature. Now in as much as by this *Logos all things were created, that are in Heaven, and that are in the Earth*, Coloſſ. c. 1. v. 16. the Effect muſt in ſome Meaſure partake of the Efficient. The Caſe then, in ſhort, is no more than this, Every Man is naturally endued with Reaſon, as a Light kindled from Him who

for Atheiſts; ſuch among the Greeks were *Socrates*, and *Heraclitus*, and the like; and ſuch among the Barbarians were *Abraham*, and *Ananias*, and *Azarias*, and *Miſael*, and *Elias*, and many others, whoſe Actions, nay whoſe very Names, I know, wou'd be tedious to relate, and therefore ſhall paſs them over; ſo on the other ſide, thoſe who have liv'd in Defiance of Reaſon, were Unchriſtian, and Enemies to the *Logos*, and ſuch as liv'd according to Him; but they who make Reaſon the Rule of their Actions are Chriſtians, Men of undaunted Courage, and untroubled Conſciences, for whoſe Sake the *Logos*, by the Will of God the Father and Lord of All, was by the very Power of [p] Himſelf made Man in the Womb of a Virgin,

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is the *Logos* or Wiſdom of His Father, and may be ſo far ſaid to partake of Chriſt, the Original Wiſdom; and ſo far as they live *after the Image of Him that created them*, may be ſaid χρ λόγ βιῶν, and in this Senſe be called Chriſtians. But *Juſtin* no where affirms that the Gentiles might be ſav'd without the Entertainment of Chriſtianity; for in many Places in this Apology you find him denouncing eternal Fire againſt ſuch as refuſe to embrace the Faith; but only ſo far as thoſe who never heard of the Goſpel liv'd up to Reaſon, ſo far were they a-kin to the Original *Logos*, and in ſome ſort Chriſtians: And that whatever was rightly taught by *Socrates* among the Greeks, or by others among the Barbarians, was in Effect done by the *Logos* himſelf, *the Word made Fleſh*.

[p] Διὰ δυνάμεως τοῦ λόγ.] Section the 43d. *The Spirit and Power of God* which overſhadow'd the Virgin, our *Juſtin* interprets to be *the Spirit and Power* of the very *Logos*. And here again he ſays, the *Logos* begot himſelf; and that of St. *Luke*, c. 1. v. 35. πνεῦμα ἅγιον and δύναμιν ὑψίσ, *the holy Spirit, and the Power of the Moſt High*. *Tertullian* likewiſe expounds of the very *Logos*, *adver. Prax. cap.* 26. This, I confeſs, ſeem'd to me at firſt ſight a very harſh Interpretation, but finding, upon ſecond Thoughts, that it related not to his eternal Generation, but only to that in time, and in the Womb of a Virgin, I concluded that theſe Fathers cou'd mean

gin, and was named Jeſus, and was crucify'd, and dy'd, and roſe again from the dead, and went again into Heaven; all which I have prov'd at large, and is very intelligible to any Perſon of honeſt Underſtanding. And becauſe enough has been ſaid upon this Head, I ſhall proceed to others, which at preſent ſeem more neceſſary.

LXII. Becauſe then it was foretold by the Prophetick Spirit that the Land of the Jews ſhou'd be laid deſolate. Hear the Words of the

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mean no more than what the Scriptures plainly ſay, *viz.* That He took upon Himſelf our Fleſh, and made Himſelf Man in the Womb of a Virgin. But then this Interpretation manifeſtly overthrows what the Author of *The Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity* wou'd inſinuate, p. 199, 200, 201, and elſewhere, That Chriſt was only the Son of God, becauſe he was conceiv'd in the Womb of a Virgin, by the immediate Power of God: "*Adam* (ſays he) is called the Son of "God, *Luke* 3. 38. and had this part of his Father's Image, *viz.* "That he was Immortal; but *Adam* tranſgreſſing, forfeited his "Immortality, and begot Children after his own Image, mortal "like their Father; but God willing to beſtow eternal Life on "mortal Men, ſends Jeſus Chriſt into the World, who being con-"ceiv'd in the Womb of a Virgin by the immediate Power of "God, was properly the Son of God, according to what the An-"gel declar'd to his Mother, *Luke* 1. 30—35. And being the "Son of God, and not having forfeited that Sonſhip by any Tranſ-"greſſion, was the Heir of Eternal Life, as *Adam* ſhou'd have "been, had he continu'd in his Filial Duty.——But now, not to ask how Chriſt can be ſaid to be the Only, and the only begotten Son of God, upon the Account aforeſaid, when *Adam* was the firſt Man, and without either Father or Mother, immediately form'd by God Himſelf, and therefore call'd expreſly the Son of God, *Luke* 3. v. 38. not to ask this, I ſay, our Martyr, who moſt certainly was fully acquainted with this grand Article of the Chriſtian Faith, has put it beyond Diſpute, that Chriſt was not properly the Son, the only begotten Son of God, becauſe conceived by the Power of the Moſt High; for he interprets this Moſt High of the very *Logos* Himſelf, and more than once. And if Chriſt is God, as *Juſtin* in this Apology expreſsly calls Him, and above twenty times in his other Writings, then His humane Generation may very juſtly be aſcribed to Himſelf as God.

Prophecy, which perſonate a People in a maze at what had befallen 'em; *Zion is a Wilderneſs, Jeruſalem a Deſolation, our holy and our beautiful Houſe, where our Fathers praiſed thee, is burnt up with Fire, and all our pleaſant things are lay'd waſte, And thou refraineſt thy ſelf for theſe things, and doſt hold thy peace, and afflict us very ſore.* And what a Deſolation *Jeruſalem* has been, according to this Prediction, you your ſelves know with a Witneſs. It was moreover prophecy'd, concerning this Deſolation, that not a Jew ſhou'd be tolerated to live there; for thus *Iſaiah* has it, *Your Country is deſolate, Strangers devour it in your Preſence, and there is none to inhabit:* And what Care you have taken of fulfilling this Prophecy, you need not be told, for you have made it [q] Capital in a Jew to ſet a Foot in his own Country.

Iſ. 64. 10, 11, 12.

Iſ. 1. 7.

LXIII. And how it was foretold, that our Chriſt ſhould cure all Diſeaſes, and raiſe the Dead, you may learn from hence, *At his Coming the Lame ſhall leap like a Stag, and the Tongue of the Dumb ſhall be eloquent, the Lepers ſhall be cleanſed, and the Dead ſhall riſe and walk about.* And how He perform'd theſe Miracles you may eaſily be ſatisfy'd, from the Acts of *Pontius Pilate*, and how the prophetick Spirit declar'd before hand, that both He and thoſe who truſted in Him ſhou'd loſe their

Iſ. 35. 5, 6.

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[q] Concerning this Interdict againſt the Jews entring into the Holy Land, under Pain of Death. See *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 4.* and *Tertull. Apol. cap. 21.*

Lives,

Lives, I refer you to this Paſſage in *Iſaiah*, *Behold how the Righteous periſheth, and no Man layeth it to Heart, and merciful Men are taken away, none conſidering that the Righteous is taken away from the Evil to come; he ſhall go in Peace, he is taken from among us.* Again you may ſee how it was publiſh'd by the ſame *Iſaiah*, that the Gentiles who expected Him not, ſhou'd worſhip Him; but the Jews, who were always in Expectation of Him, ſhou'd not know Him, even when He was come unto them. The Words are deliver'd in the Perſon of Chriſt, and run thus, *I am ſought of them that asked not for me, I am found of them that ſought me not; I ſaid behold me, behold me, unto a Nation that was not called by my Name; I have ſpread out my Hands unto a rebellious People, which walketh in no good way, but after their own Thoughts, a People that provoketh me to Anger continually to my Face.* For the Jews who had theſe Oracles in keeping, and were always up in Expectation of the *Meſſiah*, ſaw Him not, when before their Eyes; and not only overlook'd Him, but abus'd Him to the laſt Degree of Ignominy. But the Gentiles, who ſat in Darkneſs, and had heard nothing of Chriſt till after His Apoſtles went from *Jeruſalem*, and expounded the things concerning Him, and publiſh'd the Prophecies; theſe People, I ſay, were fill'd with Joy and Faith at the glad Tidings, and both renounc'd their Idols, and alſo [r] conſe-

Iſ. 57. 1, 2.

Iſ. 65. 1, &c.

[r] That this was the ancient Form of Words proclaim'd by the Deacon, upon the diſmiſſion of ſuch Catechumens from the Church, as were ſhortly to be baptiz'd, ſee Dr. *Grabe*'s Notes upon the Place.

crated themſelves to the Unbegotten God thro' Chriſt. And that the infamous Stories ſpread about againſt the Profeſſors of Chriſt, and the Miſeries that ſhould befal the Spreaders of them, and ſuch as value themſelves ſo mightily for adhering to the Cuſtoms of their Forefathers, that all theſe things were foreknown, you may eaſily perceive from this ſhort Paſſage in *Iſaiah*,

Iſ. 5. 20. *Wo be to them who call bitter ſweet, and ſweet bitter.*

LXIV. Moreover, that He was to be made Man for the Sake of Mankind, and that He ſhou'd be contented to ſuffer, and to be treated in the moſt diſhonourable manner, and at length come again in Glory, I ſhall propoſe to your Obſervation the Prophecies upon this

Iſ. 53. v. ult. Head. *Becauſe he hath poured out his Soul unto Death, and was numbred with the Tranſgreſſors, and bare the Sin of many, and made*

Iſ. 52. 13, 14, 15. *Atonement for the Tranſgreſſors; Behold my Servant ſhall deal prudently, he ſhall be exalted and extolled, and be very high: As many were aſtonied at thee (his Viſage was ſo much marred more than any Man, and his Form more than the Sons of Men) ſo ſhall many Nations admire, and the Kings ſhall ſhut their Mouths at him, for that which had not been told them ſhall they ſee, and that which they had not heard ſhall they under-*

Iſ. 53. 1—8. *ſtand. Lord who hath believed our Report, and to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed? For he ſhall grow up before him as a tender Plant, and as a Root out of a dry Ground; he hath no Form or Comelineſs, and when we ſhall ſee him, there is no Beauty that we ſhould deſire him.*

He

He is deſpiſed and rejected of Men, a Man of Sorrow, and acquainted with Grief, and we hid, as it were, our Faces from him, he was deſpiſed, and we eſteemed him not. Surely he hath born our Griefs, and carryed our Sorrows; yet we did eſteem him ſtricken, ſmitten of God, and afflicted: But he was wounded for our Tranſgreſſions, he was wounded for our Iniquities, the Chaſtiſement of our Peace was upon him, and with his Stripes are we healed; All we, like Sheep, have gone aſtray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the Iniquity of us all; He was oppreſſed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his Mouth; he is brought as a Lamb to the Slaughter, and as a Sheep before her Shearers is dumb, ſo he opened not his Mouth. He was taken away by Diſtreſs and Judgment. Accordingly upon His Crucifixion His Diſciples all deſerted and deny'd Him, but upon the Sight of their Maſter juſt riſen from the Dead, and when he had let their Underſtandings into the Prophecies where this whole Scene of Suffering and Triumph was deſcrib'd, and had made his Aſcenſion into Heaven before their Eyes, and thus fully convinced them, and ſhower'd down upon them the Powers of the Spirit; they went out in the Strength thereof into ev'ry Nation, preaching theſe things, and from their Miſſion were called Apoſtles.

LXV. And to acquaint us that the Sufferer of all this, was of a Generation inexplicable, and that He ſhould rule over His Enemies; the prophetick Spirit ſpeaks thus, *Who ſhall declare his Generation? for he was cut off out of the Land* Iſ. 53. 8. to the end.

Land of the Living, for the Tranſgreſſion of my People was he ſtricken, and he made his Grave with the Wicked, and the Rich in his death, becauſe he had done no Violence, neither was any Deceit in his Mouth; Yet it pleaſed the Lord to bruiſe him, he hath put him to Grief. When thou ſhalt make his Soul an Offering for Sin, he ſhall ſee his Seed, he ſhall prolong his Days, and the Pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his Hand. He ſhall ſee of the Travel of his Soul, and ſhall be ſatisfy'd. By his Knowledge ſhall my righteous Servant juſtifie many, for he ſhall bear their Iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a Portion with the Great, and he ſhall divide the Spoil with the Strong, becauſe he has poured out his Soul unto Death, and he was number'd with the Tranſgreſſors, and made Interceſſion for many. Hear another Prophecy concerning His Aſcenſion, *Lift up the Gates of Heaven, and be ye lift up, ye everlaſting Doors, that the King of Glory may enter in. Who is the King of Glory? the Lord ſtrong, the Lord mighty in Battel.* And that you may ſee how He is to come again from Heaven in Glory, I will give you the Prophecy of *Daniel*, *Behold the Son of Man came with the Clouds of Heaven, and his Angels with Him.*

Pſ. 23. 7, 8.

Dan. 7. 13.

LXVI. Since therefore we thus demonſtrably prove, that the things now come to paſs, were proclaim'd by the Prophets long before the Events, how can we withold from believing that the Prophecies as yet unfulfill'd, will as verily be accompliſh'd in their Seaſon, as thoſe we now ſee verify'd with our own Eyes? For

For as theſe were once foretold, and disbelieved, and yet came to paſs, ſo the Remainder will be brought to as certain an Iſſue, in ſpite of Ignorance and Infidelity; for the very ſame Prophets have foretold a two-fold Advent of Chriſt, one wherein He was to come in the Guiſe of an inglorious ſuffering Mortal, and this is over; the other, wherein He ſhall come in His own Form, incircl'd with Celeſtial Glory, and His Hoſt of Angels, when He ſhall raiſe from the Dead [f] all the Men that ever had a Being, and ſhall inveſt the Righteous with Bodies incorruptible, and make the Ungodly, together with theſe wicked Spirits, feel His Vengeance in Fire everlaſting.

LXVII. And the prophetick Predictions concerning this ſecond Advent, you have thus deliver'd by *Ezekiel*, *The Bones came together, Bone to his Bone, and the Fleſh came upon them. And ev'ry Knee ſhall bow to the Lord, and ev'ry Tongue ſhall confeſs him.* And for the Pains and Torments the Wicked ſhall undergo hereafter, pray conſider theſe Words, *Their Worm ſhall not dye, neither ſhall their Fire be quenched.* And then ſhall they repent, when Repentance ſhall be too late. And what the unbelieving Jews will ſay and do in that Day, when they ſhall ſee Him coming in His Glory, the Prophet *Zachary* deſcribes in this man-

Ezek. 37. 7, 8.

Iſ. 45. 24.

Iſ. 66. 24.

[f] Here again you ſee *Juſtin Martyr*, as clear and expreſs as Words can make him, for a general Reſurrection to eternal Happineſs or Miſery, *a Reſurrection of all the Men that ever had a Being*, againſt Mr. *Dodwell*, in his Epiſtolary Diſcourſe above-cited. *Vide Sozom. Hiſt. Eccl. lib.* i. *cap.* iii. *verſus finem.*

ner,

Zach. 11. 6. ner, *Ho! ho! come forth, and flee from the Land of the North, for I have ſpread you abroad* Zach. 12. 2. *as the four Winds of the Heavens; and then will I make Jeruſalem a Cup of Trembling, not of trembling with the Countenance only, but in their Heart, and ſhall rend not their Garments, but* Ibid. v. 12. *their Minds: And Tribe ſhall mourn to Tribe,* Ibid. v. 10. *and they ſhall look upon him whom they pierced,* Iſ. 63. 17. and ſhall ſay, *O Lord, why haſt thou made us to* and 64. 11. *err from thy ways? the Glory which our Fore-* *These are various Paſſages out of the Prophet Zachary, as they occur'd to the Memory of Juſtin, and the Senſe, and not the expreſs Words ſet down by him.* *fathers were bleſs'd with, is turned to our Reproach.*

LXVIII. I have a great many other Prophecies in Store, but I forbear, concluding what has been produc'd, to be enough in Reaſon for the Conviction of ſuch as have Ears, that will admit 'em to a fair Hearing, and Understandings prepar'd for Truth. I can hardly perſuade my ſelf, that you can take us for ſuch Romancers, as thoſe who dreſs up Stories about the fictitious Progeny of *Jove*, mighty Talkers, but able to prove nothing. For what Motive cou'd ever poſſibly have perſuaded us to believe a Crucify'd Man to be the firſt begotten of the unbegotten God, and that He ſhou'd come to be the Judge of all the World. Had we not met with thoſe prophetick Teſtimonies of Him, proclaim'd ſo long before his Incarnation? Were we not Eye-Witneſſes to the fulfilling of them? Did we not ſee the Deſolation of *Judea*, and Men out of all Nations, proſelyted to the Faith by His Apoſtles, and renouncing the ancient Errors they were brought up in? Did we not find the Prophecies made

good

good in our ſelves, and ſee Chriſtians in greater Number, and in greater Sincerity from among the Gentiles, than from the Jews and Samaritans? For all ſorts of People are by the prophetick Spirit ſtyl'd *Gentiles*, but the Jews and Samaritans ſtand diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the *Houſe of Iſrael and Jacob.*

LXIX. And how this alſo was foretold, that there ſhould be more Believers from the Gentiles than from the Jews and Samaritans, I propoſe this Prophecy to your Conſideration, *Sing, O Barren, thou that didſt not bear, break forth into ſinging, and cry aloud, thou that didſt not travail with Child, for more are the Children of the Deſolate, than the Children of the married Wife.* The Gentiles were the Deſolate, a People not cultivated by the true God, but bewilder'd in the Worſhip of the Works of their own Hands, but the Jews and Samaritans had the Word of God deliver'd to 'em by the Prophets, and were always in Expectation of the Chriſt; and yet, when preſent, they had Eyes and ſaw Him not, except a ſmall Remnant, whom the prophetick Spirit foretold ſhould be ſaved: He ſpeaks thus in the Perſon of the People, *Except the Lord of Hoſts had left unto us a very ſmall Remnant, we ſhou'd have been as Sodom, and we ſhou'd have been like unto Gomorrah.* Now *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* are related by *Moſes* to be Cities, whoſe Inhabitants were abominably wicked People, and which God deſtroy'd with Fire and Brimſtone, and ſaved not one alive, beſides a *Chaldean* Foreigner called *Lot*, and his Daughters; and

Iſ. 54. 1.

Iſ. 1. 9.

that

that all this Country is a Deſart, and burnt up, and barren to this Day, they who will give themſelves the Trouble may ſee the Truth of it with their own Eyes. And how the Gentiles ſhou'd become the trueſt and moſt faithful Converts, the Prophet *Jeremy* thus intiJer. 9. ult. mates, *All the Houſe of Iſrael are uncircumciſed in the Heart, but the Gentiles in the Foreskin.*

LXX. So many therefore, and ſuch mighty Proofs as your own Eyes are Witneſs to, cannot fail, methinks, of generating a firm and rational Faith in the Minds of thoſe who are Lovers of Truth, and not carry'd away with Opiniatry and Paſſion; but the Inſtructors of your Youth, who read 'em Lectures out of the Fables of the Poets, never let 'em into the Ground of theſe Fictions, and that they are the Work of [t] Devilcraft only, the better

[t] The Son of God no ſooner enters upon his Prophetick Office, but the Devil atacks him in Perſon, and from Scripture; for as far as he was able to form any Conjecture from Scripture concerning the State of the new King and Kingdom, ſo far he endeavour'd to impoſe upon the World, by Rivalling it in his Kingdom of Darkneſs; he had his *Perſeus* the Son of *Jove* by a Virgin, he had his Prieſts and Sacrifices, his Baptiſms and Mock-Communions, *&c.* He had reign'd a long time as the God of this World, and taken Poſſeſſion every where but in *Judæa*, and was in the moſt flouriſhing Condition when Chriſt came down to deſtroy his Kingdom; and tho' theſe evil Spirits did confeſs and tremble, and flee before Him, yet did their Power continue for ſome Ages after, and ſeems to be permitted by Providence ſo to do, on purpoſe as one great Argument to proſelyte the World by; for to their Power over evil Spirits do the firſt Chriſtians conſtantly appeal upon all Occaſions. Now after ſo much Evidence from Scripture and Antiquity, to ſay, as ſome have done, that Poſſeſſions were nothing but Diſeaſes, and Oracles, and the like, were all pure Prieſtcraft, which the Fathers by the true Name call Devilcraft, is in ſhort to ſay any thing, to render the Name of Prieſt in general odious. But if the Chriſtians

better to delude Mankind, and hold 'em in Darkneſs, I ſhall now prove. For theſe deviliſh Spirits no ſooner underſtood by the Prophets, that Chriſt was to come, and the Ungodly to be puniſh'd with Fire, but they trump'd up that Crew of *Jove*'s Sons aboveſaid, imagining by this Forgery to debauch the World into an Opinion, that theſe Prophecies concerning Chriſt were juſt ſuch another pack of Lyes as the Fables of the Poets; and theſe Stories they divulg'd among the Greeks, and all the Gentiles, when they learn'd from the Prophets, that theſe were the People that ſhou'd moſtly come over to the Chriſtian Faith; but not diving far enough into the Senſe of the Prophets, they attempted to copy after them, and, like Men in the dark, blunder'd in their Imitation, as I ſhall now ſhew you.

LXXI. The Prophet *Moſes* then, as I have ſaid, was the ancienteſt of Writers, and he deliver'd this Prophecy, which I have already quoted, *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the People be, binding his Foal unto the Vine, and waſhing his Garments in the Blood of the Grape.* Upon hearing theſe prophetick Words, the Devils ſet up *Bacchus* for the Son of *Jove*, and make him the Inventor of the Vine, and Geneſ. 49. 10.

Chriſtians of the firſt Ages did caſt out Devils ſo frequently, as they ſay they did, and which you will find, in theſe Apologies, they inſiſt upon oftner than in any one thing in their Writings; then I leave it to any conſidering Perſon, what Deference is due to the Judgments of thoſe who were gifted with ſuch a miraculous Power for the Propagation of the Chriſtian Doctrine.

introduce an [v] Aſs into his Myſteries, and give out, that after he was torn in pieces he aſcended into Heaven. And becauſe it is not expreſly determin'd in this Prophecy of *Moſes*, whether He who was to come was the Son of God, and whether He who ſhou'd ride upon the Foal was to continue upon Earth, or to aſcend into Heaven; and the Word *Foal* denoting either the Foal of an Aſs or a Mare; not knowing, I ſay, which of the two was to be a Symbol of His Advent, or whether He ſhou'd be the Son of God or Man, they proclaim'd *Bellerophon*, a meer Man of Man, to have aſcended upto Heaven upon his Horſe *Pegaſus*. Moreover, finding by another Prophet *Iſaiah*, that He was to be born of a Virgin, and aſcend to Heaven by Himſelf, they forg'd a *Perſeus* to mimick Him in this alſo: And when they ſaw Him deſcrib'd by the Prophecies, *Rejoycing as a Gyant to run his Courſe*, they preach'd up the Gyant *Hercules* running over the whole Earth. And again, percieving by the Prophets, that He was to cure all ſorts of Diſeaſes, and to raiſe the Dead, they palm'd their *Æſculapius* upon the World, to ape Him in this alſo.

LXXII. But here the Devils were out in their Politicks, not to have one of *Jove*'s Sons crucify'd in Imitation of Chriſt: But this, as I

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[v] Theſe ſeveral Inſtances of diabolical Imitation you may find more particularly illuſtrated by our *Juſtin*, in his excellent Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew; and to the leſs knowing I wou'd recommend that done into Engliſh by no ill Hand. I have conſulted Dr. *Grabe*'s *Spicilegium* for changing οἶνον into ὄνον, and think his Reaſons concluſive.

have ſhew'd you, being ſymbolically repreſented, they cou'd not ſpell out the meaning of the Symbol; tho' the Croſs, according to the Prophet, was the great Characteriſtick of His Power and Government, and is viſible almoſt in every thing we ſee; for caſt your Eyes upon the World, and tell me, whether any thing is tranſacted, any Commerce maintain'd, without the Reſemblance of a Croſs? Without this [w] Trophy of ours you cannot go to Sea, for Navigation depends upon Sails, and they are made in faſhion of a Croſs; there is neither plowing nor digging, nor any Handicraft Work perform'd without Inſtruments of this Figure; nay, a Man is diſtinguiſh'd from a Beaſt by the Uprightneſs of his Body, and the Extenſion of his Arms, and the Prominency of the Noſe he breaths thro', which are all Repreſentations of the Croſs, in Alluſion to which the Prophet thus ſpeaks, *The* [x] *Breath of*

[w] Concerning the Sign of the Croſs, you will find among all the earlieſt Writers of the Church, that they conſtantly made uſe of it, not only in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, but in all the common Actions of Life; for *Tertullian de Cor. Mil. cap.* 3. *p.* 102. tells us, that upon every Motion, at their going out, and coming in, at their going to the Bath, or to Bed, or to Meals, or whatever their Employment or Occaſions called them to, they were wont *frontem ſignaculo terere*, to make the Sign of the Croſs upon their Forehead; and this they did, he moreover adds, not that it was impos'd by any Law of Chriſt, but introduc'd by a pious Cuſtom, as a ſenſible Means to revive their Faith, and remind 'em of their Lord, and to let the Heathen World ſee that they glory'd in their Crucify'd Maſter, who was Fooliſhneſs to the Gentile, and a ſtumbling Block to the Jew upon this very Account; but how far they were from adoring a Croſs, as was objected againſt them, you will ſee ſufficiently anſwer'd and ridicul'd in the following Apologies.

[x] Theſe Words are literally underſtood of King *Joſiah* or *Zedekiah*, but myſtically apply'd by the Fathers in general to our Saviour

of our Noſtrils Chriſt the Lord. Moreover, your Banners declare the Power of this Figure, and [y] the Trophies you uſe every where in your publick Proceſſions, are Symbols of Power and Dominion, altho' in your Practice you have no Reſpect to the Reaſon of the Figure; and the Images of your departed Emperors you conſecrate upon Croſslike Engines, and inſcribe them Gods. Since therefore we invite you by Reaſon and the Ceremony of the Croſs, ſo much in vogue among you, we know we ſhall be blameleſs for the future, whether you embrace the Faith or not, for we have [z] done our beſt to make you Chriſtians.

LXXIII. But theſe reſtleſs Dæmons not contented to foiſt upon the Gentile World the fictitious Sons of *Jove*, before the Coming of Chriſt, but even after his Appearance and publick Converſe with Men, when they found by the Prophets that all Nations ſhou'd come to fix their Faith and Expectation on Him, they rais'd up another Sett of Impoſtors, namely, *Simon*, and *Menander*, both *Samaritans*, who by their Magick Arts have impos'd upon ma-

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Chriſt, and this occaſion'd by the Verſion of the *Septuagint*, which has not χειςὸς κυείυ, *the Anointed of the Lord*, as *Joſiah* was, but χειςὸς κύειϴ, *Chriſt the Lord*, which can hardly be underſtood of any but our Saviour Chriſt. See Dr. *Grabe*'s Notes upon this Place.

[y] Here is a *Deſideratum*, which I have fill'd up and connected as well as I can.

[z] I deſire the Reader once again to take notice of this Expreſſion, ὅσην δύναμις, which cannot poſſibly, I think, ſignifie in this Place any thing elſe than what I have tranſlated it; *viz. We have done our beſt*; becauſe this Expreſſion has been urg'd againſt ſet Forms of Prayer, with how little Reaſon I ſhall ſhew anon, when I come to the Paſſage from whence they urge it.

ny, and do as yet hold 'em in the ſame Deluſion; for in the Reign of *Claudius Cæſar* in your Imperial City of *Rome*, there was one *Simon*, as I told you, who bewitch'd the ſacred Senate, and the Roman People into that Aſtoniſhment of his Perſon, as to conceit him a God, and to honour him with a Statue like the other Gods. Wherefore our Petition is, that you would communicate this Apology, both to the ſacred Senate, and to the People of *Rome*, that if any of 'em ſhou'd chance to be hamper'd in his Doctrines, they might, upon this Information, diſengage themſelves from the Error; and we likewiſe pray, that you would be pleaſed to pull down his Statue.

LXXIV. Theſe ſeducing Spirits likewiſe do all they can to ſmother the Notion of Hell Fire, but to as little purpoſe as they attempted to ſtifle the Coming of Chriſt from the Knowledge of the World; for all they can do, is only to prevail with unreaſonable People; ſuch as have been Slaves to their Luſts, and blindly take up with the Opinions in Faſhion; theſe, I ſay, are the only People they work upon to hunt us out of our Lives; and yet to theſe mortal Enemies are we ſo far from returning Hatred for Hatred, that from our Hearts we pity them, and deſire nothing more than to bring 'em over to a better Mind. For we are under no Concern for Death, being very ſenſible that all muſt dye, and that there is nothing new under the Sun, but what has been, is. And if nothing here below will ſatisfie the Owners thereof, no, not the Year about, ſo as to ſecure their

Minds from Wants and Paſſions, the only way left, is to apply to our Religion for that Satisfaction, which is no where elſe to be found. But if they believe nothing after Death, and are poſitive that the Dead depart into a State of Inſenſibility, they do indeed befriend us in Effect, by diſcharging us from the preſent Sufferings and Hardſhips of this Life, but then they ſhew themſelves wicked, ſpiteful, and poſitive to the laſt Degree in this their Opinion, for tho' they do free us from all Evil by deſtroying us, yet they do it not with this Intent, but to deprive us only of Life, and all the Pleaſures that belong to it.

LXXV. Another prime Agent for the Kingdom of Darkneſs, whom theſe Spirits of Wickedneſs brought upon the Stage, was one *Marcion* of *Pontus*, whom I have already mention'd. This Fellow now teaches his Followers to deny God the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and His Son Chriſt proclaim'd by the Prophets, and preaches up another God beſides the Creator, and another Son beſides His Chriſt; upon whom abundance of People pin their Faith, as the only Teacher of the Truth, and make a mock at us, without ſo much as offering at a Proof of their own Aſſertions; but are blindly carry'd off like Lambs by a Wolf, and made a Prey to his wicked Doctrines, and to the Devils, the Contrivers of them. For the only Prize theſe ſame Spirits contend for, is to ſeduce Mankind from God the Creator, and from His Firſt-begotten Chriſt. And ſuch groveling Minds as cannot lift themſelves from

* Earth,

Earth, they did, and do, faſten to Earthen Gods, Gods made with Hands, and fitted to the Minds of the Worſhippers; but upon Men of a more exalted Genius, and enur'd to divine Contemplations, they practiſe more ſlyly; and if they are not Perſons of ſound Judgment, and pious Lives, and diſengag'd from Paſſion, they throw 'em down from their Speculations into very groſs Impieties.

LXXVI. But to let you ſee, that not only your Poets, but *Plato* himſelf borrow'd from our Maſter (I mean from the *Logos* who ſpake by the Prophets) I muſt tell you, that what he teaches concerning God's creating the World out of a Chaos of rude Matter, is none of his own; for, hear the expreſs Words of *Moſes* aforeſaid, the greateſt of Prophets, and older than any of the Græcian Writers, by whom the Prophetick Spirit, ſhowing how, and out of what ſort of Matter God made the World in the Beginning, thus ſpeaks, *In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth, And the Earth was without Form, and void, and Darkneſs was upon the Face of the Deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters, and God ſaid let there be Light, and there was Light.* And that this Chaos, firſt mention'd by *Moſes*, was the Subject Matter out of which the *Logos* of God made the World, both *Plato* and his Followers, and we, are agree'd; and you your ſelves may ſoon be ſatisfy'd as to this Point; and what your Poets call *Erebus*, or Hell, is ſpoken of by *Moſes* alſo. Gen. 1. 1, 2. Deut. 32. 22.

LXXVII. And whereas *Plato*, in his *Timæus*, philoſophiſing about the Son of God, ſays, *He* [a] *expreſs'd Him upon the Univerſe in the Figure of the Letter* X; he evidently took the Hint from *Moſes*, for in the *Moſaick* Writings it is related, that after the *Iſraelites* went out of *Egypt*, and were in the Deſart, they were ſet upon and deſtroy'd by venomous Beaſts, Vipers, Aſps, and all ſorts of Serpents, and that *Moſes* thereupon, by particular Inſpiration from God, took Braſs and made the Sign of the Croſs, and placed it by the Holy Tabernacle, and declar'd, that [b] *if People would look upon that Croſs, and believe, they ſhould be ſav'd*; upon which he writes that the Serpents dy'd, and by this means the People were ſav'd. *Plato* upon reading this Paſſage, and not knowing it to be a Type of the Croſs, and having only the Idea of the Letter X in his Mind, ſaid, that the next Power to the Supreme God was decuſſated or figured in the Shape of a Croſs, upon the Univerſe; and finding by *Moſes that the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters*, he likewiſe mentions a third, for he gives the ſecond place to the *Logos* of God decuſſated upon the World, and the third Place he aſſigns to the Spirit, which is ſaid to *move upon the*

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[a] See *Sylburg* upon this Place, at the end of Dr. *Grabe*'s Edition.

[b] Ἐὰν προσβλέψωσι.] Theſe Words of *Moſes* are not extant in Holy Scripture, tho' the Senſe is, *Numb.* 21. 9. nor are thoſe of the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, *cap.* 12. *v.* 21. and ſo perhaps both quoted out of the ſame Apocryphal Book of *Moſes* which might be then extant.

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Face of the Waters, thus expreſſing himſelf, *The* [c] *Third about the Third.* And how the prophetick Spirit has foretold the general Conflagration by the Mouth of *Moſes*, you may perceive from theſe Words, *An everlaſting Fire ſhall deſcend and burn unto the loweſt Hell.* Deutr. 22. 32.

LXXVIII. [d] It is not therefore we who take our Opinions from others, but others take theirs from us; for you may hear and learn theſe things from ſuch among us, as are not able to diſtinguiſh a Letter: Rude indeed, and barbarous in Speech, but in Mind wiſe and faithful; and ſome of 'em lame and blind, that from hence you might plainly ſee, that Chriſtianity

[c] See Dr. *Grabe*'s Notes upon this Paſſage of *Plato*.

[d] This Section alone I think ſufficient to vindicate our *Juſtin* from the Aſperſions of *Daniel Zuicker* and others, who charge him with Platonizing in the great Doctrine of the Trinity; they well knew the Authority of this Martyr in the Chriſtian Church, and how frequently and expreſsly he aſſerts the Divinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; and therefore reſolv'd to invalidate his Teſtimony by charging him with introducing the Trinity from *Plato*'s School. But hear the Martyr in this Place obviating this Calumny, as if he prophetically foreſaw what would be charg'd upon him. He had a little before ſaid, that *Plato* had learn'd that the World was made by the *Logos*, and that the Third Perſon in the Godhead, *viz.* the Spirit, was not unknown to him; and then adds, *That we take not our Opinions from others, but others from us.* This is expreſs, that neither *Juſtin*, nor any of the Chriſtians, deriv'd the Doctrine of the *Logos*'s creating the World from the *Platonick* Writings, but they from the Writings of the Prophets. Moreover, he declares before the Emperor and Senate, that this was no ſingular Opinion of his own, but the Doctrine of the Catholick Church; and that this tremendous Myſtery was ſo commonly known to every Chriſtian, that the moſt illiterate amongſt 'em, ſuch as could not read their Alphabet, could diſcourſe more clearly about it, than even *Plato* himſelf. And from hence he juſtly concludes, that the Chriſtians learn'd this Doctrine of the ever bleſſed Trinity ὐ σοφίᾳ ἀνθρωπείᾳ, *not from the Platoniſts*, &c. but δυνάμει θεῦ, *from the divinely inſpir'd Writings*, and what was taught every where in the Churches.

is not owing to human Wiſdom, but to the Power of God.

LXXIX. I ſhall now lay before you the manner of dedicating our ſelves to God, thro' Chriſt, upon our Converſion; for ſhou'd I omit this I might ſeem not to deal ſincerely in this Account of the Chriſtian Religion. As many therefore as are[e] perſuaded, and believe, that the things taught and ſaid by us are true, and moreover take upon them to live accordingly, are taught to pray and ask of God with Faſting the Forgiveneſs of their former Sins; we praying together, and faſting for and with

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[e] The Church being founded by Chriſt as a Society and Corporation diſtinct from that of the Commonwealth, is by the Nature of its Conſtitution (had it no expreſs Warrant from Scripture) inveſted with an inherent Power of its own, independent on the Civil Magiſtrate, of admitting, cenſuring, or excluding her Members, and of doing whatever elſe is neceſſary for the Peace and Order of the Chriſtian Community. Accordingly Faith and Repentance are here requir'd as neceſſary Qualifications in Perſons adult, before they can be admitted to Church-Membership by Baptiſm; and then, ſays *Juſtin*, they are brought to a Place of Water.—Not preſently, (for you are not to look upon this as an exact Account of all the particular Circumſtances either in Baptiſm or the Euchariſt) for the Candidates for Baptiſm were catechis'd all the forty Days of Lent, (which is the Faſting, I believe, *Juſtin* refers to in this Place) and then upon Approbation, baptiz'd at *Eaſter* or *Whitſuntide*; Theſe were the two ſtated Times of Baptiſm; not *Eaſter Day*, or *Whitſunday* preciſely, but the whole intermediate Space of the fifty Days between them, were in a manner accounted Feſtival, and Baptiſm adminiſtred the whole time; not but in a Caſe of Neceſſity, of Sickneſs, and Danger of Death, they might be baptiz'd at any time. But the Perſons ſo baptiz'd were called *Clinicks*, becauſe ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ βαπτιζόμενοι, baptiz'd in Bed; and this kind of Baptiſm looked upon as leſs ſolemn and perfect, becauſe 'twas done not by immerſion but ſprinkling, and becauſe the Perſons were ſuppos'd at ſuch a time to deſire it out of a Fear of Death; for which Reaſon, if they recover'd, they were ordinarily made incapable by the *Neocæſarian* Council of being admitted to the Degree of Presbyters in the Church. *Can* 12.

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them, and then, *and not till then*, they are [f] brought to a Place of Water, and there rege-

[f] *They were brought to a Place of Water.*] 'Tis evident from this Place of *Juſtin*, and that of *Tertullian*, *de Cor. Mil. c.* 3. that Ponds and Rivers were the only Baptiſteries or Fonts the Church had for the firſt two hundred Years. After the ſecond Century, Baptiſteries were erected at a little diſtance from Churches, eſpecially Cathedrals, called therefore Baptiſmal Churches. The Catechumen, or rather the Competent, being brought to the Baptiſtery, was placed with his Face toward the Weſt, the Symbolical Repreſentation of the Prince of Darkneſs, and then commanded to ſpit at, and renounce the Service of his old Maſter the Devil, and was thus interrogated, *Doſt thou renounce the Devil and all his Works?* &c. to which the Party anſwer'd, *I do renounce them. Doſt thou renounce the World, and all its Pomps and Vanities?* Anſwer. *I do renounce them*, *Ambr. de Sacram. l.* 1. *c.* 2. *tom.* 4. *p.* 429. *Hier. in Amos* 6. Agreeable to this is that in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, *lib.* 7. Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, &c. Next he made an open Confeſſion of the Faith, the Biſhop asking, *Doſt thou believe in God*, &c. to which the Perſon anſwer'd, *I do believe.* And this Form of Interrogation is the Apoſtle thought to refer to, when he ſtyles Baptiſm, *The Anſwer of a good Conſcience towards God.* And our own Office of Baptiſm does exactly agree in this with the Primitive Practice. Then was he ſtript of his Garments, intimating thereby *the putting off the old Man*, and thrice plung'd under Water at the naming of the Three Perſons in the bleſſed Trinity. The Ancients carefully obſerved this Trine Immerſion, as being ſo expreſſive a Ceremony of the Three Perſons in the Godhead; in ſo much, that by the Canons Apoſtolical, either Biſhop or Presbyter who baptiz'd without it, was depos'd from his Miniſtry, *Can.* 50. Tho' this Trine Immerſion, not being of abſolute Neceſſity, was laid aſide in *Spain* by the Church, that they might not ſeem to gratifie the *Arians*, who made uſe of it to denote the Perſons in the Trinity to be three diſtinct Subſtances; and glory'd that the Catholicks us'd it to denote the ſame. The Perſon baptiz'd being come out of the Water was cloath'd with a white Garment, hence that Expreſſion of putting on Chriſt; and from theſe white Garments our *Whitſunday*. The putting on this white Veſture, the Exorciſm, and the Unction, are all in the Liturgy of *Edward* the *Sixth*, according to the Cuſtom of the Ancients. Tho' we find none of theſe, nor many other things mention'd here by *Juſtin*, no not the Croſs in Baptiſm, which we are ſure was a conſtant Ceremony; for *Tertullian* ſays, that the Devil ſign'd his Soldiers in the Forehead, in Imitation of the Chriſtians, *Mithra ſignat illic in frontibus milites ſuos. Ter. de præſcrip. c.* 40. And St. *Auſtin* ſays. That the Croſs and Baptiſm were never parted, *Semper enim Cruci Baptiſmus jungitur.* Aug. Temp. Ser. 101.

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nerated after the ſame manner with our ſelves; for they are waſh'd in the Name of God the Father, and Lord of All, and of our Saviour
John 3. 3, 5. Jeſus Chriſt; for Chriſt has ſaid, *Unleſs you are born again you cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* (But you all know 'tis impoſſible to enter a ſecond time into our Mothers Womb) and in Alluſion to this, the Prophet *Iſaiah*, in the Words above cited, ſpeaks, when he preſcribes the Method by which repenting Sinners
Iſ. 1. 16—20. may avoid the Conſequence of their Sins; *Waſh ye, make you clean, put away the Evil of your Doings, learn to do well, judge the Fatherleſs, and plead for the Widow. Come now, and let us reaſon together, ſaith the Lord, though your Sins be as Scarlet, they ſhall be as white as Snow; tho' they be red like Crimſon, they ſhall be as Wool. But if you refuſe and rebel, ye ſhall be devoured with the Sword, for the Mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.*

LXXX. The Reaſon of this we have from the Apoſtles, for having nothing to do in our firſt Birth, but being begotten by Neceſſity, or without our own Conſent, and train'd up alſo in vicious Cuſtoms and Company, to the end therefore we might continue no longer the Children of Neceſſity and Ignorance, but of Freedom and Knowledge, and obtain Remiſſion of our paſt Sins by Vertue of this Water, the Penitent, who now makes his ſecond Birth an Act of his own Choice, has call'd over him the Name of God the *Father*, and *Lord* of all things. (When we conduct the Perſon to be baptized to the Place of Baptiſm we call God

God by no other Name; becauſe we have not any Appellation for the ineffable Majeſty of God, that can explain his Nature; and if any Man pretends to that, we think him mad in the higheſt Degree; this Baptiſm is called [g] Illumination, becauſe the Minds of the Catechumens who are thus waſhed are illuminated;) and moreover the Perſon baptiz'd and illuminated, is baptiz'd in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt who was [h] crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate*, and in

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[g] *Illumination.*] Baptiſm was called by many Names, as Χάρισμα, Βάπτισμα, Ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, Λουτρὸν παλιγγενησίας, Σφραγίδα, Φωτισμὸν, &c. Grace, Baptiſm, the Veſtment of Incorruption, the Laver of Regeneration, the Seal, Illumination, *&c. Nazian. de Baptiſ.* The great Variety of theſe Denominations flowing from the ſeveral Benefits occurring thereby. The moſt noble of theſe is what *Juſtin* calls here φωτισμὸν, or *Illumination*, to which the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, *c.* 6. *v.* 4. is thought to refer in the Word *Inlightned.* It is ſtyl'd Illumination, *1ſt*, as *Juſtin* ſays, Becauſe the Underſtandings of thoſe who are catechiz'd antecedent to it are inlightned. *2dly*, Becauſe it is our firſt entrance into Chriſtianity, and Chriſt is τὸ φῶς, that ſupereminent Light *which lighteth every Man that cometh into the World*, thoſe eſpecially who are born again by Baptiſm; He being, as *Nazianzen* calls Him, *The ſame to the Intellect, as the Sun to the Senſe.* And *3dly*, Becauſe the Prince of Darkneſs was uſually driven out by Exorciſm to make way for Chriſt, *the true Light.*

[h] Ἐπονομάζεται ὄνομα, juſt before the Parentheſis, and ἐπ' ὀνόματος λέγεται, juſt after, are Expreſſions which import the ſame. Now that which I remark from this Paſſage of *Juſtin Martyr*, is, That the very Form of Baptiſm, inſtituted by our Lord Himſelf, is here enlarg'd, for thus it runs,—ἐπ' ὀνόματος τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου ὁ διὰ Προφητῶν προεκήρυξε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πάντα: *In the Name of the Father of all things, the Lord God, and of Jeſus Chriſt, who was crucify'd under Pontius Pilate, and of the Holy Ghoſt, who foretold by the Prophets all things concerning Chriſt.* In the *Clementine* Conſtitutions, the Form of Baptiſm ſtands thus, ἐπ' ὀνόματος τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος Πατρὸς, τοῦ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος Παρακλήτου. Clem. Conſtit. lib. 7. *In the Name of the Father, who ſent, of Chriſt, who came, and of the Comforter,*

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in the Name of the Holy Ghost who spake by the Prophets, and foretold every thing concerning Christ.

LXXXI. The Devils no sooner heard of this Baptism spoken of by the Prophet, but they too, set up their Baptisms, and made such as go

Ezek. cap. 36. v. 25.

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who bore Witness. Now as different Heresies arose, so they gave Occasion for different Paraphrases and Enlargements, both in the Form of Baptism, and the Creed. And this is the true Reason why the Apostles Creed is the simplest and shortest of any; for 'tis evident that the *Simonians*, *Cerinthians*, *Ebionites*, &c. scatter'd their Heresies not at *Rome*, but in the East, and mostly in *Asia*. And accordingly, *Ignatius*, in his Epistles to the *Asiatick* Churches, does every where, almost, inveigh against the Hereticks, but commends the *Romans* for the Purity of their Faith. And *Tertullian* in his Præscription, *cap.* 36. calls the Roman Church *Statu felicem Ecclesiam.* From hence I cannot but take notice of the Reasons of some great Men against the Antiquity of that which is commonly called the *Apostles Creed*: They say, *That none of the first Writers agree in delivering their Faith in a certain Form of Words, and that therefore, from thence it is clear, that there was no common Form deliver'd to all the Churches; and if there had been any Tradition after the Times of the Council of* Nice, *of such a Creed compos'd by the Apostles, the* Arians *had certainly put the chief Strength of their Cause on This, That they adhered to the Apostles Creed in Opposition to the Innovations of the Nicene Fathers. And that there is no Reason therefore to believe, that this Creed was prepar'd by the Apostles, or that it was of any great Antiquity.* The same sort of reasoning has *Vossius* made use of, *de trib. Symbol.* But now 'tis confess'd on all sides, that in St. *Paul's* time there was a settled Form in most Churches, which he calls *The Form of Doctrine that was deliver'd*, Rom. 6. 17. and in another Place, *The Form of Sound Words*, 2 Tim. 1. 13. 'Tis certain also, that the Primitive Church, not far distant from the Apostolick Age, had a Creed resembling this, which passes for the Apostle's, as to most Particulars, and the Substance of the Articles, tho' with some variation, as is evident from *Tertullian's Regula Fidei*, *Vid. Tertul. de vel. virg. & Cypr. Epist.* 7. *& Epist.* 70. And if we consider the manner of the Fathers, and *Justin* in particular, in citing even Canonical Scripture, which was not always to consult the Originals, but often to deliver it in such Words as their Memory suggested, provided they preserv'd the Sense entire; we may conclude that from the same Liberty in citing the Confessi-

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go to their Temples, and officiate in their Libations, and Meat-Offerings, firſt [i] ſprinkle themſelves with Water by way of Luſtration; and they have now brought it to ſuch a paſs, that the Worſhippers are waſh'd from Head to Foot, before they approach the ſacred Place where their Images are kept. And whereas their Adorers are commanded by Prieſts to [k] put off their Shoes before they preſume to enter the Temples to worſhip theſe Dæmons, this is evidently done to mimick what they found

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on of Faith, aroſe the Diverſity in Creeds. And with all Submiſſion I think, that the Men who argue againſt the Antiquity of the Apoſtle's Creed, from the Variations among the Fathers, may as well argue againſt a ſett Form in Baptiſm from this Variation in *Juſtin Martyr*. As Hereſies grew, ſo did the Creed, and the Fathers may with as good Reaſon be preſum'd to enlarge the Apoſtles Creed with explanatory Additions only; as here we find the Form of Baptiſm, fix'd by Chriſt himſelf, enlarg'd in the time of this Martyr, but the Form is the ſame in Subſtance or Eſſentials; and the great Creed is called the *Nicene*, tho' many things were added to it by the Council of *Conſtantinople*, and ſome things ſince.

[i] That ſuch Mock-Baptiſms were ſet up by the Contrivance of the Devil in the Gentile World, we find not only aſſerted by *Juſtin*, but all the Primitive Writers, and particularly by *Tertullian*, *de Baptiſmo*, c. 5. *Certe ludis Apollinaribus & Eleuſiniis tinguntur, idque ſe in regenerationem & impunitatem perjuriorum ſuorum agere præſumunt.* Thus were Men initiated into the Myſteries of *Eleuſis*, and he who initiated them was called Ὑδροχόος the Waterer. Ὑδροχόος ὁ ἀγνιστὴς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων. Heſych. Thus again we learn from *Tertullian* that they initiated Men into the Rites of *Iſis* and *Mithra*, *Nam & ſacris quibuſdam per lavacrum initiantur Iſidis alicujus & Mithræ. de Bapt. c.* 5. the chief Prieſt of that Goddeſs (as *Apuleius* deſcribes his own Initiation) *Mileſi.* 11. *citat. a Seldeno de ſucceſſ. ad leg. Hæbr. c.* 26. leading the Party to be initiated to the next Bath, where having firſt deliver'd him to the uſual waſhing, and ask'd Pardon of the Goddeſs, he ſprinkled him all about, and bringing him back to the Temple, after two parts of the Day were ſpent, plac'd him before the Feet of the Goddeſs. See more on this Subject in *Grotius* upon *Matt. cap.* 28. *v.* 19.

[k] *Vid.* Tertul. *Apol. cap.* 40.

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commanded the Prophet *Moſes*; for while *Moſes* was feeding the Sheep of his Father-in-Law in *Arabia*, he was commanded to go down into *Egypt*, and to bring out the People of *Iſrael*; and our Chriſt talked with him out of the Buſh in the Appearance of Fire, and ſaid, Exod. 3. 5. *Put off thy Shoes, and come and hear*; and accordingly he put off his Shoes, and went and heard that he was to go down into *Egypt* and conduct the *Iſraelites* from thence; and being appointed with prodigious Power by that Chriſt who converſed with him out of the Buſh of Fire, he went and brought the People out, doing great and aſtoniſhing Actions; the Particulars of which, if you have a mind to it, you may exactly ſee in his own Writings.

LXXXII. But all the modern Jews teach that it was the unnameable God, who thus convers'd with *Moſes*, upon which Account the prophetick Spirit, by the Mouth of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, reprehends 'em in theſe Words Iſ. 1. 3. already quoted, *The Ox knoweth the Owner, and the Aſs his Maſter's Crib, but Iſrael doth not know me, my People hath not underſtood me.* And becauſe the Jews were ignorant what the Father and the Son was, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf thus Mat. 11. 27. corrects them, *No Man knoweth the Father but the Son, nor the Son, but them to whom the Son will reveal him.* But as I have ſaid, the *Logos* of God is His Son, and is alſo called Angel and [1] Apoſtle; for He Himſelf did deliver as an Angel

[1] Chriſt is called the Angel, *Exod.* 3. 2. but no where the Apoſtle (as Dr. *Grabe* obſerves) but in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, *cap.*

Angel or Meſſenger what the World was to know, and acted as an Apoſtle, as One ſent to interpret the divine Will, as our Lord Himſelf has teſtify'd, *he that heareth me, heareth Him that ſent me.* The ſame is alſo evident from the Moſaick Writings, where we have theſe Words, *And the Angel of God ſpake unto Moſes in a Flame of Fire out of the midſt of a Buſh, and ſaid, I am that I am, the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaack, and the God of Jacob, the God of your Fathers, go down into Egypt, and bring up my People from thence.* If you are deſirous of knowing what follows, I muſt refer you to the Scriptures themſelves, for 'tis not poſſible to tranſcribe all into a Diſcourſe of this Nature.

Mat. 10. 40.

Exod. 3. 2, 14, 15.

LXXXIII. But theſe Words were ſpoken to demonſtrate the Son of God and Apoſtle, to be our Jeſus Chriſt, who is the very pre-exiſting *Logos*; who appear'd ſometimes in the Form of Fire; ſometimes in the Likeneſs of Angels, and in theſe laſt Days was made Man by the Will of God, for the Salvation of Mankind, and was contented to ſuffer what the Devils cou'd inflict upon Him, by the infatuated Jews; who notwithſtanding they have theſe expreſs Words in the Writings of *Moſes, And the Angel of the Lord ſpake with Moſes in a Flame of Fire out of the Buſh, and ſaid, I am that I am, the Self-exiſtent, the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, and the God of Jacob*; notwithſtand-

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cap. 3. *v.* 1. from whence he juſtly concludes, that this Epiſtle was known to, and approved by *Juſtin Martyr.*

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ing this, I ſay, they affirm theſe Words to be ſpoken by God the Father, and Maker of all things. For which overſight the Prophetick Spirit thus charges 'em, *Iſrael hath not known me, my People have not underſtood me*; and as I have ſaid, Jeſus taxed 'em again for the ſame thing, while He was amongſt them, *No Man hath known the Father but the Son, nor the Son, but them to whom the Son will reveal Him.* The Jews therefore for maintaining that it was the Father of the Univerſe who had the Conference with *Moſes*, when it was the very Son of God who had it, and who is ſtyl'd both Angel and Apoſtle, are juſtly accus'd by the prophetick Spirit, and Chriſt Himſelf, for knowing neither the Father nor the Son; for they who affirm the Son to be the Father, are guilty of not knowing the Father, and likewiſe of being ignorant that the Father of the Univerſe has a Son, who being the *Logos*, and Firſt-begotten of God, *is* [m] *God.* And He it is who heretofore appear'd to *Moſes* and the reſt of the Prophets, ſometimes in Fire, and ſometimes in the Form of Angels: But now, under your Empire, as I mention'd, was born of a Virgin, according to the Will of His Father, to ſave ſuch as ſhould believe in Him, and was content to be made of no Reputation, and to ſuffer, that by His Death and Reſurrection He might conquer Death. And

[m] *Who being the* Logos, *and Firſt-begotten of God,* καὶ θεὸς ὑπάρχει, *is God.*] I deſire to know what the worſt of *Juſtin*'s Adverſaries can ſay to this, whether Words can be more expreſs for the Divinity of the Son, than καὶ θεὸς ὑπάρχει, *He is the very God.*

whereas

whereas it was ſaid to *Moſes* out of the Buſh, *I am that I am, the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, the God of Jacob, and the God of your Fathers.* The Deſign of theſe Words is to prove, that notwithſtanding theſe Men were dead, yet were they in a State of Happineſs; and that Chriſt is the God of theſe Men, and their mighty Deliverer: For theſe Men of Old ſequeſter'd themſelves from the World, to ſeek after God; and as *Moſes* relates, *Abraham* was the Father of *Iſaac*, and *Iſaac* the Father of *Jacob.*

LXXXIV. Moreover, that it was a Contrivance of the Devils to erect the Image of *Core* upon Fountains of Water, whom they reported to be *Jove*'s Daughter, to ape *Moſes*, you may eaſily collect from what I have quoted before; *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth, and the Earth was without Form, and the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters.* In Imitation of this Spirit moving upon the Waters, they ſet up the Idol *Core*, or *Proſerpina* upon the Waters, and gave her out to be the Daughter of *Jove.* Juſt ſuch another Forgery was the ſetting up *Minerva* for *Jove*'s Daughter, not by any carnal Mixture, but becauſe they found that God reflecting upon Himſelf made the World by His *Logos* or Wiſdom, they fram'd this *Minerva* to be the Iſſue of *Jove*'s Brain, or his Firſt-begotten Notion. Tho' I cannot but think it extremely ridiculous to repreſent the Notion of a Mind by the Form of a Woman. In like manner, the Actions which are attributed to

the Sons of *Jove*, evidently proves the Sons to be of the ſame Stamp with the Daughters.

LXXXV. After the Believer is baptized, and ſo incorporated or made one with us, we lead him to the Congregation of the Brethren, as we call them, and then with great Fervency pour out our Souls in Common [n] Prayers both for our

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[n] Κοιναὶς εὐχὰς ποιησάμενοι — παντὶ τρόπῳ πάντων εὐλόγως.] They are called Common Prayers, becauſe the whole Congregation did joyn with the Biſhop in them. This therefore muſt be a ſet Form of Prayer, or elſe they could not joyn in it; and therefore St. *Cyprian* ſpeaking of the Lord's Prayer, which was that Form which the whole Congregation repeated together, ſays, *Publica eſt nobis & communis Oratio, A publick and common Prayer is in uſe among us. Cypr. de Orat. Domin.* What this Form of Prayer was, *Juſtin* does not tell us, but he tells us in general, *That they pray'd for themſelves, for the Perſon baptiz'd, and for all others all the World over*, &c. More Particulars of this Liturgy you may ſee quoted out of the Apoſtolick Conſtitutions by Dr. *Grabe* in his Notes upon this Place. But I obſerve that *Irenæus* is as ſhy as *Juſtin*, of publiſhing the Forms in any of the Chriſtian Offices, tho' he ſpeaks both of Baptiſm, and of the Euchariſt, and of the Prayers and Praiſes there in general: Only when ſome Hereticks had drawn falſe Concluſions from the Doxology to ſupport their own Opinions he is forc'd to ſay, Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, *They alledge that we in our Thankſgivings do ſay World without end, Iren. adv. hær. l.* 1. *c.* 1. *p.* 16. From hence we may conclude, that in *Irenæus*'s time, *An. D.* 179, the Chriſtians praiſed God in Publick by this very Form which we now uſe, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be, World without end. Amen.* And *Tertullian*, in his Apology, frequently ſays, *We pray for the Emperors and their Miniſters, for ſecular Potentates*, &c. And *Clemens* ſays, *Let the Deacon pray for the Univerſal Church, the whole World, for the Prieſts and Governors, for the Chief Prieſts and Kings, and the general Peace. Conſtit. l.* 2. *c.* 51. And to mention but one more: *Cyril*, declaring the Practice of his time at the Celebration of the Euchariſt, ſays thus, ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἱλασμῷ, &c. *Over this propitiatory Sacrifice we call upon God for the general Peace of all Churches, for the Tranquillity of the World, for Emperors, their Armies, and all that fight for them. Catech.* 10. Now that which I wou'd infer from theſe Quotations, is this, That the Primitive Fathers could not have inſiſted upon theſe

our ſelves, for the Perſon baptiz'd, and for all others all the World over; that having embrac'd the Truth, our Converſation might be as becometh the Goſpel, and that we may be found Doers of the Word, and ſo at length be ſav'd with an everlaſting Salvation. Prayers being over we [o] ſalute each other with a Kiſs: After this, Bread and a Cup of Wine and Water are brought to the Preſident [p] or Biſhop, which

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theſe Particulars, as a Proof of the Chriſtian Loyalty, and univerſal Charity, if they had not conſtantly made theſe things the Subjects of their Prayers; and if they had us'd no ſtated Forms, *Extempore* Prayers had been too various and uncertain, to have been a Proof in this, or any other Caſe.

[o] The ἀγάπαι or Love-Feaſts, which at firſt were always joyn'd with the Euchariſt, degenerating into Abuſe and Scandal, (which were the Spots perhaps St. *Jude* alludes to) were ſoon laid aſide in the Greek Church, and probably in the time of *Juſtin*, becauſe he ſays nothing of 'em, and the Lord's Supper celebrated in the Morning faſting. Tho' 'tis certain theſe Feaſts continued in the *African* Church till *Tertullian*'s time, as you will find in his Apology, *c.* 39. However, that the Bleſſed Communion might ſtill lay claim to the Title of a Love-Feaſt, it was attended with Ceremonies of the like import; whence upon the Entrance into this Holy Myſtery the Deacon was appointed to cry aloud, μή τις κατ' ἄλλου, *let no Man be at Strife, one with another.* And this Proclamation once paſt, the holy Kiſs and Embraces immediately followed, ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἁγίῳ ἀσπαζόμεθα παυσαμένων τῶν εὐχῶν, that is, *Prayers ended, we ſalute one another with an holy Kiſs*; but ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀλλήλας αἱ γυναῖκες, *Men ſalute Men, and Women Women, and the Clergy the Biſhop*, as the Conſtitutions have it, *lib.* 2. *c.* 57. And it cou'd not indeed be well otherwiſe, conſidering the different Aparments in the Church for each Sex. *Conſt. Apoſt. lib.* 2. *cap.* 57.

[p] Ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν.] The προεστῶς, and the *Probati Seniores* in *Tertullian*, *Apol. c.* 39. and the *Majores Natu* in St. *Cyprian*, *Epiſt.* 75. were undoubtedly Biſhops, and ſo the οἱ προεστῶτες προεσβύτεροι in St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. which we tranſlate, tho' I think not well, *Ruling Elders*, were the ſame with προεστὼς in *Juſtin*; ſuch Elders as had the Power *Baptizandi & manuum imponendi & ordinandi, Of baptizing, confirming, and ordaining*, as *Cyprian* aſſures us, Privileges never pretended to at that

which he takes, and offers up Praiſe and Glory to the Father of all things, thro' the Name of

time by Lay-Elders. Nor were they Presbyters as diſtinct from Biſhops, but Biſhops in chief, and Presbyters in a fraternal conſociation: For thus the ſame Father, *Epiſt. 6.* à primordio Epiſcopatûs mei ſtatui nihil ſine conſilio veſtro privatâ ſententiâ gerere, *from the beginning of my Epiſcopate I reſolv'd to do nothing of my own Head without your Advice*; which ſhews that the Presbyters were admitted as joynt Commiſſioners, but did nothing without leave from the Biſhop; for without his leave neither Presbyters nor Deacons were permitted to baptize, except in Caſes of neceſſity, as not only *Ignatius*, but *Tertullian* expreſly tells us, *Epiſt. ad Smyrneos, p. 6. Tert. de bapt. c. 17. p. 230.* And we find in *Tertullian* that they never receiv'd the Sacrament but from the Hand of the *Preſident*, *de Cor. mil. c. 3. p. 102.* which muſt either be underſtood of the particular Cuſtom of the *African* Church, or of Conſecration only. For here in *Juſtin Martyr* we find, that when the *Biſhop* or *Preſident* had conſecrated the ſacramental Elements by ſolemn Prayers and Bleſſings, the Cuſtom was for the Deacon to diſtribute them to the People, both to the Abſent as well as Preſent. See more of the Word προσφορὰς in that excellent Treatiſe of Dean *Hickes*, concerning *The Dignity of the Epiſcopal Order*, p. 182. ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κεράματος. That Wine mixt with Water was conſtantly made uſe of by the Primitive Chriſtians, is beyond diſpute from this Paſſage, and likewiſe from Dr. *Grabe*'s Notes upon *Irenæus. lib. 5. cap. 2.* The Reaſon of this Mixture was partly in Imitation of our Saviour's Act in the firſt Inſtitution of the Euchariſt, agreeable to the Cuſtom of that warm Climate, which us'd to temper the heat of the Wine with Water; and partly, becauſe that when our Saviour's Side was pierced with a Lance, there iſſued out both Water and Blood, *Joh. 19. 34.* And agreeable to this Primitive Practice, *a little pure and clean Water* was put into the Chalice of Wine at the Reformation, as you may ſee in the Rubrick of the Communion Office of the firſt Common Prayer Book of *Edward* VI. The Bread, and the Wine and Water, προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι, *are brought to the Biſhop*; Theſe Words ſeem to me to make for that Practice which Dr. *Hickes* with ſuch incomparable Zeal and Learning argues for in his Preface againſt *The Rights*; for he tells us, "That in the Alterations made in the Office for Ad-" miniſtring the Lord's Supper, in King *Edward* VI's Service Book, " the Rubrick was left out, which commanded the Miniſter *to ſet* " *the Bread and Wine upon the Altar*, as an Offering; but this Ru-" brick was reſtor'd in the Office for the Church of *Scotland*, and " likewiſe in the Office of Holy Communion of our preſent Li-" turgy, eſtabliſh'd by the Act of Uniformity after the Reſtauration.

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of his Son and the Holy Spirit; and this[q] Thankſgiving to God for vouchſafing us worthy of theſe His Creatures, is a Prayer of more than ordinary

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And having juſtly cenſur'd the general neglect of this Act, and the great Indecency of having the Bread and Wine plac'd upon our Lord's Table by the Clerk, Sexton, or perhaps ſome *unfitter* Perſon: He adds, "That this Practice of the *Officiating* Prieſts ſetting "the Bread and Wine in the ſight of the People, with Reverence "upon the Holy Table, was ſo inviolably obſerv'd in ancient Times, "that they had in their Churches a *Buffet* or Side-board on the "right or left Hand of the Altar, upon which a Prieſt or Deacon "ſet the Bread and Wine, from whence they were carried by the "Deacon or Prieſt, when there were two, to the *Officiating* Prieſt, "who reverently plac'd them as an Offering on the Lord's Table. This Side-board for the Elements and Holy Veſſels was called in the *Greek* Church Πρόθεσις, in the Latin Church *Paratorium*, and in *Italy Credenza*, in *France Credence*. And this ancient *Credenza* or Side-Table was made one Article againſt Archbiſhop *Laud* to prove that he endeavour'd *to ſubvert God's true Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd in this Realm, and inſtead thereof to ſet up Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry*. But I refer you to the excellent Preface aforeſaid, *p.* 52, 53, *&c.* where you will find this at large, with many other Diſcoveries truly valuable.

[q] Our Bleſſed Saviour at the Inſtitution of the Sacrament is ſaid to have taken Bread and Wine and *bleſſed them*, εὐλογήσας, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας, Matth. 26. *v.* 26, 27. Mark 14. *v.* 22, 23. but the Form of Bleſſing is not recorded by the Evangeliſts, nor any of the Apoſtles. However, the Primitive Fathers concluded, that Chriſt did as the Jews were wont to do; the Paſſover was a *Sacrifice*, and therefore the Viands here, as in all other Feaſts, were firſt offered to God. Now the Bread and Wine which our Saviour took, when he bleſſed and gave Thanks, was the *Mincha*, or Meat-Offering of the Paſſover. If then Chriſt did as the Jews uſed to do, he agniz'd his Father, and bleſſed him, by Oblation of theſe his Creatures unto him; uſing the like or the ſame Form of Words, *Bleſſed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the World, which bringeſt forth Bread out of the Earth:* And over the Wine, *Bleſſed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the World, which createſt the Fruit of the Vine*, *Vide* Mede *p.* 375. and Dr. *Grabe*'s Notes upon this Place. In the Chriſtian Sacrifice there were two diſtinct Parts, the εὐχαριστία, *Thankſgiving* to God for his good Creatures of Bread and Wine; and εὐλογία, *Invocation* of his Bleſſing upon them. That theſe two were diſtinct things, the Conſecration of the Elements made with Thankſgiving, not by it, but with *Bleſſing* joyn'd with Thankſgiving, in one continued Prayer, or in two diſtinct Forms; this, I ſay,

ordinary length. When the Biſhop has finiſh'd the [r] Prayers, and the Thankſgiving-Service, all

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is evident both from *Juſtin* in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, and from this Place; in his Dialogue he deſcribes the Euchariſt or Thankſgiving Part thus, Ὁ κύριος παρέδωκε, ἵνα ἅμα τε εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐπινεύσεως σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐν ᾗ γεγόνεμεν ἐλευθερωκέναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, καλαλελυκέναι τελείαν κα[ά]λυσιν διὰ τοῦ παθητοῦ λογισμοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βεβουλημένου αὐτῶν, *The Lord hath commanded, that together we ſhou'd give thanks to God for the Creation of the World, and all things therein for the Benefit of Man; and for delivering us from the Miſery wherein we were born, and for his deſtroying Principalities and Powers with a perfect Deſtruction, by him who ſuffer'd according to his Will.* And elſewhere he ſays, *That Prayers and Thankſgivings made by thoſe that are worthy, are the only Sacrifices that are perfect and acceptable.*—And theſe he ſays (ſpeaking of the Euchariſt) ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ περὶ ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται. *In that thankful Remembrance of their Food both dry and wet, wherein alſo is commemorated the Paſſion which the God of God ſuffered by himſelf.* And ſo again in this Place of the Apology, εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταξιῶσαι τούτων, &c. *That God did vouchſafe them worthy of Bread and Wine.* So that in the Euchariſt we have a two-fold Commemoration; the one of our Meat and Drink, by agnizing and recording God to be the Lord and Giver of the ſame, in Oppoſition to thoſe Hereticks who deny'd him to be the Maker of the World; the other an Ἀνάμνησις, or Commemoration in the ſame Bread and Wine of the Paſſion of the Son of God; but for a fuller Explanation of this, I refer to the *Great Duty of frequenting the Chriſtian Sacrifice*, written by the Author of *The Faſts and Feſtivals*. As to the εὐλογία, the Invocation of a Bleſſing, or Conſecratory Part, I ſhall ſpeak to that preſently.

[r] Εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν.] Here, beſides the Thankſgiving or Prayer Euchariſtical, we find other Prayers, but what they were *Juſtin* ſays not, but no doubt he means the Prayer of Conſecration; for when Chriſt ſo ſolemnly took Bread and Wine εὐλογήσας *calling upon God for his Bleſſing*, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας *and giving Thanks*, and commanded this to be done in remembrance of him until his ſecond Coming; it cannot be ſuppos'd, I ſay, that he us'd only a common Form of Grace, as at other ordinary Meals, but had a peculiar Form, with relation to thoſe Ends for which he inſtituted this Holy Feaſt. Accordingly all the ancient Liturgies, not to mention that of *Baſil*, or *Chryſoſtome*; the *Clementine* Conſtitutions, elder than both, are very expreſs to this purpoſe, where having premiſ'd the Words of Inſtitution, he adds, Ἀξιοῦμέν σε, ὅπως

all the [f] People preſent conclude with an audible Voice, ſaying, *Amen*; now *Amen* in the Hebrew Tongue, is, *So be it.* The Euchariſtical Office being thus perform'd by the Biſhop, and concluded with the Acclamation of all the People, thoſe we call [t] Deacons diſtribute to ev'ry one preſent to partake of this Euchariſtical

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ὅπως ἐυμενῶς ἐπιβλέπῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιον σου, σὺ ὁ ἀνενδεὴς θεὸς· καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην· μάρτυρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, &c. *We beſeech thee that thou wouldeſt graciouſly be pleas'd to look down upon theſe Oblations preſented before thee, thou God that wanteſt nothing, and ſend down thy holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice, commemorative of the Sufferings of our Lord Jeſus, that this Bread may be unto us the Body of thy Chriſt, and this Cup the Blood of thy Chriſt.* Agreeable to this Primitive Form of Invocation is that in the *Scotch*, and *Engliſh* Lirurgy in the firſt Book of *Edward* VI. where after theſe Words, *Hear us, O merciful Father, we beſeech thee*, it follows, *And with thy holy Spirit and Word vouchſafe to bleſs and ſanctifie theſe thy Creatures and Gifts of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy moſt dearly beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, who in the ſame Night*, &c.

[f] Πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπιφωνεῖ μέσον Ἀμήν.] Here we ſee that the *Preſident* alone pronounced the Prayer, and the People ended with the Acclamation of *Amen*; which farther proves it to be the conſecrating Prayer, which none but the Miniſter had Authority to pronounce. For as Dr. *Potter* obſerves in his learned Diſcourſe of Church-Government, *p.* 249. "In the former Prayers the People "repeated κοιναῖς φωναῖς (as *Juſtin* has it) *all together*, following "the Miniſter, and for a Proof of this refers to the ancient Litur-"gies, particularly to the Apoſtolick Conſtitutions, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 6, "8, 9, 11. and elſewhere. And moreover adds, That this Diſtin-"ction ſeems to be made in Scripture, where when our Lord con-"ſecrates the Euchariſt, he alone is ſaid to *bleſs* or to give *Thanks*; "whereas in the *Acts*, *cap.* 4. *v.* 24. when Prayer is made, where-"in the whole Aſſembly are equally concern'd, we are told, *They* "*lift up their Voice with one accord.* And this I the rather take no-tice of, becauſe I generally find the common People ignorantly joyning not only in the Conſecration, but in the Abſolution alſo, both which are peculiarly appropriated to the Prieſtly Office.

[t] *The Deacons diſtribute to ev'ry one preſent, and then carry it to the Abſent.*] The Cuſtom of turning their Backs upon the Lord's Supper

riſtical Bread and Wine, and Water, and then they carry it to the Abſent.

LXXXVI. This Food we call the [v] Euchariſt, of which none are allow'd to be Partakers, but ſuch only as are true Believers, and have been baptiz'd in the Laver of Regeneration for the Remiſſion of Sins, and live according to Chriſt's Precepts; for we do not take this as [w] common Bread,

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was not known among the Faithful in time of old; and thoſe who came to the Sermon, and went out before the Communion, were excommunicated: *Laici fideles Eccleſiam ingredientes & Scripturas audientes, ſi non permaneant in Precatione, & Sacrâ Communione congregantur*, Can. Apoſt. 9. In the Primitive Church ſo much Bread and Wine was taken from a large Table as the Officiating Prieſt judg'd ſufficient for the Communicants. Theſe Elements, thus ſeparated from the reſt, were conſecrated, and what remain'd after the Communion, was carry'd by the Deacon to the Sick, and ſent about to abſent Friends, as Pledges and Tokens of Love and Agreement in the Unity of the ſame Faith. But becauſe this carrying the ſacramental Elements up and down the World was thought not ſo well to comport with the Reverence due to this ſacred Ordinance, it was aboliſh'd by the *Laodicean* Synod; and the *Eulogiæ*, or pieces of Bread which remain'd of the Offerings of the People, were appointed at *Eaſter* to be ſent up and down in their room. *Can.* 14. One thing more is too obvious not to be noted in this Place, namely, That the Bread and Wine, the Communion in both kinds, was given to the Laiety, a Practice ſo notorious, that even the Patrons of dry Communion have not the Face to deny it.

[v] *This Food we call the Euchariſt, of which none are allow'd to partake but true Believers.*] It was called the Euchariſt, becauſe Thankſgiving was made to God for theſe Benefits, and not from any Words conſtituting Conſecration, as is commonly ſuppos'd. Here likewiſe is another Inſtance of *Imperii in Imperio*, of Church-Authority independent on the Civil Magiſtrate, and viſible in a State of Perſecution; which Authority therefore, as it muſt always enjoy, ſo the Exerciſe of it moſt eſpecially appear when it is reſolved into ſuch a State again; an Authority of letting in and ſhutting out of Chriſtian Communion, according as the ſpiritual Governours judge of the Merits or Demerits of the reſpective Perſons.

[w] *We do not take this as common Bread and Wine*, &c.] *Juſtin* Martyr juſt before had call'd the Euchariſtical Food after Conſecration,

Bread, and common Wine. But as Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour was made Fleſh by the *Logos* of God, and had real Fleſh and Blood for our Salvation, ſo are we taught that this Food, which the

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cration, barely Bread and Wine, and here he ſays it is not common Bread and Wine, which ſhews that he thought it was ſtill ſo in Subſtance; and then he goes on to illuſtrate the Sanctification of the Elements by the Incarnation of Chriſt, in which the Humane Nature did not loſe its Subſtance by its Union with the Divine, ſo the Bread and Wine according to this Illuſtration do not loſe their proper *Subſtance* when they become the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt. It muſt be acknowledg'd, that the Ancient Fathers, *Juſtin* Martyr, and *Irenæus* in particular, do teach, that in the Euchariſt the Bread and Wine are by or upon Conſecration made the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but then they explain themſelves in ſuch a manner as makes not the leaſt for the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; their Notion in ſhort was this, that as *John* the *Baptiſt* was ſaid to be *Elias* becauſe he was endu'd with the ſame *Spirit and Power* that *Elias* was, ſo upon the Sacerdotal Benediction the Spirit of Chriſt or a Divine Virtue deſcends upon the Elements, and accompanies them to all worthy Communicants, and therefore are ſaid to be the Body and Blood of Chriſt; the ſame Divinity which is hypoſtaticaly united to the Body and Blood of Chriſt in Heaven, being virtually united to the Elements of Bread and Wine upon Earth: and this I have already prov'd to be the Senſe of all the ancient Liturgies, wherein it is prayed, *That God wou'd ſend down his Holy Spirit upon his Creatures of Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt.* But that Tranſubſtantiation was a thing never dream'd of, is evident from this very Paſſage of *Juſtin*, where he ſays ἐξ ὧν αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, *that our Bodies are nouriſh'd, and that the Bread and Wine are turn'd into the Subſtance of our Bodies*; which to affirm of the glorified Body of Chriſt, is certainly impious Blaſphemy. Moreover, our *Juſtin* in his moſt excellent Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew, tells him, that it was foretold by the Prophets, that the time was coming when they ſhou'd no longer *offer upon the Altar Libations and Sacrifices of Blood*, ἀλλὰ ἀληθινὰς καὶ πνευματικὰς αἴνους καὶ εὐχαριστίας, *but true and ſpiritual Praiſes and Thankſgiving*, p 346. And he ſays likewiſe that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament was εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ σωματοποιήσαντος,—καὶ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ αἵματος, *in Commemoration of his Body and Blood*; and that it was generally ſtyl'd by the Ancients ἀναίμακτος θυσία, *an unbloody Sacrifice*, is too notorious to be deni'd; and if ſo, 'tis not poſſible they ſhou'd conceive

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the very same [x] *Logos* bless'd by Prayer and Thanksgiving, is turn'd into the Nourishment and Substance of our Flesh and Blood; and is in *some* [y] *Sense* the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Jesus. For the Apostles, in their [z] Commentaries called the Gospels, have left this Command upon Record, *That Jesus took Bread, and when he had given Thanks, he said,*

Matth. 26. 26. Mar. 14. 22. Luke 22. 19, &c.

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it to be the very Body and Blood of Christ. He that desires to see more upon this Subject may consult *Dr. Grabe's* Notes upon the Place, and *Bishop Bull's* Answer to the Bishop of *Meaux's* Letter to Mr. *Nelson*.

[x] Τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τ' παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν.] This Passage is something dark and difficult. *Hamon l'Estrange* translates it thus, *Those Viands by which our Flesh and Blood are nourish'd being blessed by the Prayer and Thanksgiving of the Priest*, &c. But this cannot be the literal Translation, for here is not one Word of a *Priest* mention'd, nor a tittle of the main Difficulty explain'd, which is, the δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τ' παρ' αὐτοῦ. Dr. *Grabe* thinks τ' τ' λόγου εὐχῶν signifies the *Lord's Prayer* with which the Sacrament was always concluded. *Vid.* note p. 127. But the Bread and Wine was not consecrated by the *Lord's Prayer*, and these Words seem to respect the very Act of Consecration. *Justin* immediately before had said, that Jesus Christ or the *Logos* was made Flesh by the *Logos* of God, and here he says that the Bread and Wine was made the Body and Blood of Christ *by the Prayer of the very same Logos where the* λόγου τ' παρ' αὐτοῦ, seems to me to be the λόγου προφορικὸς or the *external Word* issuing from the *substantial Word* or *Logos* himself, and then the Construction will be thus, δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τ' παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγου ὑποστάσεως. And this way of speaking is very familiar with *Justin*, as you may see by Christ's being said to have been made Flesh by the *Logos* in the Words just before.

[y] Ἰησοῦ χ' σάρκα χ' αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν.] Dr *Grabe* upon these words observes that the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Sarum*, says, *that it is not to be deny'd, but that very early both* Justin Martyr *and* Irenæus *thought, that there was such a Sanctification of the Elements, that there was a Divine Virtue in them.* Artic. 28. p. 334.

[z] The Commentaries of the Apostles called Gospels.] Ἀπομνημονεύματα, or Commentaries, were such Sayings of wise Men as were got by heart and committed to Memory, and the Gospels being a Summary of the Words and Actions of our Saviour so committed and repeated to the *Amanuenses*, were called ἀπομνημονεύματα. *Vid.* Dr. *Grabe*. n. 58.

Do this in Commemoration of me, for this is my Body: And in like manner he took the Cup, and when he had given Thanks, he said, This is my Blood, and delivered it to them only. And this very Solemnity too the evil Spirits have introduc'd in the Myſteries of [a] *Mithra*; for you do, or may know, that when any one is initiated into this Religion, Bread and a Cup of Water, with a certain Form of Words are made uſe of in the Sacrifice. After this Sacrament is over, we remind each other of the Obligations to his Duty, and the Rich relieve the Poor; and upon ſuch charitable Accounts we viſit ſome or other ev'ry Day.

LXXXVII. [b] And in ev'ry Euchariſtical Sacrifice we bleſs the Maker of all things, thro' his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and thro' the Holy Spirit: And upon the Day called [c] Sunday, all that live

[a] For a fuller Explanation of the Myſteries of *Mithra*, or the Sun, I refer the Reader not only to the References in Dr. *Grabe*'s Notes, but alſo to Dr. *Hickes's Chriſtian Prieſthood Aſſerted*, where he will find that the Miniſters of Baptiſm and the Holy Euchariſt were τελεσταὶ, as *Pollux* calls Prieſts, even as proper Prieſts, as the Prieſts of *Mithra* or the Sun, were eſteemed by his Worſhipers to be. p. 55.

[b] Hitherto *Juſtin* has deſcribed the Rites of the firſt Communion after Baptiſm, he proceeds now in ſhort to ſhew that they obſerv'd the ſame Order in every Euchariſtical Sacrifice, and therefore the ſame Notes will in a great meaſure ſerve for both.

[c] Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, *upon the Day called Sunday.*] It was called Sunday by *Juſtin* and *Tertullian*, becauſe it happen'd upon that day of the Week which by the Heathens was dedicated to the Sun, and therefore as being beſt known to them by that Name, the Fathers commonly made uſe of it in their Apologies to the Heathen Emperours; but the more proper and prevailing Name was κυριακὴ, or the Lord's Day, as it is called by *St. John* himſelf, Rev. 1. 10. This Day was ſo ſtrictly ſet apart by the Ancients for Publick Devotion, that the Synod of *Illiberis* ordain'd, that if any

live either in City or Country meet together at the ſame Place, where the [d] Writings of the Apoſtles and Prophets are read, as much as time will give leave; when the Reader has done, the [e] Biſhop makes a Sermon, wherein he inſtructs the People, and animates

any Man dwelling in a City, (where Churches were near at hand) ſhou'd for three Lord's Days keep from Church, he ſhou'd for ſome time be ſuſpended the Communion, *Can.* 21. p. 28. And when *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtia*, began to fling off the Diſcipline of the Church, and to introduce ſome odd Whimſies of his own, and among many others to faſt on the Lord's-day, and to keep Meetings in private Houſes; leading many away captive, but eſpecially ſilly Women, as *Sozomen* obſerves, *lib.* 3. *c.* 14. *p.* 521. The Biſhops no ſooner underſtood it, but meeting in Council at *Gangra*, about the Year 340, condemn'd and caſt them out of the Church, paſſing theſe two Canons among the reſt,—*If any one ſhall teach that the Houſe of God is to be deſpis'd, and the Aſſemblies that are held in it, let him be accurſed. If any ſhall take upon him out of the Church to preach privately at home, and making light of the Church, ſhall do thoſe things that belong only to the Church, without the Preſence of the Prieſt, and the Leave and Allowance of the Biſhop, let him be accurſed.* Conc. Gangr. Can. 4, 5.

[d] *The Commentaries of the Apoſtles, and the Writings of the Prophets are read, as much as time will give leave.*] The Chriſtian Meetings were often diſturbed and broken up by their Heathen Enemies; and ſo neither *Juſtin* nor *Tertullian* ſay what Portions either of the Old or New Teſtament were read at one Meeting; but afterwards ſet Portions out of each were aſſign'd, two Leſſons out of both, as we find it in the Author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, *lib.* 2. *c.* 57. *p.* 875.

[e] *The Biſhop makes a Sermon.*] The Sermons in theſe Times were nothing elſe but Expoſitions of ſome part of the Scriptures then read, and Exhortations to the People to obey the Doctrines contained in them, and generally upon the Leſſon laſt read, as being freſheſt in their Minds. According as Opportunity ſerv'd, theſe Sermons were more or fewer, ſometimes two or three at the ſame Aſſembly, the Presbyters firſt, and then the Biſhop, as is expreſly affirm'd in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions. Καὶ ἐξῆς προσκαλείτω ἑνὶ προσευχομένῳ τὸν λαὸν ὁ καθεὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἅπαντες, καὶ τελευταῖον πάντων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὡς ἔοικε κυβερνήτης. Lib. 11. cap. 57. p. 263. Edit. Cleric. *Then* (that is after the reading of the Goſpel) *let the Preshyters exhort the People one by one, not all at once; and laſt of all the Biſhop, as it is fitting for the Maſter to do.*

them

them to the Practice of ſuch lovely Precepts; at the Concluſion of this Diſcourſe, we all [f] riſe up together and pray; and Prayers being over, as I now ſaid, there is Bread, and Wine, and Water offered, and the Biſhop, as before, ſends up Prayers and Thankſgivings, with [g] all the Fervency he is able, and the People conclude

[f] *We all riſe up together and pray.*] From this Place of *Juſtin*, and from *Tertullian, de Coron. c.* 3. *p.* 102. 'tis evident, that whereas the Chriſtians upon other Days prayed kneeling, yet upon Sundays they always prayed ſtanding; and the Reaſon of this we find in the Author of the Queſtions and Anſwers in *Juſtin Martyr, Reſp. ad Queſt.* 115. *p.* 468. It is (ſays he) that by this Poſture we may be put in Mind both of our Fall by Sin, and our Reſtitution by the Grace of Chriſt; that for ſix Days we pray upon our Knees, is to remind us of our Fall by Sin; but that on the Lord's Day we pray ſtanding, is to repreſent our Reſtitution, by which, through the Grace of Chriſt, we are deliver'd from our Sins and the Powers of Death. And the great Council of *Nice* taking notice that this Cuſtom began to be neglected, ordain'd, That on the Lord's Day Men ſhould ſtand, when they offer'd up their Prayers to God. *Can.* 20.

[g] Εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει, *The Biſhop ſends up Prayers and Thankſgivings with all the Fervency he is able.*] This Paſſage is greedily faſten'd upon by many of our Diſſenting Brethren againſt ſtated Forms of Prayer in the Primitive Church, and particularly by Mr. *Dav. Clarkſon* in his Diſcourſe concerning Liturgies, and is cited twice over, *p.* 68. and *p.* 115. where he marvelouſly pleaſes himſelf, with very little reaſon, for near ten Pages in Quotations, to make this ſpeak *for inventing Words as the Spirit enabled them, or praying* ex tempore. I cannot but obſerve from hence how much theſe old Fathers are made of by ſome Men, if they can but be forc'd to caſt a kind look towards them; and then again by Fits, how muſty and deſpicable they are, when they ſpeak too plain to be miſinterpreted. But to the Caſe in Hand: Firſt then, I ſay that ὅση δύναμις is a doubtful Expreſſion, and twice before in this Apology (as I have advertis'd the Reader) is us'd in a Senſe quite different from this of Mr. *Clarkſon*, and therefore at beſt can be but a doubtful Proof, till he can make out his Senſe to be the plain and only Senſe of this Phraſe. Secondly, If this be the Senſe, it will not follow that becauſe in *Juſtin*'s Age, an Age of caſting out Devils, and praying by the Spirit in order to proſelyte the World, there-

fore

clude all with the joyful Acclamation of *Amen*: Then the conſecrated Elements are diſtributed to, and partaken of by, all that are preſent, and ſent to the Abſent by the Hands of the Deacons.

LXXXVIII. But the Wealthy and the Willing, for every one is at Liberty, contribute as they think fitting; and this Collection is depoſited with the Biſhop, and out of this he relieves the Orphan and the Widow, and ſuch as are reduc'd to want, by Sickneſs or any other

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fore now, when the World is proſelyted, and the Gift of Power and Miracles is over, ev'ry private Miniſter is enabled to pray by the ſame Spirit. But then, Thirdly, I think it muſt ſignifie otherwiſe in this very Place, for ὅση δύναμις here plainly anſwers to ἐντόνως, *Sect.* 85, where all the Congregation is ſaid to joyn in *Common Prayers* for the new-baptized Perſon, &c. ἐντόνως *with all Intention of Mind and Affections*; and by Common Prayers we can hardly underſtand any thing elſe than ſet Forms of Prayer, in Oppoſition to *ex tempore* Effuſions. Beſides, 'tis obſervable that this Phraſe does not follow (εὐχὰς) Prayers, but (εὐχαεισίας) Thankſgivings; ſo that it is chiefly to be reſtrain'd to the Hymns in the Euchariſt, which were known Forms; and yet, ſays *Juſtin*, they were offer'd up, ὅση δύναμις. And Section the 16*th*. where we have this Phraſe ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα πᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις αἰνέσεις, *in all our Oblations praiſing God to the beſt of our Power*, he deals very diſingenuouſly by leaving out the Comma between πᾶσιν and ὅση. Now this praiſing ὅση δύναμις cannot be apply'd to the Biſhop only, but to all the Congregation who joyn'd in the publick Hymns, with all poſſible Fervency and Devotion. But of all the Quotations this Author has brought to wreſt this Phraſe to his purpoſe of *ex tempore* Prayer, that out of *Gregory Nazianzen* is the moſt unhappy one, Φέρε ὅση δύναμις· τὸ ἐπινίκειον ἄδωμεν ἐκείνῳ ᾠδήν, &c. *Come, let us with all Intention of Spirit chant that triumphant Ode which ſometime the Iſraelites ſang upon the overthrow of the Egyptians in the red Sea.* *Nazianzen* here ſets down the Words which he would have them ſing upon *Julian*'s being cut off, and ὅση δύναμις being preciſely limited to ἐκείνῳ ᾠδῇ that Song in *Exodus* the 15th; this, I ſay, utterly ſhuts out all arbitrary Conceptions, and determines the Signification of this Phraſe, as I think, beyond Exception.

Cauſe;

Cauſe, and ſuch as are in Bonds, and Strangers that come from far; and in a Word, he is the Guardian and Almoner to all the Indigent.

LXXXIX. Upon Sunday we all aſſemble, that being the firſt Day in which God ſet himſelf to work upon the dark Void, in order to make the World, and in which Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour roſe again from the Dead; for the Day before [h] Saturdy He was crucify'd, and the Day after, which is Sunday, He appear'd to His Apoſtles and Diſciples, and taught 'em what I have now propos'd to your Conſideration.

XC. And ſo far as theſe things ſhall appear agreeable to Truth and Reaſon, ſo far we deſire you wou'd reſpect 'em accordingly, but if they ſeem trifling, deſpiſe 'em as Trifles; however, don't proceed againſt the Profeſſors of 'em, who are People of the moſt inoffenſive Lives, as ſeverely as againſt your profeſs'd Enemies; for, tell you I muſt, that if you perſiſt in this Courſe of Iniquity, you ſhall not eſcape the Vengeance of God in the other World. But be this as it will, you ſhall hear us contentedly cry out, *God's Will be done.* And altho' we might produce the Reſcript of your Father, the great and illuſtrious Emperor *Adrian*, to plead in our behalf for the moderating your

[h] *The Day before Saturday.*] *Juſtin* uſes this Circumlocution inſtead of *Die Veneris*, becauſe he abhorred the very Name of *Venus*, and the Fathers were ſo chaſt in Word as well as Thought, that they would not take the Name of *Venus* within their Lips, but in order to refute the Heathen Idolatry. See Dr. *Grabe's* Notes upon this Place.

Proceedings

Proceedings according to that Rule of Equity we our ſelves have propos'd, yet we ſhall not inſiſt ſo much upon the Authority of *Adrian* as the Juſtice of our Demands, which was the Reaſon of compoſing this Apology and Expoſition of the Chriſtian Faith: However, we have ſubjoyn'd a Copy of *Adrian*'s Epiſtle, to let you ſee the Truth and Juſtice of our Cauſe; and the Copy is This:

The [a] RESCRIPT *of* ADRIAN *for the Chriſtians to* MINUTIUS FUNDANUS.

I Receiv'd a Letter from the illuſtrious *Serenus Granianus*, your Predeceſſor: 'Tis an [b] Affair well worthy your Conſideration, to put a ſtop to vexatious Suits, and to give no handle

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[a] The Apologies of *Ariſtides*, but eſpecially that of *Quadratus*, had ſo good an Effect upon the Emperor *Adrian*, that they procur'd this Reſcript in Favour of the Chriſtians; for *Serenus Granianus* wrote to *Adrian*, as *Pliny* before had done to *Trajan*, concerning the intolerable and unjuſt Perſecutions of the Chriſtian Sect, and being either dead juſt after, or out of his Office, (which was but Annual) *Adrian* directs this Anſwer to *Minutius Fundanus*, his Succeſſor into the Proconſulſhip of *Aſia*. This Reſcript was annex'd by *Juſtin* to this Apology in the Latin Tongue, and tranſlated by *Euſebius* into Greek, as he himſelf tells us, *lib.* 4. *c.* 8. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* And by the way, if St. *Juſtin* may be allow'd Latin enough to underſtand this Epiſtle, methinks 'tis hard not to allow him enough to underſtand the Inſcription upon the Statue of *Simon Magus*. The Latin Text preſerv'd by that Martyr is loſt; however, 'tis famous, and much talk'd of by the Ancients; 'tis cited by St. *Melito*, *Euſeb. lib.* 4. *cap.* 26. by *Sulpicius Severus*, *lib.* 2. *c.* 45. and by *Oroſius*, *lib.* 7. *c.* 12.

[b] The Subject of *Granianus*'s Letter ſeems evidently omitted in this Place, and the Emperor's Order only mention'd. And if *Lampridius*

Handle to Informers to carry on the Trade of Malice. If then the People under your Government have any thing to ſay againſt Chriſtians, and will prove it in Publick, ſo that Chriſtians may anſwer for themſelves in open Court, 'tis your Duty to hear 'em in a judicial way only, and not to be over-born by the Petitions and tumultuary Clamours of the People; for 'tis your Place, and *not the Mob's*, to judge of the Merits of the Cauſe: If therefore, the Informer ſhall make it appear, that Chriſtians have done any thing contrary to Law, puniſh 'em according to the Quality of the Crime; ſo verily on the other Hand, if you find it to be a malicious Charge only, take Care to condemn and puniſh, as the Malice deſerves.

The [c] *LETTER of* ANTONINUS *to the States of* ASIA.

THE Emperor *Cæſar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Auguſtus Pius*, Chief Pontiff, the fifteenth time Tribune, thrice Conſul, Father

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pridius may be credited, as I ſee no Reaſon, why he may not, for any thing *Caſaubon* has urg'd to the contrary, *Adrian* had a Deſign, as *Tiberius* had before him, to ſet up the Worſhip of Chriſt, and built up therefore ſeveral Temples without any Image, and without conſecrating them to any God of the Heathen, which therefore went by the Name of *Adrian's Temples*. Lamprid. Alex. v. p. 129. *Vid.* Memoires, &c. par le Sieur *D. Tillemont*, *tom.* 2. *p.* 123.

[c] We are told by an ancient Eccleſiaſtick Writer, that this Apology of our Martyr very much ſweeten'd the Spirit of *Antoninus*. *Oroſ. lib.* 7. *cap.* 14. And being alſo ſeconded by Addreſſes, and hi-

ther of the Country, to the common Aſſembly of *Aſia*, *Greeting*. I am of Opinion that the Gods will be ſufficiently careful not to let this ſort of Men eſcape, for 'tis much more their

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deous Complaints from the Faithful in *Aſia*, produc'd this Letter from the Emperor to the States of *Aſia*; and to thoſe of *Lariſſa*, *Theſſalonica*, *Athens*, and all *Greece*. He ſent Letters alſo in behalf of the Chriſtians, tho' this alone to the States of *Aſia* is yet extant. *Vid. Euſeb. lib.* 4. *c.* 26. It is an Anſwer to what the States had ſent concerning the Proſecution of Chriſtians upon the Account of Earthquakes, which had then happen'd and were charg'd upon the Chriſtians, as all Misfortunes were. I am not ignorant that *Scaliger*, *Valeſius*, and others would have this Imperial Edict to be the Decree of *Marcus Aurelius* the Son of *Antoninus*; the Inſcription indeed as it ſtands in *Euſebius*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 26. has *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*; but then this is moſt undeniably corrupted; for juſt before in the Concluſion of the 25th Chapter, he aſcribes it to *Antoninus Pius*; and in the original Inſcription annex'd to the Apology (and from whence *Euſebius* tranſcrib'd his) it is *Titus Ælius Antoninus Pius*. Beſides, the Tenor of the Epiſtle it ſelf ſeems plainly to give it to *Antoninus*; and *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, who preſented an Apology to his Son and Succeſſor, tells him of the Letters which his Father at the time he was his Partner in the Empire wrote to the Cities, that they ſhould not raiſe any new Troubles againſt the Chriſtians. *Vid.* Dr. *Cave*'s Life of *Juſtin* in Engliſh, *p.* 147. The Objections againſt this Opinion you may find in Dr. *Grabe*'s Notes, and in the Notes at the end of his Edition.

This Letter was ſent, ſays Monſieur *Tillemont*, in the 15th Year of *Antoninus*, that is, in the Year of our Lord 152. *Vid. Mem. Tom.* 2. *p.* 350. ſays Dr. *Cave* in the Year 140; and if it be objected that this ſeems not conſiſtent with the Year of his being Tribune, ſaid here to be the 15th; he anſwers, that the Tribunitian Power did not always commence with the beginning of their Reign, but was given ſometimes to Perſons in a private Capacity, and eſpecially to ſuch as were Candidates for the Empire. *Vid.* Life of *Juſtin*, *p.* 146. *Valeſius* fixes the Date of the Reſcript in the firſt Year of *Marcus Aurelius*, for which he is animadverted upon by Biſhop *Pearſon*, who refers it to the 15th of *Aurelius*. *Vind. Ig. Epiſ. p.* 2. *n.* 404. See Dr. *Grabe*'s Notes. In this State of Uncertainty I ſhall leave this Reſcript, with this Obſervation only, That we ought not to conclude againſt the Being of a thing, becauſe learned Men diſpute the time of its Being, but juſt the contrary, *viz.* That ſuch a thing really was, becauſe there is ſo much Diſpute about it.

Concern

Concern, than yours, to make thoſe the Examples of Juſtice, if they can, who refuſe to worſhip them; and while you thus harraſs them, and accuſe them for Atheiſts, and object other things againſt them, and are not able to make good the Charge, you do but harden them in their Opinion; for it makes mightily for 'em, *or you cannot oblige them more*, than to make 'em die for the Religion they are accus'd of; for thus they triumph over you, by chooſing rather to ſubmit to Death, than to comply with your Demands. As for Earthquakes, either paſt or preſent, I adviſe you to be ſilent upon this Head; you who are deſponding immediately upon theſe Occaſions, and laying all your Calamities upon them, whereas they are more erect and confident in God upon ſuch Accidents: But you all this time ſeem to be perfect Strangers to the Gods, and to neglect their Worſhip, nay, the Worſhip of the great God himſelf, and therefore mortally hate thoſe who do worſhip him, and perſecute 'em to death for ſo doing. Concerning this ſort of Men, ſeveral Governors of Provinces have formerly written to my Father of ſacred Memory; to whom he returned this Anſwer, That ſuch Men ſhould not be moleſted, unleſs they were found to attempt any thing againſt the *Roman* Government. And I my ſelf have receiv'd many Letters upon the ſame Subject, and I return'd the ſame Anſwer. So that if any one hereafter ſhall go on to inform againſt this ſort of Men, purely becauſe they are Chriſtians, let the Perſons accus'd be diſcharg'd,

altho' they be found to be Chriſtians, and let the Informer himſelf undergoe the Puniſhment.

The [d] *EPISTLE of* MARCUS *the Emperor to the Senate, wherein he teſtifies the Victory of the* Romans *to be owing to the Chriſtians.*

THE Emperor *Cæſar M. Aurelius Antoninus, Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus,* To the People of *Rome*, and the ſacred Senate, *Greeting.* I acquainted you with the great Deſigns I had in Hand, and the Extremities I have been reduc'd to upon the Confines of *Germany*, from an Enemy incloſing me on every ſide; for I was ſhut up in *Cotinus* by ſeventy four Cohorts, for the ſpace of nine Miles: When the Enemy was hard by, the Scouts gave me Intelligence, and *Pompeianus*, who had the Command of our Forces, ſignify'd the ſame likewiſe, namely, that a mix'd

[d] Concerning the Genuineneſs of this Epiſtle, the Reader may conſult the Notes of Dr. *Grabe*, and thoſe of *Kortholtus* at the end of his Edition; but ſuppoſing with *Joſeph Scaliger*, that this was not written in Greek by *Marcus*, nor tranſlated from the true Latin, but patch'd together after the Emperor *Juſtinian*'s time by ſome wretched Græcian; the Matter is not much, for as to the Occaſion and the Contents in general, namely, the miraculous Relief here mention'd, we are aſſur'd of from an undoubted Authority very near that time, from *Tertullian* himſelf in his Apology, c. 5. See likewiſe *Oroſius*, in *l.* 7. *Hiſt. c.* 51.

5 Army

Army of all ſorts of People, to the number of nine hundred ſeventy thouſand Men were juſt upon us; (but I had a good Body of choice light-arm'd Soldiers about me, of the firſt, tenth, and double Legion) upon this *Alarm* I muſter'd my Forces, and comparing 'em with thoſe of the *Barbarians*, my Enemies, I had immediate Recourſe to the *Roman* Gods by Prayer, but finding my ſelf neglected by them, and my Army reduc'd to very great Straits, I call'd out thoſe who go by the Name of Chriſtians, and upon the Muſter finding their Number conſiderable, I charg'd our Calamities ſeverely upon them; which certainly I ought not by any means to have done, conſidering the mighty Advantages I receiv'd from theſe very Men ſoon after: For upon this they put themſelves in Battle Array, not by ſound of Trumpet, and putting their Javelins and Arms in order, becauſe they were accus'd upon the Account of that God they carry'd about 'em in their Minds: (Wherefore 'tis but reaſonable that thoſe we ſuſpected for Atheiſts, we ſhould now conclude to have God, as it were, immur'd in their Minds, performing whatever they deſire of Him.) For proſtrating themſelves upon the Earth, they offer'd up Prayers, not only for Me, but for the whole Army, inſomuch that in this Article of Neceſſity they pray'd down a prodigious Relief, while we were periſhing with Hunger and Thirſt, having been five Days without Water, for there was none near us, we being then in the Heart of *Germany*, and upon the Frontiers

of the Enemy. But no ſooner had they fell to the Earth, and pray'd to a God I knew nothing of, but immediatly a Shower from Heaven ſucceeded, a Shower of refreſhing Water to us, and of fiery Hail to our Enemies. But moreover, upon their Prayers forthwith there was the Appearance of a God Almighty Invincible. This therefore is my ground for the Toleration of Chriſtians, for fear that by the ſame powerful Prayers they ſhould fetch down the like Artillery from above againſt us. My Will and Pleaſure therefore is, That no one henceforth be brought to the Bar merely for being a Chriſtian; and if any ſhall be found to inform againſt a Chriſtian, purely upon the Score of his Religion, I order that the Chriſtian ſo inform'd againſt confeſs the Charge, and if he be found guilty of nothing but Chriſtianity, that the Informer be burnt alive; and that the Chriſtian upon his Confeſſion be therefore acquitted, and that the Governor of the Province do not force him to retract, nor deprive him of his Liberty. Theſe things I deſire ſhould be confirm'd by Decree of Senate. And I order likewiſe, That this Decree be propos'd and publiſh'd in *Trajan's Forum* to be read by All, and the Præfect *Veraſius Pollio* ſhall take Care to diſpatch it into all the Provinces round about. And I order likewiſe, That none be prohibited to take out a Copy of this Decree, whoever has a mind ſo to do.

A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE TO *TERTULLIAN's* APOLOGETICK FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

QUINTUS *Septimius Florens Tertullianus* was the Son of a [a] *Centurion* under the *Proconsul* of *Africk*, born at *Carthage* about the Year 160; of [b] Heathen Parentage, and of Heathen Education; he had a Head marvellously well turn'd for Science, and his *Extensive Genius* soon led him the *Round* of human Learning; he had div'd into the Secrets of Geometry and Physick, and study'd the Poets and Philosophers thro' and thro'; he was a great Master of History, and above all, as [c] *Eusebius* tells us, and as from the Apology is evident, profoundly vers'd in the

[a] Ap. cap. 9. [b] Ap. c. 18. [c] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Roman Laws. He was naturally exceeding Hot and Impatient, a temper he very much laments in his [d] *Boook of Patience*; to this natural Stock of Fire, and the joint Force of Letters, was added a ſurpriz-ing Vivacity of Wit, edged with a Keeneſs peculiar to himſelf, ſo that he cou'd drive an Argument as far by *dint* of Reaſon, and clinch it as ſeverely by *dint* of Wit, as moſt Men living; for in the *Pſalmiſt*'s Phraſe, *His Teeth were Spears and Arrows, and his Tongue a ſharp Sword*; which by his own Confeſſion, in his merry Fits, he had often drawn againſt the True God, and ſhot his moſt *bitter Words* againſt the [e] Chriſtian Religion: And as the *greateſt Wits* are not always the *ſtricteſt Livers*, ſo had he copy'd but too cloſely after the Gods he worſhip'd, for he acknow-ledges himſelf not only an [f] Adulterer, but one who had taken a cruel Pleaſure in the bloody Entertain-ments of the [g] *Amphitheater*, one who had arriv'd to a diſtinguiſhing [h] *Eminency in Vice*, and was an *Ac-compliſh'd Sinner in all* [i] *Reſpects*. In a word, no Man ſeems deeper learn'd in the *Myſtery of Iniquity*, in the Riſe and Progreſs of Superſtition, and in the creditable Abominations of the Age, than our *Tertul-lian* in his *Gentile* State; and as a Perſon of ſuch Ability and ſtanding in Vice, was not likely to ſur-render upon eaſie Terms, and become a Convert to a moſt holy and ſuffering Religion, without the clea-reſt and ſtrongeſt Conviction, ſo after his Converſion was no Man better appointed to Reaſon and Ridi-cule the Heathen Gods, and the Heathen Immorali-ties quite out of the World.

Concerning the prime Motives and Manner of his *Converſion*, we have nothing expreſs, either from himſelf, or the Ancients; but as we naturally ſee

[d] Lib. de Pat. at the beginning.
[e] Ap. 18. *Hæc & nos riſimus aliquando; de veſtris fuimus.*
[f] Reſ. cap. 59. p. 427. [g] Spect. c. 19. p. 99.
[h] De Pœnit. p. 142. *Præſtantiam in delictis meam agnoſco.*
[i] De Pœnit. p. 148. *Peccator omnium notarum.*

our

our ſelves moſt apt to dilate and dwell upon ſuch Motives, as moſt inwardly affect us; ſo what we find this *Convert* moſt warmly and emphatically urging in the Defence of Chriſtianity, we may reaſonably conjecture to have had the mightieſt Operation on himſelf. We ſee then this Author moſt triumphantly inſiſting upon the Antiquity of the *Moſaick* Writings, with the mighty Works and Wiſdom of that *Lawgiver*; upon the ſucceſſive *Links* of Prophecy, which make up one long *Chain* of continued Wonders, that will conduct an inquiſitive Spirit directly to Chriſt, with an Evidence as Illuſtrious, as that of the *Star which went before the Wiſe Men, till it came and ſtood over, where the young Child was.* We find him, likewiſe, full and overflowing upon the external Evidence taken from the Miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and from the Intrinſick Goodneſs, and amazing Influence of this new Philoſophy upon the Lives of its Profeſſors; and no leſs ſenſibly affected with the Powers of ev'ry Chriſtian over *evil Spirits*: And in truth, to ſee the very *Poſſeſſors* themſelves *poſſeſs'd* with Fear and Trembling, To hear the very Devils they worſhip'd for Gods, turn Preachers of Chriſt, and cry, and howl, and confeſs themſelves Devils in the Preſence of their [k] Votaries, was a Proof againſt 'em with a Witneſs, and as convincing, as Common in the Age of this Writer. Theſe, I ſay, are ſome of the moſt frequent and ſhining Arguments he preſſes againſt his Adverſaries, and ſuch therefore, as we may well conclude, had the greateſt Stroke in the Converſion of himſelf.

Concerning the *Date* of this Apology, and the *Perſons* to whom it was dedicated, the Learned are at Variance; and I am not fond of interpoſing in a *critical* Diſpute of ſo little conſequence; but upon examination, that which to me ſeems moſt probable, is, that it was written about the Year of *J. C.* 200. for

[k] Ap. cap. 19, 20, 23. and almoſt every where.

at

at this time the Chriſtians at *Rome* were ſeverely treated by *Plautianus* the Prefect of the City, and in *Africk* by *Saturninus* the *Proconſul:* Thus much is certain from the [1] Apologetick it ſelf, that it was not written till after the Defeat of *Niger* and *Albinus*, and whileſt the Emperor *Severus* was in hot purſuit of the Rebels; but *Albinus* was not defeated till *February* 19. 197. *Vit. Sev.* 21. after which the Emperour went into the *Eaſt*, in queſt of *Niger* and his Adherents; *Vit. Sev.* 26. In anſwer to this, 'tis [m] objected, That theſe Factions of *Niger* and *Albinus* are both mention'd by *Tertullian* in his Book *ad Scapulam*, written after the Apology; but then the *Objector* does not take notice that 'tis ſaid here, *whileſt they were at that time in freſh purſuit of the Rebels*, which is not ſaid in the Book *ad Scapulam*, and which is the moſt material Point; nor does the *Objector* call to mind, that the Church enjoy'd a profound Quiet in the Year 217. which is the time wherein he fixes the Date of the Apologetick. The learned Mr. [n] *Dodwel* was once of the ſame Opinion with this *Author*, and to ſupport it, interpos'd a Perſecution between *Severus* and *Maximin*, without giving any Reaſon for ſo doing. Tho' [o] ſince, he has chang'd his Mind, and dates this Apology from the Year 203, after the Death of *Plautianus*, applying to him (tho' not mention'd, the *Racematio ſuperſtes & qui armati Palatium irrumpunt*, which is with much better Reaſon applicable to the Death of *Pertinax:* But certain it is, that *Severus* iſſued out no *Edicts* againſt the Chriſtians till the Year 202; and it is as certain from *Tertullian*'s own words, that at the writing of this Apology there were no ſuch *Edicts*. His words are as follow, *Of all your Emperors down to this preſent*

[1] Ap. c. 35. *Sed & qui nunc ſceleſtarum partium Socii aut Plauſores quotidie revelantur, poſt vindemiam Parricidarum racematio ſuperſtes.*

[m] *Dalix, Tertul. vit.* c. 9. p. 78. [n] *Cyp. diſ.* II. c. 11. p. 282. [o] *Pearſ. diſ.* p. 173.

Reign,

Reign, who underſtood any thing of Religion or Humanity, name me one, who perſecuted the Chriſtians, Ap. cap. 5. and Chapter the 4*th*, he calls *Severus the moſt conſtant Prince.* And he tells us [p] elſewhere, that in the firſt part of his Reign he was a very indulgent Prince to the Chriſtians: And he was under peculiar Obligations ſo to be; for one *Proculus* a Chriſtian had cur'd him of a dangerous Diſtemper, by anointing him with Oil *in the Name of the Lord*, according to that of St. *James*, cap. 5. v. 14. Which Cure left ſo deep an Impreſſion upon his Mind, that *Severus* was no ſooner Emperour but *Proculus* was ſent for, and kept in Court to his dying Day. And as this Chriſtian was a living Apology for the Chriſtians, and a conſtant Check upon him againſt hurting the Diſciples of Chriſt, in whoſe Name he himſelf was healed; ſo I doubt not but that which made him tolerate them the more, was, That he found not one Chriſtian engag'd in the Factions either of *Albinus* or *Niger*; a Topick our Apologiſt triumphs upon more than [q] once; for a *Factious Chriſtian* was a *Monſter* not to be met with in the Days of old. But tho' *Severus* put out no *Edicts* till the Year 202, yet the People were too hot againſt Chriſtians to ſtay for *Edicts*, and beſides they had an *old Law* on their ſide, which forbad the introducing of a new God with the Approbation of the Senate, and any thing we know will ſerve an enraged *Mob* for *Reaſons*, as well as *Arms*; and the Perſecution which raged in *Africk* about 200, and ſomething ſooner at *Rome*, in all the Varieties of Cruelty and in its full ſtrength, ſaving the Emperor's *Edict*, is that which determines both the Date and the Occaſion of this Apology. As to the *Perſons* to whom it was dedicated, I refer the Reader to the Notes upon the firſt Chapter of the following Apology.

[p] *Ad Scap.* cap. 4. p. 71. [q] Ap. cap. 35. *Ad Scap.* c. 2. p. 85.

Confi-

Conſidering the little Difference in point of Time between *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, no wonder if in theſe two Apologiſts upon the ſame Subject, we often meet with the like Reaſoning, tho' with a very diſtinguiſhing Air according to the different Genius and Complexion of each Writer. For tho' *Commodus* was a *Pagan* Prince, and as bad a Man, as bad cou'd be, yet during his Reign the Church enjoy'd a favourable Seaſon[1]; for the *bloody Ruler* glutted his Cruelty upon his *Pagan* Subjects, and by peculiar Providence the *human Monſter* ſpar'd none but Chriſtians. In this lucid Interval Chriſtianity got Ground, and grew apace; the *little Leaven* had ſpread thro' the whole Maſs of the *Roman* Empire, Army and Senate, Town and Country, were all over-run with Chriſtians: But notwithſtanding this Encreaſe, yet the Kingdom of Darkneſs was the ruling Kingdom, the *Demons* reign'd ſtill in Worſhip, and the ſame *Iniquities were acted by Law*; and therefore he who who reads the Preliminary to *Juſtin*, need not be told in this, the Particulars of the Apology following.

After *Tertullian* with great Strength of Reaſon, and Satyr in abundance, has expos'd the *Heathen Gods*, and given a ſenſible Demonſtration from their own Mouths that they were *no Gods*, he proceeds to the Proof of the Chriſtian Religion; and having eſtabliſh'd the Doctrine of *three Perſons and one God*, of the *Divinity of Chriſt*, *the Two Sacraments*, of *Baptiſm* and the *Euchariſt*, an *immediate State of Happineſs or Miſery after Death*, an *univerſal Reſurrection* to eternal Life in Bliſs or Torment, together with their way of Worſhip and the manner of their Aſſemblies, he then goes on to remove a prevailing Calumny, which block'd up the Minds of the Heathen, and made it morally impoſſible for the Chriſtian Faith to get Admiſſion, or to be ſo much

[1] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 21.

as

as Tolerated in the Empire, namely, That it was a Religion destructive to all Civil Government, and that the Professors of it were a Crew of pestilent seditious Fellows, who went to *Meetings* under pretence indeed of *Worship and Conscience*, but in truth to turn the World upside down.

About the beginning of *Trajan*'s Reign, according to [s] *Baronius*, tho' Dr. *Cave* in his Life of St. *Clemens* places it later, because that Epistle of [t] *Pliny* upon which the Annalist grounds his Conjecture, was not written in all probability till nine or ten Years after, there was a Law publish'd against the *Heteriæ*, which were Colleges or Halls erected up and down the Roman Empire, where the several Societies or Companies met and feasted, under pretext of better dispatch of Business, and for the keeping up a mutual Intercourse of Love and Friendship, but were suspected by the State as Seminaries of Rebellion; and the Christians being a Society of Note, and confederated under one *common President*, and constantly meeting at their Love-feasts, and being a new Religion which multiply'd exceedingly, and directly opposite to Heathenism, the Christians were proceeded against as other illegal Societies, and as Contemners of the Imperial Constitution. By Virtue of this *Edict*, or one of fresher Date, perhaps upon the Conspiracies of *Niger* and *Albinus*, were the Christians again hunted after now in the time of the Apologist, and their Societies put down, and prosecuted with the Rest, as ill-affected and dangerous to the State.

But to this *Tertullian* answers, and in Words worthy our notice. —— "We [u] Christians (says he) "are a Society from whom nothing Hostile ever "comes, like the dreadful Issue of other Meetings; "for we are a People stark cold and dead to all the "Glories upon Earth, and what Occasion can such a

[s] Bar. ad an. 100. n. viii. Tom. 2. [t] Plin. Ep. 97. l. 10.
[u] Ap. cap. 38.

People

" People have for Caballing and Faction?—— * We " acknowledge the Emperours to be next to God, " ſupreme; above all People, and your Gods too " into the Bargain; and in all our Prayers and Inter- " ceſſions with Heaven, we are ever mindful of Em- " perors and Kings whereſoever we live, beſeeching " God for every one of them without Diſtinction, " that he wou'd bleſs them with Length of Days, a " quiet Reign, a well eſtabliſhed Family, a couragi- " ous Army, a faithful Senate, an honeſt People, " and a Peaceful World, and what ever elſe either " Prince or People can wiſh for.—— And again, " Under the moſt enraging Provocations what one " Evil have you obſerv'd to have been return'd by " Chriſtians? Whereas we cou'd in a Nights time " with Links and Torches in our Hands have given " ample Satisfaction to our Revenge, by returning " Evil for Evil, had we not thought it unlawful to " quit one Injury with another: And wou'd we en- " gage you in the Field, do you think we cou'd " want Forces?—— We are but of yeſterday, " and by to Day are grown up and overſpread " your Empire; your Cities, Iſlands, Forts, Towns, " Aſſemblies, Camps, Wards, Companies, Palace, " Senate, Forum, all ſwarm with Chriſtians;—— " And ſuppoſing us unequal in Strength, yet conſi- " dering our Uſage, what ſhou'd we not readily at- " tempt for our Reſcue? We whom you ſee ſo ready " to meet Death in all its Forms of Cruelty, was it " not agreeable to our Religion to be killed, rather " than to kill. Nay, we cou'd make a terrible War " upon you without Arms or fighting a Stroke, by " being ſo paſſively Revengeful as only to leave you; " for if ſuch a numerous Hoſt of Chriſtians ſhou'd " but retire from the Empire into ſome remote Regi- " on of the World, the Loſs of ſo many Subjects of " all Ranks and Degrees wou'd leave an hideous Gap,

* Ap. 30.

" and

" and ſhameful Scar upon the Government, and the " very Evacuation wou'd be abundant Revenge; you " wou'd ſtand aghaſt at your Deſolation, and be " ſtruck dumb at the general Silence and Horror of " Nature, as if the whole World was departed; you " wou'd be at a loſs for Men to govern, and in the " pitiful Remains you wou'd find more Enemies than " Citizens, but now you exceed in Friends, becauſe " you exceed in Chriſtians. *Ap. c.* 37.

With what Forehead now cou'd *Cardinal* [x] *Bellarmine*, or ſome others who draw from the ſame Quiver, tho' not of the *Cardinal's* Religion, with what Colour or Conſcience, I ſay, can they ſo confidently aſſert, that the true Reaſon why the Primitive Chriſtians did not *Depoſe*, *Decollate*, or *Detruncate Nero*, *Diocleſian*, *Julian the Apoſtate*, and ſuch like bloody Tyrants, was not out of any Sence of Duty or Allegiance; not becauſe they would not, but in truth becauſe they cou'd not, they wanted only Power proportionate to their Will; but cou'd ſuch Numbers, as *Tertullian* here mentions, and ſo prodigal of Life want Power? Cou'd not Revenge arm them with a Link or Torch, or raiſe up one *Gerard* or *Ravilliac* amongſt them? But had the Firſt Fathers ſo learn'd Chriſt, and preach'd up the *Depoſing* and *King-killing* Doctrine, it had been as impoſſible for them to have preach'd Princes into Chriſtianity, as to have preach'd them into their own Ruin. Had but theſe Fathers been ſomething more *Moderate* upon the Character of Princes, and leſs ſparing upon *Liberty*, *Property*, and the *natural Rights* of the People; had they but talk'd of *Protection and Allegiance as Duties Reciprocal*, and found out the Art of *ſoftning hard Texts*, and extracting Rebellion out of St. *Paul's* Command *to be ſubject not only for Wrath*, *but for Conſcience ſake*, according to the Chymiſtry of our modern Refiners, what rare Fathers had theſe been

[x] Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 5. c. 7. col. 891.

then?

then? How Orthodox and Apoſtolical, how Genuine their Writings, and their Authority venerable? But now alas! They are only a Parcel of old doting paſſive Blockheads, who were in haſte to be gone to Heaven before their Time, and therefore took an awkward Pride in ſuffering, and fooling away their Lives; they neither felt, nor argu'd, as if they had common Senſe or Reaſon; they underſtood not the Doctrine of Self-preſervation, and how natural it is to prefer ones own Life before that of the Magiſtrate. They concluded with the odd Stateſman *Marcellus* in [y] *Tacitus*, *That Subjects may wiſh for good Princes, but ought to bear with any*; ſo they did in good truth, they thought a wiſe and vertuous Prince the greateſt publick Bleſſing upon Earth, but they never thought their Obedience founded upon his Wiſdom and Virtue, but upon his Character, as he was the Miniſter and Vicegerent of God; they knew it to be a diſtinguiſhing Article of the Chriſtian Profeſſion *to endure Grief, ſuffering wrongfully, for hereunto they were called, becauſe Chriſt ſo ſuffer'd, leaving them an Example, that they ſhou'd follow his Steps*; and how they cou'd ſuffer *for Conſcience towards God*, if God had not oblig'd them to ſuch Sufferings, they cou'd not tell; they knew that the Goſpel was to enter, not like an armed Man, but like Rain into a Fleece of Wooll, that they were to give no Offence, not ſo much as to any private Jew or Gentile, much leſs to lay ſuch a ſtumbling Block in the way of Princes, as that of abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance; for had the Goſpel been at variance with the Civil Power, and the Preachers of it interpos'd in Affairs of State, what a Cry wou'd this have rais'd againſt 'em, as Enemies to *Cæſar*? This wou'd have look'd indeed, as if *King Jeſus* had ſet up his Claim to the *Kingdom of this World*, and that *Dominion was founded in Grace*, and that the *Saints only were to inherit*

[y] Hiſt. l. 4. c. 8. p. 489.

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the Earth, and how this wou'd have arm'd the unbelieving World againſt the Goſpel, and its Profeſſors, I need not ſay.

Obedience therefore to Civil Powers, being ſo neceſſary a Doctrine to be preach'd and practis'd in Perfection by the Firſt Profeſſors, before Chriſtianity wou'd ever be liſt'ned to by Princes, the great Founder and Finiſher of our Faith Chriſt Jeſus began the Example in himſelf, he calls for a Piece of Money, and ſeeing the Superſcription to be *Cæſar*'s, without any farther enquiry he orders that the *Things that are Cæſars be render'd unto Cæſar*, and pays Tribute at the expence of a Miracle; his Apoſtles inculcate the Duty of Obedience and Non-reſiſtance to the worſt of Princes under pain of Damnation, their immediate Succeſſors tread cloſely in the ſame Steps; and 'tis the grand Subject; 'tis that Chriſtian Vein which in a peculiar Manner runs thro', and enriches this whole Apology.

Of all the Writers of the *Latin* Church, now extant, *Tertullian* is the oldeſt; and of all his Writings this Apologetic is the Flower; one of the moſt important and celebrated Pieces of Antiquity, which in the Judgment of St.[z] *Jerom* takes in all the Treaſures of human Learning; and wherein the Apologiſt, according to * *Lactantius*, has fully pleaded the Chriſtian Cauſe, and ſaid all that can be well ſaid againſt the Idolatry of the *Gentiles*, and *Vicentius Lirinenſis*, who is far from ſhading the Blemiſhes of this great Man, does him the Juſtice to acknowledge him the ſmarteſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt irreſiſtible Writer of the Age; ſuch a *Genius* among the *Latins*, as *Origen* was among the *Greeks*: The Character indeed is moving, juſt and fine, and not to be omitted

[z] Epiſt. ad Mag. Orat. p. 328.

* Lact. de Juſt. lib. 5. p. 243. Cambr. edit. *Quanquam Tertullianus eandem cauſam plene peroraverit, in eo libro cui Apologetico nomen eſt.*

in this place, was not the Author himſelf anner'd to theſe Apologies, whither I refer the Reader. But tho' *Lactantius* confeſſes him a Maſter in the Commonwealth of Learning, yet withal he cenſures him, as an uncouth, rugged, and very dark Writer, *in eloquendo parum facilis, & minus comptus, & multum obſcurus fuit*, de juſt. lib. 5. p. 237. *Cambr. ed.* And I dare promiſe, that whoever reads him, will find this of *Lactantius* to be true to his Coſt. However, an *African*, and one too, who by moſtly converſing with *Greek* Writers had the Idioms and Particles of that Language ſticking to him, is very pardonable, if he does not expreſs himſelf with all the Eaſe and Graces of a Native of *Rome*. But tho' his meaning is not eaſily underſtood, yet he that breaks the Shell, will not repent his Pains for the Kernel; for his Wit perpetually ſparkles with noble Senſe, it never lightens but at every Flaſh diſcovers ſome unpoliſh'd Jewel, ſomething to admire amidſt his barbarous Obſcurity: Which is prettily deſcribed in a Letter of *Balſac* to *Rigaltius* upon his publiſhing his Edition of *Tertullian*; — " I have had a Value *(ſays he)* " for this Author a long time, and as " harſh and crabbed as he is, yet is he not at all un- " pleaſant to me; I have found in his Writings that " black Light, mention'd in one of the ancient Po- " ets; and I look upon his Obſcurity with the ſame " Pleaſure, as upon Ebony which is very bright and " curiouſly wrought: This has always been my Opi- " nion; for as the Beauties of *Afric* are not leſs a- " miable, tho' they are not like ours; and as *Sopho- " nisba* has eclips'd ſeveral *Italian* Ladies, ſo the " Wits of that Country are not leſs pleaſing with " this outlandiſh Sort of Eloquence. I ſhall prefer " him before a great many affected Imitators of " *Cicero*; and tho' we ſhou'd grant to the niceſt " Criticks, that his Stile is of Iron, yet they muſt " likewiſe own, that out of this Iron he has forged " moſt excellent Weapons for the Defence of Chri- " ſtianity,

" ſtianity, that he has quite routed the *Valentinians*,
" and ſtruck *Marcion* to the very Heart.

I ſhall name but one Authority more, but that is a great one; it is the bleſſed *Cyprian*, who was converted and made a Biſhop ſoon after the Death of *Tertullian*, whom † *Lactantius* affirms to be a Writer of ſuch Depth and Clearneſs, one who expreſſes himſelf with that Force, and yet with that eaſie and flowing Sweetneſs, that 'tis hard to ſay, whether he was more perſpicuous or perſuaſive. This Maſter of Eloquence, I ſay, found ſuch hidden Stores under the dark and formidable Language of *Tertullian*, that he is reported never to have paſs'd a Day without reading him; and when he call'd for his Book, he did it with this Acknowledgement, *Give me my Maſter.* And here I wiſh I could ſtop, and draw a Veil over the lamentable Imperfections of this great Man; but Truth is a greater Friend than *Tertullian*, and ſuch Monuments of Frailty are to be ſet up like Beacons, to warn others in their Voyage from ſplitting upon the like Errors; and to teach great Men not to truſt too much to their Parts and Learning, nor too raſhly to embrace ſingular Opinions in Religion, in which they are often in the wrong; but more eſpecially, not peremptorily to aſſert them, nor induſtriouſly to propagate them, let them be never ſo famous, againſt the received Doctrines of the Primitive Church: *Let him that thinketh he ſtandeth take heed leſt he fall.* *Rigaltius* has ſhewn ſome charitable Attempts in his Preface to the Works of this Author, but nothing will excuſe him; as we are not to expoſe our Father's Nakedneſs with Pleaſure, ſo neither to juſtifie his Shame with Obſtinacy. In this complicated Inſtance of Learning and Frailty we are farther to read the Neceſſity of our Dependence upon the Grace of God,

† Lact. de Juſt. lib. 5. p. 237. *Erat enim ingenio facili, copioſo, ſuavi, & (quæ Sermonis maxima eſt Virtus) aperto, ut diſcerneré neqïeas, utrumnè ornatior in eloquendo, an facilior in explicando, an potentior in perſuadendo fuerit.*

the Danger of climbing after extraordinary Heights and Auſterities without an humble Spirit, of leaving the Communion of the Church to go to Heaven by our ſelves, and of wandering after new Lights and new Prophets, when we have the Word of God to be *a Lanthorn to our Feet, and a Light unto our Paths.*

Never Man *preſcribed* better againſt Hereticks than our *Tertullian*, and yet went over to the Hereticks he preſcrib'd againſt; for being of a Temper much like his Style, extremely hard and ſevere, and hearing of *Montanus*, at the beſt Hand from *Proclus* of the ſame Party, that he was no holder forth of ſtrange Doctrines, but only of ſtrange Strictneſs and Severity in Diſcipline, a Man of Mortification, and of a moſt ſanctify'd Spirit, that he out-faſted and out-prayed the carnal Catholicks by many Degrees, that he was a moſt powerful Teacher, and gifted with the *Paraclete*, with the Spirit of Prophecy, with amazing Viſions and Ecſtaſies, and God knows what more ſpiritual Proviſions for the *perfecting the Saints*, and advancing the Purity of the Goſpel, even beyond the Standard of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Such a Character hit *Tertullian*'s Temper to a Hair, and ſmarting at the ſame time (as St. [a] *Jerom* tells us) under ſome Reſentment from the Roman Clergy, the honeſt but moroſe Man was impos'd upon, partly by his preſent Paſſion, by his Native Auſterity, and by the glittering falſe Character of *Montanus*, and ſo ſeparated from the Church, and clos'd with a Diſcipline after his own Heart.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that this Scene of Hereſie was deep laid, and gilt over with the moſt inviting Colours imaginable; for the Arch-Heretick diſclaim'd all Innovations in the grand Articles of Faith, and ſupported the Character of a moſt holy, mortify'd, and extraordinary Perſon for a conſiderable time; the World rung with the Viſions and Prophecies of him,

[a] Hieron. de Script. in Tertull.

and

and his two Damſels *Priſca* and *Maximilla*; and the Face of Severity and Saintſhip conſecrated their Reveries, and made real Poſſeſſion paſs for Inſpiration. Several good Men immediately embrac'd the Deluſion, the Churches of *Phrygia*, and afterwards other Churches, divided upon the Account of theſe new Revelations; and even the very Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf for ſome time eſpous'd the Vanity, and made much of the Impoſture. Now great Allowances may be made our Author for being carry'd off by ſo ſtrong a Deluſion, *viz.* That in his Book againſt *Praxeus*, he ſays, that he always believ'd in one only God, and in three Perſons, and that he ſtill believes it more firmly, ſince he has been inſtructed by the *Paraclete* or Comforter: And in his Book *de virginibus velandis*, he ſays, That excepting the Rule of Faith which is immoveable, all other Matters relating to Diſcipline may be reform'd and alter'd, and that it is this which the *Paraclete* has done by the Miniſtry of *Montanus*. But after all, nothing will excuſe him, for he not only ſays that the Law and the Prophets were to be look'd upon as the Infancy, and the Goſpel as it were the Youth, but that there was no complete Perfection to be found but in the Inſtructions of the Holy Ghoſt, who ſpake by *Montanus*; for *Tertullian* and the firſt *Montaniſts* never believ'd that *Montanus* himſelf was the *Paraclete*. He not only maintain'd ſeveral Opinions expreſsly againſt Scripture, as the unlawfulneſs of ſecond Marriages, and of flying in times of Perſecution, but abus'd the Catholicks under the Title of *Pſychici* or *animal* Perſons, and arrogantly aſſum'd to himſelf and his Party the Name of *Spiritualiſts*. At length he was excommunicated, then ſet up ſeparate *Meetings* at *Carthage*, and for ought any thing we know, was never reconciled to the Church to his dying Day. For which Reaſon the good St. *Cyprian*, tho' ſuch an Admirer of *Tertullian*, never quotes his Authority, not even upon the inviting Opportunity in a Diſpute concerning the Baptiſm of Hereticks,

wherein they both agreed; and St. [b] *Jerome*, no leſs his Diſciple than St. *Cyprian*, abſolutely rejects his Teſtimony, *as a Man not of the Church.*

But now, why this excellent Apology ſhould ſuffer, and thoſe other Pieces he wrote whilſt he continu'd in Communion, and a moſt zealous Defender of the *Catholick* Faith and Unity, why theſe ſhould be the worſe thought of, and loſe their Authority and juſt Veneration for the ſake of after Errors, I cannot tell; I can ſee no reaſon for it, tho' St. [c] *Hilary* ſays it, unleſs it is a good Reaſon to reject all that a wiſe Man has written in his right Senſes, becauſe afterwards he had the Misfortune to run mad. Sure I am, that a wiſer and a greater Man by much than ever *Tertullian* was, fell into groſſer Sins than *Montaniſm*, and yet notwithſtanding this Fall, we believe and reverence thoſe Books which the Holy Ghoſt wrote by *Solomon*, when it fill'd his Heart, and conducted his Spirit as well as Hand. And I need not go about to prove that this Apologetick was compos'd whilſt the Author was in the Unity of the Catholick Church, ſince the moſt judicious Criticks call it not in Queſtion. However, I ſhall juſt mention two Arguments, which ſeem to have had little or no notice taken of them, and which to me are of moment: The one is, The juſt and fearful Apprehenſions of Excommunication this Author expreſſes in the 39th Chapter of this Apology, where he ſtyles it, *The Anticipation of the future Judgment:* But after he commenc'd *Montaniſt*, we find him proud and arrogant, and not at all concern'd about it, but at perfect defyance with the Cenſure and Diſcipline of the Catholicks. The other Argument is, That in the firſt Chapter of the Apology he gives us reaſon to believe that he did not ſet his Name to it, a conſiderable Inſtance of his Humility at that time, and that he held it lawful to conſult for our Safety in the times of Perſecution; but upon his Fall he loſt his Humi-

[b] Hierom. v. ill. c. 53. p. 284. [c] Hil. can. 5. p 145.

lity,

lity, and makes it even as bad to fly in Perſecution, as to renounce the Faith; for in a Treatiſe upon this Subject he betrays an extravagant Paſſion, or rather Vanity for Martyrdom, tho' I do not find he had the Honour to die one.

I have now little to add, but only to advertize the Reader, that there has hardly been any Author oftner printed, and upon whom more Perſons have ſpent their Pains, than upon our *Tertullian*; for the Obſcurity of this Writer put ignorant Tranſcribers upon altering the Text, to make out a Senſe they themſelves could underſtand; and the Corruptions of theſe Tranſcribers put the Learned again upon freſh Editions to ſet our Author in his own Light. The Editions I have compar'd in the Tranſlation of this Apology, are only that of *Pamelius* at *Paris*, in the Year 1635, which I found extremely ill pointed, and abounding with Faults: The other is that of the learned *Rigaltius*, in 1634, which I have chiefly follow'd, as being the correcteſt Edition of *Tertullian*'s Works yet extant. I have diligently conſulted the Notes and various Lections in both, for the better underſtanding of the Text; and ſtudied the Turn and Genius of my Author, and made my ſelf familiar with his Phraſeology and Diction, which I take to be the readieſt way to unlock him: As a Man that is us'd to a Room will ſooner find out the Key-hole in the dark, than a Stranger can, by the moſt exact Directions in the World.

As to the manner of the Verſion, I may ſay, that I have try'd *Tertullian* in all Dreſſes; I have put him into Paraphraſe, and then methoughts he appear'd too cumberſome in his Cloaths, too tedious and flanting and unlike himſelf; I dreſs'd him according to the Letter, and then he look'd horrid, dark, and frightful, not to be underſtood with Eaſe, nor read with Pleaſure. At length I took the Liberty now and then only to add a little, in order to make Connexion, and unriddle his meaning; but I have followed him

as cloſe as I could among his Briars and Thorns, and been religiouſly careful in Matters of Moment. In ſhort, I have done my beſt to preſerve his Senſe and his Salt, and in as few Words as I could, and to make my unpoliſh'd *African* look tolerably graceful, and like himſelf in an *Engliſh* Habit.

The Notes indeed are longer than I intended, but upon an Author of ſuch thick Darkneſs they are the more excuſable; however, as I pretend not to inſtruct the Learned, ſo have I been ſo civil as not to ſurfeit them over again with Collections from *Pamelius*, *Rigaltius*, *&c.* which being partly different Readings and References to other Authors, and Matters of pure Criticiſm and Grammar, and ſuch like Learning, anſwer not the Deſign of an Engliſh Tranſlation. The Perſons I chiefly conſulted for, were either Readers of my own ſize, or ſuch as are unacquainted with the *Latin* Tongue. And if I have made the way eaſier to thoſe who have a mind to travel through the rugged Original, or if I have ſtruck out any Sparks of Light and Heat to guide and warm the more Ignorant into the Knowledge and Practice of the Ancients; ſuch, I hope, will not think my Obſervations tedious, tho' they may think them long.

THE

THE APOLOGETICK OF [a] *Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus*, In Behalf of the CHRISTIANS.

CHAP. I.

That the Gentiles Hatred to the Chriſtians is notoriouſly unjuſt.

IF you, the [b] Guardians of the *Roman* Empire, preſiding in the very Eye of the City, for the Adminiſtration of publick Juſtice; if you muſt not examin the Chriſtian Cauſe,

[a] *Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus.*] Theſe ſeveral Appellations ſufficiently diſtinguiſh our *Tertullian* from *Tertullus* the Conſul, *Tertyllianus* the Civilian, and *Tertullinus* the Martyr, with which our Apologiſt is ſometimes confounded. The *Prænomen Quintus* may perhaps be given upon the Account of his being the fifth Child of his Parents; he was called *Septimius*, becauſe deſcended from the *Gens Septimia*, a Tribe of Quality among the *Romans*, being firſt Regal, afterwards Plebeian, and laſt of all, Conſular and Patrician; *Florens*, from ſome particular Family of that Houſe ſo called; and *Tertullianus* from *Tertullus* perhaps his Father, as *Octavianus* from *Octavius*, *Septiminus* from *Septimius*, *&c.*

[b] *Romani Imperii Antiſtites in ipſo fere vertice Civitatis præſidentes ad judicandum.*] *Baronius* is of Opinion, *Bar.* 201, that this Apologetick

Cauſe, and give it a fair Hearing in open Court; if the Chriſtian Cauſe is the only Cauſe, which your Lordſhips either fear or bluſh to be concern'd for in Publick; or laſtly, if your *Odium* to this Sect has been too much fermented

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Apologetick was wrote at *Rome*, and not at *Carthage*, wherein he is generally follow'd, but not by *Pamelius*, as the *Author* of the Notes upon *Du Pin* too haſtily charges him, nor by *Dallæ*, *Du Pin*, Dr. *Cave*, or *Tillemont*. *Baronius*'s Reaſon for this Opinion, is, that *Tertullian* often ſpeaks as being at *Rome*, and that he addreſſes in theſe Words, To the *Roman Senate*. But theſe Words neither prove it to be written at *Rome*, nor preſented to the *Senate* of *Rome*, for they are with much better reaſon applicable to the *Proconſul* and Governors of *Africk*; for he ſays, They preſide in *vertice Civitatis*, and our Apologiſt never calls *Rome* by the Name of *Civitas* but *Urbs*. He ſpeaks likewiſe of *Rome* and the *Romans* as being neither in their City nor amongſt them; *cap.* 9, 21, 24, 35, 45. And ſpeaking of the cruel and ſanguinary Devotions of the *Heathen* in many Places, eſpecially (ſays he), *in illâ Religioſiſſimâ Urbe Æneadarum piorum*, *&c.* by which undoubtedly he means *Rome*; and the manner of the Expreſſion plainly determines him not to be there at the time of his Writing, for had he been at *Rome* at this time, he would have ſaid *in hac Urbe*, and not *in illa Urbe*; cap. 9. And in the ſame Chapter recounting the bloody Rites in the *Scythian* Worſhip, he urges,—*But I need not go ſo far as* Scythia, *for we have now at this Day as barbarous Ceremonies at home*, that is, at *Carthage*. Beſides, *cap.* 45. he ſpeaks of the *Proconſul* as the Sovereign Magiſtrate, and ev'ry one knows the *Proconſul* to have been the Premier Magiſtrate of *Africa*, and to have had his Reſidence at *Carthage*. Moreover, 'tis very probable that he addreſs'd to the Governors of *Africk*, and not to the Senate of *Rome*; 1*ſt*, Becauſe there is not one Word of the *Senate* in this whole Apology. 2*dly*, Becauſe *cap.* 45. he laſhes thoſe to whom he wrote, for endeavouring to gain the good Graces of the *Proconſul*, by ſignalizing their Cruelty againſt the Chriſtians. And 3*dly*, Becauſe he conſtantly gives them the Title of *Præſides*, cap. 2. 9. 30. 50. a Title very much affected by ev'ry Officer under the *Proconſul* of the Province. And neither *Præſides* nor *Proconſul* were Titles that did belong to any Magiſtrate of *Rome*; for in Danger of War in the Provinces, the *Præfecti Cæſaris* were choſen by the Emperor himſelf, and ſent to reſide in the Metropolis, but the *Proconſuls* were choſen by Lot after their Conſulſhip, into the ſeveral Provinces: And therefore *Dio* expreſſeth *Claudius* his reſtoring *Macedonia* into the Hands of

ted by your late [c] Severities at home upon your Chriſtian Servants, and *you bring this domeſtick Ferment into the Courts of Judicature*; if theſe, I ſay, are the Bars in our way to Juſtice, be pleas'd at leaſt to tolerate thus far, to let Truth wait upon you in private, and to read the Apology we are not ſuffered to ſpeak.

We enter [d] not upon our Defence in the popular way, by begging your Favour, and moving your Compaſſion, becauſe we know the State of our Religion too well, to wonder at our Uſage. The Truth we profeſs, we know to be a Stranger upon Earth, and ſhe expects not Friends in a ſtrange Land; but ſhe came from Heaven, and her abode is there, and there

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of the *Senate*, by ἀπέδωκεν τότε τῷ κλήρῳ, *he put it to the Choice of the Senate again.* Dio. Hiſ. l. 57. So that we are not to underſtand *Antiſtites Imperii* to be the ſame with *Pontifices*, according to *Zephyrus*, nor by *vertice Civitatis* the Capitol, according to *Rigaltius*; tho' 'tis likely he might mean the *Byrſa* of *Carthage*, according to that of *Silius Italicus*:

Quæſivitque diu qua tandem ponere arce
Terrarum fortuna caput———

[c] *Domeſticis Judiciis.*] By theſe Words I underſtand with *Rigaltius* the Severities exercis'd at home by the Preſidents upon their Domeſticks and Children for turning Chriſtians, which private Severities contributed very much to prejudice and exaſperate them, even in open Court, againſt the Chriſtians in general.

[d] *Deprecari.*] It is a Law-Term, and properly ſignifies to intercede with the King for Pardon, or to plead with a Judge in excuſe of the Criminal, according to that of *Tully pro Ligario*, *Ignoſcite Judices, erravit, lapſus eſt, non putavit*, &c. But here the Chriſtian Advocate pleads only for rigid Juſtice, as the Martyr *Juſtin* had done before him. He underſtood the Chriſtian Cauſe too well, to think it ſtood in need of Oratory, and the Arts of excuſing. *Vid. A. Gell. lib. 6. cap. 14.* Concerning the Signification of the Word *Deprecor*.

are all our Hopes, all our Friends, and all our Preferments. One thing indeed this Heavenly Stranger warmly pleads for in Arreſt of Judgment, and 'tis only this, that you wou'd vouchſafe to underſtand her well before you condemn her. And what can the Laws ſuffer in their Authority, by admitting her to a full hearing? Will not their Power riſe in Glory for the Juſtice of a hearing? But if you condemn her unheard, beſides the Odium of flaming Injuſtice, you will deſervedly incur the Suſpicion of being conſcious of ſomething that makes you ſo unwilling to hear; what, when heard, you cannot condemn.

Firſt therefore, we lay before you Ignorance, as the chief Root of your unjuſtifyable Bitterneſs to the Chriſtian Name; and this very Ignorance, which you may flatter your ſelves with as a Title to Excuſe, is the very thing that loads your Charge, and binds the heavier Guilt upon you. For, ſhew me a groſſer piece of Iniquity, than for Men to hate what they underſtand not, ſuppoſing the thing in it ſelf deſerves to be hated; for then only can a thing deſerve from us to be hated, when we are appriz'd of its Deſerts; if not acquainted with the Merits of the Cauſe, what can we poſſibly urge in the Defence of Hatred? which is not to be juſtify'd by the Event, or becauſe the Paſſion may happen to be right, but by the Principle of Conſcience upon which it is founded.

When therefore Men will be thus hating in the dark, why mayn't the blind Paſſion fall foul upon Virtue, as well as Vice? So that we argue

argue againſt our Adverſaries upon two Articles, For hating us ignorantly; and conſequently, for hating us unjuſtly. And that you hate us ignorantly, (which ſtill I ſay does but aggravate your Crime) I prove from hence, Becauſe all who hated us heretofore, did it upon the ſame Ground, being no longer able to continue our Enemies, than they continu'd ignorant of our Religion; their Hatred and their Ignorance fell together.

Such are the Men, you now ſee Chriſtians, manifeſtly overcome by the Piety of our Profeſſion, and who now reflect upon their Lives paſt with Abhorrence, and profeſs it to the World; and the numbers of ſuch Profeſſors are not leſs than they are given in; for the common Cry is, The City is inveſted, Town and Country over-run with Chriſtians. And this univerſal Revolt in all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities, is lamented as a publick Loſs; and yet this prodigious Progreſs of Chriſtianity, is not enough to ſurprize Men into a Suſpicion, that there muſt needs be ſome ſecret Good, ſome charming Advantage at the bottom, *thus to drain the World, and attract from ev'ry Quarter:* But nothing will diſpoſe ſome Men to juſter Thoughts, or to make a more intimate Experiment of our Religion. In this alone, humane Curioſity ſeems to ſtagnate, and with as much Complacency to ſtand ſtill in Ignorance, as it uſually runs on in the Diſcoveries of Science.

Alas!

Alas! how wou'd poor [e] *Anacharſis* have been ſtruck at ſuch Proceedings, to ſee the very Judges of Religion entirely ignorant of the Religion they condemn, who look'd upon it ſo abſurd, for the Rewards of a *Fidler* to be adjudg'd by any but the Maſters of the *Science*. But ſuch are our Enemies, that they chooſe to indulge their Ignorance, merely for the growth of their Hatred; foreboding within themſelves, that what they hate without Knowledge, may chance to be a thing of ſo lovely a Nature, that ſhou'd they come to know it, they would be in Danger of loſing their Hatred; whereas Hatred is not to be kept a Moment longer than it has Juſtice on its ſide: If ſo, ſpare not, not only give a preſent looſe to your Reſentments, but alſo perſevere in a Paſſion, thus ſeconded and ſtrengthen'd by the Authority of Juſtice.

But 'tis objected, that the number of Chriſtians, is no Argument of the Goodneſs of their Cauſe. For how many change from better to worſe? how many Deſerters to the wrong ſide? And who denies this? But yet, are any of thoſe Men, who are preſs'd away to Sin by the Violence of Appetites, are they hardy enough to appear in the Defence of Wickedneſs, or appeal to publick Juſtice for the Patronage of notorious Evil? For every Evil is by Nature dy'd in Grain with Shame and Fear. The Guilty hunt for Refuge in Darkneſs, and when apprehended, tremble; when

[e] *Anacharſis.*] See his Life in *Diog. Laertius.*

accus'd,

accus'd, deny; and are hardly to be tormented into a Confeſſion; when condemn'd, they ſink down in Sadneſs, and turn over their Number of Sins in Confuſions of Conſcience, and charge the Guilt upon the [f] Stars or Deſtiny; unwilling to acknowledge that, as their own Act, which they acknowledge to be criminal.

But do you ſee any thing like this, in the Deportment of Chriſtians? not one Chriſtian bluſhes or repents, unleſs it be for not having been a Chriſtian ſooner. If a Chriſtian goes to Tryal, he goes like a Victor, with the Air of a Triumph; if he is impeach'd, he glories in it, if indicted, he makes no Defence at

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[f] *Fato vel Aſtris imputant.*] Guilt is an ugly, frightful, and uneaſie thing; and this it was that put Men at firſt upon contriving an Expedient how to ſatisfie their Conſcience, in Spite of their Sin; and the Expedient was this, To lay the Blame upon Fate, or the Stars, or any thing but themſelves. Predeſtination in the rigid Senſe is not one jot better than Fate in the Senſe of the Stoicks. And tho' it occaſion'd at one time ſo much Feud and Bitterneſs all about us, and the Controverſie order'd by Authority to dye, yet is it now again † reviv'd, as the *Ramparts and Bulwarks of Chriſtianity*, and the rareſt Contrivance in the World, to make us not only *almoſt* but altogether *One Kirk*; for which, no doubt, the Doctor expects the Thanks of the united Nations. *The Generality of the Clergy* he ſtigmatizes *Apoſtates*, for being Aſſertors of Free Will; and if ſo, what will become of the Fathers of the firſt four Centuries, I cannot tell: Sure I am, poor *Juſtin Martyr* is an *Apoſtate* with a Witneſs. *Ap.* 1. *Sect.* 54. But if the *Doctor* would but follow his own *Advice*, *That is*, *in one Word*, *let us be moderate*, and give his Brethren *hard Reaſons* inſtead of *hard Names*, it would make much more for Union, I dare ſay, than his Doctrine of Predeſtination; which ſhould it take effect, we ſhould not have one Criminal that goes to be hang'd, but, as *Tertullian* ſays, would be curſing his Stars, and laying all the Fault upon Deſtiny, that is, God.

† *John Edwards* D. D. his Sermon upon the Union, *May* 1. 1707. intituled, *One Nation, and One King.*

Bar,

Bar, when interrogated he frankly confeſſes, and when condemn'd returns Thanks to his Judges.

What [g] a Monſter of Wickedneſs is this, that has not one Shape or Feature of Wicked-

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[g] *Quid hoc mali eſt, quod naturalia mali non habet?*] *Naturalia* is the ſame here as *Natura*, for he ſays, *Quod hoc malum eſt in quo natura mali ceſſat?* ad Nat. p. 461. But that which is more remarkable, is, that here we have an admirable Deſcription, and a moſt ſenſible Proof, both of the Truth and the Power of the Chriſtian Religion; for did ever any Impoſtor ſet up a Religion ſo ill calculated to the Paſſions and Reliſh of Mankind? Did he ever propoſe a Doctrine to the World, without one worldly Motive to recommend it, without one external Comfort to hope for, or one Arm to defend it? Did *Judas* diſcover *the Secret*, when he betray'd his Maſter? or had it been a Cheat, would the Traytor have hang'd himſelf for his Treaſon? Was there ever ſuch a Noble Army of Martyrs, who dy'd ſo calmly and deliberately, and expreſs'd ſo much Innocence, ſo much Joy and Aſſurance in their Sufferings, as they did? So that either we muſt ſuppoſe Chriſt to have been the ſhalloweſt of Impoſtors (which the Wiſdom of his Precepts will not admit) to ſet up a Religion ſo ungrateful to Fleſh and Blood, without any viſible Force or Reward to maintain it; and withal, that good part of the World, of all ſorts and ſizes, happen'd luckily to be ſtark ſtaring mad for *Suffering*, and to continue ſo for above 300 Years together; or elſe we muſt ſuppoſe, that Chriſt came down from Heaven, and that the *Sufferers* had all the Reaſon imaginable to believe it, and therefore by help of divine Grace, and the Power of Conviction, they deſpis'd every thing here below *for the Joy that was ſet before them.* This Argument is likewiſe proſecuted by *Arnobius*, *adv. Gent. lib.* 2. *p.* 21. as a mighty Inſtance of the Divinity of the Chriſtian Faith, that in ſo ſhort a time it ſhou'd be too hard for the Wiſdom and Pleaſures of the World, and work ſo with Men of the greateſt Parts and Learning, and of the greateſt Fortunes, as to make 'em part with their Notions and Eſtates, and ſubmit to any Torments rather than part with the Chriſtian Faith; and that the *Gentiles* did not think it adviſeable to venture their Skin for their Doctrine. That *Plato*, in his Academy, introduced a dark and ambiguous way of delivering his Opinions, for fear of going the *Way of Socrates*. And *Origen* tells *Celſus*, *Cont. Celſ. lib. p.* 51. that *Ariſtotle* quitted *Athens*, and left his Philoſophy to ſhift for it ſelf, as ſoon as he underſtood that the *Athenians* intended to call him to Account: So little could Philoſophy prevail againſt Self-preſervation.

neſs

neſs belonging to it? Nothing of Fear, or Shame, or Artifice, or Repentance, or the deſponding Sighs of Criminals attending on it. What a ſtrange-natur'd Evil, or *Reverſe of Wickedneſs is this!* that makes the Guilty rejoyce, and ambitious of Accuſation, and happy in Puniſhment: Nor can you charge theſe odd Appearances as the Effects of Madneſs, ſince you are altogether unacquainted with the Powers of the Chriſtian Religion.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Malice and Perverſeneſs of the Judges, in the way of condemning or abſolving the Chriſtians.

BUT if 'tis reſolv'd we muſt be guilty, pray what's your Reaſon for treating us differently from other Criminals? For 'tis a Rule in Law, that where the Caſe is the ſame, there the Procedure of Court ought to be the ſame alſo. But when we, and Heathens are impeach'd upon the ſame Articles, the Heathen ſhall be allow'd the Privilege of Council, and of pleading in Perſon for the ſetting off his Innocence, [a] it being againſt Law to proceed to Sentence, before the Defendent has put in

[a] *Quando nec liceat indefenſos & inauditos damnari.*] He alludes to the Law *de requir. Reis*, made by *Severus* a little before the Publication of this Apology.

his Anſwer; but a Chriſtian is permitted nothing, not to ſpeak what is neceſſary, either to juſtifie his Cauſe, defend the Truth, or prevent the Injuſtice of his Judges. On the contrary, nothing is attended to in his Tryal, but how to inflame the Mob, and therefore the Queſtion is about his Name only, and not the Nature of his Crime: Whereas if you ſit in Judgment upon another Criminal, and he pleads guilty to the Indictment, ſuppoſe of Homicide, Sacrilege, Inceſt or Rebellion, (to inſtance in the common Heads of your [b] Libels againſt us) upon ſuch Confeſſion, I ſay, 'tis not your Method forthwith to proceed to Sentence, but you have Patience to examine the Nature of the Fact in all its Circumſtances, *viz.* The Place, the Time, the Manner, and the Accomplices of the Action: But in the Tryal of a Chriſtian, all theſe Forms of Juſtice are over-rul'd. But let me tell you, would you acquit your ſelves with any Appearance of Equity, you ought on both ſides to be equally ſevere in the Examination of Fact, and ſee to the bottom of thoſe Reports, ſo frequently and ſo falſly

[b] *Ut de veſtris Elogiis loquar.*] *Elogium* is a Civil Law Term which frequently occurs in this Author, particularly *lib. ad Scap. de cor. Mil. cap.* 5, *&c.* and is the ſame among the Civilians as *Epiſtolæ, Notoria, Relationes*, a Libel or Declaration, ſetting forth the Crimes of the Perſon indicted, it was provided by the Law *de cuſto. & exhi. Reorum, ne quiſquam puniatur ex Epiſtolis & Actis Pedanei & minoris Judicis.* And therefore *Pudens*, who had a Mind to favour the Chriſtians, ſent back a Chriſtian Priſoner, becauſe there appeared againſt him no Witneſs or Proof, but the *Elogium*, or Epiſtle from an inferior Judge. *Pudens miſſum ad ſe Chriſtianum, in Elogio concuſſione ejus intellecta dimiſit, Sciſſo eodem Elogio ſine accuſatore negans ſe auditurum hominem ſecundum mandatum.* Vid. Gab. Albaſpin. not. ad Scap.

thruſt

thruſt upon us. For Inſtance, to bring in a true Liſt of how many [c] Infants ev'ry Chriſtian has kill'd and eat, what Inceſts committed in the dark, what Cooks we had for the dreſſing theſe Children's Fleſh, and what *pimping* Dogs for putting out the Candles?

O! what immortal Glory would a *Proconſul* gain among the People, could he pull out a Chriſtian by the Ears that had eat up a hundred Children! but we deſpair of any ſuch glorious Diſcovery, when we reflect upon the Edict againſt ſearching after us. For *Pliny* [d] the ſecond, in his Proconſulſhip of *Aſia*, having put many Chriſtians to death, and turn'd others out of their Places; and being ſtill aſtoniſh'd at our Numbers, ſends to the Emperor *Trajan* for Orders about proceeding for the time to come; alledging withal, that for his part, after the ſtricteſt Enquiry, he could find nothing more in our Religion, but Obſtinacy againſt ſacrificing to the Gods, and that we aſſembled before Day to ſing Hymns to God and Chriſt, and to confirm one another in that way of Worſhip; prohibiting Homicide, Adultery, Fraud, Perfidiouſneſs, and all other ſorts of Wickedneſs. Upon which Information *Trajan*

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[c] For a fuller Explication of this Paſſage, and the Foundation of this horrid Slander, ſee my Notes upon *Juſtin Martyr*'s Apology, *Ap.* 1. *Sect.* 35. The Dogs which are ſaid to be ty'd to the Candleſticks, and to have Cruſts thrown 'em juſt beyond the reach of their String, in order to make 'em leap, and ſtrain, and pull down the Candles, are by *Tertullian*, *cap.* 7. called *Luminum Everſores & Lenones*, which, to follow his own biting way, I tranſlate *Pimping Dogs*.

[d] Vid. *Plin. Epiſt. lib.* 10. *Ep.* 97.

writes back, That ſuch kind of Men as theſe were not to be ſearch'd after, but yet to be puniſh'd if brought before him. O Perplexity between Reaſons of State and Juſtice! he declares us to be innocent, by forbidding us to be ſearched after, and at the ſame time commands us to be puniſh'd as Criminals: What a Maſs of Kindneſs and Cruelty, Connivance and Puniſhment, is here confounded in one Act! *Unhappy Edict*, thus to circumvent and hamper your ſelf in your own ambiguous Anſwer! If you condemn us, why do you give Orders againſt ſearching after us? And if you think it not well to ſearch after us, why don't you acquit us? Soldiers are ſet to Patrol in every Province for the apprehending of Robbers, and every private Perſon juſtifies taking up Arms againſt Traytors, and Enemies of the Commonwealth; and moreover is oblig'd to make Inquiry after all the Conſpirators; but a Chriſtian only, is a Criminal of that ſtrange kind, that no Inquiry muſt be made to find him, and yet when found may be brought to the Tribunal; as if this Inquiry was deſign'd for any other purpoſe, but to bring Offenders to Juſtice: You condemn him therefore when brought, whom the Laws forbid to be ſearch'd after; not that in your Hearts you can think him guilty, *but only to get into the good Graces of the People, whoſe Zeal has tranſported 'em to ſearch him out againſt the Intention of the Edict.*

This alſo is very extraordinary in your Proceedings againſt us, that you rack others to confeſs,

confeſs, but torment Chriſtians to deny: whereas, was Chriſtianity a wicked thing, we no doubt ſhould imitate the wicked in the Arts of Concealment, and force you to apply your Engines of Confeſſion: Nor can you conclude it needleſs to torture a Chriſtian into a Confeſſion of Particulars, becauſe you reſolve that the very Name muſt include all that's Evil. For when a Murtherer has confeſs'd, and you are ſatisfy'd as to the Fact, yet you conſtrain him to lay before you the Order and Circumſtances of the whole Action: And what makes the thing look worſe yet, is, that notwithſtanding you preſume upon our Wickedneſs, merely from our owning the Name, yet at the ſame time you uſe Violence to make us retract that Confeſſion, that by retracting the bare Name only, we might be acquitted of the Crimes father'd upon it. But perhaps I am to imagine your exceſſive Tenderneſs to be ſuch, that you are willing to acquit the very Perſons you conclude the greateſt Villains in the World; and perhaps it may be your Cuſtom to ſay to a Murtherer, *Deny the Murther*, and to command the Sacrilegious to be put to the Rack, for perſevering in his Confeſſion of Sacrilege.

But now, if your Proceſs againſt us, and other Criminals is notoriouſly different, 'tis a ſhrewd Sign you believe us innocent; and that this very Belief of our Innocence is the Spring which ſets you at work for our Deliverance, by forcing us to deny our Name; which tho' in Juſtice you know you cannot, yet for Rea-

ſons of State you muſt condemn. A Man crys out upon the Rack, *I am a Chriſtian*; you hear him proclaim to the World what really he is, and you would fain have him ſay what really he is not. That ever Judges, who are commiſſion'd to torture for the Confeſſion of Truth, ſhou'd abuſe it upon Chriſtians only, for the Extortion of a Lye! You demand what I am, and I ſay I am a Chriſtian; why do you torture me to unſay it? I confeſs, and you rack on; if I confeſs not, what will you do? If other Malefactors deny, 'tis with Difficulty you believe 'em; but if Chriſtians deny, you acquit 'em at a Word. Certainly you muſt think your ſelves in the wrong for ſuch Proceedings, and be conſcious of a ſecret Biaſs upon your Judgments, that makes you run thus counter to the Forms of Court, the Reaſons of Juſtice, and the very Intent of the Laws themſelves. For, if I miſtake not, the Laws are very expreſs, That Criminals ſhou'd be diſcover'd, and not conceal'd; and that upon Confeſſion they ſhould be condemn'd, and not acquitted. The Acts of the Senate, and the Edicts of the Emperors preſcribe this. Theſe are the Maxims of that Government you are Miniſters of, and your Power is defin'd by theſe Laws, and not arbitrary and tyrannical.

Tyrants indeed have no reſpect to the Proportions of Juſtice, in the Diſtributions of Puniſhment, but apply Tortures at Pleaſure. But you are reſtrained by Law; and to apply 'em only for the Confeſſion of Truth, preſerve this Law in full Vigour, and for the end it was made.

made. For if the Accus'd confeſs, 'tis abſurd to put 'em to the Queſtion; the Law of Tortures is anſwer'd, and you have nothing to do in this Caſe, but to conſider the Nature of the Fact, and puniſh it accordingly. For every Malefactor is a Debtor to the Law, and to be [e] wip'd out of the publick Accounts upon paying his Puniſhment, and not diſcharg'd merely upon the Confeſſion of his Fault. No Judge attempts openly to acquit a Criminal barely upon his pleading guilty, nor can he juſtifie a thought of ſo doing; and therefore no one can be juſtly ſerv'd with Torments to deny, when the Law was deſigned only to make him confeſs.

You look upon a Chriſtian as the Sum total of Iniquity, a Deſpiſer of the Gods, Emperors, Laws, Morality, and in one Word, an Enemy of humane Nature; and yet this is the Man you rack, that you may abſolve, becauſe without racking him into a denyal of his Name, you cannot abſolve him. This, or nothing, is prevaricating with the Laws; you would have him plead not guilty, for you to pronounce him innocent, and diſcharge him from all paſt Crimes, whether he will or no. But how can Men be ſo perverſe, as

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[e] *Debito pœnæ nocens expungendus eſt.*] This is a very familiar Phraſe with our Author, and the Ground of it is this, The Executioner had a Roll of the Names of the Condemned, and the Puniſhment they were to ſuffer; and a Criminal being a Debtor, when he had pay'd his Puniſhment he was expung'd, or croſs'd out of the Roll: And ſo *dare Pœnas* is to pay the Pain an Offender owes to the Publick.

to imagine, that he who confeſſes a thing freely, is not more to be credited, than he who denies it by Compulſion? or cannot a Man ſpeak Truth, without the help of a Rack? And being abſolv'd upon a forc'd denyal of his Religion, he muſt needs conclude ſuch external Applications of Cruelty, very fooliſh things for the Converſion of the Mind, when in ſpite of all theſe Impreſſions upon his Body, he finds himſelf ſtill a Chriſtian in his Conſcience,

Since therefore you treat us differently in every thing, from other Criminals, and what you chiefly puſh at, is the Deſtruction of our Name (and we our ſelves deſtroy this, by doing what the Heathens indulge themſelves in) ſince this, I ſay, is the main thing you contend for; you cannot but ſee, that our Name is the greateſt Crime in our Indictment; in the Perſecution of which Name, Men vie Hatred, and are ambitious to excel each other in Malice: And this Emulation is the chief Reaſon why they are ſo ſtedfaſt in Ignorance; therefore they devour all Reports of us without chewing, and are ſo averſe to any legal Inquiry, for fear theſe Reports ſhou'd prove to be falſe, which they would have paſs for true, that the hated Name of Chriſtian might be condemn'd upon Preſumption, without the Danger of a Proof; and that the Confeſſion of this Name might ſerve for a ſufficient Conviction of the Crimes charg'd againſt it. Hence it is, that we are tortur'd againſt Law for confeſſing, and tormented on for perſiſting

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in that Confeſſion; and againſt Law abſolved for denying, becauſe all the Diſpute is about our Name only.

But after all, when you proceed to Judgment, and read over the Table or Catalogue of Crimes you paſs Sentence againſt, why do you mention the Chriſtian only? Why don't you mention the Murther, the Inceſt, and the reſt of that Train commonly imputed to us? We alone are the Perſons you are aſham'd to condemn, without ſignifying the Actions you condemn us for; if a Chriſtian is accus'd of no Crime, the Name ſurely muſt be of a ſtrange Nature to be criminal in it ſelf only.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the odious Title of Chriſtian.

WHAT an unaccountable Thing is it, for ſo many Men to blindfold themſelves on purpoſe to fall foul upon Chriſtianity? and to ſuch a Degree, that they cannot talk about the noted Probity of any Chriſtian without allaying his Character with a daſh of his Religion. *Caius Sejus* (ſays one) is a very good Man, but—he's a Chriſtian. I'll tell you what, (ſays another) I wonder that *Lucius* the Philoſopher is all of a ſudden turn'd Chriſtian. And none has Senſe enough in his Paſſion to put the Queſtion right, and argue in this manner. Is not *Caius* ſo good, and *Lucius*

cius ſo wiſe, merely from the Influence of their Religion? or was it not the Probity of the one, and the Wiſdom of the other, that prepar'd the way, and brought 'em over to be Chriſtians?

Thus indeed they praiſe what they know, but vilifie what they know not; they blot the faireſt Examples of Virtue ſhining in their very Eyes, becauſe of a Religion they are intirely in the dark about; whereas certainly, by all the Rules of Reaſon, we ought to judge of the Nature of Cauſes we ſee not, by the Effects we ſee, and not pre-condemn apparent Goodneſs for Principles we underſtand not. Others, diſcourſing of ſome Perſons whom they knew to be Vagrants, and infamouſly lewd before they came over to our Religion, drop their Praiſes upon 'em in ſuch a manner, that they ſtigmatize 'em with their very Compliments; ſo darken'd are they with Prejudice, that they blunder into the Commendation of the thing they would condemn. For (ſay they) how wanton, and how witty was ſuch a Woman! how amorous and frolickſome was ſuch a young Gentleman! but now they are Chriſtians: Thus undeſignedly they fix the Amendment of their Lives upon the Alteration of their Religion.

Some others are arriv'd to that pitch of Averſion to the very Name of Chriſtian, that they ſeem to have enter'd into Covenant with Hatred, and bargain'd to gratifie this Paſſion at the Expence of all the Satisfactions of humane Life, acquieſcing in the groſſeſt of Injuries, rather

father than the hated thing of Chriſtian ſhou'd come within their Doors. The Husband, now cured of all his former Jealouſie by his Wife's Converſion to Chriſtianity, turns her and her new Modeſty out of Doors together, chooſing to dwell with an Adultereſs, ſooner than a Chriſtian: The Father, ſo tender of the undutiful Son in his Gentile State, diſinherits him now, when he becomes obedient by becoming a Chriſtian: The Maſter, heretofore ſo good to his unfaithful Slave, diſcards him now upon his Fidelity, and his Religion. So that the Husband had rather have his Wife falſe, the Father his Son a Rebel, the Maſter his Servant a Rogue, than Chriſtians and good: So much is the Hatred of our Name, above all the Advantages of Virtue flowing from it.

Now therefore, if all this Odium ariſes purely upon the Account of our Name, pray tell me how a poor Name comes to be thus to blame, or a ſimple Word to be a Criminal? unleſs it be that the Word is barbarous, or ſounds ominouſly, reproachfully, or obſcenely. But Chriſtian is a *Greek* Word, and means nothing more than a Diſciple of Chriſt, which by Interpretation is the Anointed; and when you miſname it [a] Chreſtian, (for ſo far are you from

[a] *Sed & cum perperam Chreſtianus pronunciatur a vobis.*] See the Notes upon *Juſtin*'s firſt Ap. Sect. 3. concerning the Word *Chreſtius*; I only add here, that *Marcellus Donatus* conjectures this *Chreſtus* to have been ſome ſeditious *Jew* call'd by that Name, for which he produces ſeveral *Inſcriptions* wherein that Name occurs, but

from underſtanding our Religion, that as yet you know not our true Name) even then it implies nothing worſe than a Benignity and Sweetneſs of Temper; thus outragious are you at the ſound of a Name, as inoffenſive and harmleſs as thoſe who bear it. But do Men uſe to let looſe their Paſſions at this Rate againſt any Sect, merely for the Name of its Founder? Is it a new thing for Scholars to be named from their Maſters? Is it not from hence that Philoſophers are call'd *Platoniſts*, *Epicureans*, *Pythagoreans*, &c? Do not the Stoicks and Academicks derive their Names from the [b] Porch and Academy, the Places where they meet and diſcourſe together? And do not Phyſicians glory in the Title of their [c] *Eraſiſtratus*, and Grammarians in that of [d] *Ariſtarchus*?

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but not one wherein 'tis given to a Jew, which ought firſt to have been produced to juſtifie his Conjecture; but the Chriſtian Apologiſts prove it a Miſtake beyond diſpute. Vid. *Donat. Dilucid. in Sueton. in Claud. c.* 25.

[b] *Stoicks* from Στοὰ, a Porch, or Gallery.

[c] *Eraſiſtratus.*] This Phyſician is mention'd by our *Tertullian*, *lib. de an. c.* 15. *Pliny* fixes his Life, *An. urb. cond.* 450. *lib.* 14. *cap.* 7. and mentions his School *lib.* 20. *cap.* 9. and again, *lib.* 29. *cap.* 2. makes him the Diſciple of *Chryſippus*, and *Ariſtotle*'s Daughter's Son, who for the Cure of King *Antiochus* had of his Son *Ptolemy* a Fee of an hundred Talents.

[d] *Ariſtarchus.*] A noted Grammarian of *Alexandria*, *Ariſtotle*'s Cotemporary, Tutor to the Son of *Ptolemy Philometor*, celebrated by *Tully ad Appium Pulchrum*, lib. 3. Epiſt. 11. for diſtinguiſhing the genuine Verſes of *Homer*; and ſo likewiſe by *Ovid*,

Corrigere at res eſt tanto magis ardua, quanto
Magnus Ariſtarcho major Homerus erat. Ov. Pont.

And ſo again by *Horace*, *ad Piſones*,

Arguet ambiguè dictum, mutanda notabit,
Fiet Ariſtarchus.

And

And are not even Cooks themſelves, not a little proud of the Name of [e] *Apicius?* Nor in any of theſe Inſtances are you offended with the Name tranſmitted from the Founder of the Sect; but if you cou'd prove any Sect to be vicious in Principle, and conſequently the Author of it to be ſo too, there's Reaſon enough to hate the Name upon the Account of both. In a Word, before we give Entertainment to Hatred againſt any Sect whatever, upon Account of its Name, we ought in the firſt Place to have competently examin'd the Nature of the Inſtitution, and trac'd out its Qualities from the Author, or the Author from them; but both theſe ways of Inquiry are quite neglected, and our Enemies ſtorm and fire at a Word only. Our heavenly Maſter, and his heavenly Religion, are both unknown, and both condemn'd, without any other Conſideration, but that of the bare Name of Chriſtian.

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[e] *Apicius.*] An Epicure of famous Memory, ſtyled by *Pliny*, *Nepotum omnium altiſſimus Gurges*; and ſo again by *Juvenal*:

Quid enim majore cachinno
Excipitur vulgi, quam pauper Apicius?

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That human Laws may err, and therefore may be mended.

THUS far I have been ſomething ſevere, as it were, by way of Preface, to make Men ſenſible if I cou'd of the Injuſtice of the publick *Odium* againſt us; and now I ſhall ſtay a while upon the Subject of our Innocence. And here I ſhall not only refute the Objections againſt us, but retort thoſe very Objections againſt the Objectors themſelves; to let the World ſee, that Chriſtians are not the Men they take 'em to be, nor ſullied with thoſe Crimes they are conſcious of in themſelves; and to ſee alſo, whether I can make our Accuſers bluſh, not by charging them in general, as the worſt of Men accuſing the beſt, but ſuppoſing us both upon the level of Iniquity. I ſhall touch upon all the Particulars we are tax'd with for committing in private, and for which we are publickly branded as immoral, ſuperſtitious, damnable, and ridiculous; theſe very Crimes, I ſay, which you grant we have not the Forehead to do without the Protection of Darkneſs, we find our Enemies hardy enough to commit in the Face of the Sun.

But becauſe we meet you with unanſwerable Truth at all your Turnings, your laſt Reſort is to the Authority of the Laws, as more inviolable than Truth it ſelf; and it being ſo frequently

frequently in your Mouths, either that nothing ought to be revok'd after once condemned by Law; or that your ſworn Obedience is a Neceſſity upon your Actions, weightier than that of Juſtice. I ſhall firſt enter upon the Obligation due to human Laws, with you who are the ſworn Protectors of them.

Firſt then, when you rigidly inſiſt upon this, that Chriſtianity is againſt Law, and preſcribe againſt diſpenſing one jot with the Letter, upon any Conſiderations of Equity, this, I ſay, is acting Iniquity by Law; and you ſit rather like Tyrants than Judges of a Court, willing a thing to be unlawful, becauſe you will, and not becauſe it is ſo. But if your Will is regulated by the Meaſures of Good and Evil, and you forbid a thing becauſe it ought to be forbidden; then certainly, by this Rule of right Reaſon, you cannot licenſe Evil, nor forbid the Obligations of doing Good. If I find a Prohibition iſſu'd out againſt the Laws of Nature, do not I conclude ſuch a Prohibition to be invalid? whereas, if the Matter of it be lawful, I [a] never diſpute my Obedience.

Nor

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[a] *Quod ſi malum eſſet, jure prohiberet.*] Here we have the Meaſures of Obedience due to human Laws briefly ſtated by *Tertullian*; "For (ſays he) where nothing is commanded, either againſt the "Law of Nature, or the poſitive Law of God, I never diſpute my "Obedience. Had the Primitive Chriſtians refus'd Obedience to the Civil Magiſtrate, in *Matters indifferent*, Chriſtianity (humanly ſpeaking) had never been a *National* Religion; and if our *Diſſenting Brethren* would be decided by this Rule, and according to *Tertullian*, comply with the Magiſtrate's Commands, in every thing not unlawful in it ſelf, or with reſpect to the plain Word of God, they would then, and not till then, fulfil the Apoſtle's Injunction of

Nor think it ſtrange, if your Laws are ſometimes in the wrong, ſince they are but the Compoſures of Men, and not the Commands of God. Is it ſo ſtrange to ſee Mortals out of the way in making Laws, and wiſer upon Experience, and repealing what they once approv'd? Did not the Laws even of *Lycurgus* ſuffer Amendments? Was not their Severity ſweetn'd by the *Spartans*, and better accommodated to civil Uſe? And did not this Alteration go ſo near the great Law-giver's Heart, that he quitted his Country in a pett, and pin'd himſelf to Death, being his own Judge and his own Executioner? Does not your Experience light you ev'ry Day to the Miſtakes, and Rubbiſh of Antiquity? and have you not cut down a huge and horrid Wood of old Laws, and planted the new Edicts and Reſcripts of the Emperors in their ſtead? Did not *Severus*, of all the Emperors leaſt given to change, lately alter the [b] *Papian* Law, vainly ſolicitous about the Propagation of Children before the time allow'd for Matrimony by the

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of doing all that is *poſſible*, *and as much as lyeth in them*, *to live peaceably with all Men:* But if the Magiſtrate cannot lawfully command in things, where neither the natural nor the poſitive Law of God interpoſe to the contrary, he can command in nothing, becauſe ſuch things only can be ſubject to his Diſpoſal.

[b] *Vaniſſimus Papias leges quæ ante liberos ſuſcipi cogunt, quam Jul. Matr. contr.*] Concerning theſe Laws ſee *Rigaltius* and *Pamelius* upon this Place. But that which I remark, is, that *Scaliger* would infer from the following Words, that this Apology was not compos'd till a little after the Death of *Severus*, becauſe it is ſaid, *heri Severus*, *&c. excluſit*; but I confeſs, I cannot ſee why *lately* repealing may not agree to a living Prince, as well as a dead one. But I ſhall ſhew this Opinion to be evidently a Miſtake of *Scaliger* in the Sequel of this Apology.

Julian

Julian Law, without any Reſpect to the Venerableneſs of Antiquity? And [c] inſolvent Debtors, by the Laws were to be chopt in Pieces by their Creditors; but theſe ſanguinary Statutes were by ſucceeding Ages repeal'd, and the capital Puniſhment commuted into a Mark of Infamy, together with the Sale of their Goods, it being look'd upon better to put the Offender to open ſhame, than to let out his Blood for Debt. And how many Laws think you are ſtill behind which want reviſing, that are not valuable for their Number of Years, or the Dignity of their Founder, but upon the account of Juſtice only? And therefore if they are found not to be according to this Standard, are deſervedly condemned, altho' we are condemned by them. And if they puniſh for a mere Name, they are not only to be exploded for their Iniquity, but to be hiſs'd off the World for their Folly. But if the Laws are to take Cognizance of Actions

[c] *Judicatos retro in partes ſecari a Creditoribus Leges erant.*] Here he evidently alludes to the Law of the twelve Tables, *cap. 8. de nexis*; for thus it runs, *Tertiis nundinis capite pœnas luito, aut trans Tiberim peregrè ito, aſt ſi plures erunt rei, tertiis nundinis. Partis. ſecanto. ſi. plus minus. ve. ſecuerunt. ſe. fraude. eſto.* The meaning of which, as it is explain'd by *A. Gellius. Noct. Att. lib.* 20, is this: Debt was a Capital Crime by Law, and the Creditor might either have the Life of the *Inſolvent*, or ſend him beyond *Tibur* to be ſold for a Slave; but if the Inſolvent was indebted to more than one, the Creditors might cut him into Pieces in proportion to every one's Debt. And this Barbarity he juſtifies only by the End and Deſign of the Law-givers, which was not ſo much to puniſh, as to prevent Men from running into Debt by the Severity of the Puniſhment; for he tells us, He never read of one Debtor diſſected, *Quoniam ſævitia iſta Pœnæ contemni non quita eſt*; but for Bonds and Impriſonment Rogues value 'em not, and run in Debt continually.

only, why are we puniſh'd for the Name of our Sect, when no others are ſo puniſh'd? I am guilty of Inceſt, or have kill'd a Child, ſuppoſe, Why don't you make Enquiry after my Crimes, and extort them from me by Confeſſion upon the Rack? I have injur'd the Gods or Emperors, Why am I not to be heard on theſe Points? Surely no Law can forbid the Diſcuſſion of what it is to condemn, becauſe no Judge can juſtly proceed to Sentence, before he is well appris'd of the Illegality of the Fact; nor can a Citizen juſtifie his obedience to a Law, while he apprehends not the Quality of the Action it is to puniſh: For 'tis by no means ſufficient, that a Law be good in it ſelf, but that Goodneſs alſo muſt be made appear to him, who is to put it in execution; and that Law is much to be ſuſpected, that don't care to be look'd into; but is notoriouſly Tyrannical, if after it is look'd into wou'd reign a Law ſtill in defiance of Reaſon.

CHAP. V.

That the Wiſeſt of the Emperors have been Protectors of the Chriſtians.

BUT to ſee the Raſhneſs and Injuſtice of the Laws againſt us, let us caſt an eye back upon their Original, and we ſhall find an

old [d] Decree, whereby the Emperor himſelf was diſabl'd from conſecrating a new God, without the Approbation of the Senate. *M. Æmilius* learnt this with a Witneſs, in the caſe of his God [e] *Alburnus*. And this makes not a little for the Honour of Chriſtianity, to ſee the Heathens in Conſult about making Gods; and if the God is not ſuch a Deity as they like, he is like to be no God for them. Strange! That the God is firſt to pray the Man to be propitious, before the Man will allow of his Godſhip. By virtue of this old Decree it was, that *Tiberius*, in whoſe [f] Reign Chriſtianity came into the World, having receiv'd Intelligence from *Judea* about the Miracles of Chriſt, propos'd it to the Senate, and us'd his Prerogative for getting him enroll'd a-

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[d] *Vetus erat Decretum ne qui Deus ab Imperatore conſecraretur niſi a Senatu probatus.*] *Rigaltius* mentions ſomething like this extant in the Fragments of *Ulpian*, and *Pamelius* gives the Decree it ſelf from *Crinitus* de hon. diſcipl. lib. 10. c. 3. *Separatim nemo ſit habens Deos novos ſive Advenas, niſi publice adſcitos privatim colunto.* By virtue of this ancient Decree it was, that the People, notwithſtanding any Edicts of the Emperors to the contrary, perſecuted the Chriſtians. *Vid. Euſeb. Hiſt. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. Where upon the Account given by *Pontius Pilate*, *Tiberius* apply'd to the Senate to make him a God.

[e] *De Deo ſuo Alburno.*] This *Alburnus* is mention'd, *lib. adv. Marcion. c.* 18. and ſeems to have been conſecrated in the Conſulſhip of *M. Æmilius*, *an. urb. cond.* 638. He was called *Alburnus* from a Mountain in *Lucania* of the ſame Name.

Eſt Lucus ſilari circum, ilicibuſq; virentem
Plurimus Alburnum volitans, &c. Virg. Geo. 3.

[f] *Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Chriſtianum in ſæculum intrôivit.*] This is to be underſtood of the Reſurrection of Chriſt, when the Chriſtian Faith firſt began to be publiſh'd to the Gentile World.

mong the Number of their Gods. The Senate, indeed, refus'd the Propoſal, as having not maturely weigh'd his Qualifications for a Deity; but *Cæſar* ſtood to his Reſolution, and iſſu'd out ſevere Penalties againſt all who ſhou'd accuſe the Worſhippers of Chriſt.

Conſult your [g] Annals, and there you'll find [h] *Nero* the Firſt Emperor, who dy'd his Sword in Chriſtian Blood, when our Religion was but juſt a riſing at *Rome*; but we glory in being firſt dedicated to Deſtruction by ſuch a Monſter: For whoever knows that Enemy of all Goodneſs, will have the greater Value for our Religion, as knowing that *Nero* cou'd hate nothing Exceedingly, but what was Exceedingly good. A long time after, *Domitian*, a Limb of this bloody *Nero*, makes ſome like Attempts againſt the Chriſtians; but being not all *Nero*, or Cruelty in Perfection, the Remains of ſtrugling Humanity ſtopt the Enterprize, and made him recal the Chriſtians he baniſh'd. The Chriſtian Perſecutors have been always Men of this Complexion, diveſted of Juſtice, Piety, and common Shame; upon whoſe Government you your ſelves have ſet a

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[g] *Conſulite Commentarios veſtros.*] He alludes to the Annals of *Tacitus*, lib. 15. or rather to *Suetonius* in the life of *Nero*.

[h] *Cæſariano gladio primum ferociſſe.*] 'Tis agreed upon by all Writers, that the firſt General Perſecution began under *Nero*, as likewiſe, that the ſecond did under *Domitian*; for that in *Judæa* and *Samaria*, mention'd in the Acts, cap. 8. was but a particular Perſecution in ſome Parts only, and not ſet on foot by the *Gentiles* but the *Jews*.

Brand,

Brand, and [i] reſcinded their Acts, by reſtoring thoſe whom they condemn'd.

But of all the Emperors down to this preſent Reign, who underſtood any thing of Religion or Humanity, name me one who perſecuted the Chriſtians. On the contrary we ſhew you the excellent *M. Aurelius* for our Protector and Patron; for if you look into his [k] Letters, you'll find him there teſtifying, that his Army in *Germany* being juſt upon periſhing with Thirſt, ſome Chriſtian Soldiers which happen'd to be in his Troops, did by the Powers of Prayer fetch down a prodigious Shower to the Relief of the whole Army; for which the grateful Prince, tho' he cou'd not publickly ſet aſide the Penal Laws, yet he did as well, he publickly render'd them ineffectual another way, by diſcouraging our Accuſers with the laſt of Puniſhments, *viz. Burning alive.*

Reflect a little now, I pray you, upon the Nature of theſe Laws, which only the moſt conſummate Villains in Impiety, Injuſtice, Filthineſs, Folly, and Madneſs ever put in Execution againſt us; which Laws

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[i] *Quos & ipſi damnare conſueſtis.*] The Edicts of *Nero* and *Domitian* both were reſcinded by the Senate, and *Nerva* their Succeſſor. But the old Law was ſtill in force, which forbad the worſhipping of any new God, without the Approbation of the Senate,

[k] *Si Literæ Marci Aurelii requirantur.*] This Reſcript of *Marcus Aurelius* you will find annex'd to *Juſtin*'s firſt Apology: And tho' it is diſputable whether that Reſcript be Genuine, yet 'tis evident beyond diſpute, both from *Juſtin* and *Tertullian*, that there was ſuch a Reſcript in favour of the Chriſtians.

[l] *Trajan* in part evacuated by his Edict against ſearching for Chriſtians; and neither [m] *Hadrian* the Inquiſitive, whoſe Genius no doubt

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[l] *Quas Trajanus ex parte fruſtratus eſt.*] 'Tis not without good Reaſon that *Tertullian* ſays in *Part evacuated*, for the third Perſecution commenc'd under *Trajan*. 'Tis true, indeed, he publiſh'd no General Edict againſt the Chriſtians, but the manner of his Anſwer to *Pliny*, (*vid. Plin. lib.* 10. *ep.* 103. *p.* 633. wherein, as *Tertullian* ſmartly remarks, the Reſcript did combat, and contradict it ſelf, *in forbidding Chriſtians to be ſearch'd after, and yet puniſh'd when found,*) was abundantly ſufficient to reinflame Magiſtrate and People, who were ready to take Fire upon the leaſt Encouragement againſt the Chriſtians. Beſides, he iſſued out ſolemn Edicts to his Officers to ſuppreſs all private Cabals and Aſſociations; and this occaſion'd freſh Searches after Chriſtians, and prevented their ordinary Aſſemblies. *Vid. Plin. ep.* 35. 99. 123. *p. ep.* 104. *p.* 632. In this Reign, ſtrict Inquiſition was made after all the Deſcendents from *David*, and *Simeon* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was therefore taken up and murther'd. *Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 32. *p.* 104. And tho' this was a very grievous Perſecution, yet was it not univerſal. *Euſeb. lib.* 3. *c.* 33. *p.* 105. *c.* 32. *p.* 103.

[m] *Quas nullus Adrianus.*] *Sulpicius Severus*, and he alone, places the Fourth Perſecution under *Adrian. Vid. Sulp. lib.* 2. *c.* 45. *p.* 150. But whatever this Perſecution was, it is plain from *Tertullian*, and *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, *vid. Euſeb. l.* 4. *cap.* 26. *p.* 148. that it was not occaſion'd by any Imperial Edict. *Adrian* was initiated in all the *Græcian* Rites, and eſpecially in the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, which St. *Jerom* remarks as the principal Cauſe of this Perſecution, *Adr. vit. p.* 11. He was extremely addicted to Judicial Aſtrology, and to all ſorts of Divination, even to Magick, *Dio. lib.* 69. *p.* 793. inſomuch that he is ſeverely cenſur'd by the Heathens themſelves for his extravagant Superſtition, *Amm. lib.* 25. *p.* 294. And if Magick rais'd a Perſecution under *Valerianus*, who in the beginning of his Reign was ſo great a Friend to Chriſtians, and whoſe Family ſo abounded with Men of Piety, that his Houſe ſeem'd to be the Church of God, *Euſeb. lib.* 7. *c.* 10. we need not wonder that this Black Art ſhould have the ſame Influence upon *Adrian*: But this Perſecution was happily put an end to, by the Apologies of *Quadratus* and *Ariſtides*, *Euſeb. lib.* 3. *c.* 37. *p.* 209. The Eloquence and Reaſon of theſe two Apologiſts was ſeconded by a Letter from *Serenius Granianus* Proconſul of *Aſia*, *Euſeb. lib.* 4. *c.* 8. *p.* 122. and many other Governors follow'd this Example, *Euſeb. lib.* 4. *c.* 13. *p.* 127. *Adrian* unable to reſiſt theſe juſt and preſſing Solicitations, wrote to *Minucius Fundanus*, *Granianus*'s Succeſſor, not

doubt led him into the Curioſities of our Religion, nor [n] *Veſpaſian*, who muſt know ſomething of it too by conquering the Jews, nor [o] *Pius*, nor [p] *Verus* ever took the Advantage of the Laws againſt us; and therefore were we Chriſtians, in truth, the worſt of Men, you cannot think we ſhou'd have been thus

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not to puniſh a Chriſtian but upon good Proof of ſome Crime againſt the Publick; and to puniſh the Falſe Accuſer juſt as the Chriſtian ſhou'd have been, had he been found guilty. This Reſcript was very famous among the Ancients, it is celebrated as very advantageous to the Chriſtian Cauſe, not only by *Euſebius* in his *Chronic.* but by *S. Severus*, *lib.* 2. *c.* 45. *p.* 150. by *Oroſius lib.* 7. *c.* 12. and annex'd by *Juſtin* to his Apology, and tranſlated into Greek by *Euſebius lib.* 4. *cap.* 9. *p.* 123.

[n] *Nullus Veſpaſianus.*] Vid. Joſeph. de bell. Jud. lib. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

[o] *Nullus Pius.*] This was *Antoninus*, to whom *Juſtin Martyr* addreſſes his Firſt Apology, and whoſe Reſcript to the Commons of *Aſia* he annexes to it, and is tranſlated into Greek by *Euſebius*, *lib. c.* 13. And tho' there was no Edict of *Pius* out againſt the Chriſtians, yet by the Authority of the old Decree, they ſuffer'd very much in many Places, which occaſion'd *Juſtin*'s Firſt Apology.

[p] *Nullus Verus.*] 'Tis a matter of ſome Difficulty to determine who this Emperor was, for the Cognomen *Verus* was given to *M. Aurelius* as well as to *Lucius*. *Vid. Jul. Capitol. in vit. M. Aurelii.* But 'tis moſt probable that *M. Aurelius* was the Emperor, eſpecially if *Lucius Verus* was dead before the Perſecution, as ſome imagin, *Nicephor. lib.* 3. *cap.* 14. And it is obſervable, that *Athenagoras* dedicates his Apology to *M. Aurelius* and *Lu. Commodus*, and not to *Lucius Verus*. However this be, certain it is, that this was a moſt bloody Perſecution, in which *Polycarp*, and *Juſtin*, and the Martyrs of *Vienna* and *Lyons* were put to death; the Reading of the *Prophets*, and the *Sybils*, and what ever elſe might ſerve the Chriſtian Cauſe was forbid, ſays *Juſtin*, upon pain of Death, *Ap.* 1. *Sect.* 59. This is counted the Fourth Perſecution by all but *S. Severus*, who calls it the Fifth. But then it is obſerv'd by *Euſebius*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. That it was ſet on foot, not by any Edict of *Aurelius*, but by popular Tumult. If we read *Severus* inſtead of *Verus*, as *Pamelius* is moſt inclin'd to, then is it evident, that when this Apology was written *Severus*, had iſſu'd out no Edict againſt the Chriſtians,

ſpar'd and protected againſt Law, by the beſt of Princes, aud ſtruck at Root and Branch, only by our Brethren in Iniquity.

CHAP. VI.

That the Romans are mighty Praiſers of the Antiquity of their Religion, and yet admit of Novelties into it every Day.

BUT now I wou'd argue the Caſe a little with theſe ſcrupulous Gentlemen, who are ſuch mighty Sticklers for the Obſervation of old Laws; I wou'd know, whether They themſelves have religiouſly adher'd to their Forefathers in ev'ry thing, whether they quitted no Law, nor have gone one ſtep out of the ancient way. Nay, whether they have not made ineffectual ſome of the moſt neceſſary and proper Rules of Government; if not, what is become of thoſe excellent Laws for the bridling Luxury and Ambition? Thoſe Laws which allow'd not above a [q] Noble for

[q] *Centum æra non amplius.*] This was the *Lex Licinia vel Fannia* called *Centuſſis*, according to that of *Lucilius*, *Fanni Centuſſiſque miſellos*. Vid. A. Gell. l. 2. c. 24. To what *Zephirus* in his Paraphraſe, and *Pamelius* in his Notes have ſaid concerning the *Sumptuary Laws*, and againſt *Canvaſſing for Places*. I add, that *C. Orchius* the third Year before *Cato* was Cenſor, preferred a Law to moderate the Number of Gueſts only: Twenty two Years after, *C. Fannius* being Conſul, enacted another for moderating the Expences of ordinary

for an Entertainment, and but one Hen, and that not a cram'd one, for a Supper. Thoſe Laws which excluded a Senator the Houſe, as a Man of ambitious Deſigns, for having but ten Pound weight of Silver Plate in his Family; which levell'd the [r] riſing Theatres to the Ground immediately, as Seminaries only of Lewdneſs and Immorality; and which under ſevere Penalties forbad the Commons to uſurp the Badges and Diſtinctions of the Nobility. But now I ſee enormous Entertainments, with new Names from their Extravagance; a *Centenarian* Supper, ſo call'd from the hundred Seſtertios expended on it, *that is about ſeven hundred eighty one Pounds five Shillings for a Meal*; and I ſee Mines of Silver melted into Diſhes, not for the Table of Senators only, for that would be tolerable, but for ſuch Fellows as are but juſt made Free, and hardly out of the Laſh of Slavery. I ſee alſo Theatres in [f] abundance, and all indulgingly

ordinary Feaſts, allowing not more *denis Aſſibus*. *Licinius Craſſus* reviv'd the *Fannian* Law. The *Lex Cornelia*, and the *Lex Antia* were to the ſame purpoſes of Frugality. Whoſoever deſires to ſee more *de Legibus Sumptuariis & de Ambitu*, may read *Stuc. conviv.* lib. 1. c. 3. *A. Gell.* l. 2. c. 24. *Macrob. Saturn.* l. 3. c. 17. *Alex. ab. Alexan. Genial. Di.* lib. 3. c. 2. p. 685. *Tom.* I. and likewiſe cap. 17. p. 755.

[r] *Theatra ſtuprandis moribus orientia ſtatim deſtruebant.*] *P. Cornius Naſica* after the ſecond *Punic* War demoliſh'd the Theatre as the School of Wickedneſs and Effeminacy. *Vid. Alexand. ab Alex.* Tom. I. lib. 4. cap. 25. p. 1193.

[f] *Video Theatra nec ſingula ſatis eſſe.*] In the time of *Auguſtus* there were but three Theatres, and one Amphitheatre; but as they grew in Vices, they encreas'd in Theatres; and then we read of the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and one of *Scaurus* ſo capacious, that *Pliny* affirms it large enough to hold 80000 Men. *Plin. lib.* 36. *c.* 15. Concerning the Number of Theatres *vid. Juſt. Lipſii Amphitheatrum, & Tertull. de Spectac. & Vitruv. lib.* 5. *c.* 3.

cover'd

cover'd over. The hardy *Lacedemonians*, I ſuppoſe were the firſt Authors of this ſoft Invention, for fear *Venus* ſhou'd take cold in the Winter without a Covering; and that odious heavy Cloak of Frieze, which in time of War was to ſcreen the *Spartans* from the Injuries of Weather, was chiefly deſign'd no doubt to defend the *Romans* at the Enjoyment of their Sports. Moreover, I ſee now no Difference in Habit, between a Lady of [t] Quality, and a common Strumpet; all thoſe wiſe Inſtitutions about Women are fallen to the Ground, wherein your Anceſtors made ſuch Proviſions for Modeſty and Temperance; when a Woman was to wear no more Gold about her than the Wedding [v] Ring upon her Finger: When Women

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[t] *Inter Matronas atque Proſtibulas nullum de habitu diſcrimen.*] The *Stola*, *Flammeum*, *Vitta*, *& Reticulum*, were the Diſtinctions of Matrons of Repute, from Proſtitutes who had the *Toga*, and were not allow'd the *Flammeum* and *Vitta*. More of this you may ſee in *Alex. ab Alexand. Tom.* II. *lib.* 5. *p.* 216.

[v] *Cum aurum nulla norat præter unico digito quem ſponſus oppigneraſſet pronubo annulo.*] The Ring in Matrimony has been a very general and ancient Ceremony; *Digito pignus fortaſſe dediſti*, *Juven. ſat.* 6. This nuptial Ring was put upon the Finger next the leaſt, on the left Hand, out of an Imagination that there was a particular Vein there which went directly to the bottom of the Heart. *Aul. Gell. l.* 10. *c.* 10. *Macrob. lib.* 7. *c.* 13. And this, I ſuppoſe, may be the *Unicus Digitus* in *Tertullian*. The Primitive Chriſtians made no Scruple of complying with this ancient Ceremony of the Ring in Matrimony, for ſays *Tertullian de Idol. de nullius Idoli honore deſcendit, it did not ariſe from any Honour given to an Idol*: And *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſets forth, not only the Rite, but the Reaſon of it, *Clem. Alex. Pæd. l.* 3. *c.* 2. St. *Ambroſe* brings in St. *Agnes*, mentioning the Wedding-Ring. *Amb. lib.* 4. *Ep.* 34. In the Year 611. *Iſidore Hiſpalenſis Etymol. l.* 20. *& de devin. Off. l.* 2. proves it to be in uſe, and all the Offices of the Weſtern Churches ſince that time prove the ſame. As to the Greek Churches, we find by

Women were ſo ſtrictly prohibited the uſe of Wine, that a [x] Matron was ſtarv'd to Death by her Friends for breaking the Seals of a Cellar where the Wine was kept; and *Mecenius* in the Reign of *Romulus* was acquitted for killing his Wife for the ſame Attempt: And for the ſame Reaſon, Parents were by Law oblig'd to kiſs their Children, in order to diſcover 'em by their Breath. Where is now the Happineſs of a Conjugal State, main-tain'd of old by rugged Virtue, in ſo long and perfect Harmony, that from the Foundation of the City for almoſt ſix [y] hundred Years together,

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by the Eucologion, that they us'd two Rings, one of Gold, which was given to the Man, another of Silver, which was given to the Woman. *Vid. ord. Sponſalior.* And therefore it was not without good Authority that our wiſe Reformers did retain this innocent, ancient Ceremony, approved of even by *Bucer* himſelf, *Buceri cenſur. p.* 48.

[x] *Cum mulieres uſque adeo vino abſtinerentur, ut matronam ob reſignatos cellæ vinariæ loculos ſui inedia necarint.*] This Story, and almoſt the very words, are taken out of *Pliny*'s natural Hiſtory, *lib.* 14. *cap.* 13. where he ſays likewiſe that *Egnatius Metellus* (here called *Mecenius*) killed his Wife with a Club for drinking Wine. The drinking of Wine was interdicted Women under the ſevereſt Penalty. *Vid. Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib.* 2. *Polyb. lib.* 6. *Cicer. lib. de nat. Deor.* It was as capital a Crime for a Woman to be taken in Wine, as in Adultery. It was by the Law of *Romulus* made one of the Conditions for a Divorce. *Cneus Domitius* depriv'd a Woman of her Dowry for drinking more liberally than her Health requir'd. The Law mention'd here by *Tertullian*, which oblig'd Relations to ſalute Women to find whether they did not ſmell of Wine, was overrul'd by an Edict of *Tiberius Cæſar. Vid. Sueton. vit. Tiber.* See more to this purpoſe in *Alexand. ab Alex. Tom.* I. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. *p.* 672, and 673.

[y] *Per annos ferme ſexcentos ab urbe conditâ, nulla repudium domus ſcripſit.*] *P. Carvilius Ruga*, or *Spurius Carbilius*, as he is called by *Valer. Maximus*, *lib.* 2. *c.* 1. was the Firſt who divorced his Wife upon Pretence of Barrenneſs, tho' Divorces afterwards upon the moſt trifling Occaſions came to be a common Practice. *L. Antonius* was noted by the Cenſors, and turned out of the Senate for putting

together we read not of a Divorce in any Family? But now inſtead of wedding-Rings only, Women are ſo begolded over, that ev'ry Limb labours under the Burthen; and ſo addicted to Wine, that you ſhall not receive a Salute without a Smack of the Bottle: and Divorces are now become the Object of your Deſires, and look'd upon as the conſtant Fruit of Matrimony. But this is not all, for what your Fathers have gravely decreed, even about the Worſhip of the Gods, you with all your Obedience have reſcinded. The Conſuls with the Authority of the Senate baniſh'd Father [z] *Bacchus* and his Myſteries, not out of *Rome* only, but all *Italy*, and [a] *Serapis*, and *Iſis*,

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putting away his Wife upon no Reaſon but his Humour. *Vid. Val. Max. lib. 2. cap. 4. Tiberius Cæſar* degraded a Cenſor upon the like occaſion, *Sueton. in vit. Tib. Q. Antiſtius* and *C. Sulpitius*, divorced their Wives merely upon a Pett, *Val. Max. l. 6. cap. 3.* And *Mecænas* is ſeverely tax'd by *Seneca* upon the like Occaſion, *Sen. lib. de Divin. Provid.* So that 'tis not without Reaſon that *Tertullian* affirms Divorces in his time *to be the conſtant Fruit of Matrimony.* By the Laws of *Romulus* a Man cou'd not divorce his Wife, but either for Adultery, for attempting to Poiſon him, for falſe Keys, or for drinking of Wine. The Form of Divorces between Parties only contracted, was in theſe words—*Conditione tuâ non utar.* This was properly *Repudium*; that between a married Couple was called *Divortium*, and ran in this Form—*Res tuas tibi habeto.*

[z] *Liberum Patrem cum myſteriis ſuis.*] The *Bacchanalia* or *Nyctileia* grew to that exceſſive Lewdneſs, that they were forbid in all parts of *Italy* under a ſevere Penalty. *Vid. Alex. ab Alex. Tom. I. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 650.*

[a] *Serapidem & Iſidem, & Harpocratem cum ſuo Cynocephalo*, &c.] *Seraphis* and *Iſis* were celebrated Idols of *Egypt*. *Harpocrates* is ſaid to be born of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, and coming unluckily before his time, was born mute, and for that Reaſon made the God of Silence, according to that of *Ovid*—*Quique premit vocem, digitoque ſilentia*

Iſis, and *Harpocrates*, with his Dogs-head of a God *Cynocephalus*, were excluded the Capitol, the Palace of your Deities, during the Conſulſhip of *Piſo* and *Gabinius*, who were not Chriſtians, and all their Altars levell'd to the Ground, in order to ſuppreſs this Rabble of Deities, and the abominable Filthineſſes attending on 'em; but theſe Gods you have recall'd from Baniſhment, and reſtor'd them to their original Worſhip. Where now is your old Religion, and the great Veneration you pretend to have for your Anceſtors? You have degenerated from them in your Habit, in your Modes of Living, in your [b] Furniture, and in the Riches and Revenues you allow to the different Ranks of Men, and in the very Delicacy of your Language. You are eternal Praiſers of Antiquity, and yet every Day in a new Faſhion; which is a plain Proof, that 'tis your peculiar Talent to be in the wrong, to forſake your Anceſtors where you ſhou'd follow, and to follow where you ſhou'd forſake 'em. And altho' you may take your ſelves for zealous Defenders of the Traditions of your Fathers, eſpecially in thoſe things for the Neglect of

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Silentia ſuadet. Cynocephalus, was an Egyptian God with a Dog's Head, under which Shape *Mercury* is ſaid to have been worſhipped, according to that of *Virgil*, *Ænead.* 8. *Omnigenumq; Deûm monſtra, & Latrator Anubis.* See more of this and their Expulſion out of *Italy in Alex. ab. Alex. Tom.* I. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 19. *p.* 431.

[b] *Cenſu.*] I conclude this Word ſhou'd be written with a *C*, and I have tranſlated it accordingly; but if it is to be written with an *S*, as it is both in *Rigaltius* and *Pamelius*, I wou'd tranſlate it *Opinion*; but *Rigaltius* in his Animadverſions has corrected his Text, and writes *Cenſu. Vide Rigal. Animadver. juxta fin.*

which

our Deſtruction as they. Thus are we continually inveſted on every ſide, and continually betray'd, nay, very often we are ſurpriz'd and taken in our publick Meetings and Aſſemblies; and yet did ever any one come upon us, when the [d] Infant was crying under the Sacrificer's Hand. Who ever catch'd us, like a *Cyclops* or *Siren*, with Mouths beſmeared in humane Blood, and carry'd us in that cruel Pickle before a Judge? And as for Inceſt, Who ever diſcover'd any Relick of Immodeſty in his Wife, after ſhe became a Chriſtian? And who can think that a Heathen wou'd connive at Wickedneſſes of this monſtrous Size in any Chriſtian, had he Eyes to ſpy them out? or that he can be brib'd in our Favour, who ſeems never ſo well pleas'd as when he is baling us to Puniſhment? If you ſay, that theſe Abominations are always done in Secret, pray when, and by whom came you to this Knowledge? not by the Guilty themſelves, for you know that the Perſons admitted into the Myſteries of all Religions, are by the very [e] Form of Admiſſion

[d] *Quis unquam taliter vagienti Infanti ſupervenit.*] The Chriſtian Sacrifice of Bread and Wine was never omitted in the firſt Ages of the Church in their publick Worſhip; they look'd upon their Service as not ſo perfectly Chriſtian and acceptable without it, that the Holy Spirit did in an eſpecial manner deſcend upon the Conſecrated Elements, that God was better pleas'd with their Prayers for this Commemoration of his Son, and that this was the Principle of Union between a Chriſtian and the ever Bleſſed Trinity; and therefore whenever the Heathens broke into their Aſſemblies they wou'd be ſure to find this Sacrifice of a Child was there any ſuch thing.

[e] *Ex Formâ omnibus Myſteriis ſilentii Fides debeatur.*] What Silence was thought due to ſacred Rites, we may underſtand by *Horace's* — *Favete linguis*, by *Ovid's* — *Ore favent Populi nunc cum venit*

Admiſſion under the ſevereſt Obligations to Secreſie; the *Samothracian* and [f] *Eleuſinian* Myſteries you know are cover'd in profound Silence, how much more reaſonable is it therefore to think, that ſuch as theſe will be kept in the dark, which not only treaſure up divine Wrath againſt the Day of Judgement, but if once diſcover'd, will whet humane Juſtice to the higheſt Pitch of Vengeance? If therefore Chriſtians betray not themſelves, it follows, that they muſt be betray'd by thoſe of another Religion; but how ſhall Strangers be able to inform againſt us, when even the moſt pious [g] Myſteries are defended from the Approaches

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venit aurea Pompa; by *Virgil*'s —*Fida Silentia Sacris*; by *Feſtus*'s —*Linquam paſcito, i. e. coerceto*; by the *Egyptians* ſetting up the Image of *Harpocrates* in the entrance of their Temples, and by the *Romans* placing the Statue of *Angerona* on the Altar of *Volupia*. *Vid. Briſſon. de Formulis, lib.* 1. *p.* 8.

[f] *Eleuſinia reticentur.*] *Horace* proteſts that he wou'd not ſtay in the Houſe, or ſail in the Ship, with a Perſon that ſhou'd divulge the Myſteries of *Ceres* ——

Vetabo, qui Cereris ſacrum
Vulgârit arcanæ, ſub iiſdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaſelum.

Alcibiades and his Companions for expoſing the Rites of *Ceres*, were not only excommunicated all religious and civil Intercourſe at *Athens*, but ſolemnly curs'd by the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes; a Practice not unlike to the *Jewiſh Anathema*. *Vid. Plutar. Alcibiad.*

[g] *Cum etiam piæ Initiationes arceant Prophanos.*] I know nothing more practis'd all the Heathen World over, than the excommunicating prophane Perſons from all holy Myſteries. Hence that of *Virgil*——

Procul, ô procul eſte Prophani
Conclamat Vates——

And that of *Horace* alſo.

Odi Prophanum
Vulgus & arceo.

Approaches of the Stranger, and the Prophane? unleſs you conclude the Chriſtian Rites to be the wickedeſt of any, and withal conclude that the Wicked are leſs cautious about the divulging of ſuch Rites, than thoſe of a better Religion. And thus you muſt be forc'd to acknowledge, you know nothing of our Profeſſion, but by common Fame; and the Nature of Fame is too well known by ev'ry one to be credited in haſte. Your own *Virgil* tells you, *Fama malum, quo non aliud velocius ullum. Fame is an Ill, the ſwifteſt Ill that flies.*

The *Flamens* had a *Commentaculum*, a kind of Rod in their Hands to keep off impure Perſons. *Vid. Briſſon. de formulis, lib.* 1. *Selden. de Syned. l.* 1. *cap.* 10. And among the Greeks that old Form from *Orpheus* continu'd, —— ἔκας ἔκας ἔστε βέβηλοι. At *Athens* the Herald cry'd out τίς τῇδε. *Who is here?* To which the People anſwer'd, πολλοὶ κ' ἀγαθοὶ, *Many and good Men. Vid. Suid.* in τίς τῇδε. And we read in *Livy, Decad.* 4. *lib.* 1. of two young Men of *Acarnania*, who for not being *Initiated*, and crouding into the *Eleuſinian Myſteries* were ſlain; for it was a capital Crime to be preſent without due Purification; and ſuch purifying Rites were Men of all Ranks and Qualities oblig'd to perform before they cou'd approach the Altars and Statues. Not *Nero* himſelf cou'd prevail with his Conſcience to let him be preſent at theſe Rites of *Ceres*, after the Herald had made the uſual Proclamation for the Wicked to depart. *Vid. Sueton. Ner. c.* 34. But *Antoninus the Philoſopher*, to ſhew his innocence, went to the Temple of *Ceres*, and into the very *Sacrarium* by himſelf. *Vid. Capitolin. in vit. Antonin. Philoſ.* And was there but a little more of the *natural Reverence of Heathens* to holy things among *Chriſtian* People, and did Chriſtian Prieſts exert the Power that God has given them with as much Vigour as the Idol Prieſts did, Men even as wicked as *Nero*, wou'd not dare to approach our Altars merely upon the Invitation of a Place. But as matters ſtand, it might go hard with the Prieſt to make a notorious Offender loſe his Preferment, by refuſing him the Sacrament, and the Common Law might go near *to nail the Canon.*

Why

Why does he call Fame an Ill? becauſe of her Swiftneſs? or becauſe ſhe's an Informer? or becauſe ſhe's a common Lier? For the laſt Reaſon without queſtion. For ſhe never lets even Truth come out of her Mouth, without being ſophiſticated, without detracting, adding, or brewing it with one Falſhood or another. Moreover, the Nature of Fame is ſuch, that ſhe cannot keep her ſelf upon the Wing without the Aſſiſtance of Lies; for ſhe lives by not proving; when ſhe proves, ſhe deſtroys her Being. She hovers no longer like Fame, but being as it were out of her Office, Certainty ſucceeds in the Place of Report. And then 'tis no longer ſaid, for Example, that ſuch a thing is fam'd to have been acted at *Rome*, or ſuch a Perſon to have got the Government of ſuch a Province, but that ſuch things are actually ſo and ſo. Fame is a doubtful Sound, and lodges only among Uncertainties; and wou'd ever any Man of common Reflection build much upon this uncertain Puff? For let a Story be never ſo general and diffuſive, and never ſo confidently aſſerted, 'tis always to be remember'd that it had a Beginning, and from that time has crept into a world of Ears, and out of a world of Mouths; and ſo the Story very little at its firſt Planting, and naughty perhaps in the very ſeed, comes at length to be ſo overgrown and darkned by variety of Rumours, that Men care not to be at the Pains of tracing it up to the original Mouth, and to ſee whether

it came not firſt into the Wolrd a very Lye; which often happens, either from the Diſpoſition and Genius of Hatred, or the Licence Men uſurp of improving Suſpicions, or which is no new thing, the very Pleaſure of Lying, which ſome People ſeem marvellouſly turn'd for, even by Nature.

Well is it therefore I am ſure for Chriſtians, what is ſo proverbially in the Mouth of Heathens, That Time brings ev'ry thing to Light, according to that Order of Nature, which will permit nothing to lye long hid; no, not even that which never came within the Lips of Fame. I ſhall leave it to you therefore to judge, whether you have Reaſon to proceed with this Severity againſt Chriſtians, merely upon the Teſtimony of Fame; for this is the only Witneſs you produce againſt us, and which looks ſo much the worſe, becauſe of all the Stories ſhe has been ſowing about the World, and been ſo long a watering and nouriſhing up into Credit, ſhe has not to this Day been able to prove one.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

That the Crimes charg'd upon the Chriſtians are neither poſſible nor probable.

I ſhall now appeal to the Teſtimony of Nature, and argue whether 'tis credible, that ſhe is capable of ſuch Inhumanities, as common Fame charges upon Chriſtians; and for Argument ſake, I will ſuppoſe a Chriſtian promiſing you eternal Life, and tying Caution for the Performance, upon Conſideration of your Obedience. I will ſuppoſe likewiſe, that you believe this Promiſe, and the Queſtion now is, whether upon ſuch a Belief, you cou'd find in your Hearts to be barbarous enough in ſpite of Nature to accept of eternal Life at this inhuman Price. Imagin therefore a Chriſtian addreſſing you in this manner. ---- Come hither, Friend, and plunge your Dagger into the Heart of this Innocent, who can deſerve no Puniſhment, who can be no Man's Foe, and who may be ev'ry Man's Son, conſidering our indiſcriminate Embraces. Or if another is to officiate in this bloody Service, ſuppoſe your ſelf apply'd to after this ſort,— Come hither, and ſtand by only while I make the Sacrifice: Behold me diſpatching an Infant off the Stage in the very firſt Act of Life: See me ſending the new Soul flying out of the Body before it was well in: Do you gather

up the rude indigeſted Blood, and ſop your Bread liberally in that Wine, and indulge freely upon the Fleſh; and while you are at Supper, be ſure to caſt a wiſhful Eye upon your Mother and Siſter; mark exactly where they ſit, that you are Guilty of no Miſtake, when the Dogs have put out the Candles. For 'tis as much as our Immortality is worth, if you ſhou'd miſs of Inceſt; if you are thus initiated, and continue firm in the practice of theſe Rules, you ſhall live for ever. Anſwer me now to the Queſtion propos'd, can you purchaſe Heaven upon theſe Terms? If not, if you feel Nature recoil, and your Soul ſhrink at the Propoſal of ſuch things, you can never think them credible in us. Did you but believe them, I am confident you wou'd not do them; but did you believe them, and had an Inclination to do them, I am of opinion, that your very Humanity wou'd not ſuffer you to perpetrate ſuch Facts: And if you find too many Miſgivings in your ſelves for the performance of ſuch Commands, why don't you conclude the ſame Reluctance in others? Or if you cannot be unnatural enough for theſe things, why ſhou'd you judge others can?

But Chriſtians, I ſuppoſe, are not Men: What! do you take us for Monſters, like the [h] *Cynopæ* or *Sciapodes* with different Rows of

[h] The *Cynopæ*, or *Cynopes*, or *Cynocephali*, are reported to be a ſort of wild Men in the Mountains of *India* with Heads like a Dog. *Plin.* 7. 2. and the *Sciapodes* of *Æthiopia* to be a People of ſuch a monſtrous Make, that in hot broiling Days lye upon their Backs, and cover their whole Bodies from the Sun with the Shadow of the Bottoms of their Feet. *Plin.* 7. 1.

Teeth

Teeth for devouring, and different Inſtruments for Inceſt, from all other Men? Certainly, if you believe ſuch Actions poſſible for others, you may believe 'em poſſible for your ſelves, you being Men, as we Chriſtians are: But if you feel this impoſſible in Nature, you ought to give no Credit to the Report, becauſe Chriſtians and Heathens have the ſame Humanity.

But you pretend, that the Ignorant only are decoy'd and trick'd into our Religion, ſuch as have not met with any of theſe Stories againſt us, but are catch'd before they have time to conſider and examin with that accuracy which every Man is oblig'd to, upon changing his Religion. But allowing it poſſible for a Man to be ignorant of common Fame, yet if any one is deſirous to be initiated, 'tis the conſtant Cuſtom, as I take it, for ſuch a Perſon to go to the Chief Prieſt, to be inſtructed in what is neceſſary for ſuch an Initiation. And then if theſe Stories are true, he'll inſtruct him in this manner. Friend, in order to communicate with us, you muſt provide a Child tender and good, too young for any Sence or Notice of Death; ſuch a Child as will ſmile in my Face under the fatal Knife: You are likewiſe to provide Bread to ſuck up the Blood, and Candleſticks and Candles, and ſome Dogs with ſome Morſels to throw to thoſe Dogs juſt out of their reach, that by ſtriving to come at 'em, they may pull down the Candles and Candleſticks to which they are ty'd: Above all things you muſt be ſure not to come without your Mother and Siſter. But

what if they will not comply, or ſuppoſe the Convert has no Siſter or Mother, nor any Relation of our Religion. Why, he cannot be admitted; for to have a Siſter or a Mother are neceſſary Qualifications no doubt to make a Chriſtian. But if you'll ſuppoſe all this Furniture got ready before Hand, without the Knowledge of him who is to communicate; yet certainly after he has communicated he muſt needs know all; and yet he ſtill continues firm in our Communion without a word of the Impoſture. But he dares not diſcover perhaps, for fear of Puniſhment, when ſuch a Diſcovery wou'd be meritorious. Whereas a Man of Probity, after he had found himſelf thus abus'd and trick'd into ſo horrid a Religion, wou'd rather chooſe to die, than live longer with ſuch a Conſcience. After all, I will grant that ſuch a Man dares not diſcover for fear of Puniſhment, but pray then give me a Reaſon, why the ſame Perſon ſhou'd perſevere in defiance of Torments; for I think it natural to conclude, that you wou'd not continually ſtick cloſe to a Religion under ſuch Diſadvantages, which you wou'd never have embrac'd, had you but known it before you embrac'd it.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

That the Pagans are guilty both in private and publick of the ſame Crimes they charge upon Chriſtians.

BUT for a fuller Confutation, I come now to prove that the Heathens are guilty both in the Dark, and in the Face of the Sun, of acting the ſame Abominations they charge upon Chriſtians, and their own Guiltineſs, perhaps, is the very thing which diſpoſes 'em to believe the like of others. [i] Infants have been ſacrific'd to *Saturn* publickly in *Africa*, even to the Proconſulſhip of *Tiberius*, who devoted the very Trees about *Saturn*'s

[i] *Infantes penes Africam Saturno palam immolabantur*, &c.] The Heathens had a Notion (however they came by it is not to my preſent purpoſe to conjecture) that Repentance alone was not ſufficient to atone the Divine Wrath without a bloody Sacrifice, and therefore the Blood of Man and Beaſt was brought in to ſupply the Deficiency. Accordingly among the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* it had been an ancient Cuſtom to chooſe by Lot ſome Children of the beſt Quality for a Sacrifice, and for thoſe upon whom the Lot fell, there was no Redemption. And they were likewiſe dreſs'd according to their Quality in the richeſt Apparel to make the Sacrifice more ſplendid. And having omitted theſe human Sacrifices for ſome time, and during that Omiſſion, being overcome by *Agathocles*, they offer'd two hundred Sons of the Nobility upon their Altars to atone the Deity for the Neglect of human Sacrifices. *Vid. Plat. dial.* entitled *Minos*, *Dionyſ. Halicar. lib.* 1. *Diodor. Sic. lib.* 20. *Lactan. lib.* 1. *c.* 21. *Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib.* 4. and *Silius Ital.* at the end of the 4*th* Book ſpeaks thus of *Carthage*.

> *Mos fuit in populis, quos condidit advena Dido*
> *(Infandum dictu) Parvos imponere natos*, &c.

Temple,

Temple, to be Gibbets for his Prieſts, as Accomplices in the Murther, for contributing the Protection of their Shadow to ſuch wicked Practices. For the Truth of this, I appeal to the Militia of my own Country, who ſerv'd the Proconſul in the Execution of this Order. But theſe Abominations are continued to this Day in private. Thus you ſee, that the Chriſtians are not the only Men who act in defiance of your Laws; nor can all your Severity pull up this Wickedneſs by the Roots, nor will your Immortal alter his abominable Worſhip upon any Conſideration; for ſince *Saturn* cou'd find in his Heart to eat up his own Children, you may be ſure he wou'd continue his Stomach for thoſe of other People, who are oblig'd to bring their own Babes, and ſacrifice 'em with their own Hands, giving 'em the tendereſt of Words, when they are juſt upon cutting their Throats; not out of any Bowels of Compaſſion, but for fear they ſhould unhallow the Myſtery, and ſpoil the Sacrifice with Tears. And now in my Opinion, this Parricide of yours, or ſlaughtering your own Children, outdoes the ſimple Homicide charg'd upon us, by many Degrees of Barbarity. But Infants are not the only Offerings, for the [k] *Gauls* cut a Man to pieces upon the Altars of

[k] *Major etas apud Gallos Mercurio profecatur.*] *Cicero in Orat. pro M. Fonteio*, ſpeaking of the *Gauls* has theſe words, ——*Quis enim ignorat eos uſque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram conſuetudinem hominum immolandorum?* And in his 2d Book *de Divinat.* he Mentions five *Mercuries*, and makes *Mercury Theutates* the fifth, who ſlew *Argos*, and for that flew into *Egypt*, and there inſtructed

of *Mercury*, in the Flower of his Strength. I omit the human Sacrifices at [1] *Diana*'s Temple in *Taurica Cherroneſus*, which are the Arguments of your Tragedies, and which you ſeem to countenance by being ſo often at the Theatres. But behold! in that moſt religious City of the pious Deſcendants of pious *Æneas*, there is a certain [m] *Jupiter*, whom at your religious Games you propitiate with human Blood in abundance. But theſe, ſay you, are *Beſtiarian* Men, Criminals already condemn'd to die by Beaſts. 'Las-aday! Theſe are not Men, I warrant ye, becauſe they are condemn'd Men; and are not your Gods wonderfully beholden to you for offering to 'em ſuch vile Fellows? However that be, this is certain, it is human Blood. O brave Chriſtian *Jove!* Your Father's only Son and Heir in Cruelty, worſhip'd with human Blood, as the God of

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ſtructed the *Egyptians* in Laws and Letters, from which *Theutates* the firſt Month of their Year, that is *September*, was called *Theuth*. This was the *Mercury* the *Gauls* ſacrifice to, and which *Lucan* in his firſt Book refers to.

Ex quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
Theutates, horrenſque feris Altaribus Heſus,

See more in *Lactantius l.* 1. *Sect.* 21. 50. *Liv.* 3. *dec. lib.* 4. *Cæſar. lib.* 6. *de bell. Gall.*

[1] *Remitto Tauricas Fabulas.*] *Herodotus* in his 4*th* Book, ſays it was a Cuſtom among the *Tauri* to ſacrifice every Year the hundredth Captive to *Diana*; and *Lucan* having ſpoken of *Theutates* and *Heſus*, adds ——

Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

See *P. Oroſius* in his Preface to his 5*th* Book, and *Lactan. lib.* 1. *Sect.* 21. *p.* 50. concerning the bloody Rite of ſacrificing Strangers to *Diana Taurica*.

[m] *Jupiter quidam.*] *Vid. Lactan. lib.* 1. *Sect.* 21. *p.* 50. This was *Jupiter Latiaris*,

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the Chriſtians is falſly reported to be. But becauſe, if you kill a Child, it is not a farthing difference whether you kill it for a Sacrifice, or for your own Will (for killing a Child will be always a Crime, tho' not always equal, Parricide being worſe than mere Homicide) ſince this, I ſay, is ſo, I ſhall now apply my ſelf upon this Subject unto the People of all Ranks and Conditions. How many about me might I juſtly reproach upon this Head, not only of the Mob continually blooded with Chriſtians, and continually gaping for more, but alſo of you Preſidents of Cities and Provinces, who have been the ſevereſt againſt us upon this very ſcore? How many, I ſay, of both ſorts, might I deſervedly charge with Infant-murther? And not only ſo, but among the different Kinds of Death, for chooſing ſome of the cruelleſt for their own Children, ſuch as drowning, or ſtarving with Cold or Hunger, or expoſing to the Mercy of Dogs; dying by the Sword being too ſweet a Death for Children, and ſuch as a Man wou'd chooſe to fall by, ſooner than by any other ways of Violence.

But Chriſtians now are ſo far from Homicide, that with them 'tis utterly unlawful to make away a Child in the Womb, when Nature is in deliberation about the Man; for to kill a Child before it is born, is to commit Murther by way of Advance; and there is no difference, whether you deſtroy a Child in its Formation, or after it is form'd, and deliver'd. For we Chriſtians look upon him

him as a Man, who is one in Embrio; for he is in Being, like the Fruit in Bloſſom, and in a little time wou'd have been a perfect Man, had Nature met with no Diſturbance.

As for the inhuman Cuſtoms of banquetting upon Blood, and ſuch tragical Diſhes, you may read (for 'tis related by [n] *Herodotus* I think) how that certain Nations having open'd a Vein in their Arms, ſolemnly drank of each others Blood for the Confirmation of Treaties; and ſomething like this [o] *Catiline* put in Practice in his Conſpiracy. 'Tis likewiſe reported, that in ſome [p] *Scythian* Families the

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[n] *Eſt apud Herodotum opinor, &c.*] *Herodotus* in his Firſt Book reports, that it was the ſolemn way among the *Medes* and *Lydians* in making of Leagues to ſtrike each other on the Shoulders with a naked Sword, and then for the Parties mutually to lick up the Blood; and in his fourth Book he tells us, that the *Schythian* Rite of entring into League, was to fill a large Cup of Blood and Wine mix'd together, (the Blood of both the Parties confederating) and having dipped their Swords and Arrows into it, to pledge each other in it, and ſo by turns drink it off. And *Poſſidonius*, and from him *Athenæus lib. 2. cap. 2.* relates, that the *Germans* at their Banquets open'd a Vein in their Face, and the Partie's mutually drinking up each other's Blood, mix'd with Wine, was the Ratification of the Treaty. So much Human Blood was there ſpilt, eſpecially in ſacrificing to Devils, till Chriſt came and redeem'd us from the Powers of Darkneſs, and put an end to all bloody Sacrifices, by that of himſelf once made upon the Croſs.

[o] *Neſcio quid & ſub Catilina deguſtatum eſt.*] The Words of *Saluſt* concerning *Cataline* are theſe —— *Fuêre eâ Tempeſtate, qui dicerent Catilinam oratione habitâ, cum ad jusjurandum Populares ſceleris ſui addiceret, Humani Corporis ſanguinem vino permiſtum in pateris circumtuliſſe; inde cum poſt execrationem omnes deguſtâſſent, ſicuti in ſolemnibus ſacris fieri conſuevit, dicitur aperuiſſe conſilium, &c.* I have ſet down this of *Saluſt* at large, becauſe as it ſtands in the Notes of *Pamelius*, it is printed or quoted falſe in two Places, and the laſt part quite omitted, which ſhews it to be a cuſtomary Rite in ſome Countries.

[p] *Apud quoſdam gentiles Scytharum.*] *Vid. Alex. ab Alex. Tom. 1. lib. 3. c. 2.* And the Notes of *Tiraquell* upon him.

ſurviving

ſurviving Friends eat up the dead ones. But I need not go ſo far as *Scythia*, for we have now at this Day as barbarous Ceremonies at home; [q] *Bellona*'s Prieſts lancing their Thighs, and taking up their own ſacred Blood in the Palms of their Hands, and giving it their Communicants to drink. Thoſe Epileptick Perſons alſo who flock to the Amphitheatres for the Cure of their Diſeaſe, intercept the reeking Blood as it comes guſhing from the Gladiator's Throats, and ſwill it off with Greedineſs. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe who gorge themſelves with the Beaſts they kill upon the Stage, who demand a Piece of the Boar, or the Stag that is cover'd o'er with their own Blood in the Combat? Nay, the very [r] Paunches of Boars ſtuff'd with the crude indigeſted Entrals of Men are Diſhes much in vogue; and ſo Man belches up Man by ſurfeiting upon Beaſts fed with Men. You who eat thus, *bleſs me*, how differently do you eat from Chriſtians? But what can we think of Men ſo perfectly

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[q] *Hodie iſthic Bellonæ ſacratus ſanguis de femore proſciſſo.*] In alluſion to which *Lucan lib.* 1.

> *Diraque per populum Cumanæ Carmina vatis*
> *Vulgantur, tum quos ſectis Bellona lacertis*
> *Sæva monet, &c.*

See more upon this in *Beroaldus*, and *Lactan. l.* 1. *Sect.* 21.

[r] *Urſorum alvei appetuntur cruditantes adhuc de viſceribus humanis.*] To ſuch a degree of Luxury, or rather Beſtiality were the Romans grown, that a Bears Paunch ſtuff'd with the reeking *Viſcera*, or Guts of Gladiators was reckon'd a rare Diſh, and by the ſumptuary Laws againſt Luxury I find that *Verrina* and *Abdomina* (which I take to be the ſame with theſe *Alvei*) were forbidden at Feaſts. *Vid. Plin. l.* 8. *cap.* 51.

Britiſh

Brutiſh as to lick up the very firſt Principles of Life and Blood, and ſo diet upon Child and Parent both at the ſame time? For ſhame therefore bluſh when you meet a Chriſtian, who will not endure a Drop of the Blood of any Animal among his Victuals, and therefore for fear any ſhou'd be lodg'd among the Entrals, we abſtain from things ſtrangl'd, and ſuch as die of themſelves.

Laſtly, Among other Experiments for the Diſcovery of Chriſtians, this is one, to preſent 'em with Blood-puddings, as very well knowing our Opinion about the Unlawfulneſs of eating Blood. This, I ſay, is the ſtumbling Block, and Offence you lay in the way of Chriſtians; and what a ſtrange thing is it, that you who are confident that the Chriſtians are ſo religiouſly averſe to the Blood of Beaſts, ſhou'd imagin 'em ſo ſharp ſet upon the Blood of Men? This cou'd never be, unleſs you had taſted the Blood of both, and found that of Men to be the ſweeter Temptation; which therefore you ſhou'd make like the Cenſer of Incenſe, to be another Touchſtone of a Chriſtian; and ſo he might be detected, as well by accepting the Blood, as refuſing the Sacrifice, and in like manner be put to death for Taſting, as he is now for ſacrificing: And you the Judges of Life and Death, need never fear the want of human Blood to make the Experiment. As for Inceſt, where can you look to find ſuch human Monſters, ſo likely, as among the Worſhippers of an inceſtuous *Jove*? We have the Authority of

[s] *Cteſias*

[a] *Cteſias* for the *Perſians* mixing with their Mothers. And the *Macedonians* are ſuſpected, becauſe when they firſt heard the Tragical Lamentations of *Œdipus* for this Sin with his Mother *Jocaſta*, they cry'd out in Ridicule---- ἔλαυνε εἰς τὴν μητέρα, ---- Courage, noble Warriour, and go on bravely againſt your Mother.

Recollect now with your ſelves, and you'll ſee what a Licence there is for Inceſt, from ſome Errors which muſt neceſſarily ſeduce into it, by the help and fewel of Luſt and Luxury. For, firſt, you expoſe your Sons to be taken up by the next Paſſenger, who happens to come by with more Bowels than your ſelves, or you emancipate 'em from all Relation to you, in order to be adopted into nobler Families; and by both theſe Kinds of Alienation it cannot well be, but that the Knowledge of your Children in ſome time muſt wear out and vaniſh; and for want of this Knowledge, when the unnatural Mixture has once taken Root, it ſpreads continually, and the Original Stain diffuſes it ſelf from Generation to Generation. And then alſo, you have an inſeparable Companion of your Luſt in every Place, it ſticks to you at home, and travels with you

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[a] *Perſas cum Matribus miſceri Cteſias refert.*] Some Fragments of *Cteſias* were publiſh'd by *Henry Stephens*; but for the Inceſt of the *Perſians* it is notorious. See *Strabo lib.* 5. *ad fin. Curtius lib.* 7. and *Catullus* in *Gellium* ſings thus———

Naſcatur Magus ex Gelli Matriſque nefando
Concubitu, & diſcat Perſicum aruſpicium,
Nam Magus ex Matre & Nato gignatur oportet,
Si vera eſt Perſarum impia Relligio.

by

by Land, and takes Shipping with you at Sea; and by this ubiquitarian Luſt, Brothers and Siſters may eaſily come together like the ſcatter'd Seed in a wide Field, and as Travellers often do by the help of Commerce, and mix in ſtrange Confuſions, without the Parties knowing any thing of the Relation. But as for Chriſtians, their inviolable Chaſtity is a Hedge about 'em againſt ſuch unhappy Accidents; and by how much the purer they keep themſelves from Fornication and Adultery, by ſo much the more no doubt are they preſerv'd ſecure from the Chance of Inceſt. Nay, ſome among us, for fear of ſuch Diſorders, have put themſelves beyond the Poſſibility of this Sin, by a perpetual Virginity, by preſerving the Innocence of a Child, to the Extremity of Age. If now therefore you wou'd turn your Eyes inward, and ſee the Guilt in your ſelves, you wou'd ſee Innocence in us, for Contraries are beſt ſeen together; but you labour under a twofold Blindneſs, which is, not to ſee things that are, and to ſeem to ſee things which really are not; the Truth of this I will ſhew in its proper place, by an Induction of Particulars, but at preſent I ſhall paſs to Matters of more notorious Evidence.

CHAP. X.

That the Gods of the Gentiles are no Gods.

YOU ſay we are Atheiſts, and will not be at the expence of a Sacrifice for the Life of the Emperors; and if the firſt be true, the Conſequence is juſt, for if we will not offer to the Gods for our ſelves, 'tis not likely we ſhou'd do it for others. 'Tis upon this Account therefore that we are conven'd as guilty of Sacrilege and Treaſon; this I take to be the main Article, and may be look'd upon as the Sum of the Charge againſt us, and therefore deſerves a particular Diſcuſſion; and we doubt not to acquit our ſelves in this Point, if Prejudice and Injuſtice be not our Judges; Prejudice, I ſay, which preſumes things that are falſe to be true, and Injuſtice which rejects evident Truth, when heard.

We profeſs then to have laid aſide the Worſhip of your Gods, from the time we knew 'em to be no Gods; that therefore which you are to expect from us, is, that we diſprove 'em to be Gods, and conſequently not to be worſhipped; for if they are Gods, Devotion no doubt is their Due, and the Chriſtians ought to be puniſhed for deſerting the Gods, out of an Opinion that they are not Gods, if it can be made appear that they are. But Gods they are, ſay you; for the Truth of this, we appeal from your words to your Conſcience, let that be our Judge, and let that condemn

demn us, if you can deny all thoſe you now worſhip for Gods, once to have been Men. If you can be hearty in this Denial, you ſhall be convinc'd of the Miſtake from your own Antiquities teſtifying againſt 'em to this Day, from the Cities where they were born, and the Countries where they left Impreſſions of Frailty; and *alas!* where the very Tombs of the Immortals are ſhewn.

But I will not preſume to run over the whole Inventory of Deities, their Numbers are formidable, there are your [t] new and old Gods, Greeks and Barbarians, Romans, Strangers, Captives, Adoptives, Proper, Commom, Male and Female, Country, City, Sea and Camp Gods. A Man muſt have wondrous little to do with his time to give out their Titles by retale, and ſo I ſhall lump 'em together, and ſpeak of 'em only in groſs; and this not to improve your Knowledge, but only to quicken your Memories, for you ſeem much inclin'd to forget many of your Gods.

Firſt then, *Saturn* with you is the eldeſt Deity in Worſhip, from him we are to begin our Reck'ning of all your Gods, of the moſt noted eſpecially, and moſt in Vogue; and he being the original God, we may judge of all his Poſterity from him. As much therefore as

[t] *Novos, Veteres, Barbaros*, &c.] After the moſt diligent Collection, *Varro* has muſter'd up an Army of Gods to the Tune of above thirty thouſand. The Explanation of the Titles, and ſome Inſtances of each of the ſort of Gods mention'd, you may ſee in *Pamelius* upon this place; but for a fuller and more diſtinct Account I refer to *Alex. ab Alex. lib.* 2. *p.* 379. and *lib.* 6. *cap.* 4. *p.* 433. and *p.* 436.

we can learn from Hiſtory, we find that neither *Diodorus* the *Greek*, or *Thallus*, or *Caſſius Severus*, or *Cornelius Nepos*, or any other Commentator of Antiquities, ſpeak of *Saturn*, any otherwiſe than as of a Man. And if you wou'd argue from things, I cannot think of a Place, that can ſupply you with Arguments ſo well as *Italy*; for there you may trace *Saturn* in the moſt expreſſive Prints of Man. After many Expeditions from *Greece* you'll find him landed in your own Country, and there by the Conſent of *Janus* or *Janes* (as the *Salii* call him) taking up his Seat, the Hill he inhabited called after his own Name *Saturnius*, and the City he founded, *Saturnia*, to this Day; and at length all *Italy* ſucceeded to this Title, after that of *Œnotria*. The [u] Invention of Writing

[u] *Ab ipſo primum Tabulæ, & Imagine ſignatus nummus & inde Ærario præſidet.*] This *ærarium* or Treaſure-houſe, of which *Saturn* was Preſident, was not only the publick Exchequer, but in it likewiſe were kept the Acts of the Senate, the Books of Records, and the *Libri Elephantini*, ſo called from their Bigneſs, in which all the Names of the Citizens were regiſter'd, and from theſe Books, entitul'd, *Tabulæ publicæ*, *the Treaſury* was called *Tabularium*. See *Servius* upon that of *Virgil*, *lib.* 2. *Georg.*

——Aut Populi Tabularia vidit.

Imagine Signatus.] *Macrobius Saturn. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. reports, that *Janus* having entertain'd *Saturn*, who came to him by Ship, and having made him Co-partner of his Kingdom for the good Inſtructions he receiv'd from him, the firſt Money he ſtampt, (which was Braſs) he impreſs'd on one ſide the Image of himſelf, and on the other the Fore-deck of a Ship, in memory of *Saturn*, according to that of *Ovid.* 1. *Faſt.*

Multa quidem didici; ſed cur navalis in ære
Altera ſignata eſt, altera Forma biceps?
At bona Poſteritas puppem formavit in ære
Hoſpitis adventum teſtificata Dei. *Pliny*

ting, and Coining the Money with the King's Image, you aſcribe to *Saturn*; and for that Reaſon you make him Patron of the publick Treaſury, which is plac'd in his Temple. But now if *Saturn* was a Man, and conſequently the Son of a Man, he cou'd not properly be the Son of Heaven and Earth: And it was very natural for a Perſon of an unknown Race to be father'd upon theſe two, whoſe Children in ſome Senſe we may be all ſaid to be; for conſidering how much our Lives are all owing to the concurrent Influences of Heaven and Earth, who does not by way of Reſpect honour 'em with the Title of common Parents? Or it might come to paſs from a Cuſtom of ſaying a Perſon drop'd from the Skies, when he ſtep'd in, unknown and unexpected by thoſe about him. And ſo *Saturn* from his ſurprizing Appearance in *Italy*, might be ſaid to come from Heaven. Beſides, a Perſon of an uncertain Family had uſually the Denomination of a Son of [x] Earth; not to mention the Rudeneſs of thoſe Times when the People

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Pliny in lib. 33. *cap.* 3. ſays, that *Servius Tullius* was the firſt who ſtampt Braſs Money with the Image of Beaſts, and ſo from *Pecude* the word *Pecunia*. Afterwards the Images of the *Cæſars* with Inſcriptions and Titles were impreſs'd upon the Coin; ſo *Nero* in the Habit of an Harper. *Sueton, in vit. Ner.* and *Alexander Severus* in the Habit of *Alexander* the Great, *&c.*

[x] *Terræ filios vulgus vocat, quorum genus eſt incertum.*] Thus is *Tytius* called both by *Homer* and *Virgil*, Ἦϛον ἐπιφλόϊσβον Τιτυὸν γαιήϊον υἱόν. Odyſſ. lib. 7. and ſo again, *lib.* 11. Καὶ Τιτυὸν εἰσεῖδον γαίης ἐριθρέπτου υἱόν.

Nec non & Tytium Terræ omnipotentis Alumnum.

Id eſt, *Filium*, according to *Servius*. *Virgil Æneid. lib.* 6.

were ſtruck with the ſight of a Stranger as at the Preſence of a God; ſince the refined Spirits of this poliſh'd Age have made Improvements of the Folly, and rais'd them up into Gods, whom the other Day they ſolemnly attended to the Funeral. This is enough in Reaſon to ſay about *Saturn*, tho' 'tis but little; I ſhall now do as much for *Jove*, and ſhew him to be a mere Man, as well as the Son of a Man, and conſequently the whole Swarm of Divinities Mortal, and like Father like Son.

CHAP. XI.

That the Fancy of making Gods of dead Men is a very fooliſh Fancy.

AND becauſe you have not the Hardineſs to deny, but that your Gods were once Men, and yet ſtand up for Poſthumous Divinities, or dead Men turn'd into Gods, I ſhall now conſider the Reaſons for ſuch an Imagination. In the firſt place then, you will be forc'd to grant ſome ſuperior God who [y] auctions out his Divinity, and upon good Conſideration makes Gods of Men; for Men cannot naturalize themſelves into Gods;

[y] *Mancipem quendam Divinitatis.*] Theſe *Mancipes* were the Chief among the Publicans, or the principal Farmers of the Publick Revenues. *Vid. Cic. de Aruſp. reſpon. & Alex. ab Alex. lib.* 2. *c.* 5.

nor can any one elſe beſtow the Divine Nature upon 'em, but him who is the Proprietor of it. But now, if the ſupreme Power it ſelf cannot make Gods, you then preſume in vain upon made Gods without a Maker. Certainly if Men cou'd deifie themſelves, they wou'd never have taken up with a humane Being, when a Divine one was in their Power. Upon Suppoſition therefore, that there is one who is able to make Gods, I will examin the Reaſons for making 'em; and upon conſideration I can find none, unleſs it be that the ſupreme God has too much Buſineſs upon his Hands to manage as it ſhou'd be, without ſome Sub-gods to aſſiſt him. But, firſt, 'tis the moſt unbecoming Idea of Almighty Power, to think it wants the Help of a Man, much leſs of a dead one: And 'tis as unbecoming infinite Wiſdom, which cou'd not but foreſee its wants, not to have made an aſſiſtant Deity from the Beginning, rather than to tarry to the end of a Man's Life before he can ſupply his Neceſſities.

But I can ſee no room for any Help-meet for God; for whether you conſider this great Machine of the World as eternal with *Pythagoras*, or made in time with *Plato*, you'll find it from its Structure framed with all Materials and Movements neceſſary for the Order and Government of this vaſt Body; and he who gave this Perfection to every thing, cou'd not want it himſelf, or ſtand in need of an Aſſiſtant. He did not wait for a *Saturn*, or any of the *Saturnian* Race, to work under

him in the ordering of his World. For Men muſt be vain to the laſt Degree to think that it did not always rain, and the Stars dart their Rays, and the Sun and Moon ſhine perpetually in their Orbs, and the Thunder bellow, and poor *Jove* himſelf, in whoſe Hands now you put the Bolts, tremble at the Clap; and likewiſe that the Fruits of the Earth were not in Being before *Bacchus*, and *Ceres*, and *Minerva*, and even the firſt Man was form'd out of it; becauſe the World muſt be made and provided with all the Neceſſaries of Life, before Man can come to live in it. Laſtly, your Gods are reputed to be the Inventors, and not the Creators of theſe Supports of Life; but that which is found out, muſt have a Being before it can be found, and that which is thus in Being cannot properly be ſaid to be his who found it, but his who made it; becauſe it was in Exiſtence before it was found out. But if *Bacchus* was conſecrated for the diſcovery of Vines, *Lucullus*, methinks, had hard Uſage to miſs of a Conſecration for the Plantation of Cherry-trees in *Italy*; for he is celebrated as the Author of this new Fruit, becauſe he firſt brought it over with him from *Pontus*.

Wherefore, if the Univerſe was well appointed with all its Furniture from the Beginning, and ev'ry thing was poſted in its proper Station, and adjuſted with proper Powers for the Execution of its Office, without any foreign Aſſiſtance, this Reaſon of yours for making of Gods falls to the Ground; becauſe the Places and Functions you aſſign to them

are

are ſupply'd by Nature, and all things wou'd have always been juſt as they are, whether you had created any Gods or no. But you turn over to another Reaſon, and ſay that this conferring of Godſhips was intended for the rewarding of Virtue. From hence, I ſuppoſe, you'll grant the God-making God himſelf to be vertuous in Perfection, and conſequently not to diſpenſe theſe divine Honours at Sixes and Sevens, without having any Reſpect to the Merits of the Perſons. I deſire you therefore to ſum up the Merits of thoſe you worſhip for Gods, and judge whether they are likely to lift Men up into Heaven, or not rather preſs 'em down to the very bottom of Hell, which when the fit's upon you, you call the Priſon of the Damned. This is the Dungeon where you thruſt the Undutiful and Inceſtuous, the Adulterers, and Raviſhers of Virgins, and Abuſers of themſelves with Mankind, the Savage, and the Murtherer, Thieves and Cheats, and whoever reſembles ſome one God or other of yours; for you cannot name one without a Fault, unleſs you diſown him to have been a Man. But they have left too many Prints of human Frailty to deny 'em to be Men, and ſuch as not only prove 'em Men, but ſuch alſo as prove it incredible they ſhou'd be made Gods in another World.

If you ſit upon the Bench to puniſh ſuch Miſcreants, and Men of Honour ſpit at ſuch naſty Acquaintance, and the ſupreme God takes up ſuch Fellows to aſſociate with his Majeſty,

Why

Why then do you condemn them whoſe Colleagues in Wickedneſs you adore? This Juſtice of yours is mere Lampoon and Satyr upon Heaven. If you wou'd get into the good Graces of your Deities, I wou'd adviſe you to conſecrate the greateſt Rakes you can find, for certainly a Conſecration of ſuch Rakes, is doing Honour to thoſe they are like.

But not to dwell longer upon things ſo unbecoming the divine Nature, I'll ſuppoſe your Gods to have been good honeſt Men, yet how many better and more noted have you left in Hell? For there have you not left the wiſe *Socrates*, the juſt *Ariſtides*, the excellent General *Themiſtocles*, and *Alexander* the Great, *Polycrates* the Fortunate, *Creſus* the Rich, and *Demoſthenes* the Eloquent? Which of your Gods had more Gravity and Wiſdom than *Cato*, more Juſtice and Conduct, with Courage, than *Scipio*, more Magnanimity than *Pompey*, more Succeſs than *Sylla*, more Wealth than *Craſſus*, and more Eloquence than *Tully*? How much more becoming had it been for him who had a Foreſight of theſe worthier Perſonages, to have ſtay'd till their Death before his Creation of Gods? But he was in haſte, I ſuppoſe, for Company, and having taken up thoſe you worſhip, he made faſt the Door, and ſo Heaven lies bluſhing now, to ſee braver Souls repining in Hell.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Vanity of Image-worſhip.

BUT I ſhall puſh theſe things no farther, and take another Courſe to ſet you right in the Notion of your Gods; for by demonſtrating what they are not, I ſhall ſhew what they are. And as much as I can learn of your Gods, they have nothing of the Venerable but merely their Names, impos'd by ſome old People dead and gone. I meet with no Account of their Lives, but what is blended with Fables, and I find the whole Fabrick of your Religion built upon a Pack of human Inventions. As for your Images, I ſhall only obſerve that they are material, and often of the ſame Matter with your common Utenſils; and 'tis ten to one but the holy Image has ſome Siſter-Veſſel about the Houſe, the Pots and Kettles being frequently of the ſame Metal and Piece with the Gods. Nay, oftentimes the Veſſels themſelves have the good Luck to change their Fate, and be turn'd into Gods, by the help of Conſecration, which alters the Property, and by the help of Art, which alters the Form, tho' not without great Sacrilege and contumely to any of the Gods in their very Making. So that 'tis, indeed, a mighty Conſolation to us who are puniſh'd for theſe Gods, to find 'em ſuffer the like with us, before they come to be worſhipful;

ſhipful; for Chriſtians are faſten'd to Croſſes and Stumps of Trees; and have you e'er an Image, that has not been ſo apply'd in its Formation? 'Tis upon a Frame of Wood in the Form of a Gibbet, where the Body firſt takes its Degree of Divinity. Our Chriſtian Sides are torn with Nails; but how is ev'ry Member of your poor Gods maul'd with Hatchets, Saws and Files? We loſe our Heads, and your Gods have none, before the Lead and the Glue, and the Nails ſet 'em on: We are drawn about by wild Beaſt, and ſo *Bacchus* is drawn by Tygers, *Cybele* by Lyons, and *Ceres* by Serpents: We are caſt into the Fire, and your Gods are caſt and founded there alſo: We are condemned to the Mines, and are not your Gods dug out from thence? We are baniſh'd into Iſlands, and there's not an Iſland but is famous for the Birth or Burial of ſome God or other. If theſe are the Ways of Deifying, then while you are plaguing Chriſtians, you are only hammering 'em into Gods, and your Puniſhing ought properly to be call'd a Conſecration. But in truth your Gods have not the Senſe to feel the Hardſhips they undergo in Making, nor the Honours you pay them when made. And here I expect you ſhou'd cry out, O Blaſphemy! O Sacrilege! but you may gnaſh and foam as you pleaſe; yet remember that you your ſelves are the Admirers of that *Seneca*, who in his Book of Superſtition has been much ſeverer againſt you upon this Head than

than I. If [a] therefore we will not adore your Statues and Images as cold as Death, and in this ſo very like the Bodies they repreſent, do not we deſerve Panegyrick rather than Puniſhment for leaving an acknowledg'd Error? And which the very [b] Kites and Mice and Spiders know to be dead as well as we. Is it poſſible we can hurt thoſe, we are certain are not? For that which is not, is not capable of ſuffering, becauſe it is not.

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[a] *Igitur ſi Statuas & Imagines frigidas mortuorum ſuorum ſimillimas non adoramus.*] This Paſſage the *Magdeburgenſes* (ſays *Pamelius*) have wreſted againſt the Uſe of Images in the Church, and takes it ill of *Zephyrus* for concluding that the Chriſtians in *Tertullian*'s Time had only the Sign of the Croſs above the Altar, and is ſo unfortunate in his Zeal, as to take occaſion even from hence to juſtifie, not only the Uſe of Images, but the Worſhip of them too, in a very long Note upon this Place. But I ſhall not pretend to anſwer a Perſon of ſuch Hardineſs, only leave it to any Impartial Reader, whether he can think it poſſible, that *Tertullian* wou'd have been ſo merrily ſevere for this whole Chapter together, upon the Heathens for the Worſhip of Images, had the Chriſtians of his time done the like, by Virtue of the Romiſh Diſtinction between *Dulia* and *Latria*, without ſaying one word of ſuch a Diſtinction.

[b] *Quas Milvi & Mures & Araneæ intelligunt.*] *Horace* himſelf takes the Liberty of jeſting in the like manner.

Mentior at ſi quid, merdis caput inquiner albis
Corvorum.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Irreverence of the Heathen to their Gods.

BUT Gods they are in your Opinion, ſay you; and if ſo, how comes it to paſs, that you uſe 'em ſo ſcurvily, with ſuch Prophaneſs, Sacrilege, and Irreverence? How dare, you deſpiſe what you preſume to be Divine, and pull down the Altars of them you fear, and ridicule the Deities you defend? Examin the Charge, and ſhew where I falſifie; for if you worſhip, ſome one God, and ſome another, How can it be, but you muſt offend the God you overlook; for you cannot give the Preference to one, without poſtponing another; for in the Election and Reprobation of Gods, as well as Men, Honour and Diſhonour are inſeparable Relations. It is now therefore evident, that you muſt put a ſlight upon the Deities you reprobate, and that you cannot be afraid of offending thoſe, whom you have the Boldneſs to reprobate. For as I ſharply obſerved before, the Fate of ev'ry God depends upon the Vote of the Senate, he muſt paſs the Houſe before he comes to be a God, and the Houſe ungods him at pleaſure. As for your domeſtick Deities called [c] *Lares*, you

[c] *Domeſticos Deos quos Lares dicitis.*] Theſe *Lares* were painted in the Form of a Dog, as having the Charge of the Houſe committed to their Cuſtody, according to that of *Ovid. Faſt.* 5.

Pervigilantque Lares, pervigilantque Canes.

The

you treat them I am ſure but very homely; for theſe Houſhold Gods are pawn'd and ſold, and truck'd like other Houſhold Goods. *Saturn* is forced ſometimes to ſerve in the Kitchin, and *Minerva* in the Laundry; for when theſe Images are worn out, or much batter'd by long worſhipping, they make a great many good Implements; or if the Maſter is in want, he ſtrips his *Lares*; for Neceſſity is the moſt ſacred, and ſooneſt ſerv'd of any God about the Houſe.

The Gods of the Publick, by publick Order, are prophaned juſt like theſe Gods of the Houſe, for they are bought and ſold at Market-Auctions, and enter'd into your Books of Account, and pay Duties for their Deityſhips; for if the Capitol and the Herb-market are to be leas'd out to farm, they are both proclaim'd by the ſame Crier, and the Prices of both adjudg'd under the ſame Standard, and the Farm of the God regiſter'd by the Treaſurer, like any other publick Rent. But the Lands which are clog'd with the greateſt Duties, are the leaſt valuable, and the Heads which pay Capitation are moſt Ignoble, becauſe theſe are Marks of Servitude. But among the Gods I find it otherwiſe, for they who pay moſt Tribute, are look'd upon as the moſt Holy; or rather they have the moſt Devotion pay'd 'em, who return the moſt

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The Cuſtom in ſacrificing to theſe domeſtick Deities, was to eat up all that was offered. Hence that Phraſe, *Lari Sacrificat*, when a Fellow eats up all before him, *He ſacrifices to his Houſehold God.*

Cuſtom.

Cuſtom. Your divine Majeſties are your Merchandize, and their Worſhips are [d] carry'd about to Taverns and Ale-houſes a begging. You demand Money for Entrance, and Money for a Place in your Temple; 'tis not poſſible to ſerve your Gods *gratis*; you turn the Penny with 'em all. Beſides, what Honours do you confer upon your Gods, that you confer not upon dead Men? You give to Both, Chapels, and Altars, and Images, habited and adorn'd alike. The human Image is dreſs'd out to give an Idea of the Age, the Art, and Profeſſion of the Perſon deceas'd, and the Divine one is apparell'd with the ſame Deſign, and in the ſame manner to exhibit the God. How does a [e] Funeral Banquet differ from a Feaſt to *Jove*, or the Veſſels you make uſe of to pour out Wine to the Gods above, from thoſe you uſe for the Shades below? What Difference between a Soothſayer and an Embalmer, for they are both employ'd about the Entrails of the Dead? Nevertheleſs,

[d] *Circuit cauponas Religio mendicans.*] Here *Tertullian* no doubt alludes to the Practice of the *Corybantes*, who with the Picture of their Goddeſs *Cybele* in their Hands went dancing about the Streets with Pipes and Cymbals playing before them, and keeping time to the Thumps upon their Breaſts, and in this Poſture they begg'd of all they met; and from hence were called *Cybeles Circulatores*, *the Beggars*, or *Juglers of Cybele*, and in Greek —— μητραγύρται, from μήτηρ, which in this place ſignifies *Cybele* the *Great Mother* of the Gods, and ἀγύρτης an *Alms-gatherer* or *Beggar*.

[e] *Quo differt ab epulo Jovis ſilicernium?*] *Silicernium* was a Funeral Banquet to which the oldeſt ſort only were invited, and it being the Cuſtom to celebrate this Feaſt upon a Stone, the Supper was termed *Silicernium quaſi Silicænium*, that is, *cæna ſuper ſilicem*; and hence this word came to ſignifie an old Man ready for the Grave, or a Funeral Banquet, or rather as our own Proverb has it, *To give the Crow a Pudding.*

I muſt

I muſt own you act conſiſtently with your ſelves in performing divine Honours to the dead Emperors, becauſe you did it to 'em living; and no doubt but the Gods will acknowledge the Favour and thank you for putting them and their Maſters, the Emperors upon the level.

But when I ſee you adore [f] *Larentina*, a publick Strumpet with the ſame Honours as you do *Juno*, *Ceres* and *Diana*, methinks, I cou'd wiſh you had taken into your Roll the more noted [g] *Lais*, and *Phryne*; when you inaugurate [h] *Simon Magus* with a Statue and Inſcription, To the moſt Holy God; when you Canonize a certain [i] *Ganymed* (I know not who) nurs'd up in Apartments at

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[f] *Larentinam publicam Scortum*, &c.] This *Larentina* I take to be the ſame with *Larentia* in *Lactantius* the Wife of *Fauſtulus*, the Nurſe of *Romulus*, a noted Proſtitute among the Shepherds, afterwards worſhipped by the Romans with divine Honours, as *Faula* the Miſtreſs of *Hercules* likewiſe was. *Vid. Lactant. lib.* 1. *Sect.* 20.

[g] *Laidem.*] This ſame *Lais* was a celebrated Strumpet of *Corinth*, of whom *A. Gellius* tells this Story; That *Demoſthenes* went privily to her to know her Price, ſhe ask'd him a thouſand *Drachmæ*, or a Talent, at which *Demoſthenes*, being aſtoniſh'd, reply'd, — *ἐκ ὠνοῦμαι μετανοίων τοσούτου μεταμέλειαν*, *I will not buy Repentance at ſo dear a Rate. Vid. A. Gell. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. And hence that of *Horace* ——

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.

[h] *Simonem Magum Statuâ & Inſcriptione Sancti Dei inauguratis.*] Concerning this Statue and Inſcription to *Simon Magus*, for which the Fathers have ſuffer'd ſo injuſtly from ſome Criticks, I have ſpoken at large in my Notes upon *Juſtin*'s Apology.

[i] *Neſcio quem*, &c.] This nameleſs Perſon ſtruck at by *Tertullian*, *Juſtin Martyr* ſpeaks out; it was *Antinous*, *Hadrian*'s *Ganymede*, and by his Order conſecrated for this Service.

Court, altho', indeed, your old Gods are not of a better Family, yet they cannot but take it very ill, that you ſhou'd offer to make Gods at this rate, now-a-days, as much as your Forefathers did of old.

CHAP. XIV.

That the Heathens do but mock their Gods in offering the Refuſe, and the vileſt Parts of the Sacrifice.

I Shall now take a Review of the Rites of your Religion, but will not inſiſt upon the Quality of your Sacrifices, which you know to be the oldeſt and ſcabideſt Beaſts you can find; if they happen to be fat and good, you chop off the Hoofs, and ſome outſide Bits, and ſuch Pieces only you vouchſafe your Gods, which you beſtow upon your Dogs and Slaves. Inſtead of offering *Hercules* the [k] Tenth of your Goods,

[k] *De Decima Herculis.*] *Pliny* in his natural Hiſtory, *lib.* 12. *c.* 14. mentions a Law in *Arabia*, which oblig'd ev'ry Merchant to offer the Tenth of his Frankincenſe, the Product of that Country, to the God *Sabis*. We find alſo in *Juſtin*, *lib.* 18. *cap.* 7. that the *Carthaginians* ſent the Tenth of their Spoils taken in the *Sicilian* War, to *Hercules* of *Tyre*. The *Æthiopians* pay'd the Tenth to their God *Aſſabinus*. *Vid. Plin. lib.* 12. *cap.* 19. The Roman General *Sylla* dedicated the Tenth of all his Eſtate to *Hercules*, and ſo likewiſe did *M. Craſſus*. *Vid. Plutarch.* in *Sylla & Craſſo*. Inſtances in abundance of this kind are to be ſeen in *Selden's Hiſt. of Tithes*, *cap.* 3. *Mountag. diatrib. p.* 1. *cap.* 3. and in *Spencer de leg. Hebr. lib.* 3. *cap.* 10. Now from hence will ariſe a Que-

Goods, you hardly lay one Third of it upon his Altar; not that I blame you for this, for believe me, I take it for a great Inſtance of your Wiſdom, to ſave ſome of that which otherwiſe would all be loſt.

But I ſhall turn to your Writings; and *bleſs me!* What ſtrange Stuff about your Gods do I find, even in your Inſtitutions of Prudence, and ſuch Books as are deſign'd to poliſh a Gentleman, and form him to all the Offices of a civil Life? Here I find your Gods engag'd by Pairs like Gladiators, one againſt another, helter skelter, ſome for *Greeks*, and ſome for *Trojans*. *Venus* wounded with a human Shaft, in *reſcuing her Son* [1] Æneas *from* Diomedes, *juſt upon the Point of killing him.* The God of

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a Queſtion, how it is poſſible that Nations ſo remote, and who never ſeem to have had the leaſt Commerce or Acquaintance with each other, ſhou'd come to hit upon the ſame Notion as to dedicate an exact Tenth, no more nor no leſs. This Proportion is certainly in it ſelf a thing indifferent, and conſequently not diſcoverable by the Light of Nature, and the Practice was too conſtant, regular and univerſal to be aſcrib'd to Humour or Fancy; nor can it with any Probability be thought to have ſpread over the World from the *Jewiſh* Nation, a Nation debarr'd from correſponding with the Gentile World, and mortally hated for the Singularities of their Religion, and beſides the Cuſtom of dedicating a Tenth, was a Cuſtom long before the Jews were an eſtabliſh'd People; it ſeems therefore moſt reaſonable to believe that this Cuſtom like Sacrifice, Prieſthood and Marriage, was deriv'd from *Adam* to *Noah*; and from him continu'd by his Poſterity to the Confuſion at *Babel*, and by means of that univerſal Diſperſion ſpread over all the World.

[1] *Quod filium ſuum Æneam pene interfectum*, &c.] Theſe Words are not in *Rigaltius*'s Edition, but being in that of *Pamelius*, and an Illuſtration of the Story, I have tranſlated them; and the following Fables, which the Poets have told to the eternal Diſgrace of the Heathen Gods, are ſo common, and ſo frequently occur in all the Apologiſts, that I will not preſume the Reader ignorant.

War in Chains for thirteen Months, and in a very lamentable Pickle: And *Jove* by the help of a Monſter narrowly eſcaping the like Treatment from the reſt of the Celeſtial Gang. One while he is repreſented crying for his *Sarpedon*, another while in the Arms of his grunting Siſter, recounting his Amours, and proteſting that of all his Miſtreſſes, ſhe is the Darling. Beſides, which of your Poets takes not the Liberty to diſgrace a God for a Complement to his Prince? One makes *Apollo* King *Admetus*'s Shepherd; another makes *Neptune* Bricklayer to *Laomedon*; and the Man of Lyricks, *Pindar*, I mean, ſings of *Æſculapius*'s being Thunderſtruck for abuſing his Skill in Phyſick out of Covetouſneſs. But I muſt needs ſay, that *Jove* did Ill, if *Jove* was the Thunderer, in being ſo unnatural to his Nephew, and ſo envious to ſo fine an Artiſt. However, theſe things, if true, ought not to be divulged; nor invented, if falſe, by any who pretend ſo much Zeal for the Gods and their Religion: But neither Tragedians nor Comedians are one bit more tender of the Reputation of your Deities; for you ſhall not meet a Prologue that is not ſtuff'd with the Diſaſters and Exceſſes of the Family of ſome God or other. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Philoſophers, let the Inſtance of *Socrates* ſerve for all, who in deriſion of your Gods ſwore by an Oak, a Goat, and a Dog. But *Socrates*, you ſay, was put to death for thus denying the Gods; it muſt be confeſs'd, indeed, that Truth has always been on the ſuffering Side,

Side; but yet ſince the *Athenians* repented of the Sentence, and reveng'd his Death with that of his Accuſers, and erected to him a Statue of Gold in their very Temple; this I ſay is Argument enough, that upon ſecond Thoughts, they came over to *Socrates*, and approv'd his Teſtimony againſt the Gods. But *Diogenes* alſo rallies very merrily upon *Hercules*, and the Roman Cynick [m] *Varro* as waggiſhly introduces three hundred *Joves* or *Jupiters* without Heads.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the ſhameful Repreſentation of the Gods upon the Stage, and Amphitheatre.

THE profane Wits are continually at work to raiſe you Pleaſure at the diſgrace of the Gods; when you ſee the Farces of *Lentulus*, or *Hoſtilius* acted, tell me whether it be the Mimicks or the Gods you laugh at. You can ſit out [n] *Anubis* the Adulterer, and ſee

[m] *Romanus Cynicus Varro.*] He reckons up 43 *Hercules*'s, as well as 300 Headleſs *Joves*. *Vid. Tiraquell* upon *Alex. ab Alex. lib.* 2. *p.* 379.

[n] *Mœchum Anubim, Lunam Maſculum*, &c.] We may eaſily conjecture from the ſeveral Arguments of theſe Farces, that they were a Lampoon and publick Mockery of the Gods then in worſhip; but none of theſe mention'd are extant as I know of. The

ſee *Luna maſculus* play'd, or *Diana* whipt, or the laſt Will and Teſtament of dying *Jove*, or the three hunger-ſtarv'd *Hercules*. But beſides theſe Pieces of Buffoonery, all your ° Comedies and Tragedies are chiefly freighted with the Uncleanneſs of your Gods. 'Tis a publick Pleaſure to behold *Sol* in Sadneſs for the Fall of his Son *Phaeton*. You can ſee without a Bluſh the Mother of the Gods, old *Cybele*, ſighing after a coy Shepherd. You can bear to hear all the Titles of *Jove*'s Adventures ſung upon the Theatre; and ſee with Patience *Paris* ſit in Judgment upon *Juno*, *Venus*, and *Minerva*. What

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Titles of all, but that of *Luna Maſculus*, do in ſome Meaſure explain them; and if it may be forgiven in a matter of no Moment, and where the Commentators are ſilent, to put in my Opinion, 'tis this—There was in *Aſſyria* among the *Carræ*, a Temple dedicated to *Luna*, in which whoever offer'd his Supplications to *Luna* was ſure to be under Petticoat Government; but he who ſacrific'd to *Lunus* ſhou'd continue Maſter of his Wife. *Vid. Al. Spartian. in Antonin. Caracalla.* This no doubt was a Subject comical enough for the Wits of the time to make merry with the Goddeſs *Luna*, and the God *Lunus*, which I take to be the *Luna Maſculus*; tho' there may be another Meaning not fit to be mention'd.

° *Sed & Hiſtrionum literæ omnem fœditatem eorum deſignant.*] *An Urb. Cond.* 400, there happen'd a great Sickneſs, and the *Romans* ſuperſtitiouſly conceiting that the Wrath of the Gods cou'd no otherwiſe be propitiated than by the Inſtitution of ſome new Games, ſent for certain Stage-Players from *Hetruria*, which they called *Hiſtriones* from the *Hetrurian* word *Hiſter*, which ſignifies ſuch a Player. *Vid. Polydor. de Invent. lib.* 3. *c.* 13. Theſe Plays in time, eſpecially the *Mimicæ*, grew to that exceſſive Lewdneſs, that the *Pantomimi* were put down by *Domitian. Vid. Sueton. in vita ejus. cap.* 7. Afterwards expell'd by *Trajan*; and the *Hiſtriones* by *Tiberius. Vid. Tacit. lib.* 4. and even by *Nero*, *Tacit. lib.* 13. *& Sueton. in vita ejus, cap.* 16. And had *Tertullian* liv'd in our Days, and ſeen the Heatheniſh Freedoms of the Stage in a Chriſtian Commonwealth, he wou'd have paſs'd a ſeverer Cenſure upon the Authors, Players and Spectators, who countenance them without a Bluſh, than he did upon thoſe in the Age he liv'd.

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a lewd and Infamous Head is that which is masked over to Perſonate a God? What a proſtitute Body, form'd for the Stage by a long Courſe of Effeminacy, is that which plays *Minerva* or *Hercules?* What Prophanation and Violence is this to divine Majeſty? While you applaud the Actors, don't you hiſs your Gods out of the World? But may be, I am to think you more Religious in the Amphitheatre, where the Gods are brought in dancing upon human Blood, and upon the dead Bodies of Criminals; the Gods, I ſay, which ſupply the Fable, unleſs it be when the poor Actors are forc'd to ſuffer to the Life, and be the very Gods themſelves. For we have ſeen an Actor truly ſuffer Caſtration in perſonating the God *Atys* of *Peſſinus*; and another playing *Hercules* in real Flames; and among the Ludicrous [p] Barbarities which are exhibited at Noonday,

[p] *Inter Ludicras meridianorum crudelitates.*] To underſtand this, we muſt remember, that in the Morning, Men were brought forth upon the *Theatre* to fight with wild Beaſts, and theſe *Morning-Combatants* were allow'd Arms offenſive and defenſive. Another ſort were brought forth about Noon (called therefore *Meridiani*) naked, with Swords only in one Hand cutting, and with the other Hand empty, graſping and tearing each others Fleſh. *Vid. Sueton. Claud.* 34. ſo that *Seneca Ep.* 7. comparing theſe two ſorts of Combats, ſayeth, *Quicquid antea pugnatum eſt, miſericordia fuit.* But that which I think more material to remark (eſpecially ſince *Pamelius* and *Rigaltius* have not) is, the peculiar Light that this Cuſtom of *Meridian Cruelties* lets into the 9*th* Verſe of the 4*th* Chapter of St. *Paul*'s firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. The Words are theſe; *I think God hath ſet forth us, the Apoſtles, laſt, as it were appointed unto Death; for we are a Spectacle to the World, and to Angels, and to Men.* This Verſe runs all in Terms *Agoniſtical*, ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν, *hath ſet forth us laſt*, or as the *Meridian Gladiators*, the word ἀπέδειξεν is properly *Oſtendit*,

day; *for the entertainment of thoſe who are more greedy of 'em than Dinner.* I cou'd not forbear ſmiling to ſee *Mercury* going about with a Rod of Iron red hot, probing the Bodies to fetch out the Souls, and *Jove*'s Brother *Pluto*, in like manner, with his Mallet in his Hand to finiſh thoſe that were not quite dead, and make 'em ready for the Ferry-boat. But now if ev'ry one of theſe things, and many more of the ſame Complexion, I cou'd produce, notoriouſly tend to the Diſquiet of your Gods in poſſeſſion, and to lay their divine Honours in the Duſt; why then they cannot be look'd upon as acted upon a publick Stage, but merely in ridicule of Religion, both by the Actors and Spectators alſo, who delight in ſuch Plays. But theſe you'll ſay, are Ludicrous and Paſtimes only, but now if I give you an Appendix of ſome ſerious Debaucheries, which your Conſciences will teſtifie to be as true *as what*

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which ſignifies the Author or Exhibitor of theſe inhuman Sights; and *Lipſius* makes *Oſtendere Munus* in *Tully*, to be the ſame with *Proponere Munus* in *Suetonius*, both ſignifying the ſetter forth or Donour of theſe Combats. *Vid. Lipſ. in ſat. lib. 2. c. 18. God hath ſet forth us the Apoſtles laſt,* ἐπιθανατίους, *as Men appointed unto death,* juſt as the *laſt Gladiators* were; and θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν, *we are made a Spectacle.* All which evidently relate to the *Meridianorum crudelitates*; and *Tertullian lib. de pud. p. 566.* cites the aforemention'd *Verſe* thus, *Puto nos Deus Apoſtolos noviſſimos elegit, velut Beſtiarios; I think God has choſen out us Apoſtles laſt, as the Beſtiarii, or Men condemn'd to be torn in pieces by wild Beaſts.* Theſe being the laſt and bloodieſt Spectacles, which for that Day appear'd upon the Theatre, and for which many were ſo fond, that they wou'd ſtay out Noon and loſe their Dinner; for this likewiſe *Rigaltius* wou'd have included in this Expreſſion, tho' I think without much Reaſon. However, I have tranſlated it with this Intimation.

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what I have juſt now ſpoken of with Relation to the Theatre, how that Adulteries are become a Merchandize in the very Temple, and Women pick'd up at the Altars, and the Luſt fulfill'd in the Apartments of the Sacriſtans, and under the ſame pontifick Veſtments, the very Incenſe ſtill ſmoaking before their Eyes. If theſe, I ſay, are Abominations in vogue among the Heathen, I don't ſee but the Heathen Gods have more Reaſon to put in their Complaints againſt them, than againſt Chriſtians.

The ſacrilegious Profaners of Temples are only among your ſelves; for Chriſtians never enter your Temples, while you are ſerving your Idols, if they worſhip'd your Gods, they might ſerve 'em perhaps as you do: But if Chriſtians do not worſhip the things you worſhip, pray what is it ſay you, that they do worſhip; this then is the Subject now under examination, that we Chriſtians are the Worſhippers of the true God, who do not worſhip your falſe ones, nor go any longer aſtray after them, when our Eyes have been open'd to ſee our Error. Here then I ſhall preſent you with the whole Series of our Religion, having firſt return'd an Anſwer to ſome groundleſs Objections againſt it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Aſs's Head, and other ſuch like Vanities charg'd upon the Chriſtians.

FOR ſome of you have dream'd your ſelves into a Belief, that an Aſs's Head is the Chriſtian's God. This [q] was inſinuated firſt by *Cornelius Tacitus*, who in his fifth Book entring upon the *Jewiſh* War under *Veſpaſian*, begins with the Hiſtory of that Nation, their Original, Name, and Religion, and giving a looſe to his Invention, reports, that the *Jews* being deliver'd, or as he will have it, baniſh'd from *Egypt*, and being in great want of Water in the Deſarts of *Arabia*, put themſelves under the Conduct of ſome wild Aſſes they met by chance, concluding that they were going to drink after Paſture, and being in the very Article of Neceſſity thus luckily reviv'd, out of gratitude to their Benefactors, conſe-

[q] *Cornelius Tacitus hanc ſuſpicionem inſeruit.*] This Story concerning the Aſs's Head, and the Ground of worſhipping it, is not only reported confidently by *Tacitus*, but alſo by *Plutarch. Vid. Plut. Sympoſ. l. 4. Queſt. 5. p. 670.* and ſo likewiſe by *Appio the Alexandrian* many Years before, in his Books againſt the Jews. And this Fable has been as confidently taken up, and as ridiculouſly improv'd by ſome modern Atheiſts, to diſcredit the Miracle of *Moſes* in making the Waters flow out of the Rock, who content themſelves to ſolve this mighty Work, only by ſaying with an Air of Aſſurance, that *Moſes* did all he did in this by the help of a wild Aſs, which he made to follow him, by the Sagacity of which thirſty Aſs, he diſcovered a ſecret Spring in the Rock.

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crated a Head reſembling that of the Beaſts, who had befriended 'em in Extremity. This Account I take to have bred the Opinion about the Aſs's Head; becauſe we deriving our Religion from the *Jews*, might well be thought to be initiated in the Worſhip of the ſame Idol.

But yet this ſame Author *Cornelius Tacitus*, in truth, a great Broacher of Lies; in the very ſame Hiſtory relates, that *Cn. Pompey* having ſack'd *Jeruſalem*, to gratifie his Curioſity in diſcovering the Miſteries of the *Jewiſh* Religion, went into the Temple, and found not one Statue or Image therein; whereas, had they worſhipped any graven Image, he had certainly found it in the moſt holy Place; and ſo much the rather becauſe there the Vanity had been in no danger of a Diſcovery from Strangers, That being a Place which the High Prieſts alone were permitted to enter, and which was covered with a Veil that kept it from ev'ry other Eye. As for the Objection of the Aſs's Head, I cannot but admire you ſhou'd inſiſt upon it againſt Chriſtians, you who cannot deny but that you pay divine Honours to all the Beaſts of burthen, to Aſſes Heads and Bodies both, together with their Goddeſs [r] *Epona*. But here, perhaps,

[r] *Cum ſua Epona.*] This *Epona* was the Goddeſs of Stables, and is likewiſe taken Notice of, and read by *Minutius Felix* juſt as *Rigaltius* reads it. Tho' there is a terrible diſpute among the Criticks, a great Cry, and very little Wool, about the ſpelling, and Quantity of this Goddeſs's Name; ſome ſpelling it *Hippona*, and making the middle Syllable long, others ſpelling it as *Rigaltius*

haps, lies the Crime, that among the Worſhippers of ev'ry Animal, we ſhou'd be the Aſs-worſhippers only. I come now to another Calumny, which blackens us with the Adoration of a [s] Croſs; and here I ſhall prove the Calum-

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tius does, and making the middle Syllable ſhort, and thus *Prudentius* in his *Apotheoſi* make it,

Nemo Cloacinæ aut Eponæ ſuper aſtra Deabus.

Whoever thinks it worth his while, may ſee this Point fully clear'd by Dr. *Holyday* in his Note upon that Paſſage in the *8th.* Sat. of *Juvenal.*

Jurat ſolam Eponam.

[s] *Sed & qui Crucis Religioſos nos putat.*] The Primitive Chriſtians (as I have already obſerv'd upon *Juſtin Martyr*) from ſigning themſelves in Baptiſm with the Sign of the Croſs, and the conſtant Uſe of it almoſt in the moſt common Actions of Life in Honour of their crucify'd Maſter, were defam'd by the Heathens as Worſhippers of a Croſs. *Tertullian* therefore in this place ſets himſelf to wipe off this Scandal from the Chriſtians, and does it as effectually, I think, as words can do it. And yet *Pamelius* is ſo very ſanguine as to affirm, *That this Paſſage, however underſtood, moſt certainly makes for the Worſhip of the Croſs.* That is, let *Tertullian* ſpeak what he will againſt the Worſhip of the Croſs, yet he moſt certainly ſpeaks for it; but let us conſider the Caſe. Our Author is here not only anſwering but retorting the Objection of worſhipping a Croſs upon the Objectors themſelves, and to this purpoſe makes uſe of the Argument *ad hominem*; and ſays, that they of all Men had the leaſt Reaſon to charge the Worſhip of a Croſs upon Chriſtians, becauſe there was not an Image they erected but what reſembled a Croſs in part, and then with his uſual Smartneſs concludes, that we who worſhip an entire Croſs, *if we do worſhip it*, methinks have much the better on't of you, who worſhip it only by halves. *If we do worſhip it*, ſays this Commentator, is only *a wiſe and wary Expreſſion*, frequent with the Primitive Fathers; for fear had he confeſs'd the Worſhip of the Croſs freely, it might have confirm'd the Heathen in their old Idolatry: And this is ſo true, ſays *Pamelius*, that in the 21 cap. *Tertullian* durſt not ſpeak out, *that the Chriſtians worſhipped Chriſt, but God only thro' Chriſt.* But *wiſe Reſerves* and *wary Expreſſions*, and ſuch *Pious Frauds* were ſtrange things to Primitive Chriſtians. Idolatry was the reigning Sin of theſe times, and what all the Chriſtian Apologiſts you'll find labour moſt of all to expoſe and ridicule out of the World. *Juſtin Martyr* ſpends great part of his firſt Apology in doing ſo, plainly and publickly affirming that the Chriſtians worſhipped one God only in the Trinity of Perſons, and argues at the ſame rate againſt worſhip-

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Calumniator himſelf to be a Fellow-worſhipper or Sharer in the Scandal; for he that worſhips any piece of Timber is guilty of the thing charg'd upon us; for what ſignifies the Difference of Dreſs and Figure, while the Matter and Subſtance is the ſame, *They are wooden Gods at beſt?* Yet where's the difference between a plain Croſs, and your *Athenian Pallas*, and *Pharian Ceres*, which are but rude unpoliſh'd Poſts expos'd without a ſtroke or Impreſſion of the Artiſt upon 'em? There's not an Image you erect but reſembles a Croſs in part; ſo that we who worſhip an entire Croſs, if we do worſhip it, methinks have much the better on't of you, who worſhip but half a Croſs.

I have already mention'd, how all your earthen Gods derive their Divinity from a Croſs, the Image-maker putting the Clay upon Croſslike Engines before he forms it; but you likewiſe adore your Goddeſs *Victoria* in

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ping of Croſſes as *Tertullian* here does. *Minutius Felix* does the very ſame likewiſe, and ſays in the Perſon of *Octavius*, *Cruces etiam nec colimus, nec optamus*; *as for Croſſes, we neither deſire nor worſhip them*, p. 89. And our *Tertullian* is ſo bold a Writer, ſo free and open in his Confeſſions, and ſo liberal of his Satyr upon all Occaſions, that he wou'd be the laſt Man I ſhou'd charge with *Reſerve and Caution*. The uſeful Diſtinction between *Latria* and *Dulia* never enter'd into his Head; nor did any of the Firſt Fathers ever imagin that there was any thing in the Chriſtian Religion, which if diſcover'd might confirm the Heathens in their Idolatry: And in the very Chapter referr'd to by *Pamelius*, our Author makes it his Buſineſs to vindicate the Chriſtians from the Charge of Idolatry, by proving Chriſt to be the *Logos*, *the Son of God, and truly and properly God*, and that this *Hypoſtatick* Union of the Divine with the Humane Nature, was the Foundation of that divine Worſhip which Chriſtians paid to Chriſt; to which excellent Chapter I recommend the Reader.

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this Form, for Croſſes are the inward Part of this Deity, your Trophies being only Poles lay'd acroſs, and cover'd over with the Spoils of the Enemy. For indeed the *Roman* Religion is entirely Martial; They worſhip their Standards, and ſwear by their Standards, and pay diviner Reſpects to their Standards more than to any other God whatever. All the rich Imboſsments and Embroydery of Images upon your Colours, are but Necklaces to a Croſs, and the Flags and Streamers are but the Robes of Croſſes; and really I cannot but commend your Care and Tenderneſs in not letting your Croſſes go naked, and not conſecrating 'em till they are in the beſt Apparel. Others with a greater ſhew of Reaſon, take us for [t] Worſhippers of the Sun. Theſe

[t] *Alii plane humanius & veriſimiliùs ſolem credant Deum noſtrum.*] Here again 'tis very obſervable (tho' *Pamelius* thought it his beſt way not to obſerve it) that thoſe who objected the Worſhip of the *Sun* to Chriſtians, did it with greater Appearance of Truth, than thoſe who objected the worſhipping a *Croſs*. The Ground of this Slander you have in the Text; but that which I think worthy our Notice, is this, that *Tertullian* in this place expreſly ſays, that the Chriſtians, in his Time worſhipped towards the Eaſt; he ſays the ſame likewiſe in his Book *ad Nat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 13. and ſo does *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Strom.* 7. And alſo *Origen*, *Hom.* 5. *in Numer. cap.* 4. *p.* 210. Their Altars were uſually plac'd to the Eaſt, and when they worſhipped, they always turn'd to the Altar. And therefore when *Socrates* mentions the Church of *Antioch*, in which he ſays the Altar ſtood towards the *Weſt*, he withal adds, that the Situation of the Altar was inverted. *Vid. Socrat. Hiſt. lib.* 5. *cap.* 22. As the Jews therefore bowed themſelves down towards the *Mercy-ſeat*, ſo did the Chriſtians in like manner bow their Faces towards the *Holy Table*, praying with the *Publican*, *God be merciful to me a Sinner*; as is evident from the *Liturgies* of St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Baſil*. So little Knowledge of Antiquity, or ſo much wilful Diſreſpect to the beſt Chriſtians in the pureſt Ages, do ſome Men ſhew in condemning the moſt Primitive and Reverential Ceremony of bowing towards the Table of the Lord.

ſend

ſend us to the Religion of *Perſia*, tho' we are far from adoring a painted Sun, like them who carry about his Image ev'ry where upon their Bucklers. This Suſpicion took its Riſe from hence, becauſe it was obſerv'd that Criſtians pray'd with their Faces towards the Eaſt: But ſome of you likewiſe out of an Affectation of adoring ſome of the Celeſtial Bodies wag your Lips towards the Riſing Sun; but if we, like them, celebrate Sunday as a Feſtival and Day of Rejoicing, 'tis for a Reaſon vaſtly diſtant from that of worſhipping the Sun; for we ſolemnize the Day after Saturday in contradiſtinction to thoſe who call this Day their Sabbath, and devote it to Eaſe and Eating, deviating from the old *Jewiſh* Cuſtoms, which they are now very ignorant of.

But there is a ſtrange Edition of our God now expos'd about the City; the Picture was publiſh'd firſt by a raſcally Gladiator, very notable for his dodging Tricks in combating with Beaſts, and publiſh'd, I ſay with this Inſcription,—[v] *Onochoetes* the God of the Chriſtians. He had the Ears of an Aſs, with a Hoof on one Foot, and holding a Book in another, and cloath'd in a Gown; we cou'd not forbear ſmiling both at the Name, and the Extravagance of the Figure. But they certainly ought to fall down before this biformous Deity, upon his firſt Appearance, who are us'd to worſhip ſuch monſtrous compounds,

[v] *Deus Chriſtianorum Onochoetes.*] Concerning the various Lections of this *Word*, ſee *Rigaltius* upon this place, and *Voſſ. de Idol. l.* 3. *cap.* 5. *p.* 563.

branching out into the Heads of a Dog and a Lyon, and with Horns like a Buck and a Ram, and with Hanches like a Goat, and Shanks like a Serpent, with Wings upon their Feet and Backs.

But this is over and above, becauſe the World ſhou'd ſee, that I have not omitted any thing induſtriouſly, and not only anſwer'd all the Objections, but turn'd them upon our Adverſaries, and now having wip'd our ſelves clean of their Aſperſions, I ſhall proceed to the Demonſtration of the Chriſtian Religion.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the God of Chriſtians.

THE God we worſhip, is one God, that Almighty Being, who fetch'd this whole Maſs of Matter with all the Elements, Bodies and Spirits which compoſe the Univerſe, purely out of nothing, by the Word of his Power which ſpoke 'em into Being, and by that Wiſdom which rang'd 'em into this admirable Order, for a becoming Image, and glorious Expreſſion of his Divine Majeſty, which World the Greeks call by a Word implying Beauty. This ſame God is inviſible, tho' we diſcern his infinite Majeſty in all his Works, and whom we cannot touch, tho' repreſented to

to us by divine Revelation, and united to us by his Spirit; and incomprehenſible, tho' we come to ſome imperfect Ideas of him by the help of our Senſes.

Theſe are the Characters of the true God, but that God which is ſenſibly viſible, palpable, and comprehenſible, is of leſs value than the very Eyes that ſee him, and the Hands that handle him, and the Underſtanding that graſps him; for that which is immenſe is meaſurable by nothing but it ſelf, the things that are, force the Knowledge of him indeed in ſome meaſure upon us, but our Capacities can never hold him. And thus by the Evidence of his Works, and the Immenſity of his Being, God becomes intelligible, and at the ſame time paſſes all Underſtanding. And this it is that renders Men without Excuſe, becauſe they care not to retain that God in their Knowledge, whom they cannot avoid knowing. For ſhall I ſhew you him in the vaſt Variety of Wonders, which encompaſs our Beings, and preſerve them, and which ſerve not only to fill us with Delight, but Awe and Wonder? Shall I ſhew you him from the inward Teſtimony of your very Soul; which, notwithſtanding its Preſſure in this Priſon of the Body; notwithſtanding it has been ſcribl'd o'er by vicious Inſtitutions, *or inclos'd by bad Examples*; notwithſtanding it has been emaſculated by Luſt and Concupiſcence, and in Bondage to the worſhip of falſe Gods. Yet nevertheleſs, I ſay, when the Soul comes to her ſelf, as from a Debauch, or after Sleep,

or a Fit of Sickneſs, and recovers her Health and Reflection, ſhe has recourſe to the Name of *the God*, and invokes him by the ſingle Name of *the God*. This being the proper Title, and emphatically expreſſive of the true God; *the great God*, *the good God*, *the God* which is the Giver of all good things, are Forms of Speech in ev'ry one's Mouth upon ſpecial Occaſions. This God is appeal'd to as the Judge of the World, by ſaying, God ſees ev'ry thing, and I recommend my ſelf to God, and God will recompence me. O! what are all theſe ſayings but the *Writings of God upon the Heart*, but the Teſtimonies of the Soul thus far by Nature Chriſtian? And when ſhe has theſe Words in her Mouth, ſhe turns not her Eyes to the *Capitol*, but up to Heaven, as well knowing that to be the Reſidence of the Living God, and that he is the Author of her Being, and Heaven the Place of her Original.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the Septuagint, *or the Writings of the Prophets tranſlated into Greek by the Endeavours of* Ptolemy Philadelphus.

BUT in order to bring Men to a more perfect and powerful Knowledge of the divine Nature, and alſo of the Methods of his Wiſdom, and the Laws of his Will, God has added to the Light of Nature, an Inſtrument in writing of theſe things, for the Inſtruction of thoſe who are willing to be at the Pains of [x] inquiring after him, and deſirous to find him in their Inquiries, and to believe him when found, and ſerve him when believ'd. For this end, the moſt juſt and innocent Perſons, ſuch who had liv'd up moſt faithfully to the Inſtructions of Nature, and conſequently the moſt becoming, or the beſt prepared Subjects for larger Communications of divine Knowledge, ſuch I ſay were ſent out from the

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[x] *Si qui velit de Deo inquirere*, &c.] Revelation was added for the Aſſiſtance of corrupted Nature, but then it was ſo wiſely temper'd with Light and Darkneſs, that thoſe only who ſearch the Scriptures with an honeſt Heart, in order to believe and obey what they find, will be the better for 'em. Whoever reads them with ſuch a Diſpoſition, will find himſelf neceſſitated to believe them; according to that of our Saviour, *If any Man will do his Will, he ſhall know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I ſpeak of my ſelf.*

beginning with mighty Effuſions of the Holy Spirit, to preach to the World, that there is but one only God, that it is he who created all things, and form'd Man out of the Earth, (for he, indeed, is the true *Prometheus*) who methodiz'd the World into this Variety of Seaſons; and in ſucceeding Ages publiſh'd his divine Majeſty, and Vengeance by a Deluge of Water, and Fire, and Brimſtone from Heaven; who has poſitively determin'd the Laws he will be ſerv'd by, if we will ſerve him with Acceptance; which Laws you know not, and will not learn; but to the Obſervers of 'em has deſtin'd Rewards, who when he comes to Judgement at the laſt Day, having rais'd all *the* [y] *Dead*, that have been dead from the beginning of the World, and reſtor'd to ev'ry Man his Body, and ſummon'd the whole World before him to examine and render to all according to their works, he will recompence his true Worſhippers with Life eternal, but will ſentence the Wicked into perpetual running Streams of Fire everlaſting. Theſe things were once the Subject of our [z] Wit and

[y] *Suſcitatis omnibus ab initio defunctis.*] Here again we find *Tertullian*, as well as *Juſtin Martyr*, expreſly againſt Mr. *Dodwell's* Notion of a *Limited Reſurrection* founded upon the *Natural Mortality of the Soul.*

[z] *Hac & nos riſimus aliquando, de veſtris fuimus.*] From theſe words we find that *Tertullian* had been an Heathen, and ſuch a one too, as had made very merry with the Chriſtian Religion. He had as quick and pointed a Wit, and as good a Knack at Rallying and Ridicule as the beſt of 'em, and his Talent this way, and his Courſe of Life (which by his own Confeſſion was none of the Chaſteſt) no doubt provok'd all his Satyr againſt a Doctrine ſo new, and ſo croſs to his Inclinations. However upon ſerious Conſideration, and weighing Matters well together, he was overpower'd by

and Drollery, as they are now of yours, we have been Heathens, as you are, for Men are not born, but made Chriſtians. As to thoſe excellent Perſonages I mention'd, ſo extraordinarily aſſiſted to preach the World into the Notion of one only God; They were called Prophets from their Office of foretelling things to come. The Oracles they deliver'd, and the Miracles they wrought for the confirmation of divine Truth, were conſign'd to Writing, and the Books treaſur'd up, and are preſerv'd to this Day; for the moſt learned of the *Ptolemys*, ſurnamed, *Philadelphus*, and the moſt curious Man living in all ſorts of Literature, and rivalling [a] *Piſiſtratus*, I ſuppoſe, in the Glories

by the Goodneſs and Evidence of divine Truth, in ſpite of his Paſſions. And the Libertines and Unbelievers of our own Age (who are by no means before-hand with our *Tertullian* either in point of Wit or Reaſon) wou'd they but as impartially examine the Proofs of Chriſtianity, they wou'd find themſelves as unable to withſtand them, as our Author confeſſes himſelf to be.

[a] *Piſiſtratum opinor*, &c.] The Libraries of *Ptolemy* and *Piſiſtratus* the Tyrant are both mention'd by *A. Gellius*, *lib. 6. cap. 17.* but *Tertullian* ſpeaks doubtfully, whether *Ptolemy Philadelphus* erected his Library in imitation of *Piſiſtratus* or no, and not without Reaſon; becauſe it is as probable, that the King of *Pergamus* in imitation of whom *Ptolemy* ſet up his Library was *Eumenes*. All the ancient Fathers have believed after *Joſephus* and *Philo*, that the Verſion not only of the *Pentateuch* but of the whole Bible commonly called the *Septuagint* was compos'd by ſeventy two Jews ſent to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who deſir'd to have the *Jewiſh* Books in *Greek*, to adorn his magnificent Library at *Alexandria*, under the care and ſuperviſal of *Demetrius Phalereus* an *Athenian*. What the *Criticks* have ſince urg'd againſt this Opinion of the Fathers, and againſt the Authority of *Ariſtæus* and *Ariſtobulus*, upon whom (ſay they) the Fathers took this Story in truſt, wou'd be too tedious to inſert here, and therefore I refer the Reader to the learned *Du Pin*'s Preliminary Diſſertation about the Authors of the Bible, *Vol. 1. Sect. 3. p. 35.* However, I cannot but ſay, that I do verily believe that there was a Greek Verſion of the Bible made

Glories of a Library, among other choice Pieces which he hunted after, fam'd either for their Antiquitity, or the Rarities they contain'd, by the Advice of his Library keeper *Demetrius Phalereus* the moſt approv'd Grammarian and Critick of his time, ſent to the Jews for their ſacred Writings in their own Mother-tongue, and which were in their Hands alone; for the Prophets were rais'd up out of this Nation, and the Prophecies addreſs'd to them, as a peculiar People, choſen of God out of reſpect to their Forefathers. Thoſe who are now called *Jews* went heretofore by the Name of *Hebrews*, and from hence is the Title of the Hebrew Tongue. The *Jews* gratify'd the King in the Requeſt, and not only ſent him their Bible, but alſo for fear their Language ſhou'd not be underſtood, ſent ſeventy two Interpreters to tranſlate it into Greek. This is atteſted by *Menedemus* the famous Aſſertor of a Providence, who join'd with the *Jews* in this Notion, and was a great Admirer of their Writings. We have likewiſe the Teſtimony of *Ariſtæus* for the truth of this, who compos'd a Book in Greek upon the ſame Subject. And in *Ptolemy*'s Library near the Temple of *Se-*

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in the Time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; for to me it does not ſeem credible, that the Authors of the Books which paſs under the Titles of *Ariſtæus* and *Ariſtobulus* entirely forg'd the whole Story, much more reaſonable is it to believe, that theſe Authors only dreſs'd up a certain matter of Fact with ſome Additions of their own. *F. Simon* conjectures that this Verſion was called the *Septuagint*, becauſe it was approv'd by the *Sanedrim*, but this like moſt of his Conjectures is wild, and without any Foundation. See likewiſe *B. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. lib.* 1, *cap.* 3.

rapis,

rapis, among other Curioſities are theſe ſacred Writings ſhewn to this Day. And beſides all this, the Jews frequently and publickly on ev'ry Sabbath read the ſame; they are tolerated to do it, and pay a Tax for the Toleration. Whoever hears them, will find the worſhip of one God, and whoever will be at the pains to underſtand 'em, will find himſelf neceſſitated to believe 'em.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the Antiquity of the Writings of the Prophets.

ONE great Argument for the Authority of theſe ſacred Writings, is the Greatneſs of their [b] Antiquity; an Argument you your ſelves are pleas'd to make uſe of for the

[b] *Primam Inſtrumentis iſtis authoritatem ſumma Antiquitas vindicat.*] The ſtrongeſt and ſhrewdeſt Adverſary *Chriſtianity* ever met with, was the Philoſopher *Porphyrius*. He was a Man too well vers'd in Antiquity to depend upon the vain Pretences of the *Grecians*, and therefore made it his Buſineſs to ſearch after the moſt ancient Records, to find ſomething to match the Antiquity of *Holy Scripture*. And after all his ſearch, he could find no Author to vye with *Moſes* but *Sanchoniathon*; and yet when he had made the moſt of him, he was forc'd to allow him younger than *Moſes*, tho' he made him older than the *Trojan* Wars. Nay, he goes about to prove the truth of *Sanchoniathon*'s Hiſtory by the Agreement of it with that of *Moſes*, concerning the *Jews* both as to their Names and Places, and ſo this *Goliah* fell by his own Sword, and defended the Cauſe he deſign'd to deſtroy. *Vid. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib.* 10. *c.* 8. *p.* 285.

defence of your own Religion; I ſay therefore, that before any of your publick Monuments and Inſcriptions, before any of your Forms of Government, before the oldeſt of your Books, and the Original of many Nations, and Foundation of many famous Cities, and the very grayeſt of Hiſtorians. And laſtly, before the Invention [c] of Letters, (the Interpreters of things, and the moſt faithful Repoſitories of Action) and hitherto, methinks, I have ſay'd but little, I ſay therefore before the very Being of your Gods, your Temples, Oracles, and Sacrifices, were the Writings of one of our Prophets extant, which are the Treaſury of the *Jewiſh* Religion, and by conſequence of the Chriſtian. If you have heard of *Moſes* the Prophet, I'll tell you his Age, he was cotemporary with *Inachus* the firſt King of the *Argives*, older by three hundred and ninety three Years than *Danaus* the

[c] *Ipſas denique effigies literarum*, &c.] *Before the very Uſe or Knowledge of Letters.* It is generally acknowledg'd by *Herodotus*, *Philoſtratus*, and the moſt learned of the *Greeks*, that the *Grecians* receiv'd their very Letters from the *Phenicians* by *Cadmus*, and *Varius* the Author of the *Greek* Chronicle in the *Marmora Arundeliana* makes *Cadmus*'s coming into *Greece*, to be in the time of *Hellen* the Son of *Deucalion*, which according to *Cappellus* was *Anno Mun.* 2995. tho' Mr. *Selden* ſets it ſomething lower, in the eleventh Generation after *Moſes*, about the time of *Samuel*; and that the *Greek Alphabet* came from the *Phenician* or *Hebrew*, is evident from the very Sound of the Names of the Letters, as well as their Form and Order. Thus the Greek ἄλφα anſwers to the *Hebrew*, *aleph*, βῆτα to *beth*, γάμμα to *gimel*, δέλτα to *daleth*, &c. all which both as to Form, Order, and Name you may ſee in a Diagram exhibited by the great *Bochart*, *Geogr. lib.* 1. *cap.* 20. And for any thing of Hiſtory in *Greece*, we meet with nothing before the beginning of the *Olympiads*, when the World was above 3000 Years ſtanding.

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oldeſt in your Hiſtories. About a thouſand Years before the Deſtruction of *Troy*, or as others reckon about [d] five hundred Years before *Homer*; the reſt of the Prophets, tho' later than *Moſes*, yet the lateſt of 'em fall in with ſome of the firſt of your Sages, Lawgivers and Hiſtorians. The Proof of theſe things is not a matter of much Difficulty, but only it would ſwell this Diſcourſe beyond the Bounds of an Apology, it is more tedious than hard; for abundance of Volumes are to be carefully ſearch'd into, to make the Computation, by a different Geſture of the [e] Fingers. We muſt

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[d] *Quingentis amplius & Homerum.*] *Five hundred Years before* Homer. *Joſephus* in his firſt Book againſt *Appion*, ſays, that the *Grecians* of all Nations, tho' they boaſted ſo much of Antiquity, had the leaſt Reaſons to do it; for they were but of yeſterday in reſpect of the *Ægyptians*, *Chaldæans*, and *Phœnicians*, and that notwithſtanding they boaſted of the *Invention of Letters* from *Cadmus*, yet cou'd they not produce any Inſcription or Sign of Letters in his time, and that *Homer* was the moſt ancient Book extant among them, nor was this left in Writing, but learnt only by heart like other Songs, and therefore we find ſo many Fragments and Incongruities in his Works, when they came to be committed to writing from bare Memory. But herein *Joſephus* is thought to have ſtrain'd the Point too far, becauſe of the *Inſcription of Amphitrio at* Thebes, in the Temple of *Apollo Iſmenius* in the old *Ionick Letters*, and two others of the ſame Age to be ſeen in *Herodotus*, and for ſome other Reaſons. *Vid. Bochart. Geog. lib.* 1. *c.* 20. But however this be, certain it is, that we find no *Records of Hiſtory* in *Greece* till the World was full 3000 Years of Age and more.

[e] *Multis inſtrumentis cum digitorum ſuppatariis geſticuli adſidendum eſt.*] *Abundance of Volumes are to be ſearch'd into to make the Computation, by a different Geſture of the Fingers.* The Multiplication Table perform'd by a different Geſture of the Fingers is now almoſt known by ev'ry Body; but whether it was in uſe in *Tertullian*'s time, and referr'd to here by him, I will not ſay, but ſurely he has exactly expreſs'd it. And the Reaſon for calling the Figures from 1 to 9, *Digits*, I believe, was from this Computation by the Fingers.

unlock

unlock the Archives of the moſt ancient People, of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* and *Phenicians*: We muſt appeal to the Writers of thoſe Countries who oblig'd Poſterity with the Knowledge of theſe things, namely, [f] *Manethon* the *Egyptian*, *Beroſus* the *Chaldean*, *Iromus* the *Phœnician*, King of *Tyre*, and their Followers, *Ptolemy* of *Mendes*, and *Menander* the *Epheſian*, and *Demetrius Phalereus*, and King *Juba*, and *Appion*, and *Thallus*, and *Joſephus* a Jewiſh Writer of Jewiſh Antiquities, who either approv'd theſe Authors, or diſcover'd their Errours. We muſt alſo compare the Regiſters of *Greece*, to ſee what things were done, and when, in order to adjuſt the ſucceſſive Periods, and Links of Time, which is neceſſary to clear up Hiſtory, and ſet Actions in their proper Light: And yet methinks, I have done this already in ſome meaſure, and prov'd in part what I propos'd, by giving you here a ſprinkling of thoſe Authors, where you may ſee the Proofs at large: But I conclude it better, not to purſue this Point farther, for fear that by being in haſte, either I ſhou'd not ſay enough to ſet the matter beyond diſpute, or elſe by perſuing it particularly, I ſhou'd deviate too far from the main Deſign of this Apology.

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[f] *Manethon Ægyptius, & Beroſus Chaldæus, & Iromus Phœnix, Sectatores quoque eorum Mendeſius Ptolomæus, & Menander Epheſius & Demetrius Phalereus.*] Concerning this Paſſage, and the Antiquity and Credibility of theſe Hiſtorians, I deſire the Reader to conſult *Bochartus de Linguâ Phœnic. & Pun. lib. 2. cap. 17.* and likewiſe *B. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. lib. 1. cap. 2, 3,* &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

That the Accompliſhment of the Prophecies in Holy Scriptures, prove them to be of Authority Divine.

IF for the Reaſons aforeſaid I have been ſhorter than you might expect in my proofs of the Antiquity of Holy Scripture, I ſhall make you amends now with Proofs of much greater Importance; I will ſhew you the Majeſty, the God that ſpeaks in theſe Writings; I will demonſtrate the Divineſs of their Authority, if you are ſtill in doubt about their Antiquity. Nor need I be long upon this Article, or ſend you a great way for Inſtruction; the World before you, this preſent Age, and the Events therein ſhall be your Inſtructors. For there is nothing of Moment now done, but what has been foretold; and what we our ſelves ſee, our Forefathers have heard from the Prophets. They have heard, that Cities ſhou'd be ſwallowed up of Earthquakes, and Iſlands invaded by Seas, and Nations torn in Pieces by foreign and inteſtine Wars, and Kingdom ſplit againſt Kindgom, and Famine and Peſtilence take their Marches thro' the World, and ev'ry Country ſwarm with proper Evils; that the Beaſts of the Mountains ſhou'd lay waſte the Plains, that the Weak and Mighty ſhou'd riſe and fall by turns, that Juſtice ſhou'd grow ſcarce, and Iniquity abound, that Arts and Sciences

Sciences ſhou'd lie uncultivated, and the Seaſons of the Year be unkindly, and the Elements take an exorbitant Courſe, and the Order of Nature be diſturbed with Monſters and Prodigies, all theſe things were written before-hand for our Admonition. For while we ſuffer, we read our Sufferings, while we reflect upon the Prophecies, we find 'em a fulfilling; and this I take to be a proper and moſt ſenſible Proof of the divine Authority of theſe Writings, to feel their Predictions verifying upon our ſelves. Hence it is that we come to be ſo infallibly certain of many things not yet come to paſs, from the Experience we have of thoſe that are; becauſe thoſe were preſignify'd by the ſame Spirit with theſe, which we ſee fulfilling ev'ry Day. The very Words and Characters of both were indited by the Impulſe of the very ſame Spirit; and this prophetick Spirit ſees ev'ry thing always and at once, tho' Men ſee only by Pieces and Succeſſions of Time, and are forc'd to diſtinguiſh between the beginning of a Prophecy, and the fulfilling it, to ſeparate Preſent from Future, and Paſt from Preſent.

Wherein, therefore I beſeech you now, are Chriſtians to blame, for believing things to come, who have two ſuch *Motives to believe*, or two ſuch *mighty Pillars to lean upon*, as the paſt and preſent Accompliſhment of the Predictions contained in Holy Scripture.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Birth and Crucifixion of Jeſus Chriſt.

BUT becauſe I have already declar'd the Chriſtian Religion to have its Foundation in the moſt ancient of Monuments, the ſacred Writings of the Jews; and yet many among you well know us to be a novel Sect riſen up in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and we our ſelves confeſs the Charge; and becauſe you ſhou'd not take Umbrage, that we ſhelter our ſelves only under the venerable Pretext of this old Religion, which is tolerated among you, and becauſe we differ from them, not only in point of Age, but alſo in the Obſervation of Meats, Feſtivals, Circumciſion, &c. nor communicate with them ſo much as in Name, all which ſeems to look very odd, if we are Servants of the ſame God, as the Jews. Therefore I think it neceſſary to explain my ſelf a little particularly upon this Head; and eſpecially becauſe it is in every one's Mouth, that Chriſt was a Man, and a Man too condemned to death by the very Jews, which may naturally lead any one at firſt Hearing into a Miſtake, that we are Worſhippers of a Man, and not of the God of the Jews. However, this their wickedly ungrateful Treatment of Chriſt, makes us not aſhamed of our Maſter; ſo far from it, that 'tis the Joy and Triumph of our Souls,

Souls, to be called by our Lord's Name, and condemned for it; and yet for all this we think no otherwiſe of God, than the Jews did. To make out this, I am oblig'd to ſay ſomething of Chriſt as God.

The Jews once were a People in ſuch Favour with God, upon the account of their Forefathers Faith and Piety, which was the Root of all their Greatneſs, both with reſpect to the encreaſe of their Families, and the Advance of a Kingdom. And their Happineſs was ſo unparallel'd, that God himſelf did 'em the Honour even with his own Mouth to preſcribe 'em Laws, whereby they might ſecure his Omnipotence on their ſide, and never turn it againſt 'em: But how the degenerate Children upon the Stock of *Abraham*'s Faith, and in confidence of their Forefather's Virtue, how egregiouſly they provoked God by deviating from his own poſitive Inſtitutions, into Prophaneſs and Idolatry, altho' the Jews themſelves will not confeſs this, yet the preſent Calamities of that People are a ſad and ſtanding Teſtimony againſt 'em. For they are now a [g] diſperſed,

[g] *Diſperſi, palabundi, & ſoli ac cæli ſui Extorres*, &c.] *Juſtin Martyr* in his firſt Apology, *Sect.* 62. takes notice, that it was a capital Crime for a Jew ſo much as to ſet a Foot upon the *Holy Land*. And *Euſebius* from *Ariſto Pellæus* urges likewiſe, that by the Law and Conſtitutions of *Adrian*, the *Jews* were prohibited to caſt even their Eyes towards *Jeruſalem*. *Euſ. lib.* 4. *Hiſt. Eccles. cap.* 6. *Tertullian* obſerves the ſame here; and ſo likewiſe in his Book againſt the Jews, *cap.* 13. upon which you will ſee ſome Remarks by Dr. *Grabe*, in his *Spicileg. Pat. Sec.* 2. *p.* 131. and certainly the diſtinguiſhing Miſery of this vagabond People even to this Day is a ſtrange living Monument of the divine Wrath; a Mark ſet upon them by God for the Murther of his Chriſt, and their obdurate

ſperſed, vagabond People, baniſh'd Country and Climate, ſtroling about the World without any Shew of Government, either Divine or Humane, and ſo completely miſerable, that they have not the poor Privilege to viſit the Holy Land like Strangers, or ſet a Foot upon their native Soil: And while the ſacred Writings did fore-threaten theſe Calamities, they did likewiſe continually inculcate, that the time wou'd come about the laſt Days, when out of ev'ry Nation and Country God wou'd chooſe himſelf a People that ſhou'd ſerve him more faithfully, upon whom he wou'd ſhed a greater Meaſure of Grace in proportion to the Merits of the Founder of this new Worſhip. The Proprietor therefore of this Grace, and the Maſter of this Inſtitution, This Sun of Righteouſneſs, and Tutor of Mankind, was declared the Son of God; but not ſo, that This Begotten of God might bluſh at the Name of Son, or the Mode of his Generation: For it was not from any inceſtuous Mixture of Brother and Siſter, not from any Violation of a God with his own Daughter, or another Man's Wife, in the diſguiſe of a Serpent, or a

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Infidelity. But then it ought alſo to be obſerved that as God in Judgment hath ſcatter'd them thro' all Nations, and not ſuffered them to have a Foot of free Land in all the World; yet he hath preſerved their Name and Nation in all Places, as diſtinct from all other People, as if they had continued in the *Holy Land*; in which his Providence and Goodneſs is conſpicuous, that according to the Prophecies at his appointed time, the Veil may be taken away from their Faces, that they may look upon him whom they have pierced, and be converted to that Jeſus whom they have crucified, and ever ſince blaſphemed.

Bull,

Bull, or a Shower of Gold. Theſe are the Modes of Generation with your *Jove*, and the Offspring of Deities you worſhip; but the Son of God we adore, had a Mother indeed, but a Mother without Uncleaneſs, without even That which the Name of Mother ſeems to imply, for ſhe was a pure Virgin. But I ſhall firſt ſet forth the Nature of his Subſtance, in order to make you apprehend the manner of his Nativity.

I have already ſaid, that God reared this Fabrick of the World out of nothing, by his Word, Wiſdom, or Power; and 'tis evident that your Sages of old were of the ſame Opinion, that the λόγος, that is, the Word, or the Wiſdom was the Maker of the Univerſe, for [h] *Zeno* determines the *Logos* to be the Creator and Adjuſter of every thing in Nature. The ſame *Logos* he affirms to be called by the Name of Fate, God, Mind of *Jove*, and Neceſſity of all things. [i] *Cleanthes* will have the Author of the World to be a Spirit which per-

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[h] *Hunc enim Zeno determinat Factitatorem.*] *Lactantius, lib. 4. Sect. 9. p.* 186. Juſtly ſays, that the Term λόγος is much more expreſſive of the Maker of the World, than the Latin *Verbum*, or *Sermo*, as ſignifying both the *Word* and the *Wiſdom* of God. And had we ſtill continu'd the *Logos* inſtead of the *Word* in our Engliſh Tranſlation, it had methinks been a Term more Majeſtick, and more expreſſive of the Perſonality of Chriſt, than the *Word*. This *Logos* was preach'd up by *Zeno* as the Diſpoſer of Nature, and the Framer of the World, and was call'd ſometimes *Fate*, *God*, *Mind of* Jove, *&c.* ſays, *Lactantius* in the place above cited, juſt as our Author ſpeaks here; concerning this *Zeno*, the Præceptor of *Antigonus*, and Founder of the *Stoicks*. See *Diog. Laer. l. 7.*

[i] *Hæc Cleanthes in Spiritum congerit.*] Concerning the Doctrine of *Cleanthes*, *Zeno*'s Diſciple. *Vid. Lactant. lib. 1. Sect. 5. p. 12.*

† vades

vades ev'ry Part of it. And we Chriſtians alſo, do affirm a Spirit to be the proper Subſtance of the *Logos*, by whom all things were made, in which he ſubſiſted before he was [k] ſpoken out, and was the Wiſdom that aſſiſted at the Creation, and the Power that preſided over the whole Work. The *Logos* or Word iſſuing forth from that ſpiritual Subſtance at the Creation of the World, and generated by that Iſſuing or Progreſſion, is for this Reaſon called the Son of God, and the God, from his Unity of Subſtance with God the Father, for God is a Spirit. An imperfect Image of this you have in the Derivation of a Ray from the Body of the Sun; for this Ray is a Part without any Diminution of the whole, but the Sun is always in the Ray, becauſe the Ray is always from the Sun; nor is the Subſtance ſeparated, but only extended. Thus is it in ſome Meaſure in the eternal Generation of the *Logos*; he is a Spirit of a Spirit, a

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[k] *Cui & Sermo inſit Pronuncianti*, &c.] There is a threefold Generation of the *Son of God* frequently mention'd by the Primitive Writers. The Firſt, is the true and proper Generation of the *Son*, which was from the Father before all Worlds. The Second, is the Progreſſion of the *Logos* from his Father at the Creation, which they call προβολὴ, ἔφοδος, &c. The Third, was at his Incarnation in the Womb of the Bleſſed Virgin overſhadowed by the Power of the moſt High. The Second Kind of Generation, is that which *Tertullian* hints at in the words cited. For the fuller Satisfaction in this Point I adviſe the Reader to conſult Biſhop *Bull's incomparable Defence of the* Nicene *Faith*, c. v. *concerning the Coeternity of the Son.* And ſo likewiſe, *cap.* 7. *ſect.* 5. where he will find ſeveral things in this Place clear'd, and our Author vindicated beyond Exception, as to the Doctrine of the Conſubſtantiality of the Son.

[1] God of God, as one Light is generated by another; the Original, Parent Light, remaining entire and undiminiſhed, notwithſtanding the Communication of it ſelf to many other Lights. Thus it is that the *Logos* which came forth from God, is both God and the Son of God, and thoſe Two are One. Hence it is, that a Spirit of a Spirit, or a God of God, makes Another in mode of Subſiſtence, but not in Number; in Order of Nature, but not in Numericalneſs or Identity of Eſſence; and ſo the Son is ſubordinate to the Father as he comes from him as the Principle, but is never ſeparated. This Ray of God then deſcended, as it was foretold, upon a certain Virgin, and in her Womb was incarnated, and being there fully form'd the God-man, was born into the World; the divine and humane Nature making up this Perſon, as Soul and Body does one Man. The Fleſh being wrought and perfected by a divine Spirit, was nurs'd and grew up to the

[1] *De Deo Deus, ut Lumen de Lumine.*] This Similitude of a Ray from the Sun, or a Light from a Light, is not to be look'd upon as a full and adequate Illuſtration of the Mode, how the Son of God was generated by the Father, nor will any thing in Nature give us a perfect Repreſentation of it. 'Tis what *Juſtin Martyr* and others have choſen to repreſent it by; nor do I know a better to make this incomprehenſible Myſtery apprehended, which is all they drive at; and it ſerves ſufficiently to declare their Senſe and Notion of it, namely, that Chriſt from all eternity did coexiſt with the Father, as Light does with the Sun, that he was *God of God*, without any Diminution of the divine Subſtance, as one Light is kindled from another, &c. 'Tis evident likewiſe from this Expreſſion, of *God of God, as Light of Light*, what the Notion of the Fathers was about the Divinity of Chriſt before the eſtabliſhment of the *Nicene Fathers*, who make uſe of this Expreſſion in their Creed.

Stature of a Man, and then addreſſed the Jews, and preached and work'd Miracles among them; and this is the Chriſt, the God of Chriſtians. If you pleaſe now, you may receive this great Truth in the Nature of a Fable like one of yours, till I have given you my Proofs; tho' 'tis a Truth that cou'd not be unknown to thoſe among you, who maliciouſly dreſſed up their own Inventions on purpoſe to deſtroy it. The Jews likewiſe full well knew from their Prophets, that Chriſt was to come, and they are now in expectation of him; and the great Claſhing between us and them, is chiefly upon this very Account, that they do not believe him already come. For there being two Advents of Chriſt deſcribed in the Prophets, the Firſt which is diſcharg'd and over, namely his State of Humiliation, and ſuffering in human Fleſh. The Second, which is at hand too in the Concluſion of the World, in which he will exert his Majeſty, and come in a full Explication of divine Glory. By not underſtanding the Firſt, they fix'd only upon the ſecond Advent, which is deſcrib'd in the moſt pompous and glaring Metaphors, and which ſtruck the carnal Fancy with the moſt agreeable Impreſſions. And it was the juſt Judgment of God upon them for their Sins that withheld their Underſtandings from ſeeing this firſt Coming, which had they underſtood, they had believ'd, and by believing had obtain'd Salvation. And this judicial Blind-

neſs they read of in their [n] Prophets, that their Underſtandings ſhou'd be darkned, and their Eyes and Ears of no Advantage for their Converſion.

Him therefore they cou'd not ſee to be a God in the humble Diſguiſe of a Man; yet ſeeing the Miracles he did, they cry'd him down for a Conjurer, for dealing with the Devil, when he was turning the Devils out of all their Poſſeſſions at a word ſpeaking; and with the ſame Word bid Sight return to the Blind, and it return'd, and cleanſed the Lepers, and new braced the Paralytick Joynts, and ſpoke the Dead to Life, and made the Elements obey, ſtilling the Storms, and walking upon the Seas, and demonſtrating himſelf to be the *Logos* of God, that is, the Ancient firſt begotten Word, inveſted with Power and Wiſdom, and ſupported by the Spirit, at whoſe Doctrine the very Doctors of the Law ſtood aghaſt, and the Chief among the Jews were ſo exaſperated againſt him, eſpecially at ſeeing ſuch Numbers of People thronging after him, that at length by mere Violence and Importunity of Remonſtrating, they extorted Sentence againſt him to be crucify'd from *Pontius Pilate* then Governour of *Syria* under *Tiberius*. And all this Chriſt himſelf foretold they wou'd do, which I'll grant you to be an Argument not ſo conſiderable for the Authority of his Miſ-

[n] *Make the Heart of this People fat, and make their Ears heavy, and ſhut their Eyes, leaſt they ſee with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and underſtand with their Heart, and convert and be healed. Iſaiah.* cap. 6. 10.

ſion,

ſion, had not all the Prophets long before concurred in every Particular; at length being faſt'ned to the Croſs, and having cry'd out and commended his Spirit into the Hands of his Father, he gave up the Ghoſt of his own accord, and ſo prevented the Executioner's breaking his Bones by dying in his own Time, and fulfilled a Prophecy by ſo doing. Moreover in the ſame Moment he diſmiſſed Life, the ° Light departed from the Sun, and the World was benighted at Noon-day, and thoſe Men who acknowledg'd this Eclipſe, but were unacquainted with the Prophecies that foretold it upon Chriſt's Death, and finding it impoſſible to be ſolv'd by the Laws of Nature, at laſt roundly deny'd the Fact; and yet this Wonder of the World you have related, and the Relation preſerv'd in your Archives to this Day. Chriſt then being taken down from the Croſs, and lay'd in a Sepulchre, the Jews beſet it round with a ſtrong Guard of Soldiers, forearming them with the ſtricteſt Caution, that his Diſciples ſhou'd not come and ſteal away the Body unawares; becauſe he had foretold that he wou'd riſe again from the dead on the Third Day. But lo! on the Third Day, a ſudden Earthquake aroſe, and the huge Stone was rolled from the Mouth

° *Deliquium vtique putaverunt.*] An Eclipſe of the Sun at a full Moon (as this was) is by the known Laws of Nature demonſtratively impoſſible, and this it was made it ſo much taken notice of by the ancient Aſtronomers; by *Dionyſius the Areopagite*, *Apollophanes the Sophiſt*, by *Phlegon in his Olympiads*, &c. *Vid.* Paraphraſe of *Zephyrus*, and the Notes of *Pamelius*, and eſpecially the Annotations of *Grotius* upon *Matt. cap.* 27. *v.* 45, where this Paſſage of *Tertullian* is taken notice of.

of the Sepulchre, and the Guard ſtruck with Fear and Confuſion; not one Diſciple appearing at the Action, and nothing found in the Sepulchre, but the Spoils of Death, the Linen Cloaths he was buried in. Nevertheleſs, the Chief Prieſts, whoſe Intereſt it was to ſet ſuch a wicked Lie on foot, in order to reclaim the People from a Faith which muſt end in the utter Ruin of their Incomes and Authority among 'em, gave out that his Diſciples came privily and ſtole him away. For after the Reſurrection Chriſt thought not fit to make a [p] publick Entry among the People, becauſe he wou'd not violently redeem ſuch obſtinate Wretches from Error, and that a Faith which propoſes infinite Rewards ſhou'd labour under ſome Difficulties, that Believing might be a Virtue, and not a Neceſſity. But with ſome of his Diſciples he did eat and drink Forty Days in *Galilee* a Province of *Judea*, [q] inſtructing them in all they ſhou'd teach, and then having

[p] *Nec ille ſe in vulgus eduxit*, &c.] Theſe and the following Words give the true Reaſon, why Chriſt after his Reſurrection wou'd not ſhew himſelf publickly to all his Crucifiers. Becauſe he wou'd not beſtow upon ſuch obſtinate Offenders, who had abus'd all his former Miracles, ſuch an Evidence as muſt in a manner have forc'd them to believe, whether they wou'd or no; and therefore it is ſaid in *the Acts of the Apoſtles*, cap. 10. v. 40. *Him God raiſed up the Third Day, and ſhewed him openly, not to all the People, but unto Witneſſes choſen before of God, even to us who did eat and drink with him after he aroſe from the dead.*

[q] *Docens eos quæ docerent, dehinc Ordinatis eis ad Officium Prædicandi*, &c.] It is very evident in this place, that our Author makes a notorious diſtinction between Chriſt's *teaching* his Apoſtles in what they ſhou'd inſtruct the World, and his *Ordaining* them to the Office and Authority of Preaching thoſe Inſtructions; and as Chriſt was ſent by his Father, ſo by the ſame Authority did he commiſſion his Apoſtles to *ordain* others, and promiſes to be with 'em

having ordain'd 'em to the Office of Preaching thoſe Inſtructions all over the World, he was parted from them by a Cloud; and ſo received up before 'em into Heaven, much more truly than what your *Proculus*'s report of *Romulus*, and ſome others of your deified Kings. *Pilate*, who in his Conſcience was Chriſtian, ſent *Tiberius Cæſar* an Account of all theſe Proceedings relating to Chriſt; and the *CÆSARS* had been Chriſtians too, cou'd the Ages have born it, if either ſuch *Cæſars* had not been neceſſary and unavoidable in ſuch Times, or cou'd Chriſtians have come to be *Cæſars*. The Apoſtles in obedience to their Maſter's Command, went abut preaching thro' the World, perſecuted by the Jews to the laſt degree, but ſuffering victoriouſly in full Aſſurance of the Truth; but at length the Infidels taking the Advantage of the barbarous *Nero*'s Reign, they were forced to ſow the Chriſtian Religion in their own Chriſtian Blood. But I ſhall take an Occaſion by and by, to produce ſuch Witneſſes as you your ſelves muſt think Authentick for the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, for I ſhall produce the Gods you worſhip, vouching for the God of Chriſtians. This muſt needs be ſurprizing you'll ſay, that I ſhou'd bring in thoſe to convert

'em to the end of the World. And therefore to ſay that the People have a natural Right to ordain their own Miniſters, is in effect to ſay they have a natural Right to do a thing when Chriſt has determin'd to the contrary: And becauſe the Apoſtles gave the People a Liberty to chooſe whom they wou'd have for Deacons, therefore they had a Right to ordain 'em to that Office by Prayer and Impoſition of their own Hands.

you to the Faith, for whoſe ſake it is that you are Infidels. In the mean time you are to look upon this, as the Series and Oeconomy of the Chriſtian Religion. I have laid before you an Account of the Original of our Sect, of our Name, and of the Author of it; let no Man therefore now throw ſuch Dirt and Infamy upon Chriſtians, nor harbour an Opinion that this Account is not according to Truth: For 'tis not reaſonable to believe, that any one ſhou'd think it allowable to [r] lye for his Religion; for ev'ry Man by ſaying he adores one, while in his mind he adores another, denies the very Deity he adores, and tranſlates divine Honour from his own God to that other, and by ſuch a Tranſlation unworſhips the God he worſhips: But we ſay we are Chriſtians, and ſay it to the whole World, under the Hands of the [s] Executioner, and

[r] *Quia nec fas eſt ulli de ſua Religione mentiri.*] *Pamelius* brings forth this Paſſage in great State, as if it made notably for the *Papiſts* againſt *certain Hereticks* of his time, who juſtify'd *Lying* for their Religion. I do not know what *Hereticks* he means, and if there be any that do ſo, they certainly do very ill, and againſt the Apoſtle's Rule of *not doing Evil that Good may come of it*; but had he conſider'd ſome *certain Caſuiſts* of their own, he might have ſpar'd this Reflection.

[s] *Dicimus & palam dicimus, & vobis torquentibus lacerati & cruenti vociferamur, Deum colimus per Chriſtum.*] The Primitive Chriſtians were not aſham'd or afraid to *Proclaim, to Proclaim it to the whole World, and under the Hands of the Executioner, and welt'ring in their own Blood, that they worſhipp'd God thro' Chriſt.* Do we ever read of any Generation of Men ſo greedy of *Martyrdom* before, who thought it *long* till they were upon the Rack, and ſo chearful and ſtedfaſt under the moſt intolerable Torments? What a reſtleſs Poſture of Mind does *Socrates* betray, the wiſeſt and beſt of Heathens? With what Miſgivings and Fits of Hope and Fear, does he deliver himſelf in that moſt famous Diſcourſe, ſuppos'd to be made by him a little before his Death, about a future State? *Vid. Plat.*

and in the midſt of all the Tortures you exerciſe us with to unſay it. Torn and mangled and cover'd o'er in our own Blood, we cry out as loud as we are able to cry, That we are Worſhippers of God thro' Chriſt: Believe this Chriſt, if you pleaſe, to be a Man, but let me tell you, he is the only Man, by whom and in whom God will be known and worſhipped to Advantage. But to ſtop the Mouth of Jews I have this to anſwer, that they receiv'd ev'ry Tittle of their Religion from God by the Mediation and Miniſtry of the Man *Moſes*; and as to the *Greeks*, did not *Orpheus* upon Mount *Pieria*, and his Diſciple *Muſæus* at *Athens*, and *Melampus* at *Argos*, and *Tro-*

Plat. Phæd. Do we find that *Phædo*, *Cebes*, *Crito*, and *Simmias*, or any of his greateſt Friends, who were preſent at his *Death*, condemning his *Murther* in the *Areopagus*, and aſſerting the Worſhip of one God as the *Chriſtians* did? Did not *Plato* afterwards dodge about, and diſguiſe himſelf under feigned *Names*, and *ſay* and *unſay* the moſt excellent Truths, for the Security of his Skin? And did not all the *Academicks* afterwards keep much upon the *Reſerve*, for fear that *Dogmatizing* ſhou'd ſend 'em after their Maſter *Socrates*? How then comes it to paſs, that *Chriſtians*, and *Chriſtians* only ſhou'd dare to ſuffer at this rate above all the Philoſophers in the World, and that the ſame Generation of Men ſhou'd hold on ſuffering for 400 Years together till they had ſubdu'd the World by dying for their Religion? Had not *Chriſtians* the ſame Fleſh and Blood, the ſame Senſe and Feeling as other Men? and did they not deſire Happineſs as much as other Men? If ſo, then nothing but the cleareſt, the moſt powerful, and convincing Arguments cou'd poſſibly engage ſuch Numbers of Men in a *particular Worſhip*, and ſupport 'em under it in defiance of Death in the moſt ſhocking Circumſtances. And with what Face cou'd a *Chriſtian* offer to perſuade a *Heathen* to embrace ſuch a perſecuted Religion without the cleareſt Conviction imaginable? This Argument from the Primitive Sufferings, and from the manner of them, for the Truth of Chriſtianity I inſiſt upon the longer, not only becauſe it is ſtrong in it ſelf, and ſo often appealed to in theſe Apologies, but becauſe to me it is more moving, and apter to take hold of the Heart, than all the *ſpeculative* Proofs in Nature.

phonius

phonius in *Bœotia*, were not all these Men, who initiated these several Countrys in their Religion? And to turn my Eyes upon you, who are the Masters of the World, was it not the Man *Numa Pompilius*, who bound on these heavy Burthens of Ceremony and Superstition upon the *Romans*? Why then, I pray you, must not Christ be tolerated to give the World a Commentary of that [t] Divinity which is his own, properly his and his alone? He who did not begin his Government upon a wild uncultivated People, and astonish them into Subjection and Civility by a Multitude of Imaginary Gods, after the example of your *Numa*, but addresses the most polished and brightest People in the World, a People blinded and lost in their own Philosophy and Wisdom, and helps 'em to Eyes to see their Folly and the way of Truth.

Inform your selves carefully therefore, whether the Divinity of Christ is not the true Divinity you ought to worship, and which if once entertain'd new makes the old Man, and forms him to ev'ry Virtue, and consequently all Divinities but Christ ought to be renounced as false, and those especially in the first place,

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[t] *Licuerit & Christo commentari Divinitatem, rem propriam.*] Here 'tis observable that *Tertullian* calls the Divinity of Christ, *Rem propriam*, an Expression which denotes our Saviour to be as truly and really God, as Man can be said to be the *Proprietor* of any thing in the Sense of the Law. Thus when our Saviour said, *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work*, the Jews sought to kill him, because πατέρα ἴδιον ἔλεγε τὸν Θεὸν, *He said God was his own Proper Father*, in a Sense incommunicable to any Creature, *making himself equal to God*, John cap. 5. v. 17, 18.

which

which lie lurking under the Names and Images of dead Men, and by lying Signs and Wonders and Oracles pass for Gods, when in truth they are but Devils, as I am now going to prove.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Dæmons, their Power and their Ways of Operation.

WE say then that there are a certain Kind of spiritual Substances existing in Nature, which go by the Name of Dæmons, and the Name is not of a Modern Stamp; the Name and the Thing both being well known to the Philosophers, for *Socrates* undertook nothing without the privy Councel of his Dæmon: And no wonder, when this Familiar is said to have kept him close Company from his Childhood to the Conclusion of his Life, continually no doubt [u] injecting Dissuasives from Virtue,

[u] *Dehortatorium plane a bono.*] The words immediately before concerning this *Dæmon* of *Socrates*, are almost exactly transcrib'd by *Lactantius*, *lib.* 2. *p.* 105. However, I cannot but say, that this Character contradicts all the Accounts we have concerning the Practice of this *Dæmon*, from such Persons, as were best able to understand the matter of Fact, who represent it quite contrary to this Character of *Tertullian*. Nothing occasion'd more Speculations and Amusement in the time of *Socrates* than his *Dæmon*, insomuch that one of his Friends went to consult the *Oracle* about it. *Vid. Plutarch* of the *Dæmon* of *Socr.* Nor wou'd *Socrates* make *Simias* any Answer upon the Question, and therefore the rest of his Friends desisted for the future

Virtue. The Poets likewiſe talk of Dæmons, and even the illiterate Vulgar frequently apply to 'em, when they are in the Curſing Mood; for

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future from asking him any more about it. But *Zenophon* and *Plato*, who certainly were two of his neareſt Friends, and beſt underſtood this matter, were far from imagining, as ſome ſince have done, that this *Dæmon* was nothing more than his natural Sagacity, or Underſtanding. The Sum of the Story, as we have it in the Dialogue, entitul'd *Theages*, and elſewhere, is this; The Directions of this *Dæmon* were only *Dehortatory*, but not from *Good*, as *Tertullian* thinks, but from *Evil*. The *Dæmon* never advis'd him to do, but only to forbear an Action, when it would be of ill Conſequence either to *Socrates*, or his Friends; he heard a *Voice*, which was the *Sign* to forbear; when he heard it not, it was always his *Warrant* to proceed; ſo that one wou'd be apt from hence to conclude, that the *Voice* was not articulate, but a bare *Sign* only. And *Zenophon* reports, that of all the numberleſs Predictions (of which according to *Tully*, *Antipater* collected a large Volume) of Diſaſters that wou'd befal his Friends, not one of them fail'd in the Event. But in *Plato*'s Apology of *Socrates*, *Cambr. Edit. Sect* 21. is very remarkable, where we have a very plain and ſtrange Account of the Operations and Nature of this *Dæmon*. *'Tis very ſtrange* (ſays *Socrates* addreſſing his Judges with incomparable Calmneſs juſt before his Execution) *That the Prophetick Voice of the Dæmon, which never fail'd before of diſſuading me in matters of the ſmalleſt Moment, where the Conſequence wou'd be ill,* εἴ τι μέλλοιμι μὴ ὀρθῶς πράξειν, *&c. ſhou'd now in the worſt of Evils according to your Opinion be ſilent, and neither when I left my Houſe in the Morning, nor when I went to the Bar, nor all the time I have been pleading here, ſhou'd ever give me the wonted Signal,* ὃ γὰρ ἔθ' ὅπως μὴ ἀναβήσεταί μοι τὸ εἰωθὸς σημεῖον, εἰ μή τι ἔμελλον ἐγὼ ἀγαθὸν πράξειν; *for it could not be but that I ſhou'd hear his uſual Diſſuaſive was I not upon doing my Duty, or that which wou'd turn to my Advantage.* Now when I read the Character of *Socrates* from thoſe who certainly were beſt acquainted with him, when I find him employing all his Reaſon to bring Men off from barren Speculations to the Knowledge of themſelves, and the Practice of ſubſtantial Virtue, when I find him the greateſt *Maſter* of his Paſſions, the moſt *judicious Deſpiſer* of Riches within his reach, the moſt temperate, humble, courteous, inoffenſive Man living in the *Gentile World*, when I find him encourag'd by his *Dæmon* to dye for the Profeſſion of the one true God; when *Juſtin Martyr* in his firſt Apology, *Sect.* 5. ſays, That the *Evil Dæmons* contriv'd his Death for his Attempts to reſcue Mankind

for by a ſecret Inſtigation on their Minds when they invoke theſe Dæmons in their Imprecations, they do in effect invoke [w] *Satan* who is the Prince of the evil Spirits. *Plato* himſelf is expreſs for the Being of Angels, and the Magicians are ready to atteſt the ſame, when they have recourſe to the Names of Angels and Dæmons both, in their Inchantments. But how from a corrupted Stock of Angels, corrupted by their own Wills, another worſe and more degenerate [x] Race of Dæmons aroſe, condemned by God together

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Mankind from the Worſhip of *Devils*, that he by his *Share of Reaſon* did among the *Greeks* what the *Logos* himſelf did among the *Barbarians*; and that both were condemn'd for the ſame good Deſigns; who after this, I ſay, can think *Socrates* poſſeſs'd, and govern'd by an evil Spirit? Why not rather divinely aſſiſted to preach down Idolatry, and bring moral Righteouſneſs into Practice, and by ſuch Means to prepare and qualifie the *Heathen World* for the Revelation of the *Meſſiah?*

[w] *Nam & Satanam—execramenti voce pronunciat, &c.*] I don't find that the *Romans* ever curs'd expreſly by the Name of *Satan*, but by making uſe of the Word *Malum*, or a *Miſchief* take you as we ſay; and *Satan* being *the Prince of Miſchief*, and virtually included in ev'ry ſuch Curſe, they might be ſay'd in this Senſe to pronounce *Satan* in their Imprecations.

[x] *Sed quomodo de Angelis quibuſdam ſua ſponte corruptis, corruptior Gens Dæmonum evaſerit*, &c.] This odd Opinion we find in both the Apologies of *Juſtin Martyr*, as well as in this of *Tertullian*, and ſo likewiſe in *Athenagoras*, &c. The Ground of it I take to be this; the *Fathers* were generally of Opinion, that evil Spirits were cloath'd with a finer ſort of Body, which was fed and refreſh'd from the Nidours and Steams of the Sacrifices. They found theſe Spirits had a prodigious Power over the Bodies they poſſeſs'd, and cou'd not certainly tell but this Power might extend even to Generation: And finding in *Joſephus*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. πολλὰν ἀγγέλοι θεῦ, &c. *that many Angels of God mixing with Women begot a deviliſh wicked Offspring*, and perhaps meeting likewiſe with an ancient Edition of the *Septuagint*, which read ἄγγελοι where we read οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, *the Angels of God*, inſtead *of the Sons of God went into the Daughters of Men*, *Gen.* 6. *v.* 4. And meeting perhaps with ſomething of the ſame Nature in that *ſuppoſititious Piece*,

together with thoſe they deſcended from, and *Satan* the Prince of 'em, whom I juſt now mention'd, for the Hiſtory of this I ſay, I muſt refer you to the Holy Scriptures.

But not to inſiſt upon their Generation, it will be ſufficient to my purpoſe, to explain their Operations, or their Ways of acting upon the Sons of Men. I ſay then, that the Ruin of Mankind is their whole Employment, theſe malitious Spirits were bent upon Miſchief from the Beginning, and fatally auſpicious in their firſt Attempt, in undoing Man as ſoon as he was made; and in like manner they practiſe the ſame deſtructive Methods upon all his Poſterity, by inflicting Diſeaſes upon their Bodies, and throwing 'em into ſad Diſaſters, and ſtirring up ſudden Tempeſts and preternatural Emotions in the Soul, and they are fitted by Nature for both theſe Kinds of Evil, the Subtilty and Fineneſs of their Subſtance giving 'em an eaſie acceſs to Body and Soul both. Theſe Spi-

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Piece, which went under the Name of *Enoch's Prophesie*, they might by theſe means be led into this Miſtake. However, St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Hom.* 22. upon *Gen.* St. *Ambroſe*, *lib. de Noe & Arca*, *cap.* 4. have ſet this Matter right, by interpreting the *Sons of God* to be the *Poſterity of* Seth. And tho' ſome Men, who think themſelves well employ'd in raking this, and all they can, to invalidate the Authority of the Fathers in order to ſerve their Cauſe, may think it reaſonable not to depend upon ſuch miſtaken Men; yet ſuch Miſtakes, in my Opinion, do not in the leaſt affect their Authority in ſuch Caſes, for which we chiefly depend upon them; for is there any Conſequence in this way of Reaſoning? Becauſe the *Fathers* have ſometimes been miſtaken in Matters of *pure Reaſoning*, as the wiſeſt and beſt of Men may ſometimes be, therefore they are not to be credited in *plain Matters of Fact*, wherein they cannot be miſtaken.

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rits certainly have great Abilities for Miſchief, and that they do it, is apparent, tho' the Manner of effecting it is inviſible, and out of the reach of humane Senſes; as for Inſtance, when a ſecret Blaſt nips the Fruit in the Bloſſom or the Bud, or ſmites it with an untimely Fall juſt upon its Maturity, or when the Air is infected by unknown Cauſes, and ſcatters the deadly Potions about the World; juſt ſo, and by a Contagion that walketh in the like Darkneſs, do Dæmons and evil Angels blaſt the Minds of Men, and agitate them with Furies and extravagant Uncleaneſſes, and dart in outragious Luſts with a Mixture of various Errors; the moſt Capital of which Errors, is that having taken Poſſeſſion of a Soul, and ſecur'd it on ev'ry ſide from the Powers of Truth, they recommend to it the Worſhip of falſe Gods, that by the Nidors of thoſe Sacrifices they may procure a Banquet for themſelves, the Stench of the Fleſh and the Fumes of the Blood being the proper Pabulum or Repaſt of thoſe unclean Spirits; and what more Savoury Meat to them than to juggle Men out of the Notion of the True God with Deluſions of Divination, which Deluſions I come now to unfold.

Ev'ry Spirit, Angel and Dæmon, upon the Account of its Swiftneſs, may be ſaid to be Winged, for they can be here and there and ev'ry where in a Moment; the whole World to them is but as one Place, and any Tranſactions in it they can know with the ſame eaſe, they can tell it; and this Velocity paſſes for Divinity

vinity among ſuch as are unacquainted with the Nature of Spirits; and by this Means they wou'd be concluded the Authors of thoſe things ſometimes, of which they are only the Relators, and verily ſometimes they are the Authors of the Evil; but never of the Good: They have collected ſome Deſigns of Providence from the Mouths of the Prophets; and to thoſe Sermons whoſe Sound is gone into all the Earth, do they apply at preſent, to pick out ſomething whereby to form their Conjectures about Events to come; and ſo by filching from hence ſome Revolutions which have ſucceeded in time, they rival the Divinity, and ſet up for Gods by ſtealing his Prophecies. But in their [x] Oracles, what Dexterity they have ſhewed in

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[y] *In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, ſciunt Cræſi, ſciunt Pyrrhi.*] The Notorious Ambiguity of the Heathen Oracles in general, and particularly in the Caſes of *Cræſus* and *Pyrrhus*,

Aio te Æacide Romanos vincere poſſe,
Intrepidus ſi Cræſus Hylam, &c.

This Ambiguity, I ſay, together with the Folly and Flattery of the Reſponſes and the like, made ſome of the Heathens, who were moſt inclin'd to Atheiſm, to conclude it all *pure Prieſtcraft*; and for no better Reaſons have ſome *Moderns*, no well-wiſhers to the Doctrine of Spirits, concluded the ſame alſo, and treated the Fathers as a Parcel of good natur'd, eaſie Men, who took ev'ry thing upon truſt. But now, I wou'd ask theſe Men of Criticiſm and Infidelity, what kind of Proofs will content them in *Matters of Fact*; was ever any Fact better and more univerſally atteſted even by the Heathens themſelves, than Oracles and the Ceſſation of them? Was ever any thing more notorious in the time of our Saviour, than the Poſſeſſions of private Perſons? Was any thing more commonly appeal'd to than the Diſpoſſeſſion of evil Spirits, for

in tempering their Reſponſes with a convenient Ambiguity for any Queſtion, the *Cræſus*'s and the *Pyrrhus*'s know with a Witneſs. It was by Virtue of the foremention'd Velocity, that *Pythian Apollo* cutting thro' the Air in a moment to *Lydia*, brought back word, that *Cræſus* was boiling a [z] Tortoiſe with the Fleſh of a Lamb. Moreover, theſe

for ſome hundreds of Years after by the Firſt Chriſtians? Does not *Tertullian* challenge the Senate upon this Article, and ſtake his Life and the Truth of his Religion upon this Proof, that upon a Chriſtian's adjuring a Perſon poſſeſſed, the evil Spirit ſhall not only come out of him, but confeſs himſelf a Devil in the preſence of them all, as truly as before he had falſly own'd himſelf to be a God; if ſo, I wou'd fain ſee a good Reaſon, why an evil Spirit ſhou'd not poſſeſs a *Pythian* Prieſteſs, as well as any other Perſon. Sure I am that the Kingdom of Darkneſs was mainly ſupported by keeping up the Oracles; nothing therefore cou'd hinder the Devil from this but want of Power; and why he ſhou'd have ſo much Power over private Perſons, and not over his own Prieſteſſes, is hard to tell. That there was oftentimes much Tricking and human Fraud in the Management of Oracles, I doubt not, but that it was all *pure Prieſtcraft* therefore, is a Conſequence I can never allow, 'till Men can prove there is no good Money, becauſe there is much Counterfeit; whereas, there wou'd be no Counterfeit was there no Reality for the Ground of Imitation. Had but the Heathen World known that our firſt Parents were ſeduc'd by the Devil; had they but known the Deſtinction of good and evil Spirits, and that theſe Latter had been always intent upon the Deſtruction and Deluſion of Mankind, and that one great Reaſon of Chriſt's coming into the World was to deſtroy the Worſhip of Devils, they wou'd never have queſtion'd the Exiſtence of Oracles; nor wou'd the Fathers have been thus diſcredited in a matter of Fact, for which they had the Teſtimony of their Senſes. But finding abundance of falſe and fooliſh Things reported of the Oracles, and from thence juſtly concluding they cou'd not come from an All-wiſe and good Being, and not conſidering that they might proceed from Ignorant and Malicious Spirits, and having no mind perhaps to ſuch ſtrong Proofs of another State, they ran into a common Extreme from believing ev'ry thing, to believe nothing; and to conclude the whole Buſineſs of Oracles to be mere Trick and Impoſture.

[z] This Story about the Tortoiſe is told at large by *Herodotus* in his *Clio*.

Dæmons by having their Reſidence in the Air, and by reaſon of their Neighbourhood and Commerce with the Stars, and Clouds, come to know the Diſpoſitions of the Heavens, and promiſe Rain, which they ſee falling when they promiſe. Theſe Dæmons likewiſe are very Beneficent no doubt in the Cure of Diſeaſes, for they firſt inflict the Malady, and then preſcribe the Remedy, but Remedies marvellouſly ſtrange, and contrary to the Diſtemper; and after the Patient has us'd the Receipt, the Dæmon omits to afflict him, and that Omiſſion paſſes for a Cure. But, why ſhou'd I give more Inſtances of their Wiles and Strength in Deluſion, or mention the Phantoms of [a] *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, or a [b] Sieve holding Water, or a Ship drawn by a Girdle, or a [c] Beard turn'd red with a Touch? For all theſe are Impoſtures, only of Dæmons to keep Idolatry in Countenance, to make Men take Stones for Deities, and to detain 'em from any farther Inquiries after the true God.

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[a] The *Phantoms* of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, are ſaid to have acquainted the Romans of the Victory of *Macedonick* War the ſame Hour 'twas obtain'd.

[b] *Tucia* is the veſtal Virgin, who is reported to have done this Feat with a Sieve, and *Claudia* the other, who dragg'd along a Ship founder'd in the *Tyber* by the Strength of her Girdle.

[c] It was *Domitian*'s black Beard, which is here ſaid to be turn'd red with a Touch of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* to make him give Credit to the News of the Victory they told him of, and from hence he was ſirnam'd *Ænobarbus* or *Ruſty Beard*. One thing the Reader can hardly forbear taking notice of in the concluſion of this Chapter, and that is, between the Tricks and Amuſements of evil Spirits, and the ſubſtantial Miracles of Mercy wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, between diſcolouring a Beard and curing the Sick or raiſing the Dead.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Subjection of evil Spirits to the Command of Chriſtians.

MOreover, if Magicians do ſet before your Eyes a Scene of Spectres, and by their black Arts, or direful Forms in Necromancy call up the [d] Souls of the Dead; if they [e] throw Children into Convulſions, and a

[d] *Defunctorum animas infamant, aliter inclamant.*] Theſe ſeveral Species of Magick you find mention'd by *Juſtin Martyr*, *Apol.* 1. *Sect.* 24. See more of this in our Author *de Anima*, *cap.* 57. &c. *Vid. Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert.* 22. This kind of Divination by the Dead, called Necromancy, was very ancient and very familiar in the *Gentile* World. A memorable Example of which we find, 1 *Sam. c.* 28. Where *Saul* being about to war with the *Philiſtines*, and God denying to anſwer him either by Dreams, or by *Urim*, or by *Prophets*, he repairs to the *Witch of* Endor, and demands that *Samuel might be raiſed up from the Dead*, to tell him the Iſſue of the War. This was perform'd ſometime by the Magical Uſe of a Bone of a dead Body, with other black Solemnities; ſometimes by pouring hot Blood into the Carcaſs to make it anſwer a Queſtion, as *Erictho* does in *Lucan.*

Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit,
Protinus aſtrictus calluit Cruor; atraq; fovit
Vulnera;

Hence that of *Horace*,

Animas reſponſa daturas.

And in alluſion to the ſame Practice, is that of *Virgil*,

Nec jam exaudire vocatos.

[e] *Si pueros in eloquium Oraculi elidunt.*] Concerning this kind of Divination. See *Apuleius*, *Apol.* 1. and *Spartian. in vit. Jul.* Hence that of *Propertius*,

Rettulit in trivils omina certa Puer.

while after make 'em vent the Fury in Oracles; if by their jugling Wiles they delude the Senſes with abundance of Mock-miracles, and inject [f] Dreams in the dead of Sleep, by firſt invoking the Aſſiſtance of their Angels and Dæmons, by whoſe Sophiſtry even *Goats* and [g] *groaning Boards* are wont to divine: If then theſe

[f] *Si & Somnia immitturt.*] Theſe are the ſame with thoſe called by *Juſtin*, in the Section aforeſaid, ὀνειροπομποὶ. As the God of *Iſrael* was pleas'd ſometimes to communicate himſelf to his Prophets by Dreams; ſo likewiſe the Devil in imitation had his *Dreamers of Dreams* among the *Gentiles*. The *Lacedemonians* kept Men on purpoſe to *Sleep* in the Temple of *Paſithea* to *watch for Dreams*. The Vanity of theſe ſort of Diviners, *Juvenal* takes Occaſion to laſh in theſe words,

Non Delubra Deûm, nec ab æthere Numina mittunt,
Sed ſibi quiſq; facit.

Whoever has a mind to amuſe himſelf more upon this Subject, may conſult *Tully de Divinat. lib.* 1. *Valer. Max. lib.* 5. *cap.* 7. *Plin. l.* 7. *c.* 50. *Macrob. de Somn. Scip. l.* 1. *c.* 3. *Plutarch. in Pompeio*, concerning a Dream of *Mithridates*, and *Fulgent. Mythol. lib.* 1.

[g] *Per quos & Capræ, & Menſæ divinare conſueverunt.*] Of Goats train'd up to Divination we find mention in *Euſebius* from a Quotation out of *Clemens Alex.* αἶγες ὑπὸ μαντικῶν πνευμάτων, *Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. *p.* 62. Why Goats are particularly here ſpecify'd for Brutes of Divination, I conjecture the Reaſon to be this. Before the Oracle of *Apollo* came to be fix'd at *Delphos*, the Place was nothing more than a Common, and the Goats which were grazing about there coming to a Den, large before, with a little Mouth at top, and looking in, fell a skipping and making an odd Noiſe; not unlike perhaps the poſſeſſed Swine mention'd in the Goſpel, tho' not ſo fatal. The Goat-herd (*Coretas* by Name, as *Plutarch* calls him) ran to the Place to ſee what was the matter with his Flock, and fell into the ſame Frolick, and likewiſe into a Fit of Propheſying; and ſo it fared with many Others, who went afterwards to viſit the place, and many were ſtrangled (ſays *Tully*) with *Terræ anhelitu*, with the Fumes of the Earth. *Vid. Diodor. lib.* 16. Upon this Hole of the Earth therefore was the *Tripos*, or a Three-footed-ſtool placed, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſs, who receiv'd her Inſpiration

theſe evil Spirits will do ſo much at the impulſe of Men, what will they not do by their own Impulſe, and for their own Intereſt? They will ſurely collect the whole Stock of malicious Power into one Effort for the Defence of themſelves, and the Kingdom of Darkneſs. Or if Angels and Dæmons act the ſame with your Gods, pray where's the difference between them, and him you look upon as the Sovereign and ſupremeſt of Powers? Is it not therefore more becoming to preſume

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ration from below, as the *Scholiaſt* upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Avid.* deſcribes, ἐναθπυῶν τῷ τεάποδι, &c. Theſe Belly-Prophets, who deliver'd themſelves in a Tone like a ſpeaking Trumpet, were called ἐγγαςριμύθοι, and thus *Iſaiah*, *cap.* 8. *v.* 19. *Seek unto them which have Familiar Spirits, and unto Wizards that peep and mutter*; which the Septuagint more to my purpoſe render thus, ζητήσατε τοὺς ἐγγαςριμύθους, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνεῖντας, τοὺς κενολογεῖντας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνήσουσιν. And more expreſſly, yet, *cap.* 29. *v.* 4. *Thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the Ground, and thy Speech ſhall be low out of the Duſt, and thy Voice ſhall be as one that hath a Familiar Spirit out of the Ground, and thy Voice ſhall whiſper out of the Duſt.* Which words are ſtill more expreſſive of the *Pythoneſs* in the *Septuagint*, καὶ ταπεινωθήσονῃ εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου, καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου ἀδυσονῃ, καὶ ἔσαι ὡς οἱ φωνεῖντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡ φωνή σου, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔδαφος ἡ φωνή σου ἀδενήσῃ. Now the *Menſæ* in this place of *Tertullian*, I take to be the *Tripodes*, called by *Virgil*, *Menſæ* 2. *Æn.*

——*Huc undiq; Troia Gaza,*
Incenſis erepta adytis, Menſæq; Deorum.

Sozomen in his ſixth Book, *cap.* 35. tells us, that the *Gentile* Philoſophers being extremely concern'd at the Increaſe of Chriſtianity, made and conſecrated a *Tripod* of Laurel, with all the Letters of the Alphabet faſtned to it, to know who ſhou'd be the Man that was to ſucceed *Valens* in the Empire; a Contrivance perhaps in Imitation of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which (as ſome ſay) conſiſted of all the Letters of the Alphabet, which upon a Queſtion propos'd, did riſe after a ſtrange manner, and join'd themſelves into Words or Syllables, and ſo return'd a complete Anſwer.

thoſe to be Gods, who do the things, which make others paſs for Gods, than to bring down the Gods to a Level with Dæmons? But perhaps I am to think, that 'tis the difference of Places only which cauſes the Diſtinction of Titles, and that your Gods are to be look'd upon as Gods only in their own Temples, and he who flies thro' a ſacred Turret is Begodded; but he who paſſes thro' a common Houſe, Bedevil'd. Or that the Prieſt who cuts off his Privities, or lances his Arms, is inſpir'd; but he who cuts his Throat, poſſeſs'd; however, the Fury of both has a like Event, and the Inſtigation is the ſame.

Hitherto I have argu'd upon point of Reaſon, and contented my ſelf with words only; I come now to things, and ſhall give you a Demonſtration from Fact to convince you, that your Gods and Dæmons both, are but the ſame Beings, tho' of different Denominations. Let a [h] Demoniack therefore be brought into

[h] *Edatur hic aliquis ſub Tribunalibus veſtris*, &c.] This is the famous Challenge I juſt now referr'd to, and which I wou'd not have the Reader paſs over without Reflection; for never was any thing appeal'd to in more daring Words, or more eaſie to be detected, if an Impoſture. He challenges their Senſes, their Eyes and their Ears to be Judges in the Caſe; he defies 'em to deny it if they can; he ſtands ready to anſwer for the Experiment with his own Blood, that their *Celeſtial Virgin*, their *Æſculapius*, and all the reſt of thoſe they worſhip for Gods, ſhall not only quit the Bodies they poſſeſs, but publickly in the hearing of 'em all, confeſs themſelves to be Devils, upon the Demand of any Chriſtian. Hear what his Scholar St. *Cyprian* ſays to *Demetrianus* Proconſul of *Africa* upon the ſame Subject, *O ſi audire eos velles, & videre quando a nobis adjurantur, & torquentur Spiritualibus flagris, & verborum tormentis de obſeſſis corporibus ejiciuntur, quando ejulantes & gementes voce humanâ, & poteſtate Divinâ flagella & verbera ſentientes,*

into Court, and the Spirit which poſſeſſes him be commanded by any Chriſtian to declare what he is, he ſhall confeſs himſelf as truly to be a Devil, as he did falſly before profeſs himſelf a God. In like manner, let one of thoſe be produc'd, who is thought to labour with a God, whom he conceiv'd from the Steams of the Altar, and of which after many a Belch and many a Pang he is deliver'd in Oracles. Let the *Celeſtial* Virgin, the great Procurer of Rain, or *Æſculapius* the great Improver of Medicine, who by the help of *Scordian*, and other Sovereign and Cordial

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entes, venturum Judicium confitentur; veni, & cognosce vera eſſe quæ dicimus. And a little after, *videbis ſub manu noſtrâ ſtare vinctos, & tremere captivos quos tu ſuſpicis, & veneraris ut Dominos.* Not to mention *Lactantius*, who ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe, *de Juſt. lib.* 5. *c.* 21. All the Primitive Fathers aſſert the ſame Fact, with the ſame Aſſurance. Let me ask then a few Queſtions; did ever any Heathen Prieſt or Magician make ſuch a Challenge at the hazard of their Lives? Did the evil Spirits ever ſtand in awe of them, or any of the Philoſophers? Will the Criticks ſay that theſe long Quotations are foiſted into the Text, when they are in ev'ry Primitive Writer? And are not theſe Matters of Fact, not of Reaſon, wherein Chriſtians and Heathens cou'd not be impos'd upon? If ſo, what can be urg'd againſt this Demonſtration of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion? What ſtronger Evidence, what more ſenſible Conviction cou'd the Heathens have, than to ſee and hear the Gods they worſhipped, howl and wail and fly at the Name of Chriſt, and confeſs themſelves to be all Devils in the Preſence of their Worſhippers? This Kingdom of Darkneſs was permitted to grow to its full height, and the Ruin of it then providentially reſerv'd for the Coming and Conqueſt of the Son of God, and tho' the Diſpoſſeſſions and Confeſſions of evil Spirits recorded of him and his Apoſtles in the New Teſtament, do ſufficiently prove him to be ſent from God; yet the Exerciſe of the ſame Power in their Maſter's Name before Proconſuls and Tribunals for many Ages, makes the Argument ſtill the ſtronger and more unexceptionable. For 'tis not poſſible for a Miracle of three or four hundred Years continuance in Publick, to be ſuſpected for a Cheat.

Medicines recover'd thoſe who cou'd not have liv'd a Day longer. If all theſe, I ſay, do not declare themſelves in Court to be Devils, not daring to lie in the Preſence of a Chriſtian, that Chriſtian is willing to be taken for the Cheat, and ſtands ready to anſwer for it with his own Blood. What now can be more glaringly evident than this Demonſtration from Fact? What Proof more unexceptionable? Here you have Truth ſhining full upon you in her native Simplicity, without the colouring of Words, or any Aſſiſtance but from her own proper Virtue; Suſpicion it ſelf here will find no Entrance. You may ſay this is done by Magick or ſome ſuch Sophiſtry, if your Eyes and Ears will give you leave to ſay it; but what can be objected againſt that which is expos'd in its pure Naturals, againſt mere naked Truth? Moreover, if on one hand they are really Gods, why ſhou'd they be ſuch ſilly Liars, as to ſay they are Devils? What, in obedience to us? Your Gods then are in Subjection to Chriſtians; but that ſurely is a very ſorry God, which is ſubject to a Man, and to a Man too which is his profeſs'd Enemy, and when ſuch a Subjection makes ſo much to his Diſgrace. On the other hand, if they are Dæmons or Angels, how comes it to paſs, that they perſonate Gods, when they give their Reſponſes to any but Chriſtians? For as thoſe who have the Reputation of Gods, wou'd not ſay they are Devils, if they are truly Gods becauſe they wou'd not diveſt themſelves of their Majeſty; ſo thoſe you know to be

Dæmons,

Dæmons, durſt never aſpire to the Titles of Gods, if there were any Gods of thoſe Titles they uſurp; becauſe no doubt they wou'd be afraid of ſmarting for that Uſurpation, from thoſe ſuperior Deities they have thus affronted.

The Conſequence therefore is undeniable, that the Deities you worſhip are no Deities; for if they were, the Devils wou'd never preſume to lay claim to the Title of Gods, or the Gods diſclaim it. Since therefore both one and the other concur to the Acknowledgment of this Truth, that the Gods in Worſhip are no Gods, you muſt confeſs 'em to be all of the ſame Kind, that is Devils. Bethink your ſelves now, and examin the Gods on ev'ry ſide. For thoſe you preſum'd to be Gods, you plainly ſee to be Devils; and by the help of Chriſtians, and by the help of your very Gods not only confeſſing themſelves, but all the reſt alſo not to be Gods, you'll preſently learn which is the true God; whether it is he, and he alone whom the Chriſtians profeſs, and whether he is to be believ'd and worſhipped, according to the Chriſtian Rule of Faith and Worſhip. When we conjure theſe evil Spirits in the Name of Chriſt, let them reply if they dare, Who is this Chriſt with his Fable of a Goſpel? Let them ſay that he is of the common Order of Men; or will they call him a Magician? Or ſay that after he was buried, his Diſciples came and ſtole away his Body out of the Sepulchre, or that he is yet among the Dead? Or rather will they not own him to be in Heaven, and that he will

will come down from thence, and put the whole Univerſe in a Tremor at his coming, and all Mankind but Chriſtians into Horror and Lamentation? Shining in his native Glory, as he is the Power of God, and the Spirit of God, and the *Logos*, and the Wiſdom, and the Reaſon, and the Son of God. Let the Devils keep their Votaries company in Deriſion, and join you with their Wit and Drollery upon theſe things. Let 'em deny that Chriſt will come in Judgment upon ev'ry Soul from the Creation, having firſt reſtor'd its Body. Let 'em declare, and in open Court, if they think fit, that they are of a mind with *Plato* and the *Poets*, that 'tis the Lot of *Minos* and *Radamanthus* to be Judges of the World. Let 'em wipe off the Brand of their own Ignominy and Damnation. Let 'em renounce themſelves to be unclean Spirits, tho' this is evident from the Nature of their Food, from the Blood, and Stenches, and putid Sacrifices of Animals, and the abominable Forms made uſe of in Divination. And laſtly, Let them diſown themſelves to be in a damned State, and under dreadful Expectations of the Final Judgment, where they ſhall receive the Recompence of Sins, together with their Worſhippers, and all ſuch Workers of Iniquity.

But now this Power and Dominion of ours over theſe wicked Spirits, has all its Efficacy from the Name of Chriſt, and from our reminding 'em of thoſe Judgments which are dropping upon their Heads from the Hand of God thro' Chriſt, whom he has made Judge of the

the World; and the Dread they have of Chriſt in God, and God in Chriſt, is the thing which ſubjects 'em to the Servants of God and Chriſt. Thus therefore by a Touch of our Hand, or the Breath of our Mouth ſcorch'd as it were with the Proſpect and Repreſentation of future Flames, they go out of the Bodies they poſſeſs at our Command, but ſore againſt their Will, and gnaſhing and red hot with Shame, to quit their Poſſeſſions in the Preſence of their Adorers.

Now then let me adviſe you to believe the Devils when they ſpeak true of themſelves, you who are uſed to credit 'em in their Lies; for no Man is a Fool to ſuch a Degree as to be at the Pains of Lying to his Diſgrace, but only to his Reputation; and one is a thouſand times apter to believe Men when they confeſs to their Diſadvantage, than when they deny for Intereſt.

Theſe Teſtimonies then of your Gods againſt themſelves often conduce to the making of Chriſtians, becauſe there is no believing them, without believing in our Maſter Chriſt. The very Devils kindle in us the Belief of Holy Scripture; the very Devils are edifying, and raiſe our Hope to Aſſurance. But you worſhip 'em, and with the Blood of Chriſtians too, I well know; and therefore they would by no means loſe ſuch good Clients and devoted Servants as you are, not only for the ſake of their Honour and Offerings, but for fear ſhou'd any of you turn Chriſtians, you ſhou'd diſpoſſeſs and ſerve 'em as we do. They wou'd never,

I ſay,

I ſay baulk a Lie, in ſo grand a Concern, was it in their Power to lie, when a Chriſtian interrogates 'em in order to give you a Proof of his Religion by their own Confeſſion.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Romans are the Criminals in Point of Religion, and not the Chriſtians.

THis univerſal Confeſſion of the evil Spirits, whereby they diſclaim the Title of Gods, and whereby they declare that there is no other God but one, whoſe ſervants we profeſs to be; this Confeſſion, I ſay, is Argument enough with a Witneſs to diſcharge Chriſtians from the Crime of Irreligion, eſpecially towards the *Roman* Gods; for if the *Roman* Gods for a certain are no Gods, then their Religion for a certain is no Religion; and if theirs be no Religion, becauſe theirs be no Gods, then certainly we cannot be juſtly charg'd upon the Article of Irreligion, with reſpect to the Worſhip of the *Roman* Deities. But this Reproach rebounds upon your ſelves, for you who worſhip a Lie, and not only neglect the true Religion, of the true God, but moreover join all your Forces to fight it out of the World, are in truth guilty of that, which is moſt proprely Irre-

Irreligion. For ſhould I grant thoſe you worſhip to be Gods, do not you likewiſe Subſcribe to the common Opinion, that there is One moſt high and powerful Deity, who is the Author and Sovereign of the World, of Infinite Majeſty and Perfection? For thus many among you have ranged the Gods, ſo as to veſt the ſupreme Power in one only, and make the Reſt Subaltern Gods, and Under-officers merely to this Almightieſt of Deities; and thus [1] *Plato* deſcribes great *Jove* as attended above by an heavenly Hoſt of Inferior Gods and Dæmons. Can you ſay then, that we muſt pay the ſame Honours to his Procurators and Prefects and Preſidents, as to the Emperor himſelf? And pray now where's the Crime to be ambitious of getting into the good Graces of *Cæſar* only? And to acknowledge the Title of God like that of Emperor, his Due alone who has the Sovereign Authority? ſince by your Laws 'tis capital to call any one *Cæſar* who is not ſupreme, or to hear him ſo called by any other. I'll grant you, there's a difference in the Modes of Worſhip, between a Worſhipper of God, and a Worſhipper of *Jove*. Let us then ſuppoſe, that one Man worſhips the true ſupreme God, another *Jove*, one prays with ſuppliant hands lifted up to Heaven, another lays

[1] *Ut Plato Jovem magnum in cælo comitatum exercitu deſcribit Deorum pariter & Dæmonum.*] This Paſſage we have in *Greek* in *Athenagoras*, thus—Ὁ δὲ μέσας ἡμεῶν ἐν ἱερῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πλινὸν ἅρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται, διακοσμῶν πάντα, καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος· πῶς δ' ἕπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων. *Athenat. Legat. pro Chriſtian.* The Supremacy of one Deity is what you'll find by *Minutius Felix* prov'd at large from all the Philoſophers.

upon the Altar of [m] *Fides*, another (if you will think them Deities) prays looking upon the [n] Clouds, others upon the ſtately Roofs of the Temple; one devotes his own Life to his God, another the Life of a Goat. But you had beſt ſee to it, whether this does not concur to the making up of another Article of Irreligion againſt you; namely, to deprive Men of the Liberty of worſhipping after their own way, and to interdict 'em the Option of their Deity; ſo that I muſt not worſhip the God I would, but am forc'd to worſhip the God I would not; and yet 'tis agreed upon on all hands, that forc'd or unwilling Services are not grateful either to God or Man; and for this reaſon even the *Egyptians* are tolerated in their Superſtition, which is the very Vanity of Vanities: They are permitted to make Gods of Birds and Beaſts, and to make it Capital to be the Death of any of theſe Kinds of

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[m] *Aram Fidei.*] *Tully* in his *Offices* lib. 3. has theſe Words,—*Fidem in Capitolio vicinam Jovi Opt. Max. Majores noſtri eſſe voluerunt.* Hence that of *Silius*

Ille etiam qua priſca Fides ſtat Regia, nobis
Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe.

There was likewiſe one *Fidius*, a *Sabin* God, whoſe Temple was upon the *Mons Quirinalis*, He was the God who took care of Oaths, hence that of *Plautus* in *Aſinar*, *Per Divum Fidium quæris.* This Oath was afterwards contracted into one Word *Medioſidius*, 'tho *Feſtus Pompeius* expounds it otherwiſe, *quaſi Διὸς filius.* lib. 11.

[n] *Nubes numeret orans.*] The wiſe and good *Socrates* was laſh'd by *Ariſtophanes* in his *Nubibus* for a Worſhipper of the *Clouds*, becauſe he worſhipped the one true God with Eyes lifted up to Heaven like the Chriſtians, who having in a gentile ſenſe neither Temple Image nor Altar, as the *Heathen* in *Minutius* objects, were charg'd as *Tertullian* intimates, for adoring Clouds; but how that in *Minutius* is to be underſtood, I refer the Reader to my Notes upon

of Deities. Ev'ry Province and City has its proper Gods, as *Syria* the God [o] *Aſhtaroth*, *Arabia* has *Diſares*, *Bavaria Belinus*, *Africa* the [p] *Celeſtial Virgin*, and *Mauritania* their Kings. Now theſe Provinces (if I miſtake not) are under the *Roman* Juriſdiction, and yet I don't find any of the *Roman* Gods in Worſhip among them; becauſe the Gods of theſe Countries are as little known at *Rome*, as many of the Municipal Deities in ſeveral Towns in *Italy*, as *Delventinus* of *Caſinum*, *Viſidianus* of *Narni*, *Ancaria* of *Aſcoli*, *Nurſia* of *Volſinium*, *Valentia* of *Ocricoly*, *Nortia* of *Sutri*, and *Juno* of *Monte Fiaſco*, who was worſhipped by the Name of *Curetis* in honour of her Father *Cures*: But we Chriſtians, we alone are the People who are not tolerated to enjoy a ſeperate Religion, proper to our ſelves; we offend the *Romans*, and are not to be lookt upon as *Romans*, becauſe we don't worſhip the God of the *Romans*; however we have this Advantage, that God is the God of all, whoſe we are all, whe-

upon that Paſſage. *Scaliger* underſtands this of *Juvenal* of the Chriſtians, and reads it thus—

Nil præter Nubes, & Cæli Numen adorant.

[o] *Syriæ Aſtartes.*] *Euſebius* from *Sanconiathon* will have it to be *Venus*, *Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib.* 1 cap. 10. p. 38. *Suidas* ſays thus—Ἀσάρθη ἡ παρὰ Ἕλλησιν Ἀφροδίτη λεσομὼν, Θεὸς Σιδωνίων. This was the Goddeſs of the *Sidonians* whom *Solomon* himſelf went after, and to whom he built an Houſe. 1 *Kings* Chap. 11. v. 5. 2. *Kings* Chap. 23. v. 13. And in the Houſe of *Aſtaroth* called by the LXX. Ἀσάρθη, did the *Philiſtines* hang up *Saul*'s Armour after his death. 1 *Sam.* 31. v. 10.

[p] *Cæleſtis.*] This *Celeſtial Virgin* was peculiarly honour'd at *Carthage*, and is ſuppos'd by ſome to be *Juno*, 'tho there is huge Controverſy about it. And the reſt of the Idols here mention'd are ſo obſcure, and ſo much diſputed, that I believe the Reader will thank me, if I ſay no more about 'em.

ther we will or no; but there is an univerſal Toleration among you to pay divine Honours to any, but the true God, as if this was not emphatically the God of all, whoſe Creatures we all are.

CHAP. XXV.

That the Roman Grandeur is not owing to the Roman Religion.

I Have now in my opinion given ſufficient Proofs of the falſe and the true Divinity; having not only diſputed and demonſtrated this Point from Arguments drawn from Reaſon, but alſo from the very Confeſſions of thoſe you acknowledge for Gods; ſo that nothing more ſeems neceſſary to be reinforc'd upon that Head. But becauſe the *Roman* Greatneſs is an Objection that comes properly in my way, I will not decline the Combat I am challeng'd to, by the Preſumption of thoſe who ſay, that the [q] *Romans* arriv'd to ſuch a pitch

[q] *Romanos pro merito Religioſitatis diligentiſſimæ in tantum Sublimitatis elatos.*] That the *Roman* Greatneſs was not owing to the *Roman* Religion, *Prudentius* proves at large, *lib.* 2. *adver. Symmach.*

Sed multi duxere Dii per proſpera Romam,
Quos colit ob meritum magnis donata Triumphis;
Ergo age, Bellatrix, quæ vis ſubjecerit, ede.

And *Minutius* is very particular upon the ſame Head, but becauſe he has borrowed ſo many Hints from *Tertullian*, and is ſubjoin'd to this Apology; I will not foreſtal the Reader. However, that the

pitch of Grandeur, as to be Maſters of the World, by the pure Dint and Merits of their Religion; and conſequently that theirs were the right Gods, inaſmuch as they who ſerv'd 'em outflouriſh'd all others in Glory, as much as they ſurpaſs'd 'em in Devotion to theſe Deities; and this ſurpaſſing Figure, no doubt, was the Return your own *Roman* Gods made you for their Worſhip; and theſe proper Gods, who have thus enlarg'd your Borders, muſt be *Sterculus*, and *Mutunus* and *Larentina*; for 'tis not to be imagin'd that Strange Gods ſhou'd find in their hearts to be greater Friends to a ſtrange Nation, than to their own; and that they ſhou'd make over their own native Soil, in which they were bred, and born, and buried, and Deified, to an outlandiſh People. Let *Cybele* ſee to it, whether She tranſplanted her affections to *Rome* for the ſake of her beloved Countrymen the *Trojans*, ſcreen'd from the *Greecian* Arms I warrant, by her divine Protection; let her ſay whether ſhe went over to the *Romans* upon this View, as foreſeeing them the People that wou'd revenge her upon her Enemies, and one day triumph over *Greece*, as *Greece* had done over *Troy*; and to prove that ſhe did go over to the *Romans* upon this Proſpect, ſhe has given a moſt glorious Inſtance of her Foreſight in our Age, for *M. Aurelius* being taken off at *Sirmium*

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the *Romans* valu'd themſelves as extraordinary Favourites of Heaven upon the account of their Grandeur, is evident from that of *Valerius, lib.* 1. *Non Mirum igitur ſi pro eo imperio augendo cuſtodiendoq; pertinax Deorum indulgentiæ ſemper excubuit.*

the [r] ſeventeenth Day of March, her chief Prieſt and Eunuch on the twenty fourth Day of the ſame Month, having lanced his Arms, and let out his impure Blood upon the Altar, offered up his uſual Vows for the Life of the Emperor, who was dead ſome days before. O leadenheel'd Curriers! O drowſie Diſpatches! not to give *Cybele* notice before the Emperor was dead; in good Troth Chriſtians muſt make a little merry with ſuch a Goddeſs.

But had Kingdoms been at *Jove*'s Diſpoſal, *Jove* ſurely had never ſuffer'd his own *Crete* to have come under the *Roman* Rod; unmindfull of the *Idean* Cave and the never to be forgotten Noiſe the *Corybantes* made to drown his Infant Cryes, and of the agreeable Sweets of his fragrant Nurſe *the Goat Amalthæa*. What! wou'd not he have prefer'd his own Tomb, before any Capitol, and made the Country which contain'd *Jove*'s [s] Aſhes, the Miſtreſs of the World? Wou'd *Juno*, do ye think, cou'd ſhe have help'd it, ſuffer'd her beloved *Carthage*, more belov'd than *Samos*, to have been ſack'd

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[r] *M. Aurelio—exempto, die decimo ſexto Kalend. Aprilium,*] Thus *Dion Caſſius* of the ſame Emperor ſays—τῇ ἑπτὰ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Μαρτίου μεθήλαξεν.

[s] *Quæ cineres Jovis texit.*] There is hardly any one Thing more talk'd of than *Crete* by the Poets and Hiſtorians and the Chriſtian Apologiſts, where *Jove* was born bred and buried; Thus *Virgil.*

Dictæo Cœli Regem pavere ſub antro.

Thus *St. Cyprian de Idol. van. Antrum Jovis in Creta viſitur.* And in the *Alexandrian Chronic* we have this Inſcription—ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΘΑΝΩΝ ΠΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΖΕΥΣ ΘΝ. ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΚΑΛΟΥΣΙΝ. HIC SITUS JACET PICUS MORTUUS, QUI ET JUPITER, QUEM JOVEM VOCANT.

and ruin'd by the deteſted Race of *Trojans*; for I know her Paſſion for this City from your own Virgil:

* ——— Here, Here, this darling Place,
Immortal *Juno*'s Arms, and Chariot Grace;
And Here to fix the Univerſal Reign,
The mighty Goddeſs ſtrove, but ſtrove in vain,
By mightier Fate ore'come. ———

Poor Unhappy *Juno*, Wife and ſiſter both to *Jove*, and yet not a Match for Fate! for as another Poet has it,

‖ —Even Jove himſelf muſt bend to Fate.

And yet the *Romans* can't afford the Fates who made 'em Maſters of *Carthage* in ſpite of all the Intrigues of *Juno*, half ſo much Honour, as they pay to the moſt Infamous of Proſtitutes, *Larentina*. But 'tis certain, that many of your Gods reign'd once upon Earth; if therefore Kingdoms are now at their Diſpoſe, pray tell me from whom did they themſelves receive their Crowns? Who was the God, that *Saturn* or *Jove* worſhipped? Some Dunghill-God, *Sterculus* I ſuppoſe; but this cou'd not well be, for *Saturn* and *Jupiter* were both dead long before *Sterculus* got his immortal

* — *Hic illius arma,*
Hic Currus fuit, hoc Regnum Dea Gentibus eſſe,
Si qua Fata ſinant, jam tum tenditq; fovetq;.

‖ — *Fato ſtat Jupiter ipſe.*

Honour at *Rome* for teaching his Countrymen the Art of dunging their Ground. But tho' ſome of your Gods never arriv'd to the Honour of being Kings, yet Others who were Kings, have not had the Honour to be Gods: The Diſpoſal of Kingdoms therefore muſt be lodg'd elſewhere, and not in the Kings themſelves; becauſe they are Kings, before they have the Good luck to be Gods, or the Diſpoſers of Kingdoms. But how Ridiculous a Thing it is to aſcribe the *Roman* Grandeur to the Merits of the *Roman* Religion, when the Grandeur is older than the Religion; or rather the Religion increas'd and multiply'd in proportion to the State. For tho' your ſuperſtitious Curioſities had their firſt Conception in [t] *Numa*'s Brain, and yet during his Reign, the *Roman* Worſhip was without either Statue or

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[t] *A Numâ concepta eſt Curioſitas Superſtitioſa.*] It has been objected, that the Conſent of Nations, if it argues any thing, argues for Polytheiſm, that being more univerſal, and conſequently more natural then the Worſhip of one God; but this is a very fooliſh Objection; for there is in all Mankind a Propenſity to Religion in General, as there is an Inclination to eat and drink in all, and as it is left to the Direction of our Appetites what we ſhou'd chooſe to eat and drink in particular, ſo is it left to our Reaſon what we ſhou'd worſhip;—but to eat and drink and worſhip ſomething, we are all inclin'd, tho' often abus'd as to the Object. 'Tis this natural Propenſity to Religion, Deſigning Men ſtrike in with; and they wou'd never apply to it ſo univerſally, did they not find all Mankind readily diſpos'd for Divine Worſhip; for an Atheiſt has been look'd upon as a Monſter in all Ages. Thus it was that *Numa Pompilius* work'd upon his Subjects, and procúr'd an Impli, cit Veneration to all his Inſtitutions, by pretending an Acquaintance with the Goddeſs *Ægeria*. *Numa Pompilius, ut Populum Romanum ſacris obligaret, volebat videri ſibi cum Dea Ægeria congreſſus eſſe nocturnos, ejuſque monitu accepta Diis Immortalibus ſacra inſtituere. Valer. Max. lib.* 1. *Cap.* 2.

Temp'e;

Temple; their old Religion was a [u] thrifty plain Religion, without any pompous Rites, or any Capitol [w] vying with Heaven; their Altars were rude and hasty, and of Turf only; their sacred Vessels of *Samian* Clay. And from hence the moderate Steams of a slender Sacrifice ascended, and not the Image of any God to be seen amongst 'em; for as yet the *Grecian* and *Tuscan* Artists had not overflow'd the City with the Invention of Images; and therefore 'tis certain, that the *Romans* were not so exceeding religious, before they were so exceeding great; and consequently their Greatness cannot be owing to their Religion.

But with what Forehead can Men entitle their Greatness to Religion, when their Greatness stands upon the Ruins of Religion? For if I mistake not, Kingdoms or Empires are got

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[u] *Frugi Religio &c.*] *Varro* says that the *Romans* worshipped their Gods 170 Years without any Image, and thinks they had been better serv'd, had there been no Images made; and this Frugality in Religion lasted to the Conquest of *Asia*, *usque ad devictam Asiam*, says *Pliny lib.* 34. Thus *Ovid* speaking of the ancient Simplicity, says——

Jupiter exiguâ vix totus stabat in Æde,
Inque Jovis dextrâ fictile Fulmen erat.

In Fast. 3. and in like manner *Juvenal.*

Hanc rebus Latiis curam præstare solebat
Fictilis, & nullo violatus Jupiter auro.

Vid. Cicer. Paradox. 1.

[w] *Capitolia certantia cælo*] *Capitols vying with Heaven.* Agreable to which *Martial* thus describes it,

Nec Capitolini summum penetrale Tonantis,
Quæque nitent Cælo proxima Templa suo.

by Wars, and propagated by Victories, and Wars and Victories for the moſt part conclude in the Captivity and Deſolation of Cities. And this ſort of Buſineſs is not likely to be diſpatch'd without treading upon Religion; for the Walls of a Town and thoſe of a Temple are batter'd both alike; Prieſts and People ſlain without Diſtinction; and the plundering Soldier will no more pardon the Riches of the Gods, than thoſe of Men. The *Romans* therefore may compute their Sacrileges by their Trophies, and tell how many Gods they have triumph'd over, by the Nations they have conquer'd; and withal remember that all the Statues of the Captive Deities now in the Temple, are but ſo many Spoils of War: And yet theſe Gods will endure to be worſhipped by ſuch Enemies, and decree 'em a * perpetual Empire for ſo doing; when in Honour they ought to be reveng'd upon their Outrages, rather than be cajol'd by their Adoration; but Gods who have neither Senſation nor Knowledge, may be injur'd with as much Impunity, as they are ſerv'd with vanity. Certainly it cannot enter into any ones Head to imagine, that the *Romans* grew to this Bulk of Greatneſs by the Influence of Religion, who (as I have ſuggeſted) one way or other always mounted to their Greatneſs by treading upon Religion;

* *Illis Imperium ſine fine decernunt.*] *Tertullian* frequently quotes *Virgil* expreſly, which makes it probable that in theſe Words he alludes to a like Paſſage in that Poet.

— *Imperium ſine fine dedi.*

for

for even thoſe, whoſe Kingdoms are melted down, as it were into one Maſs of *Roman* Empire, thoſe I ſay, when they loſt theſe Kingdoms, were no more without Religion, than they who got them.

CHAP. XXVI.

That Kingdoms are only at his Diſpoſe, who is the true God.

CONſider therefore with your ſelves and ſee, whether it muſt not needs be him, who is the Diſpoſer of Kingdoms; who is the Maker and Proprietor of the World which is governed, and of the Man who governs it: Whether it muſt not be him, who orders the Revolutions of Empire in ſucceeding Ages of Time, who was before Time it ſelf, and who of the ſeveral Parts or Links of Ages, compos'd the whole Body or chain of Time: Whether 'tis not he, who raiſes up and pulls down Cities, under whom Mankind once ſojourn'd without any Cities at all. Why will you thus perſiſt in Error? For ancient [y] uncultivated *Rome* is ancienter than many of your Gods.

[y] *Sylveſtris Roma.*] Wild uncultivated *Rome*; in which State *Virgil* thus deſcribes it. *Æn.* 8.

Hinc ad Tarpeiam Sedem, & Capitolia ducit,
Aurea nunc, olim Sylveſtribus horrida dumis.

She had her Kings before she had such a Circumference of her Ground taken up with a Capitol. The *Babylonians*, and *Medes*, and *Egyptians*, and *Assyrians*, and *Amazons* had all their Kingdoms, before your *Pontiffs*, and *Quindecemviri*, and *Salii*, and *Luperci* were thought of. After all, had the *Roman* Gods been the Dispensers of Kingdoms, the ancient *Jews* had never risen to such an Ascendant, as to reign in defiance of all the common Deities all the World over; to which God of the *Jews*, you your selves have offer'd Sacrifices, and to whose Temple you have presented Gifts; and which Nation for a long time you honour'd with your [z] Alliance; and which, let me tell you, you had never reign'd over, had they not finally fill'd up the Measure of their Sins with their Sin against Jesus Christ.

CHAP. XXVII.

That the Gentiles are set against Christians by the Instigation of evil Spirits.

THis I take for a sufficient Answer to that Article, which charges us with Treason against the Gods, having demonstrated them to

[z] *Fœderibus.*] Concerning the Alliance and frequent Leagues of the *Romans* with the *Jews*. *Vid. Machab.* 1. *cap.* 8. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 11, *&c.* and *Joseph. lib.* 14. *p.* 486. *lib.* 16. *c.* 10. *p.* 562. But for offering Sacrifice to the God of the *Jews* I cannot find, tho' *Heraldus* affirms it, and from *Josephus*.

be

be no Gods, and conſequently no Harm done 'em. When therefore we are called forth to *Sacrifice*, we ſet Conſcience before to ſupport us againſt the Order; which tells us what Kind of Beings thoſe are, which theſe Sacrifices are made to, that are made to the Images proſtituted for Worſhip, and to the conſecrated Names of Men. But ſome look upon it as Madneſs, that when we might Sacrifice *Occaſionally*, and depart in a whole Skin, or without hurting our Conſcience, by Virtue of an inward Reſerve to continue firm to our Religion, that we ſhou'd be ſuch Blockheads as to prefer our Opiniatretè to our Lives. Thus, forſooth, you give the Counſel by what means we are to abuſe you; but well we know from whence the Suggeſtions come; who it is that is behind the Scene and prompts all this; and how he works ſometimes by perſuaſive Wiles, and ſometimes by dint of Cruelty, and all to throw us off from our Conſtancy. It is verily the Devil of an Angel, a Spirit divorc'd from God, and for that Reaſon our immortal Enemy, and one who gnaſhes with Envy at the divine Graces we enjoy, and plays all his Engines of Deſtruction againſt us from your Minds, as it were from a Cittadel. Which Minds of yours are by his ſecret Injections modify'd and ſuborn'd to that Perverſeneſs of Judgment, and Savage Injuſtice againſt us, which I mention'd in the beginning of my Apology. For altho' the whole Force of Dæmons and ſuch kind of Spirits is ſubjected to us; yet like other rebellious Slaves, their Fear is

mix'd

mix'd with Contumacy, and 'tis their Meat and Drink to be hurting thoſe whom otherwiſe they are afraid of, for ſervile Fear inſpires Hatred.

Beſides in this State of Rage and Deſpair, they look upon Miſchief as their whole Comfort; and all the lucid [a] Interval they have for this deviliſh Enjoyment, is but 'till the Day of Judgment; and yet when we apprehend 'em they ſurrender, and ſubmit to their Condition; and whom they battel at a diſtance, they beſeech at hand. Therefore when by their Inſtinct you treat us like Rebels, and condemn us to Workhouſes, or Priſons, or the Mines, and ſuch like ſervile Puniſhment, when thus I ſay by you their Inſtruments they break out againſt us, in whoſe Power they are (for they know their Imparity full well, and their Malice is but the more enraged at their Impotency) then we take another Courſe, and engage theſe odious Spirits, as it were upon equal Terms, and reſiſt with Patience impregnable; that being the Quarter they attack us upon with all their Fury, and we never come off ſo triumphantly, as when we ſuffer victoriouſly, and reſiſt unto Death.

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[a] *Fruendæ iterum malignitati de Pœnæ morâ.*] *And all the Lucid Interval they have for this Deviliſh Enjoyment is but till the Day of Judgment.*] In theſe Words, our Author plainly alludes to the 2d. *Epiſtle* of St. Peter, chap. 2. v. 4. *For if God ſpared not the Angels that ſinned, but caſt them down to Hell, and deliver'd them into Chains of Darkneſs, to be reſerv'd unto Judgment.* And this Alluſion in a Point of Doctrine, in ſome meaſure proves that this *Epiſtle* went for Genuine in our Author's Time.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That the Romans have their Emperors in greater Veneration than their Gods.

BUT becauſe it ſeems manifeſtly wrong to drag Men to ſacrifice againſt the natural Freedom of their Wills; ſince, as I have elſewhere declar'd, Religion muſt be a pure Act of the Will; it muſt needs be very fooliſh to preſs Men to the Service of the Gods, whom for their own Sakes they ought to ſerve Freely; and that it ſhou'd not be in a Man's Choice, which he has a Right to by the Liberty of his Will, to ſay, I will not have *Jove* for my God. Who are you pray Sir that pretend to have my will in keeping? I care not a Farthing for *Janus*, let him turn his Brows upon me from which Forehead he pleaſes: What have you to do with me in the Choice of Religion? But they which put you upon forcing us to Sacrifice to the Gods, are the ſame Spirits which inform you, to make us [b] Sacrifice for the

[b] *Pro ſalute Imperatoris Sacrificare,*] When *Herod* and his Father *Nicetes* took up *Polycarp* into their Coach, they attempted to perſuade him off of his Reſolution to ſuffer, in this Form of Words, τί γαρ κακόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, κύριε Καίσαρ, καὶ θῦσαι καὶ διασώζεσθαι. *Where's the harm to ſay, O Lord Cæſar, and to ſacrifice, and ſo ſave your ſelf?* And when the Martyr was brought before the Tribunal, the Proconſul charges him to *ſwear by the Genius of Cæſar*, ὄμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, μετανόησον, εἰπὸν αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, that is, *ſwear by Cæſar's Genius, Repent, ſay take off the Atheiſts*, that is the Chriſtians. Theſe and ſuch like were the Forms upon which they try'd Chriſtians. *Vid. Euſeb. Ecc. Hiſt. lib.* 4. chap. 15. p. 131.

Safety

Safety of the Emperor; and ſo *Cæſar*'s Safety being twiſted with the Honour of the Gods; You are by this Stratagem neceſſitated to compel, and we to ſuffer.

I come now to the ſecond Article of Leſe-Majeſty, but Majeſty more Auguſt with you, than that of your Gods; for you are more ſincerely afraid and circumſpect in your Devotions to *Cæſar*, than to *Olympian Jove*; and deſervedly too if you underſtood it; for what Man alive is not preferable to a dead one? But this difference in your Devotions is not grounded ſo much upon Reaſon, or the Knowledge you have of your Deities, as upon the Conſideration of the Emperor's preſent ſenſible Power upon you; and tis upon this Account here I tax you with Irreligion, becauſe you ſtand more heartily in Awe of *Cæſar* than of all your Gods; for in fine, you will ſooner invoke all your Gods round to bear witneſs to a Lie, than ſwear falſely by the ſingle [c] *Genius* of *Cæſar*.

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[c] *Citius denique apud vos.*] *Tutius per Jovis Genium pejerare, quam Regis. Tis much ſafer (ſays Minutius) to ſwear falſely by the Genius of Jove, than Cæſar.*

Jurandaſque tuum per nomen ponimus aras. ſays *Horace.*

For he who ſwore falſely by the Gods, was noted only by the *Cenſors*, and expos'd to ſhame, *Vid. Ciceron. lib. 4. de Repub.* But one perjur'd by the *Genius* of *Cæſar* was ſeverely baſtinado'd, and expos'd into the Bargain. For thus ſays *Ulpian lib. 13 de Jurejurando.*—*Siquis juraverit in re pecuniariâ per Genium Cæſaris, & pejeraverit* &c. *Imperator noſter cum Patre reſcripſit, fuſtibus eum caſtigandum dimittere, & ita ei ſuperdici,* προπετῶς μὴ ὄμνυε, *petulanter ne jurato.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

That the Emperors maintain the Gods, rather than the Gods the Emperors.

FIrſt therefore make it appear, that thoſe you ſacrifice to, can protect either Kings or Subjects, and then charge us with Treaſon againſt Gods and Men; for if Angels or Dæmons, Spirits eſſentially wicked, or of the moſt deſtructive Nature, can be the Authors of any Good: If Spirits loſt and undone themſelves can ſave others, if the Damned can give Freedom, and laſtly if the Dead (as you know in your Conſcience your Gods to be) can defend the living, pray why don't they defend in the firſt place their own Statues, and Images, and Temples, which in my Opinion are defended by *Cæſar*'s Guards, who keep watch and ward for their ſecurity. But the Materials of theſe, I think come from *Cæſar*'s Mines; and the Temples depend on *Cæſar*'s Nod; and laſtly many of the Gods have felt *Cæſar*'s Diſpleaſure; and if he has been Propitious to the Gods, and Liberal, and beſtow'd Privileges upon 'em, it ſtill makes for our Cauſe. Thus then how is it likely, that they who are at *Cæſar*'s Nod, as they all entirely are, ſhou'd be the Guardians of *Cæſar*'s Life? Is it not more likely, that the Gods ſhould be in *Cæſar*'s Keeping, than *Cæſar* in theirs?

what? are we Traitors to the Emperors becauſe we do not ſet 'em below their own Poſſeſſions? Becauſe we will not make Mock-Addreſſes for their Safety, concluding it cannot be in the keeping of Hands of Lead. But you are the only Perſons of Religion, who pray for their Safety, where it can't be had; and overlook him, who alone has it in his Power: But thoſe, who know how to ask it, and can obtain it too, becauſe they know how to ask it; thoſe, I ſay you are perſecuting out of the World,

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CHAP. XXX.

Concerning the God of Chriſtians by whom Kings reign, and the Prayers of Chriſtians for the Life of the Emperors.

THe God we pray to for the Life of Emperors, is the Eternal God, the true God, the God of Life, and whom above all, the Emperors themſelves principally deſire to propitiate; they know by whom they reign as Kings, and live as Men. They are ſenſible that he is the only God, and in whoſe Power alone they are; and that they themſelves are, next under him, ſupreme; and after him, the firſt in Honour, above all Men, and all your other Gods too into the Bargain. And why not? Since they are above all Men living,

living, and the living ſurely are above the Dead. They conſider how far their Power will go, and find it infinitely below the Reach of Heaven, and ſo come to be ſenſible of a God above 'em; and conſequently that the Powers they have, muſt be from God. Let an Emperor make War upon Heaven, and pride himſelf with the Thoughts of leading captive Heaven in Triumph, let him ſet Guards upon Heaven, and try to reduce it to a *Roman* Province, aud He'll find his Weakneſs. He is therefore great, becauſe he is but leſs than Heaven; for he is a Creature of his, who made Heaven, and ev'ry Creature, that ever had a Being. He made him an Emperor, who made him a Man; the Author of his Life is the Author of his Power.

To this Almighty Maker and Diſpoſer of all Things, it is that we Chriſtians offer up our Prayers, with Eyes lifted up to Heaven, and [d] unfolded Hands in token of our Simplicity,

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[d] *Illuc ſuſpicientes Chriſtiani manibus expanſis* &c.] The primitive Chriſtians at their devotion did not only lift up their Hands to Heaven, for ſo we find the Heathens did, according to that of *Virgil*———

Et duplices tendens ad ſidera palmas,

but they laid their expanded Hands Tranſverſe in the Form of a Croſs; and ſo we are to underſtand our Author here by his *manibus expanſis*, and ſo likewiſe in his book *de Orat. chap.* 11. *Nos vero non attollimus tantum, ſed etiam expandimus, & Dominicâ Paſſione modulamur. Vid. not. Vales. in Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 4. *cap.* 14. *p.* 242. I cannot but take notice here of a moſt extraordinary Objection againſt ſet Forms of Prayer, urg'd by *Dav. Clarkſon*

city, and with uncover'd Heads becauſe we have nothing to bluſh for, in our Devotion; and without a [e] Prompter, becauſe we pray with

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Clarkſon in his Diſcourſe concerning Liturgies, from this Paſſage. *That the Chriſtians then lifted up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven in Prayer, which ſhews they had no Books.* It ſhews it indeed juſt as much, as our lifting up our Hands and Eyes ſhews now, that we have no Common-Prayer Book in our Church; but certainly both Miniſter and People being conſtantly us'd to one Form may have ſo much Memory, as to find time to look off from their Books, and look up to Heaven at proper Seaſons.

[e] *Denique ſine Monitore, quia de Pectore oramus.*] This is juſt ſuch another obſcure Paſſage as the ὅσῃ Δωίαμις in *Juſtin Martyr* already mention'd; but as dark as it is, yet with ſome Men 'tis as clear as the Day for the uſe of *Extempore* Prayer in *Tertullian*'s time. But before I enter upon this controverted Place, I deſire the Reader to take notice, firſt, that 'tho our Author does not give us the very Form becauſe he wrote to Unbelievers, yet in this Chapter he gives the Heads of a ſtated Prayer for the Emperor; namely, *a long Life, a quiet Empire, a well eſtabliſh'd Family, a valiant Army, a faithful Senate, a Virtuous People* &c. Now he could not deliver in theſe Particulars as a Proof of the Chriſtian Loyalty, unleſs they pray'd conſtantly for theſe Things, and that muſt be by a conſtant ſetled Form; for *Extempore* Prayer is as uncertain as the Wind, and cou'd have been no Evidence in this or any other Caſe. Secondly, by this Phraſe *without a Monitor*, cannot poſſibly be meant without any one to dictate a Form of Words to them, becauſe in all their publick Prayers the Miniſter was always the Mouth of the Congregation, and whether he pray'd by a Form, or *Extempore*, his Words muſt be a Form of Words to the People, who pray'd after him. What ever therefore this dubious Expreſſion may mean, it cannot poſſibly mean without a Form, unleſs it means without a Miniſter; becauſe, as I have ſaid, the Prayers of the Miniſter muſt be a Form to the People. And now for the Phraſe it ſelf; We pray *Sine Monitore, without a Prompter* or *Monitor*, becauſe *de Pectore, from the Heart*, that is, *Extempore* as Mr. *Clarkſon* and the *Antiformuliſts* expound it. Biſhop *Bilſon* in his *Chriſtian Subject*, with great Modeſty ſays, *This ſeems to be meant of the miraculous Gift of Prayer, which dured in the Church unto his Time. Vid. Chriſtian Subj. part* 4. *page* 411. But then he ſuppoſes withal, that this extraordinary Gift ceaſed ſoon after and that Liturgies came into practice long before the time of St. *Baſil* or *Chryſoſtom*; ſo that allowing this Conjecture, it will by no means follow, that becauſe Miniſters while divinely

with our Hearts, rather than our Tongues; and in all our Prayers, are ever mindful of all our Emperors and Kings whereſoever we live, beſeeching God for every one of 'em without Diſtinction, that he would bleſs 'em with Length

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vinely inſpir'd, pray'd without a Form, therefore they ought to keep on praying extempore, when the Days of Inſpiration are over. But with all reſpect to this learned Prelate, he ſeems not to reach the Deſign and Meaning of *Tertullian* in this Place; and in order hereunto, 'tis to be remembred, that the Heathen had abundance of Deities, and every Deity to be invok'd in a ſeveral Form, for ſuch Bleſſings as lay within his particular Province. Thus for Inſtance, *Bacchus* was invok'd in this wiſe, *O Bacchus Son of Semele the giver of Riches*, &c. *Vid. Caſaub. Exercit.* 16. *p.* 42. And ſo again for *Janus*, *O Father* Janus, *with this Cake I offer Thee my good Wiſhes*, &c. *Vid. Feſt. in verb. Signif.* And ſo again for *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and all the reſt. Now in ſuch a Swarm of Deities and different Invocations, a God might eaſily be paſs'd over, or the Invocation ill worded, or ill pronounced, (which was look'd upon very ominous, and hence perhaps that Phraſe of *Bona verba.*) For fear, I ſay, that there ſhou'd be any Omiſſion or Blunder in theſe divine Addreſſes, theſe ſeveral Forms of Invocation were not only read out of the Ritual by one Prieſt, but there was another Prieſt alſo appointed, as a publick *Monitor*, to overſee and ſet 'em right in their Repetitions. And that this was the Caſe, ſeems very probable from that of *Pliny*, *lib.* 28. *c.* 2. *In precationibus, ne quid Verborum prætereatur, aut præpoſterum dicatur de Scripto præire aliquem, rurſuſq; alium Cuſtodem dari, qui attendat. In certain Prayers, leſt any of the words ſhou'd be omitted, or prepoſterouſly repeated, there is one to dictate to the People out of a Book, and another appointed as Overſeer, to attend how they pronounce.* Now this laſt, whom *Pliny* calls the *Cuſtos*, or *Overſeer*, ſeems not unlikely to be the *Monitor* alluded to by *Tertullian*. *We pray then without a Monitor, becauſe* de pectore, *from the Heart*; which may either ſignifie that we repeat not our Prayers aloud after the Prieſt, as you do, but join with him in our Soul; or elſe, that we can ſay our Prayers *by heart*, and ſo have no occaſion for ſuch a *Monitor*, and then *de pectore* anſwers exactly to ἀποστηθίζειν· and ſuch *Greciſms* are much affected by this Writer. *Vid. Thornd. Relig: Aſſemb. p.* 237. Another learned Perſon underſtands this Phraſe *de pectore*, of thoſe Prayers which ev'ry private Chriſtian us'd in the ſolemn Aſſemblies on the Stationary Days, in the Intervals between the publick Offices of the Church, while the Congregation kept Silence; and conſidering that they ſtay'd at theſe Stations for nine Hours together,

Length of Days, and a quiet Reign, a well eſtabliſh'd Family, a ſtout Army, a faithful Senate, an honeſt People, and a peaceful World, and whatever elſe either Prince or People can wiſh for.

But theſe are Bleſſings I cannot perſuade my ſelf to ask of any, but him who I know can give 'em; and that is my God, and my God only, who has 'em in his Diſpoſe; and I am

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and that all this time was not taken up in Reading, Expounding, Singing, and in Common-Prayers, 'tis not improbable but the Interſpaces were allow'd for the exerciſe of mental Devotion. And then this Phraſe *de pectore* can argue nothing againſt ſet Forms in publick Prayers. Beſides, it was a Cuſtom, and taken Notice of by *Plutarch*, that while the Prieſt was officiating, for another to go behind him with this Admonition, *Hoc age quod agis*, *be ſure to mind what you are about*; and this perhaps might be the *Monitor*; but Chriſtians who pray'd *de pectore* with all their Hearts and Souls, had no need of ſuch an Officer. Laſtly, if we conſider that *Tertullian* is here proving the Sincerity of the Chriſtian Loyalty, above that of the Heathens, it ſeems moſt agreeable to his Deſign in my Opinion, and what the words will very well bear, to underſtand him thus; The Heathens were oblig'd to offer up their Vows and Sacrifices in publick for the Life of the Emperor; and for fear they ſhou'd omit to name him, either out of Negligence or Malice, or name him only by way of Imprecation, there was a *Cuſtos* or *Monitor* appointed to ſee that they rightly pronounced the Form of Words dictated by another Prieſt from Writing. And to this *Seneca* no doubt alludes in theſe remarkable Words, *lib. de Clement. cap. 19. Quid pulchrius eſt, quam vivere optantibus cunctis, & vota non ſub Cuſtode nuncupantibus? What more lovely or deſirable than to live in the Hearts of his Subjects, and to have 'em all praying for him without the help of a Monitor?* And therefore, ſays our Author, we pray *ſine Monitore, without an Overſeer*, becauſe *de pectore*, that is, *ex animo*, becauſe we pray for Emperors from our very Heart and Soul. Thus then we ſee how many ways there are of expounding this obſcure Paſſage, each of which is much more probable, than that which is urg'd for the Juſtification of extempore Prayer. And thus likewiſe we ſee how the Authority of the Ancients is valu'd like an Oracle, when they deliver themſelves in agreeable Ambiguity, but when they can't be made to ſpeak for the Party, why then the Fathers are very ordinary People.

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one to whom he has oblig'd himſelf by Promiſe to grant what I ask, if I ask as I ſhou'd do; for I am his Servant, and ſerve him only, and for whoſe Service I am killed all the Day long, and to whom I offer that noble and greateſt of Sacrifices which he has commanded, a Prayer which comes from a chaſt Body, an innocent Soul, and a ſanctify'd Spirit; not a Farthing's-worth of Frankincenſe, not the Tears of an *Arabian* Tree, or two Drops of Wine; not the Blood of a diſcarded Bull worn out with Age; and after all theſe Defilements, a Conſcience the moſt defiled thing of all. So that in truth, when I reflect upon the Pollutions of the Sacrificers, who are to examine the Qualifications of the Sacrifice, I cannot but wonder, why the Entrals of the Beaſts ſhou'd be rather inſpected, than the Inwards of the Prieſts.

Thus then while we are ſtretching forth our Hands to our God, let your tormenting Irons harrow our Fleſh, let your Gibbets exalt us, or your Fires lick up our Bodies, or your Swords cut off our Heads, or your Beaſts tread us to Earth. For a Chriſtan upon his Knees to his God, is in a Poſture of Defence againſt all the Evils you can croud upon him.

[f] Conſider this, O you impartial Judges, and

[f] *Hoc agite, boni Præſides, extorquete animam Deo ſupplicantem pro Imperatore.*] There is a moſt bitter Sarcaſm imply'd in theſe words, *Hoc agite*, that is, *be intent upon your Sacrifice, and wrack out the Soul of a Chriſtian while 'tis praying to God for the Life of the Emperor*; wherein our Author manifeſtly alludes to the Cuſtom juſt now mention'd from *Plutarch*, that while the Prieſt was ſacri-

and go on with your Juſtice, and while our Soul is pouring out her ſelf to God in behalf of the Emperor, do you be letting out her Blood.

CHAP. XXXI.

That Chriſtians are commanded to love their Enemies.

BUT perhaps our Vows and Interceſſions with Heaven for the Life of the Emperor are to be look'd upon merely as the Spices of Flattery, and a Trick only to elude the Severity of the Laws; but if you will have it a Trick, it has had this Advantage, to procure us the Liberty of proving, what we propos'd to do in our Juſtification. Thou therefore that thinkeſt that the Chriſtian Religion expreſſes no Concern for the Life of *Cæſars*, look into the Word of God, the Word we go by, and which we do not ſuppreſs in Private, and which many Accidents have thrown into the hands of Strangers; and there you may ſee with what ſuperabundant Charity we are commanded *to love our Enemies*,

ficing, the Crier or *Præco* went behind him with theſe Words, *Hoc age*, *Mind what you are about*; for thus *Plutarch* tells us in *Coriolano*, ὅταν γὰρ ἄρχοντες ἢ ἱερεῖς προτρέπωσι τὶ τῶν θείων, ὁ κῆρυξ πρόσεισι μεγάλῃ φωνῇ βοῶν (ἐκ ἄγε) σημαίνει γὰρ φωνὴ, τοῦτο πρᾶττε, προσέχειν κελεύουσα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐμβαλεῖν μέλαξυ, μηδὲ χρεῖαν ἀσχολίας.

to

to bleſs them that curſe us, to do good to them that hate us, and to pray for them which deſpitefully uſe us, and perſecute us. And who Mat. v. 44.
ſuch cruel Perſecutors of Chriſtians, as the Emperors for whom they are perſecuted? And yet theſe are the Perſons we are commanded by the Word of God expreſly, and by Name to pray for; for thus it runs, *I exhort therefore that firſt of all, Supplications and Prayers, Interceſſions and giving of Thanks be made for all Men, for Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that we may live a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty.* For when the Government is ſhaken, the Members of it feel the Shock, and we (tho' we are not look'd upon as Members by the People) yet we muſt be found ſomewhere in the Calamity of the Publick. 1 Tim. ii. 1.

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning another Reaſon of the Chriſtians in praying for the Emperors.

BUT there is another and more prevailing Reaſon which determines us to intercede with Heaven for the Emperors, and for the whole Eſtate of the Empire, and their Proſperity. And it is this, that we are of Opinion, that the Conflagration of the Univerſe which is now at hand, and is likely to flame

(out in the Concluſion of this Century, and to be ſuch a horrid Scene of Miſery, is retarded by this Interpoſition of the *Roman* [g] Proſperity; and therefore we deſire not to be Spectators of diſſolving Nature, and while we pray for it to be deferr'd, we pray for the Subſiſtence of the *Roman* Empire.

But then as to your other Objection concerning Oaths; to this I anſwer, that [h] Swear we do, and if not by the *Genius*'s of the *Ce-*

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[g] *Quod vim maximam univerſo orbi imminentem*, &c.] *Tertullian* in this Paſſage alludes to that of St. *Paul.* 2 *Theſſ. cap.* 2. *And now ye know what with-holdeth, that he might be revealed in his time*, &c. And ſo likewiſe in his Book *de Reſur. Carnis. cap.* 24. *Jam enim arcanum iniquitatis agitur; tantum ut qui tenet, teneat, donec de medio fiat. Quis niſi Romanus Status?* &c. And it was the Current Opinion of the Fathers, that *Antichriſt* ſhou'd not come till the *Roman* Empire was deſtroy'd. To this purpoſe *Theod. Chryſoſt.* Τινὲς τὸ κατέχον ἢ Ῥωμαϊκὴν εὐδηξ βασιλείαν, τινὲς δὲ ἢ χάειν ἢ πνεύματος, οἱ μὲν ἢ πνεύματος ἢ χάειν φασὶν, οἱ δὲ ἢ Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν, οἷς ἔσωσε μᾶλιστα τίθεμαι. And ſo again St. *Jerom*, *Niſi*, *inquit*, *fuerit Romanum Imperium ante deſolatum*, & *Antichriſtus præceſſerit*, *Chriſtus non veniet. Hieron. Epiſt. ad Algas. Qu.* 11. *F.* 60.

[h] *Sed & juramus*, *ſicut non per Genios Cæſarum*, *ita per Salutem eorum*, &c.] Here we have the Lawfulneſs of an Oath expreſly aſſerted by our *Tertullian*, tho' now gain-ſay'd by ſome new-faſhion'd Chriſtians, (if the *Quakers* may be called Chriſtians) and an Oath too by the Life of the Emperors; and a *very ſacred Oath too it is*, ſays our Author, *when ſo ſacred a Perſon is ſworn by.* They wou'd not ſwear by their *Genii* indeed, becauſe they look'd upon that, as ſwearing by the Devil and his Angels; and thus we find that *Joſeph* ſwore *by the Life of* Pharaoh. Some are of opinion, that this Cuſtom of Swearing by the *Safety* of the Emperor was introduc'd by *Auguſtus*, from that of *Horace*,

Præſenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
Jurandaſq; tuum per numen ponimus aras.

However this be, 'tis certain from *Suetonius in Vita Tiberii*, and from *Cornelius Tacitus*, *lib.* 1. That *Tiberius* forbad all ſuch ſwearing either by his *Life* or *Genius*. *Vid. Dion. Rom. Hiſt. lib.* 57.

ſars,

ſars, yet by their Life, which is of more Veneration to us, than all the *Genii* put together; but you ſeem to be ignorant, that the *Genii* are called Dæmons, and from thence by a diminutive word *Dæmonia* that is *little Devils*. We reverence the Providence of God in the Perſons of the Emperors, who has made choice of 'em for the Government of the World. We know that the Power they have, they have by the Will of God; and therefore we wiſh well to that, which God has will'd to be; and we look upon that as a very ſacred Oath, which is made by ſo ſacred a Perſon; but as for Dæmons, that is *Genii*, we are us'd to exorciſe them, and not to ſwear by 'em, for fear of giving that Honour to Devils, which is due only to God.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A farther Account of Chriſtian Loyalty, and their refuſing to call the Emperor by the Title of God.

BUT what need I ſay more to ſhew the ſacred Tie which binds On the Duty of Allegiance upon Chriſtian Subjects? 'Tis enough to ſay that we look upon our ſelves under a Neceſſity to honour the Emperor, as a Perſon of God's Election; ſo that I may very

deſervedly ſay, that we have much the greateſt ſhare in *Cæſar*, as being made Emperor by our God. And therefore 'tis I who more [i] effectually recommend him to God, becauſe I not only earneſtly ask it of him, who can give it, or becauſe I am ſuch a Petitioner as have the moſt Reaſon to obtain it, but alſo becauſe by ſetting *Cæſar* below his God, I ſet him higher in his Affection, to which God alone I ſubject him; and I ſubject him to God, by not making him his equal.

I will not give the [k] Title of God to the Emperor, either becauſe I dare not ſpeak againſt my Conſcience, nor ridicule him; or becauſe he himſelf will not endure the Title. If he be a Man, 'tis the Intereſt of a Man to give Place to God; let him content himſelf with the Name of Emperor, for this is the moſt majeſtick Name upon Earth, and it is the Gift of

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[i] *Plus ego illi operor in Salutem.*] *'Tis I who more effectually recommend him to God.* This Word *Operor*, I take to be very ſignificative and emphatical in this Place; for as *Facere* often is us'd for *Rem ſacram facere*, to *Sacrifice*; ſo *Operari* when apply'd to religious Matters, is the ſame with the *Greek* ἐνεργεῖν, by Sacrifice or Prayer *to work upon God with Energy or efficaciouſly.*

[k] *Non enim Deum Imperatorem dicam.*] *I will not call the Emperour, God.* *Antiochus* King of *Syria* arriv'd to the extravagant Blaſphemy of taking upon him this Title of God. *Vid. Appian. in Syr.* So likewiſe among the *Romans*, *Caligula* commanded himſelf to be called *Optimus Maximus*, and *Jupiter Latialis*. See *Sueton. in vita ipſius, cap.* 22. and *Philo* in his *Legatione ad Caium.* And thus *Tacitus, lib.* 3. ſpeaks of *Domitian*, *Mox imperium adeptus, Jovi Cuſtodi templum ingens, ſeq; in ſinu Dei ſacravit. Vide etiam Sueton. cap.* 13. Hence that of *Martial, lib.* 5. *Epigr.* 8.

Edictum Domini, Deiq; noſtri,

And ſo again, *lib.* 8. *Epigr.* 2.

Terrarum Domino, Deoq; rerum.

God.

God. He lays aſide the Emperor, who takes upon him the God; he muſt be a Man, to be an Emperor. When he is in the very Prime of his Glory ſitting in his Triumphant Chariot, even then he is admoniſh'd to know himſelf a Man, by one ſpeaking from behind in theſe Words, [1] *Look back, and Remember your ſelf to be but Man*; and he is then the more contented to find himſelf on ſuch a dazling heighth of Glory, as to make it neceſſary for him to be advis'd of his Humanity. He is the weakeſt of Princes who can feel himſelf a Man, and wou'd be flatter'd as Allmighty; and he the *Cæſar* truly great, that will bear the Truth that is deſign'd to keep him within the Bounds of Mortality.

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[1] *Suggeritur enim ei a tergo, Reſpice poſt te, Hominem memento te.*] In the ſame Chariot, behind him who triumph'd, was the *Publick Servant* carry'd, who held up a huge heavy Crown above the Head of the Triumpher, both to expreſs his Merits, and his Weakneſs by a glorious Weight he cou'd not bear; and with the mortifying Words juſt now mention'd. In alluſion to this is that of *Juvenal. Sat.* 10.

Quippe tenet ſudans hanc Publicus, & ſibi Conſul
Ne placeat, curru Servus portatur eodem.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning Auguſtus Cæſar.

[m] AUguſtus the Founder of the *Roman* Empire, wou'd by no means admit of the Stile of *Dominus*, or *Lord*, for this is the Surname of God. Nevertheleſs, I ſhou'd not [n] ſcruple to call the Emperor, *Lord*; but then it muſt be, when I am not compell'd to do it in a Senſe peculiarly appropriated to God; for I am *Cæſar*'s free-born Subject, and we have but one *Lord*, the Allmighty and Eternal God, who is his *Lord*, as well as mine.

[m] *Auguſtus, ne Dominum quidem dici ſe volebat.*] *Suetonius* in the Life of *Auguſtus*, writes thus of his refuſing the Title of *Dominus*, or *Lord*, *cap.* 53. "Domini appellationem, ut Maledi-"ctum & Opprobrium ſemper exhorruit, cum ſpectante eo Lu-"dos, pronunciatum eſſet a Mimo, O Dominum æquum & bo-"num! Et Univerſi quaſi ab ipſo dictum exultantes comprobaſ-"ſent, ſtatim manu vultuq; indecoras adulationes repreſſit, & in-"ſequenti die graviſſime corripuit Edicto, Dominumq; ſe poſt-"hac appellari, ne a Liberis quidem aut Nepotibus ſuis, vel ſerio "vel joco paſſus eſt; atq; hujuſmodi blanditias etiam inter ipſos "prohibuit."

[n] *Dicam plane Imperatorem Dominum, ſed more communi*, &c.] If the *Quakers* wou'd be determin'd by *Tertullian*, a Perſon of great Mortification, a mighty ſtickler for any thing which had the leaſt Appearance of extraordinary Piety, and withal an exceeding Admirer of *Montanus*, and the Falſe Pretenders to the Spirit, of that Age. They might hear him in this place frankly declaring, that he ſhou'd make no Scruple to call the Emperor *Dominus* or *Lord*, to own him *Supreme*, or as he in the foregoing Chapter expreſſes it, *Subject to God only*, provided this Term *Dominus* might be taken in the common Senſe, and no ways intrench upon the Prerogative of God. And this *Proviſo* he had Reaſon to make, becauſe the Adoration of Emperors was then grown into Faſhion.

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But why ſhou'd you call him *Lord*, who is ſtil'd the Father of his Country? Surely that Name of Affection ſounds ſweeter much than that of Power; and they had rather be call'd *Fathers of great Families*, than *Lords of Slaves*. But if *Auguſtus* wou'd never aſſume the Title of *Lord*, he wou'd much leſs have thought it *Cæſar*'s Due to have been ſtiled God; a Flattery not only moſt fulſome, but of a moſt deſtructive Influence to both Parties. 'Tis juſt as if you ſhou'd paſs by the rightful Emperor, and give his Title to another; wou'd not this be an unpardonable Offence in you, who give the Title, and Fatal to him who takes it? Let me adviſe you therefore as you tender *Cæſar*'s Safety, not to rob God of his Attributes, to beſtow 'em upon *Cæſar*; forbear to believe that there is any other God, and to ſtile him God, who ſtands in need of God ev'ry Moment of his Being. But if you are Proof againſt all Shame, and can daub the Emperour with ſuch a Lie of a Title, as you do by calling ſuch a Mortal, God; at leaſt, methinks, you ſhou'd be afraid of having ſuch an ill-boding Name in your Mouths, for 'tis a kind of Imprecation againſt *Cæſar*'s Life, to call him a God before the time of his *Apotheoſis*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning the different Obſervation of publick Feſtivals between the Chriſtians and the Heathens.

CHriſtians therefore lye under the *Odium* of publick Enemies, becauſe they join not in the publick Flatteries, in the falſe fantaſtick Honours which are dedicated to Emperors upon publick Feſtivals; becauſe the Profeſſors of the true Religion [o] celebrate ſuch Solemnities with Sobriety of Conſcience, and not with the Liberties of a diſſolute Joy. A mighty Inſtance of Loyalty no doubt! to make Bonfires, to bring out Tables, and feaſt in the Streets, and [p] Metamorphoſe the whole City into a Tavern; to make the Conduits run Wine, and ſee the Mob ſuck up Dirt and Liquor together, and run about in Troops like mad into all the Confuſions of Injury, Impu-

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[o] *Veræ Religionis Homines etiam ſolemnia eorum, conſcientiâ potius quam laſciviâ celebrant.*] Here you have another Inſtance of the Primitive Chriſtians complying with heathen Solemnities, ſo far as was conſiſtent with Innocence. The Feſtival here mention'd ſeems to be a Day of rejoicing for the ſuppreſſing the Faction of *Niger* and his Adherents. The Chriſtians made no Scruple to obſerve the Day with a conſcientious Mirth, tho' they wou'd not join in the *publick Debauchery.*

[p] *Civitatem tabernæ habitu abolefacere.*] *To metamorphoſe the City into a Tavern.* Agreeable to this Deſcription is that of *Martial*, lib. 7.

Tonſor, Caupo, Coquus, Lanius, ſua limina ſervant,
Nunc Roma eſt, nuper magna Taberna fuit.

dence and Luſt, their heated Imagination prompts 'em to. Is ſuch a Scene of publick Shame, a proper Expreſſion of publick Joy? And are theſe becoming Practices upon an Holy Day, which upon any Day are abominable? Shall they who ſeem ſo mighty devout for *Cæſar*'s Safety, be ſo mighty drunk for *Cæſar*'s Safety too? Shall Licentiouſneſs paſs for Loyalty, and Luxury for Religion? O the juſt Condemnation of Chriſtians! For why ſhou'd we dare to be ſo ſingularly Sober, Chaſt, and Honeſt upon *Cæſar*'s Birthday, and be ſo unfaſhionably Religious in diſcharging our Vows and Rejoycings for Him? When all the World has given ſuch a Looſe to Joy, why don't we do ſo too, and darken our Gates with [q] Laurels, and put out the Day with Illuminations? For certainly 'tis a very fine Figure to ſee your Houſes upon Holy Days dreſs'd up in the Faſhion of the Stews.

But touching the Religion upon theſe ſacred Feſtivals to *Cæſar*, who is the ſecond Majeſty next to God, and upon whoſe Account we are conven'd as guilty of a ſecond Sacrilege, for not celebrating theſe Days accord-

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[q] *Cur die læto non Laureis Poſtes obumbramus?*] *Juvenal* ſpeaking in the Perſon of the People applauding the Emperor's happineſs upon the Overthrow of his Enemy, ſays, *Pone domi Lauros. Sat.* 10. And ſo again, *Sat.* 6.

Ornentur Poſtes, & grandi Janua Lauro.

But this alſo (ſays our Author in the words following) was the *Habit* of the Stews; and *lib.* 2. *Ad Uxor. Procedit de januâ Laureatâ & lucernatâ, ut de novo Conſiſtorio libidinum Publicarum.*

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ing to your Modes of Worſhip, which Temperance, Modeſty and Chaſtity will not permit us to do. I wou'd ſet this matter, I ſay, in a better Light, and lay before you your own Allegiance and Sincerity, that we may judge whether they are not more to blame in this Point than Chriſtians, who will not have us treated as *Romans*, but as Enemies of the State.

For the truth of this I convene the Populace of *Rome*, the Natives of the *Seven Hills*, and let them anſwer whether their Tongue, as much *Roman* as it is, has ſpar'd any of their own *Cæſars?* Let the Paſquills fix'd upon the Statue of *Tiberis* ſpeak, and the *Circus* too, that Academy where Beaſts are ſent to learn the Art of killing Men with a better Grace.

Had Nature cover'd our Breaſts with tranſparent Matter, ſo that we might look into the Peoples Heart; what Heart ſhou'd we ſee that was not inſcribed with a Scene of *Cæſar's* freſh and freſh diſtributing the Doles to the People, which are uſual at their firſt coming to the Throne? We ſhou'd ſee theſe Wiſhes, I ſay, in their Hearts for *Cæſar's* Death, even in the Moment that their Mouths are full of cry for *Cæſar's* Life, according to that of the Poet †.

Shorten my Thread of Life, good Jove! *from mine*
Take many Years to lengthen Cæſar's *Line.*

† *De noſtris annis tibi Jupiter augeat annos.*

But

But a Chriſtian dares no more take their Words in his Mouth, than their Wiſhes in his Heart; but this you'll ſay is *Mob*, and to be conſider'd as *Mob* only: But let me tell you this *Mob* are *Romans*, and the worſt too of Enemies we have; the *Romans* then of better Rank are certainly better Subjects, and their Fidelity greater in proportion to their Quality; not a Man of the *Senatorian* or *Equeſtrian* Order, but is all Subjection; and not a Breath of Rebellion ever comes from Camp or Court. If ſo, whence came the [r] *Caſſius*'s, the *Nigers* and *Albinus*'s? Whence thoſe who ſet upon the Emperor *Commodus* between the two Lawrel Groves at *Lauretum*? And thoſe who got him ſtrangl'd at his Exerciſe with his Wreſtling-Maſter *Narciſſus*? Whence thoſe who broke into the Palace Sword in hand, and murther'd *Pertinax*, in a more audacious manner, than *Domitian* was by the *Sigerius*'s and *Parthenius*'s? Now theſe Parricides (if I miſtake not) were Men of Rank, and *Romans*; and not a Chriſtian among 'em. And theſe Traytors juſt before the Perpetration of this horrid Impiety offer'd Sacrifice for *Cæſar*'s Life, and ſwore by *Cæſar*'s *Genius*, with Religion in their Faces, and Murther in their Hearts; and branded the Chriſtians with the Character of publick Enemies. But the Principals and Abet-

[r] *Unde Caſſii, & Nigri, & Albini?*] Whoever has a mind to ſee a particular Account of theſe *Tyranni*, and thoſe that adhered to them, may read the Life of *Avidius Caſſius* in *Vulcatius*, the Life of *Niger* in *Spartianus*, and that of *Albinus* in *Capitolinus*. See alſo the Preface of *Baldwinus* before *Minutius Felix*.

tors of this wicked Conſpiracy againſt *Severus* which are daily detected, and pick'd up as the [s] Gleanings after a Vintage of Rebellion. Bleſs me! with what Loads of Laurel did they ſignalize their Gates on *Cæſar*'s Birth-day? With what extraordinary [t] Illuminations did their Porches overcaſt the Sun? With what exquiſite and Stately Tables did they take up the *Forum?* Not in truth to celebrate the publick Joy, but to take Omens from hence of their own future Empire, and to inaugurate this Image of their Hopes, even upon *Cæſar*'s Feſtival, by calling themſelves in their Hearts by the Name of *Cæſar*. They likewiſe pay the ſame Obſervances, who are ſo officious in conſulting [u] Aſtrologers, and Soothſayers, and Augurs,

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[s] *Poſt Vindemiam Parricidarum Racematio Superſtes.*] How this Paſſage determines the time of this Apology, I have already mention'd; and that it relates not to the Death of *Plautianus*, according to *Baronius*, *Tom.* 2. *Annal. p.* 264. And according to Mr. *Dodwell*, *Cypr. diſſ.* 11. *c.* 51. *p.* 282. But to the Death of *Pertinax*, is to me moſt probable from the Hiſtory of *Zoſimus*, *lib.* 1. Where he gives this account. Καὶ περὶ ἁπάντων, &c. *Ante omnia* (Severus) *de Militibus qui Pertinacem necaverant, & Juliano tradiderant Imperium, acerba Supplicia ſumpſit.*

[t] *Lucernis veſtibula enubilabant.*] It was the manner of the *Grecians* to expreſs the Celebration of Feſtival Days, by φωσὶ καὶ στεφανώμασι, by *Illuminations*, and *Coronets of Flowers*. And *Perſius* ſpeaking of *Herod*'s Birth-day, has theſe words,

Unctâq; feneſtrâ
Diſpoſitæ pinguem nebulam vomuere Lucernæ.

But the Chriſtians wou'd not expreſs their Joy by *Lights* and *Lawrels*; and for Candles, we find an expreſs Prohibition againſt 'em in the *Apoſtolical* Canons, *can.* 70. *Si quis Chriſtianus oleum tulerit ad ſacra Gentilium, vel Synagogam Judæorum, Feſtis ipſorum diebus, aut lucernas accenderit, de Societate pellatur.*

[u] *Qui Aſtrologos & Aruſpices, & Augures, & Magos de Cæſarum capite conſultant.*] Our Author mentions theſe ſeveral ſorts of

Augurs, and Magicians about the Life of the Emperors; for theſe Fortune-telling Arts deliver'd by fallen Angels, and interdicted by God, the Chriſtians never apply to in any Cauſe of theirs. For what Buſineſs has a Man to be ſo curious about *Cæſar*'s Life, who has no Deſigns againſt it, or Expectations from it? For we ſeldom ask Queſtions about our deareſt Friends, with the ſame Intent as we do about our Maſters; and the Solicitude of Relations, and the Curioſity of Slaves, is generally upon very different Principles.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning the Chriſtian Duty of Loving Enemies.

IF the Caſe be thus, that ſuch as are found Traytors in the very Fact, ſhall be indulg'd the Title of *Romans*, why are we deny'd the Benefit of that Title, who are only thought Traytors? Can we not be *Romans* without being Rebels, becauſe ſo many *Romans* have been found Guilty of Rebellion? That Piety, Veneration and Loyalty therefore which is due to Emperors, does not conſiſt in the foremention'd Shews of Duty, which even Rebellion

of Conjurers, becauſe many of 'em had been put to death upon this Account by *Severus*: For thus *Spartianus* in his Life of *Severus*, *Multos etiam, quaſi Chaldæos, aut vates, de ſua ſalute conſuluiſſent, interemit.*

cloaks her ſelf in to paſs undiſcover'd, but in ſuch Virtues, as civil Society finds neceſſary to be practis'd ſincerely towards Prince and People. Nor are theſe Actions of a virtuous Mind, looked upon by us as a Tribute due to *Cæſar* only; for we have no Reſpect of Perſons in doing good, becauſe by ſo doing we do good to our ſelves, who catch at no Applauſe or Reward from Men, but from God only, who keeps a faithful Regiſter of our good Works, and has ample Rewards in ſtore for this univerſal Charity; for we have the ſame good Wiſhes for Emperors, as for our neareſt Friends. To wiſh Ill, to do Ill, to ſpeak Ill, or to think Ill of any one, we are equally forbidden without Exception. What is Injuſtice to an Emperor, is Injuſtice to his Slave; and that which is unlawful againſt the Meaneſt, is much more ſo againſt the Greateſt of Men; and him too eſpecially who came to this Greatneſs by the Appointment of God.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Continuation of the unlimited Love of Chriſtians.

IF then (as I have elſewhere declar'd) we Chriſtians are expreſly commanded by our Maſter to love our Enemies, whom then have we left to hate? And if when hurt, we muſt not return the Evil, for fear of

of being like the reſt of the World, where ſhall we find a Man to hurt? How well we practiſe this Command of our Maſter, you your ſelves can tell with a witneſs; for how many times, partly in compliance with a brutiſh Paſſion, partly in Obedience to the Laws, have you Judges ſhewed a moſt Savage Cruelty to Chriſtians? How often without your Authority, has the hoſtile Mob of their own meer Motion invaded us with Showers of Stones and Fire? The Mob, I ſay, who acted with the Furies of a *Bacchanal* ſpare not even a dead Chriſtian; but tear him from the Quiet of a Tomb, the ſacred Refuge of Death, and mangle the Body, hideouſly deform'd already, and rotting to pieces; and in this rueful Condition drag it about the Streets. But now in all this Conſpiracy of Evils againſt us, in the midſt of theſe mortal Provocations, what one Evil have you obſerv'd to have been return'd by Chriſtians? Whereas we cou'd in a Nights time with Links and Firebrands in our Hands have made our ſelves ample Satisfaction by returning Evil for Evil, had we not thought it unlawful to quit the Score of one Injury with another. But God forbid! that any of this divine Sect ſhou'd ſeek Revenge by Fire, after the manner of Men or grudge, to ſuffer what is ſent to refine them.

But if we wou'd not Revenge our ſelves in the dark, but as profeſſed Enemies engage you in the open Field, do you think we cou'd want Forces? The *Moors*, and *Marcomans*, and *Parthians*, which you have lately conquer'd,

or any other People within the Bounds of a Country, are more numerous perhaps than thoſe who know no other Bounds than the Limits of the World. We are but of yeſterday, and by to Day are grown up, and overſpread your Empire; your Cities, your Iſlands, your Forts, Towns, Aſſemblies, and your very Camps, Wards, Companies, Palace, Senate, *Forum*, all ſwarm with Chriſtians. Your Temples indeed we leave to your ſelves, and they are the only places you can name without Chriſtians. What War can we now be [x] unprepar'd

[x] *Cui bello non Idonei*, &c?] In the Preliminary Diſcourſe to this Apology, I have ſhewn at large from this and the foregoing Chapters, that it was not for want either of Strength or Courage, that the Primitive Chriſtians ſat ſtill and ſuffer'd; but purely the Reverence they bore to the Character of God in the Emperor, ty'd their Hands, and ſecur'd their Paſſions, and perfectly got the better of Self-Preſervation: It was the Doctrine and Example of their ſuffering Maſter which made 'em content to go this rugged way to Heaven; and I cannot but think this extraordinary, ſupernatural Patience, a mighty ſtrong and moving Argument for the truth of Chriſtianity, to ſee its Profeſſors in ſuch Numbers, and for ſome Ages, ſo willingly comply with a Religion, which as *Tertullian* ſays, taught Men they muſt chooſe *rather to be killed than to kill*. But becauſe the Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience to the ſupreme Powers are no where better argu'd, and more clearly ſtated both from Scripture and Antiquity, and from theſe Paſſages, than by the Right Reverend and learned Biſhop of *Sarum* himſelf in his *four Conferences*, printed at *Glaſgow*, in the Year 1673. I recommend the Reader for fuller Satisfaction on this Head to thoſe excellent Dialogues. However, for fear they ſhou'd be out of Print, I ſhall give him a Taſt for his Encouragement to read the whole. Thus then he expreſſes his Zeal with a juſtifiable Primitive Warmth, *p.* 17. "Whatever other Caſes allow of, certainly "the Defence of Religion by Arms is never to be admitted; for the "Nature of Chriſtian Religion is ſuch, that it excludes all carnal "Weapons from its Defence. And when I conſider how expreſ"ly *Chriſt forbids his Diſciples to reſiſt Evil*, Mat. 25. 39. How ſe"verely that Reſiſtance is condemn'd by St. *Paul*, and that Con"demnation is declar'd the Puniſhment of it, I am forc'd to cry "our,

prepar'd for? And ſuppoſing us unequal in Strength, yet conſidering our Uſage, what ſhou'd we not attempt readily? We whom you ſee ſo ready to meet Death in all its Forms of Cruelty, was it not agreeable to our Religion to be killed, rather than to kill?

We cou'd alſo make a terrible War upon you without Arms, or fighting a Stroke, by being ſo paſſively Revengeful, as only to leave you; for if ſuch a numerous Hoſt of Chriſtians ſhou'd but retire from the Empire into ſome remote Region of the World, the Loſs of ſo many Men of all Ranks and Degrees, wou'd leave an hideous Gap, and a ſhamefnl Scar upon the Government; and the very Evacuation wou'd be abundant Revenge. You wou'd ſtand

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" out, oh! what Times are we fallen in, in which Men dare a-
" gainſt the expreſs Laws of the Goſpel, defend that Practice up-
" on which God hath paſs'd this Condemnation. *If whoſoever break*
" *the leaſt of theſe Commandments, and teach Men ſo to do, ſhall*
" *be called the leaſt in the Kingdom of God*; what ſhall their Por-
" tion be, who teach Men to break one of the *greateſt of theſe*
" *Commandments*, ſuch as are the Laws of Peace and Subjection?
" And what may we not look for from ſuch Teachers, who dare tax
" that glorious Doctrine of patient Suffering, as brutiſh and irrati-
" onal; and tho' it be expreſly ſaid, 1 *Pet.* 2. 21. *That Chriſt by*
" *ſuffering for us left us his Example how to follow his Steps*, which
" was follow'd by a glorious Cloud of Witneſſes, yet in theſe
" laſt Days, what a Brood hath ſprung up, *of Men who are lovers*
" *of their own ſelves, Traytors, heady, highminded, Lovers of Plea-*
" *ſures more than Lovers of God, having a Form of Godlineſs, but*
" *denying the Power thereof, who creep into Houſes, and lead Captive*
" *ſilly Women laden with Sins!* It is our Sins that provoke God to
" open the bottomleſs Pit, and let looſe ſuch *Locuſts*; but were
" we turning to *God*, and repenting of the Works of our own
" Hands, we might hope that their Power ſhou'd be taken from
" them, and that their Folly ſhou'd be made known unto all Men.
Thus that great Prelate,

aghaſt at your Deſolation, and be ſtruck dumb at the general Silence and Horror of Nature, as if the whole World was departed. You wou'd be at a loſs for Men to govern, and in the pitiful Remains you wou'd find more Enemies than Citizens; but now you exceed in Friends, becauſe you exceed in Chriſtians.

Beſides, who wou'd you have left to deliver you from the Incurſions of your inviſible Enemies, who lay waſt both Body and Soul? From the Devils I mean, from whoſe Depredations we defend you *gratis*; and had we a Spirit of Revenge, it wou'd make the Paſſion full Amends, only to abandon you freely to the Mercy of thoſe impure Beings; but without the leaſt Touch of Gratitude for the Benefit of ſo great a Protection, you declare a Sect of Men, which are not only not burthenſome, but neceſſary, to be publick Enemies; as we are indeed, but not in your Senſe, Enemies not of humane Kind, but of human Errors only.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

That Chriſtians can never be juſtly ſuſpected of Deſigns againſt the State.

THE Chriſtian Sect therefore for a certain ought to meet with kinder Treatment than it does, and to be tolerated among

among other [y] lawful Societies, becauſe it is a Sect from whom nothing Hoſtile ever comes, like the dreadful Iſſue of other unlawful Factions. For, if I miſtake not, ſuch a Multiplicity of Sects is ſuppreſs'd upon Reaſons of State, that the City ſhou'd not be ſplit into Parties, for ſuch Breaches wou'd let in a general Diſorder into all your popular Elections, Counſels, Courts, Aſſemblies, and publick Sights, by the ambitious Claſhings of the contending Factions; and never more Reaſon to provide againſt ſuch Diſorders than now, when the Parties are ſure not to want violent Hands for any Deſign, if they want not Money to pay them.

But for us who are ſtark cold and dead to all the Glories upon Earth, what Occaſion can we have for Caballings? And in good truth nothing is farther from our Soul than the Thoughts of mixing in State Affairs, or in any private Deſigns; for we look upon our ſelves as Citizens of the World.

We [z] renounce your Sports, as much as we condemn

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[y] *Inter licitas Factiones.*] The Politicians and Stateſmen troubled not their Heads much about any Religion, but only to ſupport that which was by Law eſtabliſh'd, and there being a Law againſt the *Heteriæ* already mention'd, they proſecuted the Chriſtians under the Notion of a Society dangerous to the State, among the reſt without diſtinction. Theſe Chriſtian Meetings, *ubi congregabantur oraturi, & verbi divini interpretationem accepturi, ac ſacras Synaxes habituri*, they called *Conventicula*, ſaith *Heraldus. Vid. Obſervat. in Arnob.* lib. 4.

[z] *Spectaculis veſtris in tantum renunciamus*, &c.] This Charge of ſequeſtring themſelves from the publick Sports, and Pleaſures, is urg'd againſt the Chriſtians by the Heathen in *Minutius*; and 'tis certain they thought themſelves oblig'd ſo to do by their Baptiſ-

condemn their Original, which we know is owing to Superſtition and Idolatry, and never are preſent at any of your Diverſions; we have nothing to do with the Madneſs of the *Cirque*, with the Obſceneſs of the Stage, the Cruelty of the Amphitheatre, and the Vanity of the [a] *Xyſtus*. The *Epicurean* Sect is tolerated in the exerciſe of their Pleaſures, and why are we ſuch intolerable Offenders for Non-conforming with you in point of Pleaſure? Nay, if Mortification is the Chriſtian Pleaſure, where's the Harm to you; if it be an Harm, it is to our ſelves only. But thus it is, your Pleaſures are our Averſion, and ours affect not you.

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mal Vow, which was an Engagement upon their Admiſſion, to *Renounce the Devil and all his Works, Pomps and Pleaſures*, that is, ſaith St. *Cyril*, *Cat. myſt.* 1. *p.* 510. *The Sights and Sports of the Theatre, and ſuch like Vanities.* They look'd in good Truth, upon theſe publick Paſtimes, not only as Scenes of Folly and Lewdneſs, but of Idolatry; as Places, where the Devil eminently rul'd, and reckon'd all his own who came there; and accordingly *Tertullian de Spect. cap.* 26. *p.* 83. tells us of a Chriſtian Woman who going to the Theatre, was there poſſeſs'd by an evil Spirit, who upon his Ejectment being demanded how he durſt ſet upon a Chriſtian, immediately reply'd, *I did but what was juſt and fitting, for I found her upon my own Ground.*

[a] *Cum Xiſti vanitate.*] The *Xyſtus* was a Gallery or Portico of great length and breadth, and planted about with Trees, where in the Winter time the *Athletæ* perform'd. *Vid. Alex. ab Alex. Tom.* 2. *cap.* 9. *p.* 659. It was certainly a Place too where Philoſophers and Men of Learning met, for here 'twas *Juſtin Martyr* met and diſputed with *Trypho* the *Jew*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX

Concerning the Diſcipline of Chriſtians and their Employments and Ways of living.

HAving vindicated our Sect from the Calumnies of Rebellion, *&c.* I come now to lay before you the Chriſtian Way and Faſhion of living.

We Chriſtians then are a [b] Corporation or Society

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[b] *Corpus ſumus de conſcientiâ Religionis, & Diſciplinæ Unitate.*] *We are one Body by our Agreement in Religion, and our Unity of Diſcipline.* I know nothing leſs underſtood, or leſs regarded, than Unity of Diſcipline; as if that was no Part of Church-unity; Forms of worſhip and Government are now to be paſs'd over with *Moderation*, tho the ancient and beſt of Chriſtians reckon'd Unity of Diſcipline, as well as Faith, neceſſary to make 'em Members of the ſame Body. Dr. *Barrow* a truly Moderate and good Man, in his excellent Diſcourſe concerning the *Unity of the Church*, ſays, *That all Chriſtians are one by a ſpecifical Unity of Diſcipline, reſembling one another in Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtrations, which are regulated by the indiſpenſable Sanctions and Inſtitutions of their Sovereign. That they are all bound to uſe the ſame Sacraments, according to the Forms appointed by our Lord, not admitting any ſubſtantial Alteration. They muſt uphold that ſort of Order, Government and Miniſtry, on all its ſubſtantial Parts, which God did appoint in his Church*: And a little after he ſays, *that no Power ought to abrogate, deſtroy, infringe or violate the main Form of Diſcipline conſtituted by Divine Appointment. Hence the Meletians rejected by the Church, for introducing Ordinations. Hence was* Aerius *accounted a Heretick for meaning to innovate in ſo grand a Point of Diſcipline, as the Subordination of Biſhops and Preſbyters. Upon which grounds* (ſays he at the Concluſion of his Diſcourſe) *I do not ſcruple to affirm the Recuſants in England to be no leſs Schiſmaticks than any other Separatiſts; they are indeed ſomewhat worſe, for moſt others do only forbear Communion, theſe do rudely condemn the Church to which they owe Obedience, they ſtrive to deſtroy it, they are moſt deſperate Rebels againſt it.* Another Perſon too of known Learning, *the right Reverend Author of the Conferences*

Society of Men moſt ſtrictly united by the ſame Religion, by the ſame Rites of Worſhip, and animated with one and the ſame Hope; when we come to the publick Service of God, we come in as formidable a Body as if we were to ſtorm Heaven by Force of Prayer, and ſuch a Force is a moſt grateful Violence to God. When this holy Army of Supplicants is met and diſpos'd in goodly Array, we all ſend up our Prayers for the Life of the [c] Emperors, for their Miniſters, for Magiſtrates, for the good of the State, for the Peace of the Empire, and for Retarding the final Doom.

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ferences aboveſaid, thus argues for Unity of Diſcipline, *Conf.* 3. *p.* 275. *If therefore the Worſhip of God among us continue undefiled, even in the Confeſſion of all; if the Sacraments be adminiſtred as before; if the Perſons who officiate, be Miniſters of the Goſpel, then certainly ſuch as ſeperate from our publick Meetings, do forſake the Aſſemblies of the Saints, and ſo break the Unity of the Spirit, and the Bond of Peace.* And Page 280 he goes on, *But if Separation be a Sin, it muſt have a guilt of a high Nature, and ſuch as all who wou'd be thought Zealous Watchmen, ought to Warn their People of. And what ſhall be ſaid of thoſe (even Churchmen) who at a Time when the Laws are ſharply looked to, do join in our Worſhip; but if there be an unbending in theſe, they not only withdraw and become thereby a Scandal to others, but draw about them divided Meetings, are not theſe Time-ſervers? For if Concurrence in our Worſhip be lawful, and to be done at any Time, it muſt be a Duty which ſhou'd be done at all Times; and therefore ſuch Maſters of Conſcience ought to expreſs an Equality in their Ways, and that they make the Rules of their Concurrence in Worſhip, to be the Laws of God, and not the Fear of civil Puniſhment.* Whoever wou'd ſee more concerning the Nature of Church Unity, and the Sin of occaſional Conformity, let him read the whole Conference.

[c] *Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro Miniſtris eorum, &c.*] This, not without good reaſon, is thought to be the *Common Prayer* mention'd by St. *Juſtin* juſt before the Communion, and much the ſame with that in our Communion-ſervice for the *Church Militant*; the Form whereof in the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* is deſcribed at large *Conſt. Apoſt. lib.* 2. *c.* 57. *p.* 881. and ſo *lib.* 8. *c.* 10. *p.* 1011. which is ſtill a farther Proof, that the Paſſage *ſine Monitore* ought not to be underſtood of *Extempore Prayer*.

We

We meet together likewiſe for the Reading of [d] holy Scriptures, and we take ſuch Leſſons out of 'em as we judge ſuit beſt with the Condition of the Times, to confirm our Faith either by forewarning us what we are to expect, or by bringing to our Minds the Predictions already fulfilled, And certainly our ſpiritual Life is wonderfully nouriſh'd with Reading the holy Scriptures, our Hopes thereby are erected, and our Truſt fix'd and ſetl'd upon God: However beſides the bare Reading, we continually preach and preſs the Duties of the Goſpel with all the Power, and Argument we are able; for 'tis in theſe Aſſemblies, that we [e] exhort, reprove and paſs the

[d] *Cogimur ad Divinarum literarum Commemorationem, &c.*] This is juſt the ſame almoſt with what you had in the Concluſion of *Juſtin*'s Apology, and therefore the ſame Note may ſerve for both.

[e] *Ibidem etiam exhortationes, caſtigationes, & cenſura Divina,— Summumq; futuri Judicii Prejudicium eſt, ſi quis ita deliquerit ut a Communicatione Orationis & conventûs & omnis Sancti commercii relegetur.*] The Church ſubſiſted now purely as a Spiritual Society independent on the State, and while it did ſo, and its Cenſures were manag'd *magno cum pondere*, as our Author ſpeaks, with *great gravity and Judgement*, they were look'd upon as *Divine*, and an *Anticipation of the Judgment to come*. And had this inherent Power of the Church acted ſtill independently, of the Civil Power, and the People been made ſenſible of the Neceſſity of the Communion of the Church in order to Salvation, I cannot ſee why Excommunication ſhou'd not have as good an effect, and be as much dreaded now, as in the Primitive times, upon the ſame Principles, However, thus much is obſervable from this Paſſage, That Men were firſt admoniſh'd and then reprov'd more ſeverely, before the Sentence of Excommunication was paſs'd. *Secondly*, That this Sentence excluded them from all religious Intercourſe. And *Thirdly*, That it was looked upon as the Forerunner of future Condemnation in the World to come. To the ſame purpoſe St. *Cyprian* ſpeaks *ad Pomponium, Spiritali Gladio ſuperbi, & contumaces necantur, dum de Eccleſiâ ejiciuntur; neque enim vivere foris poſſent, cum*

the divine Cenſure or Sentence of Excommunication; for the Judgments in this Place are deliver'd with all Solemnity, and after the matureſt Deliberation Imaginable, as being delivered by Men who know they are pronouncing God's Sentence, and act with the ſame Caution as if God ſtood viſibly among 'em; and the Cenſures here pronounced are looked upon as an Anticipation of the Judgment to come, and the Sinner præcondemned by God, who has ſinn'd to ſuch a Degree, as to be ſhut out by his Miniſters from the Fellowſhip of the Faithful, the Communion of Prayers and Sacraments and the reſt of that ſacred Commerce,

The [f] Preſidents or Biſhops among us, are Men

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cum Domus Dei una ſit; & nemini ſalus eſſe, niſi in Eccleſiâ poſſit, The Proud and Contumacious are ſlain with the ſpiritual Sword, by being caſt out of the Church; for they cannot live without (or be admitted into any other Church) *ſince the Houſe of God is but one; and there can be no Salvation to any, but only in the Church.* And thus again, *de Orat. Domin. p.* 192. *Euchariſtiam quotidie ad cibum Salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abſtenti & non communicantes a Cœleſti Pane prohibemur, a Chriſti corpore ſeparamur. We receive the Euchariſt ev'ry Day, as the Food that nouriſhes to Salvation; and while for any more grievous Offence we do not communicate, but are debarr'd from the heavenly Bread, we are ſeparated from the Body of Chriſt.* So far was this Martyr from thinking that Excommunication was little more than the Loſs of a *Grace-cup, or the Church-Miniſters refuſing him that Bread and Wine, which was not bought with his, but other Men's Money.*

[f] *Præſident probati quiq; Seniores, honorem iſtum non pretio ſed teſtimonio adepti.*] The *preſiding Elders* here, are undoubtedly the ſame with the Πρεσβύτερος in *Juſtin Martyr*'s foregoing Apology, that is, the Biſhops; for our Author ſpeaking of the Power of excommunicating where it was lodg'd, tells us it was in the *Preſident, ut extra Eccleſiam detur, inerat in Præſidentis officio, lib. de Pud. cap.* 14. And thus his Scholar St. *Cyprian de Unitate Eccleſiæ, Tenere firmiter, & vindicare debemus, maximè Epiſcopi qui in Eccleſiâ*

Men of the moſt Venerable Age and Piety, rais'd to this Honour not by the Powers of Money, but the Brightneſs of their Lives; for nothing ſacred is to be had for Money. That Kind of Treaſury we have, is not fill'd with any diſhonourable Sums, as the Price of a purchas'd Religion; ev'ry one puts a little to the publick Stock, commonly once a [g] Month, or when he pleaſes, and only upon condition that he is both willing and able; for there is no Compulſion upon any: All here is a Free-will Offering; and all theſe Collections are depoſited in a common Bank for charitable Uſes, not for the Support of merry Meetings, for drinking and gormandizing, but for feeding the Poor and burying the Dead, and providing for Girls and Boys who have neither Parents nor Proviſions left to ſupport them, for relieving old People worn out in the Ser-

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Eccleſia præſidemus. They were *Probati Seniores*, Men of Age, and publickly approv'd for their Life and Converſation. For thus again, St. *Cyprian in Epiſt. ad Felicem. Quod & ipſum videmus divinâ Auctoritate deſcendere, uti Sacerdos plebe præſente ſub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atq; idoneus publico judicio & teſtimonio comprobetur.* Agreeable to the Practice of the Apoſtles, who left it to the Congregation as the moſt competent Judges to chuſe fitting Men, and then they ordain'd them to the Office of Deacon by Prayer and laying on of Hands.

[g] *Modicam unuſquiſq; Stipem menſtrua die*, &c.] We have St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 16. v. 1, 2. Giving Order to the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth*, for *Weekly Offerings* for the *Saints*, *That upon the firſt Day of the Week* (when they never fail'd to receive the Sacrament) *they ſhou'd ev'ry one of them lay by him in ſtore according as God had proſper'd him.* But I have already given Account of theſe Charities, and therefore only remark here, that according to St. *Paul*'s Order, the Collections were weekly to the time of *Juſtin Martyr*, but in the Age following, that of *Tertullian*, we find theſe Offerings ſunk to Monthly, *Menſtrua die*, &c.

vice

vice of the Saints, or thoſe who have ſuffer'd by Shipwreck, or are condemn'd to the Mines, or Iſlands, or Priſons, only for the Faith of Chriſt; theſe may be ſaid to live upon their Profeſſion, for while they ſuffer for profeſſing the Name of Chriſt, they are fed with the Collections of his Church.

But ſtrange! that ſuch lovely Expreſſions of Chriſtian Charity cannot paſs with ſome Men without a Cenſure; for look ye (ſay they) how theſe Chriſtians ſeem to love each other, when in their Hearts they hate each other to death? How forward are they to ſtake down their Lives for one another, when inwardly they cou'd cut one anothers Throats? But the true Reaſon of this Defamation, upon the Account of ſtyling our ſelves Brethren, I take to be this, becauſe the Name of Brother is found with theſe Men to be only a gilded Expreſſion of a counterfeit Friendſhip. But you need not wonder at this loving Title among Chriſtians, when we own even you your ſelves for Brethren by the Right of one common Nature; altho' indeed you have cancell'd this Relation, and by being inhuman Brethren have forfeited the Title of Men; but by what diviner Ties are we Chriſtians Brethren! We who all acknowledge but one and the ſame God, as our univerſal Father; who have all drank of one and the ſame holy Spirit, and who are all deliver'd as it were from one common Womb of Ignorance, and called out of Darkneſs into his marvellous Light. But may be, we cannot paſs for right Brothers

with

with you, becauſe you want a Tragedy about the bloody Feuds of the Chriſtian Fraternity; or becauſe our brotherly Love continues even to the Diviſion of our Eſtates, which is a Teſt few Brotherhoods will bear, and which commonly divides the deareſt Unions among you.

But we Chriſtians look upon our ſelves, as one Body inform'd as it were by one Soul; and being thus incorporated by Love, we can never diſpute what we are to beſtow upon our own Members. Accordingly among us, all [h] things are in common excepting Wives; in this alone we reject Communion, and this is the only thing you enjoy in common; for you not only make no Conſcience in violating the Wife of your Friend, but with amazing Patience and Gratitude lend him your own. This Doctrine I ſuppoſe came from the School of the *Grecian Socrates*, or the *Roman Cato*, thoſe wiſeſt of Sages, who accommodated their Friends with their own Wives, Wives which they eſpous'd for the Sake of Children of their own begetting, as I imagin, and not of other Folks.

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[h] *Omnia indiſcreta ſunt apud nos*, &c.] Dr. *Potter* obſerves from hence, that among many other Reaſons why a certain Proportion for the Maintenance of the Clergy was not fix'd by the Apoſtles, this was one, that there cou'd be no Occaſion to determine the Portion then, when Men laid all they had at their Feet; and the ſame Reaſon held good to our *Tertullian*'s time, for he ſays here, that Chriſtians *had all things in common but their Wives*. *Vid. Dr.* Potter's *Diſcourſe of Church Government*, *p.* 434. I only obſerve farther, what great Veneration is due to the Writers of thoſe Ages, when Men valued nothing but their Religion; and follow'd Chriſt in the higheſt Expreſſion of Charity, in ſelling all they had for the ſupport of Chriſtians.

Whether

Whether the Wives are thus proſtituted with their own Conſent, in truth I cannot tell, but I ſee no great Reaſon why they ſhou'd be much concern'd about that Chaſtity which their Husbands think not worth keeping. O never to be forgotten Example of *Athenian* Wiſdom! O profound Inſtance of *Roman* Gravity! *Socrates* the great *Grecian* Philoſopher, and *Cato* the great *Roman* Cenſor are both Pimps.

But is it any great Wonder, that ſuch charitable Brethren as enjoy all things in common, ſhou'd have ſuch frequent Love-feaſts? For this it is, you blacken us, and reflect upon our little frugal Suppers, not only as infamouſly wicked, but as ſcandalouſly exceſſive. *Diogenes*, for ought I know, might have us Chriſtians in his Eye, when he ſaid, that the *Megarenſians* feaſt as if they were never to eat more, and build as if they were to live for ever; but ev'ry one ſees a Straw in another's Eye, ſooner than a Beam in his own; or elſe you muſt be ſenſible of your own Beaſtlineſs in this Caſe; for the very Air in the Streets is ſower'd with the Belches of the People coming from their Feaſts in their ſeveral Wards; the *Salii* cannot ſup without the Advance of a Loan, and upon the Feaſt of Tythes to *Hercules* the Entertainment is ſo very coſtly that you are forc'd to have a Book-keeper on purpoſe for the Expences. At *Athens* likewiſe when the *Apaturia*, or Feaſts in honour of *Bacchus* for a ſerviceable Piece of Treachery he did, are to be celebrated, there is a Proclamation for all the

the choice Cooks to come in, and aſſiſt at the Banquet; and when the Kitchin of *Serapis* ſmoaks, what Baskets of Proviſion come tumbling in from ev'ry Quarter? But my Buſineſs at preſent is to juſtifie the Chriſtian Supper: And the Nature of this Supper you may underſtand by its Name; for it is the *Greek* Word for Love. We Chriſtians think we can never be too expenſive, becauſe we think all is Gain that's laid out in doing Good; when therefore we are at the Charge of an Entertainment, 'tis to refreſh the Bowels of the Needy, but not as you gorge thoſe Paraſites among you, who glory in ſelling their Liberty for ſtuffing their Guts, and can find in their Hearts to cram their Bellies in ſpite of all the Affronts you can lay upon 'em; but we feed the Hungry, becauſe we know God takes a peculiar Delight in ſeeing us do it. If therefore we feaſt only with ſuch brave and excellent Deſigns, I leave you from hence to gueſs at the reſt of our Diſcipline in matters of pure Religion; nothing earthly, nothing unclean has ever Admittance here; our Souls aſcend in Prayer to God, before we ſit down to Meat; we eat only what ſuffices Nature, and drink no more than what is ſtrictly becoming chaſt and regular Perſons. We ſup as Servants that know we muſt wake in the Night to the Service of our Maſter, and diſcourſe as thoſe who remember that they are in the hearing of God. When Supper is ended, and we have waſh'd our Hands, and the Candles are lighted up, ev'ry one is invited forth to ſing Praiſes to God, either ſuch

as he collects from the holy Scriptures, or [i] such as are of his own compoſing; and by this you may judge of the Meaſures of drinking at a Chriſtian Feaſt. And as we began, ſo we conclude all in Prayer, and depart not like a parcel of heated Bullies, for ſcowring the

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[i] *Poſt aquam manualem & lumina, ut quiſq; de Scripturis ſanctis, vel de proprio Ingenio poteſt, provocatur in medium Deo canere.*] *Pliny, lib.* 10. *ep.* 97. Reports it as a main Part of the Chriſtian Worſhip, *that they met together before Day to joyn in ſinging Hymns to Chriſt, as God.* Theſe Hymns were taken either out of the holy Scriptures, (and the *Compiler* of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* mentions the 33d. *Pſalm, lib.* 8. *cap.* 13. *p.* 1023.) or elſe ſuch as were *de proprio Ingenio, of their own Head, of their own compoſing*; for it was uſual at this time for any Perſons to compoſe divine Songs in honour of Chriſt, and ſing them in the publick Aſſemblies, till the *Council* of *Laodicea* order'd, that no Songs compos'd by private Perſons ſhou'd be recited in the Church, *Can.* 59. The Diſpute between us and the Diſſenters, is, about the Senſe of this Phraſe, *de proprio Ingenio*, which they will have to ſignifie, *extempore Raptures*, in Vindication of their own Effuſions; againſt which the Reverend Mr. *Bennet* argues thus; That allowing this Hymn to be *extempore, yet it made nothing to the purpoſe, unleſs it cou'd be prov'd that the Congregation join'd in it. Secondly*, He denys the Fact, that the Pſalm was *extempore*; *becauſe no ſuch thing as an extempore Pſalm was ever heard of*; *thoſe of* David, *tho' inſpir'd, were notwithſtanding precompos'd. Nor does Singing* de proprio ingenio, *Pſalms of their own compoſing, imply that they were extempore Pſalms, for Pſalms* de proprio ingenio *are in this place oppos'd to Pſalms* de Scripturis Sanctis, *taken out of Scripture, and not to precompos'd ones.* Thus that judicious Perſon in his very laborious, and very valuable Hiſtory of ſet Forms of Prayer, *p.* 243. which I had not the Satisfaction to ſee till 'twas too late to add any Improvements from him to my own Remarks upon that Paſſage, *Sine monitore quia de pectore.* And therefore I recommend the Reader to his Eighth Chapter, *p.* 95. where he will find this Phraſe largely and ſubſtantially treated. But after all, ſuppoſing theſe Hymns to have been extempore, yet 'tis granted on all Hands, that the Seaſon of Miracles and Inſpiration was not over in *Tertullian*'s time, and therefore 'tis great Contempt of Authority and Preſumption in them to pray the ſame way, till they can prove they have the ſame Gifts, eſpecially ſince they find all ſuch Effuſions cenſur'd and forbid by the Council of *Laodicea* already cited.

† Streets,

Streets, and killing and raviſhing the next we meet, but with the ſame Tenor of Temperance and Modeſty we came, as Men who have not ſo properly been a drinking, as imbibing Religion. This Aſſembly of Chriſtians therefore is deſervedly rank'd among unlawful ones, if it holds any Reſemblance with them; and I will not ſay a word againſt condemning it, if any Man will make good any one Article againſt it which is charg'd upon other Factions. Did we ever come together to the Ruin of any one Perſon? We are the ſame in our Aſſemblies, as at home, and as harmleſs in a Body, as apart; in neither Capacity injuring or afflicting any Perſon whatever. When therefore ſo many honeſt and good, pious and chaſt People are met together, and regulated with ſo much Diſcipline and Order; ſuch a Meeting, I ſay, is not to be called Factious, but as orderly an Aſſembly as any of your Courts.

CHAP. XL.

That the Cauſes of publick Evils are moſt maliciouſly thrown upon the Chriſtians.

ON the contrary, Faction is a Name which belongs to thoſe only who conſpire in the hatred of the Good and Virtuous; and remonſtrate full Cry for innocent Blood, ſhel-

tring their Malice under this vain Pretence, that they are of opinion forſooth that the Chriſtians are the Occaſion of all the Miſchief in the World. If [k] *Tibur* overflows, and *Nile* does not; if Heaven ſtands ſtill and withholds its Rain, and the Earth quakes; if Famin, or Peſtilence take their Marches thro' the Country, the Word is, *Away with theſe Chriſtians to the Lion.* Bleſs me! what ſo many People to one *Lion*? Pray tell me, what Havock, what a mighty Fall of People has been made in the World and *Rome*, before the Reign of *Tiberius*, that is, before the Advent of Chriſt? We read of *Hierannape*, and *Delos*, and *Rhodes*, and *Co*, Iſlands ſwept away with many thouſands of their Inhabitants. *Plato* tells of a Tract of Land bigger than *Aſia* and *Africa* together, devour'd by the *Atlantick Ocean.* Beſides, an Earthquake drank up the

[k] *Si Tiberis aſcendit in Mœnia, ſtatim Chriſtianos ad Leones.*] The overflowing of *Tiber* was look'd upon as an ill *Omen*, as we ſee by that of *Horace*,

Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis, &c.

That it was the hard Fate of the Chriſtians to be continually charg'd as the Cauſe of all the publick Calamities, we find by S. *Cyprian ad Demetr. p.* 197. And in the very firſt page of *Arnobius adv. Gent.* Nay, ſo hot and laſting was this Calumny, that when the *Goths* and *Vandals* broke in upon the *Roman* Empire, St. *Auſtin* was oblig'd to write his Books *de Civit. Dei*, to ſilence this Objection. And ſo likewiſe for the ſame Reaſon did *Oroſius* at St. *Auſtin*'s Requeſt write his ſeven Books of Hiſtory. And *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis* in that Fragment of his Oration, which we have in *Euſebius*, perſues the ſame Deſign. *Vid. Euſ. H. Eccl. l.* 4. *c.* 26. *p.* 119, 120. Whoever has a mind to be more particularly acquainted with the Hiſtory of the following Calamities will meet with References in abundance in *Pamelius*, and therefore I ſhall ſay nothing to 'em.

Corinthian

Corinthian Sea, and an impetuous Force of Water tore off *Lucania* from *Italy*, and baniſh'd it into an Iſland, which goes now by the Name of *Sicily*. Now theſe Devaſtations of whole Countries, I hardly believe you'll deny to be publick Calamities. But where now, I do not ask, were the Chriſtians, the profeſs'd Deſpiſers of your Gods? But where, I tro', were your Gods themſelves, when the Deluge blotted out the whole World? Or as *Plato* will have it, the Plains only. For that your Gods were not in being in the Time of the Deluge, the Cities wherein they breath'd their firſt and their laſt, as well as thoſe they founded, are a Proof with a Witneſs; for had they exiſted before the Flood, they had not continu'd to this Day, but been overwhelm'd in the general Ruin. As yet the *Jews*, the Original of the Chriſtian Sect, were not gone from *Egypt* into *Paleſtine*, when the adjacent Countries of *Sodom* and *Gomorra* were conſum'd by a Storm of Fire; the Land ſmells of burning to this Day, and the Apples that grow there are agreeable to the Eye only, but turn to Aſhes upon the Touch. Beſides, we have not a word of Complaint againſt the Chriſtians from *Tuſcany* or *Campania*, when Heaven ſhot his Flames upon *Volſinium*, and *Veſuvius* diſcharg'd his upon *Pompeium*. Was there any Worſhipper of the True God at *Rome*, when *Hannibal* made ſuch Havock of the *Romans* at *Cannæ*, and computed the Numbers of the ſlaughter'd Gentry by Buſhels of Rings pick'd up after the Battel? Were not all your Gods ev'ry where in Worſhip, when the *Gauls* ſur-

priz'd the *Capitol?* And 'tis really worth obſerving, that in all theſe publick Evils, the Towns and Temples both are involv'd in the ſame Misfortune; which wou'd not be, methinks, had your Gods any thing to do in the matter, becauſe they wou'd hardly have a Hand in doing themſelves a Miſchief.

But wou'd you know the true Reaſon of ſuch Judgments, you muſt know that Mankind has always ſerv'd God very ill; firſt by a ſtupid Neglect of him; for when they might have underſtood the divine Nature in ſome Meaſure, they wou'd not perſue after it with their Underſtanding; but let their vain Imaginations go after Gods of their own Invention. And ſecondly, becauſe that when God had been at the expence of Revelation, they wou'd not be at the Pains of inquiring after it, nor be rul'd by that Maſter he had ſent to teach them Righteouſneſs; and to take Vengeance on their Sins, God gave them over to a reprobate Mind to work all Uncleanneſs with Greedineſs. But had they went on as far as the Light of Nature, that Candle of the Lord, wou'd have led them, they had certainly found the God they look'd for, and conſequently wou'd have ſerv'd him only, whom they found to be the only God; and by this means have experienc'd his Mercies, rather than his Judgments: But now they lye under his juſt Judgments, and which too they have felt long before the Name of Chriſtian had a Being in the World, and whoſe Goods Man enjoy'd long before he had made himſelf any Gods. Why will he not be

perſuaded

perſuaded to think, that the Being who has done him the Good without any Thanks for his Bleſſings, is the ſame Being that does him the Evil for his Ingratitude, ſince ev'ry Perſon is ſo far guilty, as he is unthankful?

However, if we enter into a Compariſon of paſt and preſent Calamities, we ſhall find the Account much abated ſince the coming of Chriſtianity; for ſince that time the Innocence of Chriſtians has temper'd the Iniquities of the Age, and there have been a Set of Men who knew the right way of deprecating the Vengeance of God. Laſtly, when we are in great want of Rain, and the Year in Anxiety about the ſucceeding Fruits, then you are at your Baths and Debauches, and offering your [1] Water Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, and ordering Proceſſions on Barefoot for the People. You look for Heaven in the Capitol, and gape to the Clouds upon the Ceiling to diſſolve in Rain, without ever turning your Eyes to the true Heaven, and applying to the true God, who is the only Help in time of need. But then in this great Drougth, we Chriſtians ſympathize with the World, and dry up our ſelves as it were with Faſting, and are exceedingly temperate in all reſpects, differring the moſt frugal Meals of Life, and rolling in Sackcloth and Aſhes; and in this pitiable Poſture, we

[1] *Aquilicia Jovi immolamus.*] Theſe *Aquilicia* were the Sacrifices offer'd to *Jupiter* under great Scarcity of Water, *propter aquam eliciendam*; and thence called *Jupiter Elicius*, according to that of *Ovid.* Faſt. l. 3.

Eliciunt cœlo te Jupiter, unde minores
Nunc quoq; te celebrant, Eliciumq; vocant.

knock aloud for the Admiſſion of our Prayers, with as much Importunity, as if we wou'd bring Odium upon Heaven for denying our Petition; and when we have, as it were, extorted Pity from our God by the Violence of Prayer, then forſooth, your *Jove* muſt have the Honour of the Grant.

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning the Cauſe and Reaſon of publick Calamities.

'TIS not Chriſtians therefore but your ſelves who are the Bane of human Affairs, you are the Men who are continually drawing down Judgments upon the World; you who ſet aſide the True God, and ſet up Images in his ſtead. For certainly 'tis more reaſonable to believe that ours is the God provoked, who is in contempt among you, and not thoſe you have in Worſhip: Or verily yours are very unjuſt kind of Deities, who revenge themſelves upon their Worſhippers for the ſake of Chriſtians who will not worſhip 'em, and make no Diſtinction between Friends and Foes. But this, ſay you, reflects equally upon the God of Chriſtians, for he makes no Difference between them and Heathens; but wou'd you underſtand the Œconomy of his Providence, you wou'd forbear this Reflection; for he who has once determin'd at the end of the

the World to give ev'ry Man his everlaſting Doom according to his Works, will not anticipate his own appointed Seaſon, and make that Difference now, which he has ſaid he will not make till the Concluſion of the World. In the mean while therefore the divine Providence ſmiles and frowns upon all Mankind without Diſtinction, and ſcatters Good and Evil with an indifferent Hand; that the Pious and the Impious might have both a Taſte of Happineſs and Miſery during this preſent State of things; and becauſe we know the Reaſon of theſe Proceedings from God himſelf, therefore we have a due Senſe both of his Kindneſs and Severity, but both to you are contemptible; and therefore it follows, that all the Evils which are ſent by God upon the World, are ſent for our Admonition, and your Puniſhment. But we are no ways concern'd with what befals us here, becauſe in the firſt place our great Concern is to get out of the World as faſt as we can. And becauſe in the next place what Misfortunes do fall, we know that they are your Provocations which have pull'd 'em down; and when they do fall upon us, as without a Miracle they muſt, conſidering how we are blended together in this World, we rejoice and are exceeding glad to find the Miſeries foretold verify'd in our ſelves; and this ſenſible Fulfilling of divine Prophecies gives new Life to our Faith, and Wing to our Hope.

But if it be as you ſay, that they be the Gods you worſhip, who do you all this Miſchief, and

and for our ſakes too, why do you continue ſuch ungrateful and unjuſt Gods in Worſhip, who are ſo much oblig'd to vindicate and aſſiſt you to the utmoſt of their Almightineſs againſt the Chriſtians?

CHAP. XLII.

That the Chriſtians are a very uſeful ſort of People.

ANother Article we are indicted upon, is this, that we are a good-for-nothing, uſeleſs ſort of People to the World; but how can this poſſibly be, ſince we converſe with you as Men, we uſe the ſame Diet, Habit, and neceſſary Furniture? We are no *Brachmans*, or *Indian Gymnoſophiſts*, who live in Woods and as it were in Exile from other Men; and we act as Men under the warmeſt ſenſe of Gratitude to God our Lord, the Creator of all things; and we reject nothing he has made for the Uſe of Man. We are indeed very temperate in our Enjoyments, and cautious in trangreſſing the Bounds of Reaſon, and abuſing the Favours of his indulging Providence therefore we come to your [m] *Forum*, we frequent your ſhambles, your Baths,

[m] *Itaque non ſine foro, non ſine macello, non ſine balneis, &c.*] You may obſerve from hence, that the Chriſtians of old, as devout and religious as they were, yet they convers'd and traded with

Baths, your Shops, your Stalls, your Inns, and your Marts, and all other kinds of Commerce; we cohabit; we ſail, we war, we till, we traffick with you; we likewiſe communicate our Arts and work for the Publick; and notwithſtanding all this, how we ſhou'd be of no Service to the publick, is a Thing quite paſt my underſtanding.

But what if I don't frequent your Feſtivals, I hope I may be a Man, and have Hands and Feet for the Publick at that Time, as well as any other? If I don't bathe about Night at your [n] *Saturn*'s Feaſts, 'tis becauſe I am a better

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with the heathen World; were active and diligent in their ſecular Profeſſions, and refus'd no Calling whatver that was innocent in it ſelf, and uſeful to the Publick; for had they been never ſo good, and liv'd only to God and themſelves, in Woods and Cloyſters, they had not been *ſhining Lights*, but *Candles* under a Buſhel. Fiſhers of Men muſt converſe with Multitudes, to ſpread their Nets to greater Advantage and for larger Draughts; and we find by all the *Apologiſts* that they caught as many by their Examples, and preach'd as powerfully with their Lives, as their Sermons. And as the *Jews* were hated for their Reſerv'dneſs, Selfiſhneſs, and ill Nature, and therefore made little Progreſs; ſo on the other hand, the Chriſtians were as much admir'd even by their Enemies, for the Sweetneſs of their Temper, their Patience, and unbounded Charity, and therefore ſpread the more prodigiouſly.

[n] *Non lavor diluculo Saturnalibus*, &c.] The *Saturnalia* were noted Feaſts in the Month *December*, bleſſed Times of Liberty, wherein the Servants all ſate at Table and the Maſters waited. See more of this in *Macrobius Saturnal.* lib. 1. cap. 7. And *December* being a cold Seaſon, our Author jeeringly tells them that he did not much like Bathing ſo early, and that it was time enough *for waſhing and being made ſtiff with cold when he was dead*, alluding to the Cuſtom of waſhing the dead which was very ancient; according to that of *Ennius*——

Tarquinii Corpus bona fœmina lavit & unxit.

The

ter Husband for the Publick, than to waſh away Day and Night to ſo little Purpoſe; however I bathe at proper Hours for my Health Sake, 'tis time enough in Conſcience to grow ſtiff and pale with waſhing when I am dead. I don't care for feaſting with you in publick, upon the Feſtivals of *Bacchus*, becauſe methinks I look like one of thoſe condemn'd Wretches who at theſe Feaſts is ſupping his laſt; and when you have given him his Bellyfull you throw him to your Beaſts. But however at this time, ſomewhere or other I do eat and of ſome ſuch Victuals too as you eat. I lay out no Mony in Chaplets of Flowers to crown my Temples, and pray how is your Intereſt concern'd, which way I diſpoſe of my Flowers? 'Tis more agreeable to me to ſee 'em free and looſe and ſcatter'd about in a grateful Confuſion; but yet when they are wreath'd into a Garland, even then 'tis my way to apply 'em to my Noſe; let them if they pleaſe apply 'em to their Head, who ſmell with their ° Hair. We come not to your ſights

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The λύτρα πανύσα]α (as *Electra* in *Euripides* calls it) *extreme Waſhings*, or waſhing the dead Bodies, was accounted ſo neceſſary a Thing, that towards the Concluſion of *Plato's Phædo*, Sect 47. *Edit. Cantab. Select. Dial.* we find, that *Socrates* when he intended to drink his Poiſon, thought it beſt to ſet about waſhing himſelf before hand to ſave the Women the Labour.—χρεῶν τι μοι δόξα τρατέθαι πρὸς τὸ λυτρὸν. δοκεῖ γὰρ ἥδη βελ]ίον εἶ) λυσάμενον πιεῖν φάρμακον, ἢ μὴ πρά]μα]α ἕ γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λόειν. And we find this Cuſtom of waſhing the dead in the Acts of the Apoſtles cap. 9. v. 37. *And it came to paſs in thoſe Days, that ſhe (Tabitha) was ſick and died; whom when they had waſhed, they laid her in an upper Chamber.*

° *Non emo capiti coronam — Viderint, qui per capillum odorantur.*]

In

ſights, but if we want any thing which is brought thither, we freely go and buy it at thoſe Places where 'tis ordinariy ſold. We buy no Frankinſenſe, and if the *Arabians* complain, let the *Sabæan* Merchants know, that we take off greater Quantities of more coſtly Spices for the [p] Embalming our dead, than others do for incenſing their Gods. Certainly, ſay you, the Rates for the Temple now come to nothing, and who can brag of any Colle-

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In reference to this, but in a more intelligible Expreſſion, is that of *Minutius*,—*ſane quod caput non coronamus; ignoſcite, Auram boni Floris naribus ducere, non occipitio capilliſve ſolemus haurire.*

[p] *Sciant Sabæi, pluris & carioris ſuas merces Chriſtianis ſepeliendis*, &c.] Thus again we have it in *Minutius*. *Reſervatis unguenta Funeribus.* The Primitive Chriſtians were very careful about Funerals, and very coſtly in their Spices and Odors for Embalming their Dead; and therefore when St. *Polycarp* was put to death they burnt his Body in ſpite to the Chriſtians, who had begg'd it of the Proconſul, in order to embalm it and give it a ſolemn Interment; whereupon they gather'd up the Bones and decently committed them to the Earth, and there us'd to meet and celebrate the Memory of that Holy Martyr. *Vid. Euſeb. H. Eccleſ. lib.* 4. c. 15. p. 135. *This coſt* (ſays Dr. *Cave* Prim. Chriſtian. Part the 3d. chap. 2d. p. 275.) *the Chriſtians doubtleſs beſtow'd upon the Bodies of the Dead, becauſe they looked upon Death as the Entrance into a better Life, and laid up the Body as the Candidate and Expectant of a joyful and happy Reſurrection. Beſides, hereby they gave ſome Encouragement to ſuffering, when Men ſaw how much Care was taken to honour and ſecure the Reliques of their Mortality, and that their Bodies ſhou'd not be perſecuted after Death.* And I take leave to add, that conſidering how very careful the firſt Chriſtians were to follow the Scriptures even in Ceremonies indifferent, I queſtion not but finding how *Joſeph* was embalmed, Gen. 50. v. ult. And eſpecially conſidering how the Alabaſter-Box of Ointment of Spikenard, *very precious*, was approv'd by our Lord himſelf for his own Burial, in that of St. *Mark.* c. 14. v. 8. *She has done what ſhe cou'd, ſhe is come before hand to anoint my Body to the burying.* I doubt not I ſay, but this prevail'd very much with the firſt Chriſtians to be ſo expenſive in their Spices upon the Dead.

ctions for the Gods? And really we cannot help it, for in Good truth, we are not able to relieve ſuch a parcel of Beggars, both of Gods and Men; we think it very well, if we can give to thoſe that ask; and I will paſs my Word, that if *Jupiter* will but hold out his hand, he ſhall fare as well as any other Beggar. For we beſtow more in the Streets, than you with all your Religion do in your Temples: However if your Temple Wardens have reaſon to complain againſt Chriſtians, the Publick I am ſure has not, but on the contrary very great reaſon to thank us for the Cuſtoms we pay with the ſame Conſcience, as we abſtain from ſtealing. So that was the Account fairly ſtated, how much the Publick is cheated in its Revenues by the Tricks and Lyes of thoſe of your Religion, who bring in an Inventory of their Goods in order to be tax'd accordingly; you wou'd ſoon find, I ſay, at the Foot of the Account, that what the Temple may loſe in her Offerings by the Chriſtian Religion, the State ſufficiently gets in her Taxes by the Chriſtian Fidelity in their Publick Payments.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

A farther Vindication of the Uſefulneſs of Chriſtians to the Publick.

BUT ſhall I tell you, who the Gentlemen be, if there be any in good Truth, who make theſe heavy Complaints of the Unprofitableneſs of Chriſtians to the Publick? Why, firſt they are your Panders, and [q] Pimps, and filthy [r] Plyers about your Baths, next, your Cut-throats, Poiſoners, and Magicians; laſtly your Soothſayers, Wizards, and Aſtrologers: Theſe are the Gentlemen, we Chriſtians are ſo uſeleſs to, and I think 'tis very well for the Publick we are ſo; however if you are Sufferers in any thing by Chriſtians, they make you ample Recompence another way; for what a valuable Bleſſing is it you are in Poſſeſſion of, in having ſuch a People among you, who are not only your Defence againſt Devils, and always upon their Knees to the true God in your

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[q] Theſe *Perductores*, are much the ſame with *Lenones*, according to that of *Horace*

——— *Putaſne*
Perduci poterit, tam frugi tamq; pudica?

[r] *Aquarioli*] *Filthy Plyers about Baths.* *Aquarioli* (ſaith *Feſtus*) *dicebantur Mulierum impudicarum Aſſeclæ.* And are what *Martial* calls *Balneatores*———

Certe Lucernâ Balneator extinctâ
Admittat inter buſtuarias mœchas.

Behalf

Behalf; not to inſiſt upon this, I ſay, what a Treaſure is it barely to have ſuch People to ſerve you, as you are ſure will never do you any Harm.

CHAP. XLIV.

That the Chriſtians are condemned merely upon the Account of their Name.

BUT your Reaſon is ſo entirely blinded with Prejudice, that you have not an Eye left to ſee the publick Damage, a Damage as viſibly great as true. Not a Man weighs what the common Injury amounts to by thus depopulating the Empire of the moſt juſt and innocent Subjects in it; 'tis hardly credible to imagin how many Chriſtian Priſoners you Judges deſtroy at every Gaol Delivery, but only their Trials are upon Record. Among all this number of Criminals, and this Variety of Indictments, what Chriſtian do you find arraign'd for aſſaſſinating, or for a [s] Pick-pocket, or for Sacrilege, or for pilfering at the Bath? Do you hear at the Trials any Article againſt Chriſtians, like that which other Malefactors are charg'd withal. Does not the Priſon ſweat with your Heathen Criminals continually? Do not the Mines continually

[s] *Manticularius.*] A *Pick-pocket.* Of this Word *Feſtus* ſpeaks thus; *Manticularum uſus pauperibus in nummis recondendis etiam noſtro ſæculo fuit, unde Manticularii dicebantur qui furandi gratiâ manticulas attrectabant.*

groan

groan with the Load of Heathens? Are not your wild Beasts fatted with Heathens? And is not the whole Herd of condemned Wretches which some publick [t] Benefactors keep alive for the entertainment of the Amphitheatre, are not they all of your Religion? Now among all these Malefactors, there's not a Christian to be found for any Crime, but that of his Name only, or if there be, we disown him for a Christian.

CHAP. XLV.

Concerning one great Reason for the Innocence of Christians above that of all other People.

WE then are the only harmless People among you, and where's the Wonder, if it can't well be otherwise? As in truth it cannot, considering our Education; for the Innocence we are taught, we are taught from God, and we know our Lesson perfectly well, as being reveal'd to us by the Master of all Perfection, and we observe it faithfully as the

[t] *Munerarii.*] Such Sports and Plays which were exhibited by private Men at their own Charges in order to ingratiate with the People, were called *Ludi honorarii*; and those of this Nature, were for the most part either *Fencing* or *Stage-Plays*: *Fencing* is that which is here meant, and because freely bestowed, called *Munus*, and the Bestowers of 'em *Munerarii*. In allusion to this, is that of St. *Jerom*, *Munerarius Pauperum, & Egentium Candidatus. Epist. ad Pammach.*

Command of an All-ſeeing Lawgiver, who we know is not to be deſpis'd but at the hazard of eternal Happineſs. Whereas your Syſtems of Vertue, are but the Conjectures of human Philoſophy, and the Power which commands Obedience, merely human; and ſo neither the Rule nor the Power indiſputable, and conſequently the one too imperfect to inſtruct us fully, and the other too weak to command us effectually, both which are abundantly provided for by a Revelation from God. Where is the [u] Philoſopher who can ſo clearly demonſtrate

[u] *Tanta eſt Prudentia Hominis ad demonſtrandum bonum, quanta Auctoritas ad exigendum, tam illa falli facilis, quam iſta contemni.* *Where is the Philoſopher who can ſo clearly demonſtrate the True Good, as to fix the Notion beyond diſpute; and what human Power is able to reach the Conſcience, and bring down that Notion into Practice? For humam Wiſdom is as ſubject to Errour, as human Power is to Contempt.* 'Tis plain in Fact from the ſad ſtate of Darkneſs which overſpread the World at the coming of our Saviour, that human Reaſon unaſſiſted was not ſufficient for the Eſtabliſhment of true moral Righteouſneſs; or to make one entire and perfect Syſtem of the Law of Nature. But ſuppoſing ſuch a Body of Ethicks poſſible to be collected from the Writings of the Philoſophers, as we find in the Goſpel; how far muſt ſuch a Collection fall ſhort from a compleat, ſteady, indiſputable Rule of Morality? 'Tis all at moſt but human Wiſdom, and that (as *Tertullian* ſays) is as *Subject to Error, as human Power is to Contempt*, and both conſequently ſubject to Diſpute. Had the Sayings of *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, &c. any Authority? They were only the Sayings and Opinions of mere Men, and ſo might be rejected or embrac'd as Men thought fit; or if any part of the Doctrine of a Philoſopher muſt go for Law, the whole muſt paſs for ſuch too, or elſe his Authority ceaſes. Such a Syſtem therefore of Morality as was not only perfectly agreeable to right Reaſon, but alſo of divine indiſputable Authority in every Point, was wanting to the World before the coming of our Saviour, allowing mere human Philoſophy, as perfect as you pleaſe in point of Truth. Such a Syſtem, I ſay, was wanting which was not only right in every Rule, but of infallible Wiſdom and Authority in every Precept, and eaſie and intelligible in all things neceſſary to every Underſtanding; and

ſtrate the true Good, as to fix the Notion beyond diſpute? And what human Power is able to reach the Conſcience, and bring down that Notion into Practice? For human Wiſdom is as ſubject to Error, as human Power is to Contempt. And therefore let us enter a little into a Compariſon between your Laws and ours. Tell me then which do you take to be the fulleſt and completeſt Law, that which ſays, Thou ſhalt do no Murther, or that which reſtrains the very Paſſion of Anger? Which expreſſes greateſt Purity and Perfection, the Law which prohibits the outward Act of Adultery, or that which condemns the bare Luſt of the Eye? Which is the wiſeſt Proviſion for Innocence, to forbid Evil-doing, or not to permit ſo much as Evil-ſpeaking? Which the moſt inſtructing Leſſon for the good of Mankind, to debar Men from doing Injury, or not ſo much as to allow the injur'd Perſon the common Privilege of returning Evil for Evil?

But this is not all, for I muſt give you to underſtand, that theſe very Laws of yours, which are but in the way to Perfection, are no more in good truth than a Tranſcript of the old Law of God, older by much than any Law of your making, but I have already lay'd before you the Antiquity of *Moſes*.

But as our Law is more perfect in its Pre-

and the Goſpel, and only the Goſpel, is ſuch a Syſtem, dictated by divine Wiſdom, and confirmed by divine Authority, by ſuch a Wiſdom as is not ſubject to Error, and by ſuch a Power as cannot be diſputed.

cepts, ſo is it more cogent in its Penalties; for pray tell me, what is the Force of human Laws? Which an Offender has oftentimes a Chance to eſcape either by lying hid in his Wickedneſs, or elſe by pleading Inadvertency or Compulſion. Reflect likewiſe upon the Shortneſs of human Puniſhment, which always ends with Life; for this Reaſon you ſee how little *Epicurus* valu'd any kind of Torment, by laying down this for his Maxim of Comfort, *That a little Pain is contemptible, and a great one is not laſting.* But We who know we muſt account to a God who ſees the Secrets of all Hearts; We who have a Proſpect of that eternal Puniſhment he has in ſtore for the Tranſgreſſors of his Laws; We, I ſay, may well be looked upon under ſo much Revelation, to be the only Men who always take Innocence in their way; and conſidering the Omniſcience of our Lawgiver, and that Darkneſs and Light to him are both alike, and withall weighing the Heavineſs of future Torment, Torment not laſting only, but everlaſting, we proportion our Fear and Obedience accordingly, fearing him who thoſe Judges ought to be afraid of, who condemn Chriſtians for ſtanding more in awe of God than the Proconſul.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVI.

That Chriſtians have a better Right to a Toleration than Philoſophers.

I Have now, as I think, ſtood the whole Charge, and reply'd to ev'ry Article, for which Men have been ſo deadly clamorous for the Blood of Chriſtians; I have likewiſe laid before you our whole State, and the Ground of our Faith, namely, the Antiquity of the divine Scriptures moſt credibly atteſted, together with the Teſtimony and Confeſſion of the very Devils themſelves; he therefore that will take upon him to refute me, ought to diſprove theſe Facts in the ſame Method and Simplicity as I have propos'd 'em, and not to fold himſelf in Quirks of Logick, or the Diſguiſe of Eloquence.

In the mean time I cannot but take notice of the ſtrange Incredulity of ſome Men, who notwithſtanding they are convinc'd of the Excellency of our Sect, which they are notoriouſly ſenſible of by their Converſation and Dealings with us, yet they will not be convinc'd that Chriſtianity is of diviner Original than mere humane Philoſophy. For, ſay they, Philoſophers preſcribe and profeſs the ſame Doctrine as Chriſtians, namely, Innocence, Juſtice, Patience, Temperance, and Chaſtity. But now if this Compariſon be juſt, and Chriſtianity and Philoſophy be the ſame things,

pray, what is the Reaſon that we have not the ſame Philoſophick Treatment? Why are we not equal'd to thoſe in Points of Privilege and Impunity, to whom we are compar'd in Points of Diſcipline? Why are not they who are of the like Profeſſion with us, put upon the ſame Offices with us, and which we for refuſing run the Riſque of our Lives? But what Philoſopher is compell'd to Sacrifice or ſwear by your Gods, or to hang out a parcel of inſignificant Lights at Noon-day upon your Feſtivals? And yet theſe Philoſophers [x] deſtroy your Gods openly, and write againſt your Superſtitions, and with your Approbation into the bargain. Nay, many of 'em not only ſnarl, but bark aloud againſt the Emperors, and you bear it very contentedly; and not only ſo, but give 'em Statues and Penſions inſtead of throwing 'em to the Beaſts for ſo doing; and all this, no doubt, with great Reaſon, becauſe they go by the Name of Philoſophers, and not Chriſtians; a [y] Name which gives

[x] *Quin imo & Deos veſtros palam deſtruunt,—laudantibus vobis.*] Theſe and the following words are plainly an Imitation, or rather a Tranſlation of thoſe in *Juſtin Martyr. Apol.* 1. *Sect.* 4. Καὶ τούτων τινὲς ἀθεότητα ἐδίδαξαν,—Κ' ἀκείνων τὰ διδάγματα οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν χόμενοι ἐκ εἰρήνης πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄθλα δὲ ἢ τιμὰς τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τούτοις τίθεσι.

[y] *Nomen hoc Philoſophorum Dæmonia non fugat.*] When the more ſober and inquiſitive Heathens took a ſtricter View of the Lives of the Preachers of the Goſpel, and of their genuin Followers, inſtead of the common and rude Name of Impoſtors, they gave 'em the more civil Title of Philoſophers, as we find from the beginning of this Chapter; *Sed dum uniuſquiſq; manifeſtatur veritas noſtra, quod uſu jam & de commercio innotuit, non utiq; Divinum negocium exiſtimant, ſed magis Philoſophiæ genus.* They cou'd not but own Chriſtianity to be a more exalted kind of Philoſophy, when they ſaw the

gives no Diſturbance to the Dæmons, and how ſhou'd it? Since the Philoſophers do theſe Dæmons the Honour, as to place 'em next the Gods. For it was a conſtant Form in the Mouth of *Socrates*, by my Dæmon's Leave, I will do ſo or ſo; yet even this ſame Philoſopher after he had given ſuch an Inſtance of his true Wiſdom in denying the Divinity of your Gods, yet notwithſtanding this (ſuch was the Inconſtancy of the Man) he order'd a Cock to be ſacrific'd to [z] *Æſculapius* juſt upon the Point of expiring, in gratitude, I ſuppoſe, to his Father *Apollo*, who had given him out for the wiſeſt of Mortals. O inconſiderate *Apollo!* was you bewitched thus to ungod your ſelf, by crying up ſuch a one for the wiſeſt of Men, who cry'd down the whole Race of Heathen Gods?

But for as much as Men of corrupted Minds have always a burning Hatred to Truth, ſo

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the Chriſtians live above the very Notions of the Philoſophers. But the difference between the Life of a Chriſtian and a Philoſopher, was not the only Characteriſtick; for ſays our *Tertullian*, *Nomen hoc Philoſophorum Dæmonia non fugat.* Philoſopher is a *Name* the Devils value not, they ſtand in no awe of a Philoſopher's Beard, nor will the *Hem* of his *Pallium* cure any Diſeaſes. But Chriſtians did not only out-live 'em in Vertue, but out-did 'em in Power. For *Chriſt* was a *Name* that made the very Devils tremble; a thing which the Philoſophers with all their mighty Wiſdom were ſo far from pretending to, that they worſhipped theſe very Dæmons next to the Gods. So that Chriſtianity and Philoſophy differ juſt as much as Heaven and Earth, as a Name that can do every thing, and a mere empty Title.

[z] *Æſculapio tamen gallinaceum proſecari in fine jubebat.*] The laſt dying Words of *Socrates*, we have in the concluſion of *Plato's Phædo*, and they are theſe, Ὦ Κρίτων, ἔφη, τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὀφείλομεν ἀλεκτρυόνα· ἀλλὰ ἀπόδοτε, καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσητε.

her ſtricteſt Followers muſt expect to meet with the ſevereſt Uſage; but he who adulterates Truth will be ſure to have the Thanks of her Enemies for his Service. Accordingly Philoſophers affect Truth only in Appearance, and this Affectation puts them upon corrupting her, for the glorious Vanity of a Name; but Chriſtians are heartily and violently ſet upon pure Truth, and perform her Commands ſincerely, as Men who have nothing to care for here, but in order to their Salvation hereafter; and therefore Chriſtians both in reſpect of Conſcience and Diſcipline notwithſtanding your Compariſon are very different Perſons. And for a farther Proof of this Difference, conſider what was the Anſwer that *Thales* the Prince of Naturaliſts made *Creſus*, when he was preſs'd by him plainly to declare his poſitive Notions of the divine Nature. Did not the Philoſopher put off the Prince from time to time with his, *I will conſider on it?* But the meaneſt Mechanick among Chriſtians apprehends God, and can anſwer the Queſtion; and can aſſign ſubſtantial Reaſons, and very ſenſibly explain himſelf upon all theſe Diſquiſitions about the divine Nature; tho' *Plato* affirms it to be ſo difficult to find out the Creator of the Univerſe, and when found, to expreſs himſelf intelligibly upon that Subject. But if you make a Challenge between Chriſtians and Heathens, in point of Morals, let us enter the Liſts, and begin with Chaſtity; and in the Trial of *Socrates* I read one Article of the *Athenians* againſt him for *Sodomy*; but a Chriſtian

a Chriſtian keeps inviolably to one Sex, and one Woman. I find alſo that *Diogenes* cou'd not lie contentedly in his Tub without his Miſtreſs *Phryne*; and I hear of one *Speuſippus* of *Plato*'s School, ſlain in the very Act of Adultery; but a Chriſtian is a Man only to his own Wife. *Democritus* by putting out his Eyes, becauſe he cou'd not look upon a Woman with Innocence, and was not eaſie within the Bounds of Chaſtity, ſufficiently publiſh'd his Incontinence by his Cure; but a Chriſtian can look upon a Woman ſecurely, becauſe his Mind is blind to all Impreſſions of that Nature. If the Queſtion is about Probity or Sweetneſs of Temper, behold *Diogenes* with his dirty Feet treading upon *Plato*'s ſtately Carpets, and crying he trampled upon *Plato*'s Pride, tho' the Sloven did it with a greater Pride of his own; but the Chriſtian expreſſes not the leaſt Air of Haughtineſs to the pooreſt Man on Earth. If we contend about Moderation with reſpect to worldly Greatneſs, behold *Pythagoras* affecting Tyranny at *Thurium*, and *Zeno* at *Priene!* But a Chriſtian has not the Ambition to aſpire even to the Office of an Ædile. If we compare Æquanimity, remember *Lycurgus* made away with himſelf, becauſe he was unable to bear the Thought of the *Lacedæmonians* correcting the Severity of his Laws; but a Chriſtian after Condemnation is able to return Thanks to thoſe who have condemned him. If you vye with us in Fidelity, there's your *Anaxagoras* who had not Fidelity enough to reſtore the Strangers the Goods they had depoſited

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in his Truſt; but a Chriſtian has the Name of Faithful, even among the Enemies of his Faith. If we diſpute Humility, I muſt tell you that *Ariſtotle* cou'd not ſit eaſie, 'till he proudly made his Friend *Hermias* ſit below him; but a Chriſtian never bears hard, ſo much as upon his Enemy. The ſame *Ariſtotle* was as groſs a Dawber of *Alexander*, to keep that huge Pupil under his Management, as *Plato* was of *Dionyſius* for the Benefit of his Belly. *Ariſtippus* in his Purple, and under the greateſt Shew of Gravity, was an arrant Debauchee; and [a] *Hippias* was killed while he was actually in Ambuſh againſt the City, a thing which no Chriſtian ever attempted for the Deliverance of his Brethren, tho' under the moſt barbarous Uſage. But perhaps it may be reply'd, that ſome Chriſtians are far from living up to their Profeſſion, to which I reply again, that then they are as far from having the Reputation of Chriſtians among thoſe, who truly are ſo; but yet Philoſophers; ſhall enjoy the Name and Honour of Philoſophy among you

[a] *Hippias dum Civitati inſidias diſponit, occiditur; hoc pro ſuis omni atrocitate diſſipatis nemo unquam Chriſtianus tentavit.*] Concerning the ſeveral Crimes charg'd upon the Philoſophers in this Catalogue, the Reader may find 'em ſufficiently dilated on by the Commentators; but that which I think moſtly remarkable in this Compariſon between a Philoſopher and a Chriſtian, is, that he concludes the whole with the Inſtance of Rebellion in *Hippias*, *a thing* (ſays he) *which no Chriſtian was ever heard to have attempted for the Reſcue of his Brethren, tho' under the moſt provoking and barbarous Uſage.* This upon all Occaſions he ſhews to be the diſtinguiſhing Character of Chriſtians, this he triumphs upon, and therefore concludes the Period with Non-reſiſtance, like an Orator who gradually riſes higher and higher, and clinches all with that he thinks moſt likely to leave the deepeſt Impreſſion.

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in ſpite of the Wickedneſs of their Lives. And where's now the Similitude between a Philoſopher and a Chriſtian? between a Diſciple of *Greece*, and of Heaven? a [b] Trader in Fame and

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[b] *Famæ Negotiator, & Vitæ.*] *A Trader in Fame; and a Saver of Souls. Philoſophus Gloriæ Animal, & popularis auræ vile mancipium*; ſays, *Jerom ad Julianum. A Philoſopher is an Animal of Fame, one who baſely drudges for the Breath of the People. Lactantius* is not a little ſevere with *Cicero* upon this very Score, for thus he delivers himſelf in his ſecond Book *de Origine Erroris, Sect.* 3. *p.* 67. *Cantab. Edit. Intelligebat Cicero falſa eſſe*, &c. *Cicero* (ſays he) *was very ſenſible of the Vanities in worſhip, and when he had ſaid enough in all Reaſon utterly to overthrow the eſtabliſh'd Religions, yet he concludes that theſe were Truths not to be told the People for fear of unhinging the Religions of the State. Now what is to be done with a Man who knows himſelf in an Error, and yet knowingly daſhes upon a Rock, that the People may do ſo too? Who pulls out his own Eyes to ſecure others in Darkneſs; who neither deſerves well of thoſe he permits to wander, nor of himſelf, whom he aſſociates with Practices he condemns; who makes no uſe of his Wiſdom for the Regulation of his Life, but wilfully entangles himſelf to enſnare others, whom as the wiſer Perſon he was obliged to reſcue from Error. But, O Cicero! If you have any Regard for Virtue, attempt rather to deliver the People out of Ignorance; 'tis a noble Enterprize, and worthy all your Powers of Eloquence; never fear, but your Oratory will hold out in ſo good a Cauſe, which never fail'd you in the defence of ſo many bad ones. But* Socrates's *Priſon is the thing you dread, and therefore Truth muſt want a Patron. But certainly, as a wiſe Man you ought to deſpiſe Death in competition with Truth; and you had fallen more honourably by much for ſpeaking well of Truth, than for ſpeaking ill of* Antony: *Nor will you ever riſe to that Height of Glory by your Philippicks, as you wou'd have done by labouring to undeceive the World, and diſpute the People into their Senſes.* This I take to be a juſt Character, *Socrates* excepted, of all the Heathen Philoſophers; they were Traders for Fame and enrich'd their Heads only to fill their Pockets; they never lov'd Truth well enough to ſuffer for her, nor wou'd plead her Cauſe before the *Areopagus* or Senate at the hazard of their Lives; their Notions were unactive, and lay floating only on their Fancies, nor were the People nor themſelves the better Men for their Philoſophy; *Socrates*'s Priſon ſpoil'd all. How unlike to this was the Carriage of the Apoſtles and their genuin Followers? How did they engage in the defence of Truth? With what Zeal did they preach their crucify'd Maſter before *Sanedrim*

and a Saver of Souls? between a Man of Words and a Man of Deeds? between a Builder up of Vertue, and a Deſtroyer of it? between a Dreſſer up of Lies, and a Reſtorer of Truth? between a Thief and a Guardian of this ſacred *Depoſitum?*

CHAP. XLVII.

That the Heathen Poets and Philoſophers ſtole many of their Notions from the Holy Scriptures.

THE [c] Antiquity of the divine Writings which I have already eſtabliſh'd, wou'd be

ordrim and Senate, in the Face of all the diſcouraging Tortures witty Malice cou'd invent? They accounted no Hazards comparable to the Advantage the World wou'd enjoy by the Propagation of the Chriſtian Philoſophy; they rejoyc'd they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the Name of Chriſt. This ſhew'd a truly noble and generous Spirit, that wou'd not be diſcourag'd from doing the World good, tho' the Benefactors met with ſuch hard Uſage for their Pains. This likewiſe ſhew'd the divine Power of the Chriſtian Religion, that it was able to raiſe its Profeſſors above all Conſiderations preſent, for the Joy that was ſet before them. Such was the difference between a Philoſopher and a Chriſtian, between a *Diſciple of Greece, and a Diſciple of Heaven.*

[c] *Antiquior omnibus*, &c.] Was it not for fear of ſwelling this Tract beyond the Bounds of an Apology, *Tertullian* ſays, he wou'd enter into a particular Proof of the Antiquity of the holy Scriptures. The Reader will find this largely treated by *Euſebius* in his *Prepar. Evang.* where in the fifth Chapter, *lib.* 10. you'll ſee that the *Grecians* had not ſo much as the Uſe of Letters till *Cadmus* the *Phenician* introduced them, which the *Phenicians* had from the *Syrians*, that is the *Hebrews*, which border'd upon 'em. In this Chapter you will ſee alſo, not only the Affinity between the

be a proper Topick to inſiſt upon here, in order to convince you, that thoſe Writings have been the Treaſury of all ſucceeding Wiſdom; and this Topick I wou'd perſue at large, was it not for fear of ſwelling this Apology to a Volume. But to be ſhort, which of your [d] Poets which

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the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Alphabet, which I have already mention'd, but how all the two and twenty Letters in the *Hebrew* have their proper Signification, which in the *Greek* have no Meaning at all; which plainly proves the one to be but an imperfect Copy of the other, eſpecially when the Letters are juſt almoſt the ſame in both, as *Alph*, *Alpha*, &c.

[d] *Quis Poetarum, qui non omnino de Prophetarum fonte potaverit?* The *Grecian* Bards of old, were the Inſtructors of the People, and Prieſts generally as well as Poets; they travell'd much into *Egypt* and other Parts, moſt noted for Antiquity and Learning; and from thence freighted themſelves with ancient Traditions, which they fet their Fancies to work upon, and ſo hack'd and hew'd and diſguis'd the Originals, that 'twas hard to ſay from what Country they came; *Græcia Mendax* was a true Motto. I will not go about to ſhew particularly how the Poets have plunder'd the Prophets, ſince *Bochartus*, *Voſſius de Idol.* and Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, *Orig. Sac.* have ſo nicely traced the Plagiaries, and diſcover'd the Foundation of almoſt the whole fabulous Superſtructure, in ſpite of all their Artifice to conceal it. However, it may not be amiſs juſt to mention ſome of the ways they took to conceal and colour the Impoſtures. And one way was, to alter the *Hebrew* Name and put a *Greek* one in the Place of like Importance. Thus *Cham* or *Ham*, who either for his Minority or Undutifulneſs had his Share of Government allotted him in the barren Sands of *Africa*, and was there for many Ages worſhipped under the Name of *Jupiter Hammon*, which the *Egyptians* by leaving out the Aſpirate call Ἄμμωνα or Ἄμωνα according to that of *Herodotus* in his *Euterpe*, Ἄμμωνα δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι Διά. Thus, I ſay, for חָם *Ham* which ſignifies *fervidus* from the *Radix* חמם *fervere*, they put Ζεύς, from ζέω, which ſignifies the ſame in *Greek* with *Ham* in *Hebrew*. This *Ammon* had a Temple in the City *No*, as we find from that of *Jeremiah*, cap. 46. v. 25. *Behold I will puniſh the Multitude of No, and Pharaoh and Egypt with their Gods.* That which we render the *Multitude of No*, is in the Original * *Amon de No*, the God *Amon* whoſe Temple was in the City *No*. *Vid. Bochar. Phaleg. lib.* 1. *p.* 5, 6. Another way of diſguiſing their Theſis, was by taking the *Hebrew* in its literal and proper Senſe, thus finding *Noah* (whom *Bochartus* has demonſtrated Ἄμμωνα

* In the Greek Verſion of the LXXII.

which of your Sophiſters have not drank from the Fountain of the Prophets? It is from theſe ſacred Sources likewiſe that your Philoſophers have refreſh'd their thirſty inquiſitive Spirits. From hence alſo it is that Philoſophy has been proſcribed ſome Countries, as *Thebes*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, for the monſtrous Iſſue ſhe produc'd from the adulterous Mixture of divine Truths with human Inventions; and no wonder ſince (as I have ſaid) theſe Philoſophers were Men of Glory only, and driven on with the Luſt of Eloquence. Accordingly if they found any thing in our divine [e] Digeſts which hit their Fancies,

demonſtrated to be the ſame with *Saturn*) to be called *Gen.* 9. 20. אישׁ האדמה *vir Terræ*, a *Husbandman*, as *Vir Sanguinis*, *Vir Peccris*, a *Bloody Man*, a *Shepherd*, 2 *Sam.* 16. 7. *Gen.* 46. 32. A moſt familiar Phraſe among the *Hebrews*, they take *vir Terræ* or *Husbandman* in a literal Senſe for ἀνὴρ τῆς γῆς, *the Husband of the Earth*; and ſo *Saturn* which was *Noah* is reported to have married *Rhea* that is the *Earth*. *Vid. Bochart. Phaleg. lib.* 1. *c.* 1. *p.* 3. And ſo likewiſe where the *Oriental* Languages were ambiguous or equivocal, by omitting the obvious Senſe and following the obſcure, they ſpun out ſtrange Stories. Thus again the great *Bochartus*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 31. has traced the Fable of the *Golden Fleece*, which was nothing but the *robbing the Treaſury of the King of Colchis*, framed from the equivocal *Syriac* Word גוזא which ſignifies both a *Fleece* and a *Treaſury*; and ſo the *Bulls* and *Dragons* which kept it, were nothing but the *Walls* and *brazen Gates*, for שור ſignifies both a *Bull* and a *Wall*, and נחשׁ, *Braſs* and a Dragon. I ſhall mention but one *Grecian* Artifice more, which was by aſcribing to ſome of their own Nation, what is recorded in the ſacred Hiſtory. Thus the *Theſſalians* make *Deucalion* to be the Perſon who eſcaped the Flood, and from whom the World was peopled after it; and whoever compares the Relation of *Deucalion*'s Flood in *Apollodorus*, *Biblioth*, *lib.* 1. *p.* 19. With that of *Moſes*, may eaſily turn *Apollodorus*'s *Greek* into the Language of *Scripture*, by only turning *Greece* into *the whole Earth*, and *Deucalion* into *Noah*, *Parnaſſus* into *Ararat*, and *Jupiter* into *Jehovah*. *Vid.* Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s, *Orig. Sac. l.* 3. *cap.* 5.

[e] *Si quid in Sanctis Scriptutis offenderunt, pro inſtituto Curioſitatis ad propria opera verterunt.*] In the foregoing Apology, *Juſtin Martyr*

Fancies, or might ſerve their Hypotheſis, they took it and turn'd it and bent it to a compliance with their own Curioſity; not conſidering theſe Writings to be ſacred and unalterable, nor underſtanding their Senſe, which was then

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Martyr gives ſeveral Inſtances wherein *Plato* had ſtollen from *Moſes*; and *Clemens Alexandrinus Strom.* 1. calls *Plato*, ὁ Ἑβραΐζων φιλόσοφος. See St. *Auſtin de Doctr. Chriſt.* l. 2. c. 28. *de civit. Dei, lib.* 18. c. 41. and *lib.* 8. *c.* 11. But above all, ſee this great Philoſopher hunted thro' all his Coverts, and traced home to the Prophets by *Euſebius* in his *Præpar. Evang. l.* 11, 12, 13. and there you will find with what good Reaſon the *Fathers* charg'd the Philoſophers in general, and *Plato* in particular, for ſhirking from the *holy Scriptures*, according to that of *Euſebius*, *Præpar. Evan. lib.* 11. *c.* 10. τί γὰρ ἔστι Πλάτων, ἢ Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων; *Quid eſt aliud Plato, quam Moſes Atticè loquens?* *Origen* is of opinion that *Plato* by converſing with the *Jews* in *Egypt*, came acquainted with the Hiſtory of the Fall of Man, which after his ænigmatical Way he deſcribes in his *Sympoſiacs*, where he introduces *Porus* the God of Plenty feaſting with the reſt of the Gods; after Supper *Penia* comes to the Door a begging; *Porus* being drunk with *Nectar*, goes into *Jupiter's Garden*, and there falls faſt aſleep; *Penia* obſerving it ſteals to him, and by this Cunning conceiv'd by him. In this Fable of *Plato*, *Origen* obſerves the Reſemblance between *Jupiter's Garden*, and *Paradiſe*, and between *Penia* and the *Serpent*, &c. And he is the rather confirm'd in his Conjecture, becauſe he knew it to be *Plato's* Cuſtom to wrap up his ſublimeſt Notions in Fable, for fear of diſobliging the fabulous *Greeks*, who hated the *Jews*, and who wou'd have themſelves paſs for the wiſeſt, if not the moſt ancient People; and I may add too, that no body elſe might know from whence *Plato* had his Notions. *Vid. Orig. cont. Cel. l.* 4. And as *Plato* purloin'd his divineſt Diſcoveries from the Prophets, and perplex'd them on purpoſe to hide the Theft, ſo is it very remarkable, that the latter *Platoniſts*, ſuch as *Jamblichus*, *Hierocles*, *Simplicius*, &c. talk in a kind of *Evangelical* Strain, and as much above *Plato* as the Apoſtles do above the Prophets; and at the ſame time vilifie the Chriſtians for a Blind to make believe, that there was nothing in the Chriſtian Doctrine worth borrowing, juſt as their Maſter *Plato* had done before them. For 'tis to be remember'd, that *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus* and *Hierocles* were brought up under the great *Ammonius* of *Alexandria*, as well as *Herennius* and *Origen*. This *Ammonius* both liv'd and dy'd a Chriſtian, as *Euſebius* and *Jerom* teſtifie, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 6. *c.* 19. *Hieron. de Script. Eccl.* and ſo inſtructed his Scholars in the *Chriſtian*

then under a Cloud to those carnal Minds, as it is at this Day to the very Jews, to whom they were appropriated. For if in any place Truth appear'd in its native Simplicity without the disguise of Type or Metaphor, worldly Wisdom instead of submitting her Faith blended the Certainties of Revelation with her own Philosophick Uncertainties; for having dipped in the holy Scripture, and found that there is no other God but one, they presently divided into various Speculations about the divine Nature, some asserting it to be incorporeal, others corporeal, as the *Platonicks* and *Stoicks*; some composing him of *Atoms*, and others of *Numbers*, as *Epicurus* and *Pythagoras*, and some of Fire as was the Opinion of *Heraclitus*. The *Platonists* likewise maintain his Care and Providence over his Creation; on the contrary

Christian Mysteries, as well as the *Pagan Philosophy*, at the same time. The not observing therefore that the admirable Discourses of these latter *Platonists* had their Rise from a *Christian Master*, has been the Ground of two scurvy Mistakes amongst some learned Criticks, namely, of overvaluing the *Platonick* Philosophy, as if in their Notions of the *Origine of Evil, and the Degeneracy of our Souls from their Primitive Purity*, &c. they out-did Revelation, tho' 'tis evident that their noblest Flights took wing from the Gospel. Secondly, of charging the *Primitive Fathers* with *Platonizing*, a Charge (as I have prov'd) they utterly deny, and on the contrary tax the Philosophers with *Christianizing*, or *stealing* from the Doctrine of Christ; which they wrested only to serve their *Hypothesis*, and without telling a word whence they had the Notion; and not only the Philosophers, but the Hereticks (says *Tertullian*) had got a Trade of blending Philosophy and Christianity together. And our Author complains not only here of this tampering with Scripture among Christians, but cries out in his *Prescription against Hereticks*, cap. 7. *Viderint qui Stoicum & Platonicum & Dialecticum Christianismum protulerunt.* And 'tis notorious of late Years what Attempts have been made to reform Religion by Philosophy, instead of making Philosophy bend to Revelation.

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the *Epicureans* make him a careleſs unactive God, and as I may ſay, no body in the World. Again the *Stoicks* place him without the World, and turning the Globe about, like a Potter ſitting without his Wheel: The *Platoniſts* place him within the World like a Pilot of a Ship ſteering the univerſal Veſſel that contains him. In like manner we find theſe Sages at variance about the World it ſelf, whether it was made or unmade, and whether it wou'd diſſolve or laſt for ever. The ſame Diſputes we find about the State of the Soul, ſome contending for it to be of a divine immortal Nature, and others of a Nature corruptible; every one inferring and reforming as the Maggot bit. Nor do I wonder to find the philoſophick Wits play ſuch foul Pranks with the Old Teſtament, when I find ſome of the ſame Generation among our ſelves, who have made as bold with the New, and compos'd a deadly Mixture of Goſpel and Opinion, as the ſame philoſophizing Vanity led 'em; and out of one plain Road have cut a World of Labyrinths and inextricable Mazes to confound Men in the way of Salvation: Which therefore I thought proper to advertize you of, that this noted Diverſity of Opinions among Chriſtians, ſhou'd not juſtifie a Parallel between us and Philoſophers, and make Men condemn Truth it ſelf from the Contentions about it. But this in ſhort is my [f] Preſcription againſt theſe Adulterers of the Faith,

[f] *Expedite enim præſcribimus Adulteris noſtris, illam eſſe Regulam veritatis quæ veniat a Chriſto tranſmiſſa per comites ipſius.* I ſhall not here enter into the neceſſary Qualifications of a perfect Rule

Faith, to try all their Doctrines by the Goſpel, that Rule of Truth which came from Chriſt, and was tranſmitted by his Apoſtles, that I ſay, is, the Touchſtone by which all the different Opinions of ſucceeding Teachers is to be prov'd.

All the [g] Arrows that are ſhot at truth are

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of Faith, and prove ſuch Qualifications to be in *holy Scripture*, but obſerve only that ſuppoſing Philoſophers to be in the Right, yet all their Reaſonings were but the Reaſonings of mere Men, and therefore fallible. No one Syſtem of Philoſophy then cou'd be collected from their Writings (granting all neceſſary Truths to lie ſcatter'd amongſt them) for a ſtanding authoritative Rule in Matters of Controverſie, for ſuch a Collection can be of no more Authority than the Collector, and muſt want a Sanction more than human; for all Men have a natural Right to Reaſon for themſelves, till God determines it by a Rule divine: The Want of ſuch a Rule therefore was a great *Deſideratum* in the *Gentile* World; and this was one of the great Wants provided for by Chriſt's coming into the World, who is emphatically ſaid to have *brought Life and Immortality to light thro' the Goſpel.* The Heathens then of old, and the Deiſts at preſent vainly object againſt Chriſtianity the many Differences about it; for, ſays *Tertullian*, there is an infallible Rule tranſmitted by Chriſt thro' his Apoſtles, which we apply to upon all Occaſions to meaſure Doctrines by, and which is wanting to the Philoſophers; and therefore all the fundamental Differences which ariſe among Chriſtians, do not ariſe from any Fault in the Rule, but in themſelves.

[g] *Omnia adverſus veritatem de ipſâ veritate conſtructa ſunt, operantibus æmulationem iſtam ſpiritibus Errovis.*] The Holy Scriptures being confeſſedly of divine Authority, the moſt effectual way of doing Miſchief is not to decry them, but to put a Crown on their Head and a Reed in their Hands, and to bow before them, and cry, *Hail King of the Jews!* to pretend a mighty deal of Reverence to the Scriptures, and then crucifie 'em to their own Senſe. This was always the Way of Hereticks and deſigning Men, ſet on Foot, ſays our Author, and carry'd on by the Agency of the Spirits of Darkneſs. And 'tis obſervable that the Old Serpent took the ſame Courſe in tempting the ſecond *Adam* with a Text from Scripture; and I know not any Author that ever copy'd cloſer after the Devil in this very thing, than the *Author of the Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, who with all the Strength of Deluſion, has done his beſt to ſet up the Kingdom of Darkneſs, and to unchurch Chriſtendom from Scripture.

† taken

taken from her own Quiver, for the Hereſies are to look with a Goſpel Face in Emulation of divine Truth, and the Spirits of Error have a great Stroak in the Picture. Theſe are they which ſuborn Men to diſcolour the Doctrines of Salvation, and ſtain 'em with their own Inventions. By the ſame ſpiritual Wickedneſſes are Fables foiſted in, to invalidate the Credibility of our Religion, or rather to procure this Credibility for themſelves, that the Doctrines of Devils being dreſs'd up like Truth might have the ſame Veneration with the Word of God; ſo that either a Man might disbelieve a Chriſtian, becauſe he disbelieves a Poet, or a Philoſopher, or rather conclude he has the greater Reaſon to give Credit to a Philoſopher, or a Poet, becauſe he cannot find in his heart to believe a Chriſtian. From this ſacrilegious Mixture it is, that we are ſo ridicul'd when we preach about the Day of Judgment, for in imitation of this, the Poets and Philoſophers have their tribunal in the infernal Region; and if we threaten 'em with Hell, which is a ſubterranean Treaſure of ſecret Fire reſerv'd for the Puniſhment of the Wicked, we are hooted at; for thus they ape us too with their [h] *Puriphlegeton* or burning

[h] *Sic enim Pyriphlegeton apud mortuos amnis eſt.*] From the 7th of *Daniel* and the 10th verſe, where 'tis ſaid, that *a fiery Stream iſſued and came forth from before him, thouſand thouſands miniſtred unto him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him, and the Judgment was ſet, and the Books were opened.* From this Paſſage, I ſay, *Euſebius* ſhews the affinity between *Plato* and the Prophet as to the future Judgment, and particularly that the *Puryphlegeton* or *Burning River* in *Plato* περὶ ψυχῆς is plainly the *fiery Stream* in *Daniel.* Vid Euſeb. præp. Evan. l. 11. c. 58.

River among the ſhades below; and if we mention [i] Paradiſe, a Place of divine Pleaſure, deſtin'd for the Reception of the Spirits of holy

[i] *Et ſi Paradiſum nominemus, Locum Divinæ amœnitatis recipiendis Sanctorum ſpiritibus deſtinatum, maceriâ quâdam igneæ illius Zonæ ſegregatum.*] *Paradiſe*, ſays *Philo de Plant. Noæ* p. 171. is *σύμβολον ψυχῆς ἐπὶ πλήθυς καὶ μεγάθυς χαρᾶς ἀναπιμπλώσης, The Repreſentation of a Soul exulting for fulneſs and exceſs of joy.* By *Paradiſe* or *Abraham's Boſom*, or *Abraham's Port* as the Greek Word κόλπος truly ſignifies, the primitive Chriſtians underſtood a Place of Eaſe and divine Happineſs, next to Heaven but not Heaven it ſelf, or the perfect Fruition of the beatifick Viſion; they were of Opinion that the departed Souls of juſt Men in general aſcended not into Heaven, till after the Reſurrection; which *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* prove from the Example of Chriſt, to which we muſt be conform'd; for Chriſt himſelf did not aſcend into Heaven till after his Reſurrection, but as his Body reſted in the Grave, ſo his Soul went into the Place of departed Souls, and when he roſe again, then he aſcended into Heaven; and thus, ſay they, we muſt do alſo. Not that they affirm'd no Souls immediately enter'd into Heaven, for they believ'd the Souls of Martyrs did, and this Belief ſeems to have encreas'd the Paſſion ſo much for Martyrdom in that Age. Here then the Reader is deſir'd to obſerve, that *Tertullian* aſſerts a *Middle State* without a *Purgatory*, for he aſſerts Paradiſe to be a Garden of divine Pleaſure prepared for the Refreſhment of holy Souls till the Reſurrection; and therefore our Author cou'd not poſſibly imagin it to be a Place of Torment, to expiate the temporal Puniſhment due to Sin, when the Eternal Puniſhment is remitted, which is the *Popiſh Purgatory*, an Invention not only againſt the current Doctrine of the Fathers, but highly derogatory to the all-ſufficient Merits of our crucifi'd Maſter; a moſt diſcouraging and barbarous Repreſentation of the Chriſtian Religion, and ſuch a one as had never been framed, had it not been a convenient Engin to make a Way into the Pockets of the People. This Paradiſe (ſays our Author) is guarded about with a *Wall of Fire*, like what the *Torrid Zone* is commonly ſuppos'd to be, plainly alluding to the *Cherubim and the flaming Sword which turned ev'ry Way to keep the Way of the Tree of Life*; hereby intimating, as I conceive, that as *Paradiſe* was the bliſful Seat of Man in Innocence, ſo *Abraham's Boſom* or Port was ſuch an *Eden* of Happineſs for righteous Spirits; and as that was guarded from the Reentrance of ſinful *Adam* and his Poſterity by thoſe *miniſtring Spirits*, which the *Pſalmiſt*, and after him the *Author to the Hebrews* calls a *Flame of Fire*, ſo was this bleſſed Manſion of Pure Souls, this Port after the Storms of Life, ſecur'd by the ſame Miniſters from the

holy Men, and guarded from the Notice of the common World by the Torrid Zone or Wall of Fire, immediately they trump upon us with their *Elyſium*. From whence now, I pray, had your Poets and Philoſophers theſe Reſemblances? Whence, if not from the Books of our ſacred Myſteries? And if they copy'd from them, then they have the Prerogative of Antiquity, and conſequently are the more credible; ſince you look upon an Original of more Authority than the Copy. But now, if they were the Founders of theſe Inventions, then we muſt take our Religion from them, which is as impoſſible in Nature, as for a [k] Shadow to be before the Subſtance, or the Image before the Reality.

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the Incurſion of evil Spirits: The Devil they knew to be Prince of the Air; and this lower Region to be fill'd with his Legions, who in the Opinion of the Fathers ſtood always ready to ſeize on a departed Soul; and therefore as the Soul of *Lazarus* was carried by the Angels into *Abraham*'s Boſom, ſo they concluded that ev'ry righteous Soul in the like manner was conducted in Triumph thro' the Dominions of the Devil, and lodg'd in the ſame Port of Happineſs till the Day of Judgment.

[k] *Nunquam enim corpus Umbra, aut veritatem Imago præcedit.*] It was a mighty Objection with the Heathens, that Chriſtianity was a novel Upſtart Religion, form'd out of the Corruption of the *Heathen* Mythology; but this *Tertullian* argues to be as impoſſible, as for the ſhadow to be before the Subſtance, or an Imitation before the Reality. This very Objection we find almoſt continually in the Mouth of *Celſus* the *Epicurean*; for, ſays he, *The Building of the Tower of* Babel *and the Confuſion of Tongues, were patch'd up out of the Fable of the* Aloidæ *in* Homer's Odyſſes; *the Story of the Flood, from* Deucalion; *Paradiſe from* Alcinous *his Gardens*; *the Burning of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *from the Story of* Phaeton: The Folly of which Objection, *Origen* unanſwerably demonſtrates, by ſhewing the far greater Antiquity of thoſe Relations among the *Jews*, than of theſe or any other Fables among the *Greeks*; and therefore the Corruption of the Tradition muſt be in them, and not in the *Jews*. *Vid. Orig. cont. Celſ. lib.* 4. *p.* 174, 179.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Concerning the Reſurrection of the Body.

LET us now conſider a little the different Treatment of a Philoſopher, and a Chriſtian; if a Philoſopher affirms, as *Laberius* from *Pythagoras* has done, that after death, the Soul of a Man departs into a Mule, and that of a Woman into a Serpent, and turns all the Sails of Eloquence to carry this abſurd Point; ſhall not he find Credit, and harangue ſome of you into abſtinence even from the Fleſh of Animals? And will not many ſcruple to eat a Piece of Beef, for fear of eating a Piece of their Anceſtors? But now if a Chriſtian ſhall affirm, that Man ſhall be made Man again after Death, and *Caius* riſe the very ſame *Caius* again, he is in Danger of being Mob'd, and having all the Sticks and Stones in the ſtreet preſently about his Ears. But if you can find it reaſonable to believe the Tranſmigration of humane Souls from Body to Body, why ſhou'd you think it incredible for the Soul to return to the Subſtance it firſt inhabited? For this is our Notion of a Reſurrection, to be that again after Death, which we were before; for according to the *Pythagorean* Doctrine, theſe Souls now are not the ſame they were, becauſe they cannot be what they were not, without ceaſing to be what they were. A man might be very merry upon this

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Subject, had he leisure and inclination to give himself a Loose, and hunt after all the Animals in which all the departed Souls from the Beginning have taken up their Lodgings.

But instead of digressing, I think it of more Consequence to establish this Doctrine of the Resurrection; and we propose it as more agreeable to Reason, and the Dignity of humane Nature, to believe, that Man will be remade Man, and ev'ry Person after Death be himself again; so that the Soul shall be habited with the same Qualities it was invested with in its former Union, tho' the Man may receive some Alteration in his Figure. For certainly the Reason of a Resurrection is only in order to Judgment; and therefore 'tis necessary that the Bodies which have been instrumental to the Actions, shou'd be the same Bodies which are summon'd from the Grave to Judgement, *that every one may receive the Things done in his Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or whether it be evil.*

The Graves then shall repay the Bodies at the Day of Judgment, because 'tis not conceivable perhaps how a mere Soul shou'd be passible without an Union with Matter, I mean the Flesh; but especially because the divine Justice will have Souls suffer in the Bodies they have sinn'd. But perhaps you'll ask how the Particles of a Body dissolv'd to Dust, can be made to rally and reunite after such a Dissolution? Reflect upon your self, O Man, and in your self you will find an An-

ſwer. Conſider what you was before you had Exiſtence, you was nothing at all; for if you had been a Man, you might have remember'd ſomething of it: As therefore you may be ſaid to be Nothing before you was in being, to juſt ſuch a Nothing will you return again when you ceaſe to be. Why then cannot you be recall'd from this ſecond Nothing, as you think it, by the ſame Almighty Word, which call'd you from your firſt? Where now is the wonderful Difference in theſe two caſes? You who was not, are made to be, and when you ſhall not be again, God ſhall make you what you was. Be pleas'd now, if you can, to ſolve me the Mode of your Creation, and then demand the Manner of your Reſurrection. And yet methinks, you may eaſily conceive the Poſſibility of reſtoring you to a former Being, ſince you was with the ſame eaſe made ſomething out of Nothing. Is the Power of that God to be diſputed who rais'd this Univerſe from Nothing, from Nothing as it were but the Death of Privation or pure Void, and animated it with that Spirit which is the univerſal Life? And he has impreſs'd upon this World for your Conviction many Teſtimonies of the humane Reſurrection. For the Light which daily departs, riſes again with its primitive Splendor; and Darkneſs ſucceeds by equal Turns; the Stars which leave the World revive; the Seaſons, when they have finiſh'd their Courſe, renew it again; the Fruits are conſum'd and bloom afreſh; and that which we ſow is not quick'ned except it die, and by

that

that Diſſolution riſes more fruitful. Thus you ſee how all Things are renew'd by Corruption, and reformed by Dying. And you, O Man! did you but underſtand the Nobility of that Title, and which you might have underſtood even from *Apollo*'s Oracle, how cou'd you imagine that Man, the Lord of all theſe dying and reviving Things, ſhou'd himſelf die for ever? In what Place ſoever therefore the Cord of Life is broken, whatſoever Element has your Body in deſtroying, in aboliſhing, in annihilating, it ſhall deliver up the Pledge, and return you whole; for pure Nothing is as much at the divine Word, as his whole Creation.

But then, ſay you, here will be nothing but dying and riſing in endleſs Succeſſion. If the Sovereign of the World had order'd it thus, you muſt have taken your deſtin'd Turns whether you would or no; but now he has eſtabliſh'd a Reſurrection once for all, as he has taught by his *Word*; that *Word* or *Reaſon* which compos'd the Univerſe of various Elements, and made it a conſiſtent harmonious Syſtem by a due Temperament of oppoſite Principles, of Vacuum and Matter, Animate and Inanimate, Comprehenſible and Incomprehenſible, Light and Darkneſs, Life and Death. The ſame *Word* who thus made and preſerv'd the World, has likewiſe ſo pointed and diſtinguiſh'd Time, that the firſt Period from the Creation ſhall run out the determin'd Stage of Years, but the ſucceeding Space, on which all our thoughts are fixt, is endleſs Duration:

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But between these two there is an *Isthmus* or or [1] middle Term of Time, and when this Period is over, and the Beauty of this new World likewise had its Season, which is but a goodly Curtain between us and Eternity, then all humane Kind shall be restor'd to Life, to answer for their several Works, whether they be

[1] *Cum ergo finis, & limes medius qui interhiat, adfuerit*, &c.] *Between the Conclusion of this World and the Commencement of the World eternal, there is an Isthmus or middle Term of Time.* By which he undoubtedly means the *Chiliasm*, or thousand years Reign upon Earth; for this he maintains in his Books against *Marcion, lib.* 3. c. 23. p. 411. Now this is an Error, (if it be one) wherein *Tertullian* stands not alone, but in the good Company of *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, *Irænæus* Bishop of *Lyons*, *Justin* Martyr, *Nepos*, *Apollinaris*, *Victorinus*, *Lactantius*, and *Severus Gallus*, with many Others. But then it is to be remember'd, that this was an Opinion they laid no stress upon, for *Justin* Martyr confesses and without any Censure, that there were many sincere and devout Christians who did not hold it, and many others also of the same Mind with himself, and so leaves it as a matter Indifferent. *Vid. Dial. cum Tryphone*, p. 306, 307, 369. This Notion seems to be first set on foot by the forementioned *Papias*, a very good Man but of no great Reach, as *Eusebius* remarks, *Eccl. Hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 39. *p.* 112, who by not seeing into the mystical Meaning of the Apostles Discourses, ran presently away with it as an Apostolical Tradition; just perhaps as we find from the Misunderstanding of our Saviour's Words to St. *Peter*, — *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee, follow thou me; then went this saying abroad among the Brethren that that Disciple* (namely *John*) *shou'd not die.* Now from a Doctrine so harmless in it self and Consequences, according to the Sense of the Orthodox, (tho' abus'd indeed by *Cerinthus* and his Followers) recommended by the venerable Antiquity of an *Apostolical* Person, as *Papias* was, an Opinion that has so much to be said for it from Scripture, from the Revelations especially, as appears by the Learned Mr. *Mede* and others, and which we are freely left to believe or disbelieve at our Discretion; is it not, I say, very disingenuous as well as very Trifling in Mr. *Daillé* to argue from hence against the Authority of the *Fathers?* As if their Authority was the less valuable in Matters of Faith, wherein they are all unanimous and pressing, and in Matters of Fact wherein they cannot be Mistaken, because forsooth in some Cases of Tradition or Reasoning 'tis possible they may be mistaken, and wherein they expressly declare that 'tis no matter of Consequence if they are.

good

good or evil; and then conſign'd over to a State of immenſe Perpetuity; and then Death and Reſurrection ſhall be no more, but we ſhall be the ſame we now are, and the ſame for ever: The Worſhippers of God ſhall be cloathed upon with a Subſtance proper for everlaſting Duration, and fixt in a perpetual Union with God; but the Prophane and the Hypocrite ſhall be doom'd to a Lake of everflowing Fire, and fuel'd with Incorruptibility from the divine indefectible Nature of that Flame which torments them. Philoſophers are not unacquainted with the difference of ſecret and common Fire, the Fire which ſerves for the Uſe of Man, is quite of another Nature from that which Miniſters to the Juſtice of God; whether it be that, which ſhoots the Thunderbolts from Heaven, or that which belches from the Bowels of Mountains, for it burns without conſuming, and repairs what it preys upon; the Mountains therefore burn, and maintain themſelves by burning, and the Man who is blaſted from Heaven is inſur'd from being burnt to Aſhes; and this may be a Teſtimony of the Eternal Fire, an Emblem of thoſe Flames which are decreed to nouriſh the damned in Torment: The Mountains burn with perpetual Fire, and are Mountains ſtill; why therefore may not the Wicked and the Enemies of God burn like theſe?

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

That the Chriſtian Doctrine ought not to be perſecuted becauſe the World can't be well without it.

THeſe Things then are decry'd as groundleſs Whimſy, and Caprichio in us alone; but in the Philoſophers and Poets who ſtole 'em from us, are deem'd prodigious Attainments, the brighteſt Diſcoveries and nobleſt Flights of Human Wit; for the ſame Things, they are the Sages and we the Simpletons; they are laden with Reſpect, and we with Deriſion, and what is worſe with Puniſhment. But allowing our Tenets to be as falſe, and groundleſs Preſumptions as you wou'd have 'em, yet I muſt tell you, that they are Preſumptions the World can't be well without; if they are Follies, they are Follies of great Uſe, becauſe the Believers of 'em, what under the Dread of eternal Pain, and the Hope of everlaſting Pleaſure, are under the ſtrongeſt Obligations poſſible to become the beſt of Men. It can never therefore be a politick Expedient to cry down Doctrines for falſe and fooliſh, which 'tis ev'ry Man's Intereſt to preſume true; 'tis upon no account adviſable to condemn Opinions ſo ſerviceable to the publick. You then are the preſumptuous and Impertinent, and not we; you who raſhly adventure to paſs Sentence againſt Principles ſo palpably conducing to general Good; however, if you will upbraid our Religion with Folly and Impertinence

pertinence, yet certainly you can never charge it with Miſchief to any Perſon breathing; you can at moſt but look upon it like abundance of other *Romances*, which by the Laws are not penal, and which tho' vain and fabulous, are not criminal, but as harmleſs Stories, without Accuſation or Puniſhment, paſs freely among you. For Errors of ſuch inoffenſive nature, at worſt ſhou'd only be condemn'd to Ridicule, and not to Fire and Sword, Gibbets and Beaſts; at which ſavage Executions, not only the Mob are tranſported with Inſolence and cruel Satisfaction, but even ſome of you Magiſtrates pride your ſelves in the ſame Barbarities, the better to recommend your ſelves to the Populace; as if the whole of your Power againſt us was not dependent upon our own Will and defeatable at Pleaſure. For inſtance, I am certainly a Chriſtian becauſe 'tis my Will and Pleaſure ſo to be, then you ſhall condemn me, if I pleaſe to be condemn'd; and if you cou'd not condemn me, if I wou'd not perſiſt in my Religion, 'tis plain your Power depends upon my Will. In like manner the People ſhew as much Folly as Brutiſhneſs in rejoicing at the Sufferings of Chriſtians; for theſe Sufferings which give them only a malicious Pleaſure, a Pleaſure they uſurp without a Title, feed the Chriſtian Sufferers with juſt and ſubſtantial Comforts, who chuſe to be condemned, rather than to fall from their Affiance in God, and the Expectations of the other World: For wou'd theſe People act conſequentially who thus hate us, they ought rather

ther to grieve than rejoice at our Torments, becauſe theſe Torments put us in poſſeſſion of our Heart's Deſire.

CHAP. L.

The Chriſtian Triumph.

WHAT Reaſon then, ſay you, have we Chriſtians to complain of our Sufferings, when we are ſo fond of Perſecution; we ought rather to love thoſe who perſecute us ſo ſweetly to our Hearts content. 'Tis true indeed, we are not againſt Suffering, when the Captain of our Salvation calls us forth to ſuffer; but let me tell you, 'tis with us in our Chriſtian Warfare, as 'tis with you in yours, we [m] chuſe to Suffer, as you chuſe to Fight;

[m] *Plane volumus pati, verum eo more quo & bellum miles, nemo quippe libens patitur.*] *We chuſe to ſuffer as you chuſe to fight, but no Man chuſes Fighting for Fighting ſake.* Some of the blinder and perverſer ſort of Heathens derided the Primitive Martyrs, (as their Paſſive Followers ſince have been) for a Sect of beſotted infatuated Fellows, who did neither know nor feel what it was they underwent: But our Author tells them, that the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſtians was like other Folks, that they underſtood *natural Rights and Liberties*, had the ſame Averſion to Suffering, the ſame Paſſion for Preſervation and Pleaſure that the Heathens had; and whereas they alone were the People who ſeem'd to have forgot *Humanity* by their enduring the moſt exquiſite Torments, not only with Patience, but with Joy and Thankſgiving, yet this was far from the Effect of any *Stoical Apathy*, but purely the Strength of their Faith, which overcame the Reluctance of Nature, the ſure and certain Hope of the Reſurrection to eternal Life, which enabled them to deſpiſe the Life preſent, *and that light Affliction which is but for a moment, and which worketh for them a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.*

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but no Man chuſes Fighting for Fighting ſake, becauſe he cannot engage without Fear and Hazard of Life. Yet nevertheleſs, when the brave Souldier finds he muſt engage, he battels it with all his Power, and if he comes off victorious is full of Joy, tho' juſt before not without his Complaints of a military Life, becauſe he has obtain'd his End, laden with Glory, laden with Spoil.

Thus it is with Chriſtians, we enter into Battel, when we are cited to your Tribunals, there to combat for Truth with the Hazard of our Life. To ſet up Truth is our Victory, and the Victor's Glory is to pleaſe his God, and the precious Spoil of that Victory is eternal Life; and this Life we certainly win by dying for it, therefore we conquer when we are killed, and being killed, are out of the reach of you, and all other Vexations for ever.

Give us now what Names you pleaſe from the Inſtruments of Cruelty you torture us by, call us *Sarmenticians* and *Semaxians*, becauſe you faſten us to Trunks of Trees, and ſtick us about with [n] Faggots to ſet us on fire; yet let

[n] *Hæc Palmata veſtis*, &c.] This among the *Romans* was the *Triumphal Robe*, all o'er embroider'd with *Palm-branches* in token of Victory; a Chriſtian then, ſays *Tertullian*, never thinks himſelf ſo fine, never ſo illuſtrious as at the Stake, with Fire and Faggot about him; he then is in his triumphal Chariot going to Heaven in State. *Euſebius* tells us, it was a moſt charming Sight to behold the Martyr's in Priſon, to ſee how their Miſery became them, how they adorn'd their Fetters, and that they look'd as Captivating in Chains, as a Bride in all her Glories at the Day of Marriage. *Vid. Euſ. Hiſ. Ec. lib.* 5. *c.* 1. *p.* 160. So far were they from complaining of Providence, that they bleſs'd God the more for the Honour of Suffering,

let me tell you, when we are thus begirt and dreſs'd about with Fire, we are then in our moſt illuſtrious Apparel. Theſe are our victorious Palms and Robes of Glory, and mounted upon our Funeral Pile we look upon our ſelves in our triumphal Chariot. No wonder then ſuch paſſive Heroes pleaſe not thoſe they vanquiſh with ſuch conquering Sufferings; and therefore we paſs for Men of Deſpair, and violently bent upon our own Deſtruction. However, that which you are pleas'd to call Madneſs and Deſpair in us, are the very Actions, which under Virtue's Standard lift up your Sons of Fame and Glory, and emblazon 'em to future Ages. Thus *Mutius Scævola* immortaliz'd himſelf by voluntarily ſacrificing his right Hand to the Flames for miſtaking the Enemy. O Exaltation of Mind! *Empedocles*

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ing, and gave Thanks to their Judges for condemning them; ſo far from being aſham'd of their Bonds, that they gloried in them; and therefore we find that *Babylas* the Martyr order'd the Chains he wore in Priſon, to be buried with him. *Vid. Chryſ. l. de S. Bab. Tom.* 1. *p.* 669. Here then we ſee a Chriſtian Triumph, the true Spirit of the firſt Ages, nor wou'd I interpoſe any cold Criticiſms on this laſt and moſt excellent Chapter, that my Reader might not be interrupted; but go off with a full Impreſſion, with all the Fire and Devotion of the Writer; for in the Biſhop of *Sarum*'s words, *I confeſs there is no Piece of Story I read with ſo much Pleaſure, as the Accounts that are given of theſe Martyrs, for methinks they leave a Fervor upon my Mind, which I meet with in no Study, that of the Scriptures being only excepted.* I conclude all with that admirable Collect of our own Church upon the Feſtival of St. *Stephen*, ſo exactly conformable to the primitive Spirit, *Grant, O Lord, that in all our Sufferings here upon Earth for the Teſtimony of thy Truth, we may ſtedfaſtly look up to Heaven, and by Faith behold the Glory that ſhall be revealed, and being filled with the holy Ghoſt, may learn to love and bleſs our Perſecutors, by the Example of thy firſt Martyr St.* Stephen; *who prayed for his Murtherers to thee, O Bleſſed Jeſus, who ſtandeſt at the Right Hand of God to ſuccour all thoſe that ſuffer for thee, our only Mediator and Advocate.* Amen. Amen.

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offer'd his whole ſelf to the Flames of *Ætna* near *Catana*; O Vigour of Soul! the Foundreſs of *Carthage* bequeath'd her ſelf to the Fire, to avoid a ſecond Marriage; O Monument of Chaſtity! *Regulus* not willing to put his Country to the Expence of redeeming himſelf alone, with the Liberty of many Enemies, choſe to go back and ſuffer all the Torments they cou'd inflict upon every part of his Body; O brave *Regulus*, in Captivity Conqueror! *Anaxarchus* while the Executioner was pounding him like Barly in a Mill; pound on, pound on, ſays he, for you pound not *Anaxarchus* but his Budget. O notable Magnanimity of Philoſopher, who had Preſence of Mind enough to pun while he was pounding! I mention not thoſe, who ſeem to have contracted for Praiſe at the Price of cutting their own Throats, or diſpatching themſelves by ſome ſweeter Method; for lo! you crown as meritorious, even a meer ſpiteful Contention for Degrees of Torture: For a Strumpet of *Athens* having quite tir'd out her Executioner, at length to her immortal Honour, bit off her Tongue, and ſpit it in the Tyrant's Face, that ſo ſhe might put it out of her Power to diſcover the Conſpirators, ſhou'd the Torments chance to get the better of her Reſolution. *Zeno Eleates* being demanded by *Dionyſius* the Uſe of Philoſophy, told him it was to raiſe Men to a Contempt of Death, and by the Tyrant's Order was whipt to death for an Experiment, and ratify'd his Doctrine with his Blood. The *Lacedæmonian*

Method, of enuring their People to Hardineſs, is to put 'em into a Courſe of Scourging, and to double their Diſcipline in the preſence of any of their Friends, who read the Scholars a Lecture of Patience, while they are under the Laſh; and ev'ry Scholar carry'd home a Quantity of Honour, according to the Quantity of Blood he left behind him. O true Glory, becauſe of human Stamp and Faſhion! not one of all theſe Contemners of Death and Cruelty in its ſeveral Shapes, have had their Actions ſullied with the Imputation of Deſpair and Madneſs. A Man ſhall ſuffer with Honour for his Country, for the Empire, for a Friend, what he is not tolerated to ſuffer for his God. Strange! that you ſhou'd look upon the Patience of Chriſtians, as ſuch an inglorious thing, and yet for the Perſons aforeſaid caſt Statues, and adorn Figures with Inſcriptions and magnificent Titles, to perpetuate the Memory of their Actions to Eternity, to ſuch an Eternity as Monuments can beſtow; and by this means give 'em a kind of Reſurrection from the Dead. On the contrary, he who expects a real Reſurrection, and in hopes of this ſuffers for the Word of God, ſhall paſs among you for a Sot and a Madman.

And now, O worſhipful Judges, go on with your Shew of Juſtice, and believe me, you'll be juſter and juſter ſtill in the Opinion of the People, the oft'ner you make 'em a Sacrifice of Chriſtians. Crucifie, Torture, Condemn, Grind

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