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A critical dissertation
concerning the words

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A CRITICAL
DISSERTATION

Concerning the WORDS

ΔΑΙ'ΜΩΝ and ΔΑΙΜΟ'ΝΙΟΝ.

Occasion'd by

*Two late Enquiries into the Meaning of De-
moniacks in the New Testament.*

In a Letter to a Friend.

By a GENTLEMAN of Wadham College
OXFORD.

John^W Swinton

L O N D O N :

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The following Errata, occasioned by the Author's Distance from the Press, the Reader is desired to excuse, and correct thus :

Page 1. Line 11. for Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ read Ο ΘΕΟΣ, ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ; p. 1. l. 19. for aliqui read aliiq; p. 3. l. 14. put a Comma after Τύχη p. 7. line 30. for Plutarch, read Plutarch. p. 7. l. 32. for Dr. read D. p. 14. l. 16. put a small Line after βίς ; thus, βίς—— p. 19. l. 24. put a Comma after Signification, p. 19. l. ult. for Aginar. read Asinar: p. 24. l. 26. for Miracles read Miracle p. 25. l. 10. put a Point of Interrogation after the Word called. thus, called ? p. 25. l. 17. put a Point of Interrogation after Sabbath Day ?

A

CRITICAL DISSERTATION

Concerning the WORDS

ΔΑΙΜΩΝ and ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ.

S I R,

THE Word Δαίμων is used in various Significations by the Greek Authors who preceded the Birth of CHRIST, the principal of which seem to be the three following.

I. *First*, It is taken for *the Supreme Being, the Divinity itself*, Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ; this is evident from ^a *Homer, Plato, Aristotle*, and others. Hence it comes to pass, that the ^b Epithet Δαίμων frequently signifies, among

^a *Hom. Iliad.* P. 98, 99, &c. O. 403, 404, &c. *Odyf. B.* 134, 135, &c. *Plat. Polit.* p. 272. & alibi passim. *Aristot.* de Mund. sub init. *Eurip. Demosth.* pro Cor. &c.

^b *Aristot.* ibid. *Pind. Pyth.* Od. 2. *Hom.* passim, aliqui multi.

B

the

Demon, either before or after Death. *Plutarch*, *Iamblichus*, *Hierocles*, and others, are very express in this Particular ; but, as I propose mentioning only some of the most antient *Greek* Authors at present, I shall here omit them.

II. 'Tis observable, that tho' *Hesiod* honours the Men of the golden Age with the Title of *Demons* after their Deaths, yet he does this chiefly by way of Compliment to them, and in order to ° incite his Brother *Perfès* to imitate them by performing just and virtuous Actions ; and therefore no certain Conclusion can be drawn from hence with regard to his real Opinion of the Nature of *Demons*. But whatever his Opinion of these Beings might be, whatever he might think of them, 'tis certain ¶ he makes a Distinction betwixt the Θεοὶ μάκαρες καὶ ἀθάνατοι, the blessed and immortal Gods, who are ¶ *Homier's Demons*, and the departed Worthies of the golden Age, who are his *Demons*. He makes them different and distinct Classes of Beings ; and consequently it cannot be inferred from him, and much less from his Followers, that all *Demons*, or even the Beings to whom this Word was first applied, were Ghosts, or Spirits of departed Men.

Farther, that *Demons* in general should be the Spirits of Men, who once lived on Earth, is not at all implied in the Word itself, nor does

° *Hesiod. ibid.*

¶ *Hesiod. ibid.*

¶ *Hom. Iliad. A. § 222.*

this Notion enter into the Idea which it conveys to us. --- This Idea exhibits to our View Beings endued with Knowledge only, without relation to any other Quality, Circumstance, or Perfection; and therefore rational Beings in this View only are signified by this Word, *i. e.* Beings endued with a Degree of Knowledge superior to what we enjoy, and who therefore by way of Eminence, with respect to us, may be called *Knowing Beings*. This seems to have been the only and genuine Sense in which the Antients understood the Word *Δαίμονες* in general. In this Sense it might be applied not only to the supreme Being, but to all other Natures superior to Man; and in this Sense it was applied by them to God and all such Natures. *Δαίμονες quasi Δαίμονες*, says ^r *Plato*: Now *Δαήμων* signifies *Doctus, Peritus, Sciens*, &c. from whence comes *Δημοσύνη Scientia, Peritia*, &c. ---- And this seems to answer *Hesiod's* Description of them; ^f for he assures us, that they observe, (*i. e.* know) every thing done on Earth, and that they are Privy-councillors to *Jupiter*. ^t *Lactantius* and *Eustathius* put this Etymology beyond dispute.

'Tis proper likewise to remark, that ^v *Hesiod* calls his *Demons* *εὐδαίμοι καὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι* (*good and terrestrial*) which seems to insinuate, that there

^r *Plat.* in *Cratyl.*

^f *Hesiod.* ubi supra.

^t *Lactant.* II. 14. *Eustath.* in *Iliad.* A. γ 222.

^v *Hesiod.* ubi supra.

were other *Demons* who were neither *good* nor *terrestrial*; and therefore this Passage is so far from proving, that all *Demons*, or *Demons* in general, were in *Hesiod's* Time supposed to be *good* and *terrestrial*, or such as *had once lived on Earth*, (for that this is the true Signification of ἐπιχθόνιοι is evident both from ^w *Hesiod* himself and *Homer*) that it is an Intimation to the contrary, and a presumptive Argument that *Hesiod* believed there were *Demons* of a malevolent Nature, who had never been Inhabitants of this Earth; especially, since this was a Notion that prevailed amongst all polite Nations, even from the remotest Antiquity, as may be proved by one or two express Testimonies, which we shall beg leave here to insert.

^x *Plutarch*, in his *Dio*, affirms, “ that there
 “ was a very antient Opinion, that certain
 “ wicked and malignant *Demons* envy good
 “ Men, and endeavour to hinder them in the
 “ Pursuit of Virtue, lest they should be at last
 “ Partakers of greater Felicity than they en-
 “ joy;” which is confirmed by ^y *Iamblichus*.
 --- The first Author moreover tells us, “ that
 “ the ^z Opinion of an evil Principle, or Being,
 “ was handed down from the antient Masters

^w *Hesiod*. *ibid.* § 141. *Hom. Iliad.* A. § 272. & *Scholiast.*
 in loc.

^x *Plut.* in *Dio*. See likewise *Casaubon's* Note upon this Passage of *Plutarch*, in his *Original of Temporal Evils*, Lond. 1645.

^y *De Myst.*

^z *De Is. & Osir.*

“ of divine Knowledge, and Formers of Com-
 “ monwealths, to the Poets and Philosophers;
 “ and of so great Antiquity, that its first Au-
 “ thor could not be found; and that it was
 “ embraced as Truth by the Generality of the
 “ wisest Heathens.” The ^a *Greeks* called this
 evil and malicious Being ^a *Adης*, (*Hades*) as we
 are informed by this same Author; the *Egyptians*,
 from whom the others received their
 Idea of him, *Typhon*; the *Persians* and *Chaldæans*,
Abâriman; and from these last it appears,
 that he was created by God, tempted Men to
 all Kinds of Wickedness, and took the greatest
 Delight in opposing the divine Will. The
Chaldæans and *Persians* acknowledged *Angels*,
 both good and bad, as distinct from the Souls
 of Men. This is evident from ^b *Damascius*,
Plutarch, and *Shabristâni* in conjunction with
 the *Sad-der*, or *Compendium of the Doctrines of*
Zerdust, ^c which expressly mentions such *An-*
gels, the Good ones as guarding and protecting
 Men, the Bad ones as instigating and tempting
 them to all Kinds of Wickedness and Sin, and
 afterwards becoming the Instruments of their
 Punishment, agreeably to the Scripture Account
 of the *fallen Angels*. ---- And that the ^d last

^a *Diogenes Laertius* in Proëm. ad Vit. Philos. & *Plutarch*. This last Author, in the same place, calls the good Principle *Θεός* and the bad one *Δαίμων*.

^b *Damascius*, *Plutarch*, & *Shabristâni* apud *D. Hyde* in Hist. Rel. vêt. *Perf.* c. 22.

^c Lib. *Sad-der* apud *Dr. Hyde* Port. 1. 2. 5. 9. & alibi pas.

^d Lib. *Sad-der* Port. 1. 2.

Angels in particular, according to the *Persian* and *Chaldean* Doctrine, were distinct from the Souls of Men, is undeniable ; for *Zerduſht* makes all the wicked Souls to be thrown into Hell, or *Gebeviná*, from the Bridge *Tchinavar*, and to be there confined, in the strictest Manner, till the Day of Judgment ; ° whereas his evil *Angels* are left at liberty to rove about, to trouble and infest Mankind. ---- And that this was the Sentiment of the *Magi* in the earliest Times, long before the Age of *Zerduſht*, is plain from hence, that *Zerduſht* made no † Alterations in the doctrinal and fundamental Points of their Religion, but only abolished some superstitious Rites and Practices that had crept in amongst them ; and that they were never guilty of Idolatry, as the neighbouring Nations were, but constantly adhered to the Worship of the one only and true God, as they received it from their great Ancestors *Shem* and *Elam*, who must undoubtedly have been acquainted with the Fall of the *Angels* : So that we may fairly conclude, that the ‡ *Belzebub*, *Satan*, and *Samael* of the *Jews* ; the *Abáriman* of the *Chal-*

° Ibid. Part. 9. 16. & alibi pas. In short, according to Dr. Hyde, the antient *Persians* and People of the *East* had the same Notion of the *Devil* and his *Angels* that *Christians* have always had. See likewise *Stillingfleet's* Orig. Sacr. lib. iii. c. 3. and the *Cosmogony* in the *Univ. Hist.* vol. 1. p. 15, &c.

† Dr. Hyde in *Hist. Rel. vet. Pers.* See likewise the *Universal History*, vol. 2. p. 71. The Authors of which render this Point exceedingly clear.

‡ *Univ. Hist.* vol. 1. p. 51.

dæan and *Persians*; and the *Hades* of the *Greeks*, were one and the same Being, even the Leader, or Prince of the fallen *Angels*; and that these fallen *Angels* themselves were what the *Greeks* understood by their evil *Demons*. ^h *Theodorus* in *Photius* directly asserts, that *Abâriman* is the *Devil*, or *Satan*, and ⁱ *Dr. Hyde* clearly evinces the same thing. Again, that the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* likewise acknowledg'd such wicked inferior Beings, as well as *Typhon* their Chief, is plain from the genuine Remains of their great Lawgiver and Philosopher ^k *Hermes Trismegistus*, or *Thoyth*; who therein affirms, “ that “ *Demons* are the Enemies of Men, and vex “ them;” and he moreover, in the very Language of Scripture, calls them *evil Angels*; which Assertion is more fully illustrated and explain'd by *Casaubon*, *Stillingfleet*, and other learned Men. — Now that the *Greeks* borrowed both their first System of Religion and their Notions of intelligent Beings from the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* ^l, is allowed by their own Writers. Many more Arguments and Testimonies might be offered, to prove, that a Belief of *evil Demons*, distinct from the Souls of Men, prevailed amongst all polite Nations, from the re-

^b *Theodor.* apud *Phot* in. *Bibliothec.* p. 199.

ⁱ *Dr. Hyde.* in *Hist. Rel. vet. Pers.* c. 22.

^k *Hermes Trismegist.* apud *Lactant.* in lib. 2. de fals. Relig. *Hermes* here likewise calls the evil Principle abovemention'd the *Demonarch*, or Prince of *Demons*, which is likewise Scripturæ Language.

^l *Herodot.* in *Euterp.* *Diodor. Siculus* in *Bibl. Hist.* l. 1.

modest Times; but what has been already produced is, we conceive, abundantly sufficient to convince all reasonable and unprejudiced Minds. ^m *Philo*, indeed, tells us, that *Angels, Souls, and Demons* (both good and bad) were the same Beings; but this must be understood of their intelligent Nature and good or bad Dispositions, *i. e.* the Angels of the Holy Scripture, the *Demons* of the *Greeks*, and the *Souls of departed Men* agree in this, that they are immaterial intelligent Beings, some of them good and some bad; and agreeably to this *our blessed Saviour* declares, that ⁿ *after the Resurrection Men are as the Angels which are in Heaven.* --- And, that ^o *all who know the Scriptures and the Power of God* are satisfied of this Truth. *Philo*, I say, must be thus understood, otherwise he is inconsistent with himself; for in another Place ^p he observes, “ that there were many intellectual Powers (*i. e.* Angels) with God before the Creation of the World --- ^q that those Beings which the Scripture calls *Angels*, and Philosophers *Demons*, are the immediate Ministers of the Almighty, are as it were the Ears and Eyes of the great King, do vastly excel in Wisdom, Purity, and Excellency of Nature, those Spirits who were once invested with Body, inhabit much more noble and

^m *Phil. Jud. de Gigant.*

ⁿ *Mar. xii. 25.*

^o *Mar. xii. 24.*

^p *Phil. Jud. de Confus. Ling. p. 345. Lutet. Paris. 1640.*

^q *Phil. Jud. de Somn. p. 585, 586, &c.*

“ sublime Regions than they do ;” --- in short, he uses the Word $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ sometimes as synonymous to $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$, or $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\textcircled{\text{C}}$, i. e. *a Spirit, incorporeal Being, an immortal Substance, a rational Power, or Principle, &c.* And this Observation is sufficient to reconcile all the seeming Contradictions to be found in him on this Head. Besides, *Philo*, being a *Jew*, must have been very well acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old Testament ; and that these treat *Angels* as Beings different from, and superior to the Souls of Men, is universally allowed.

III. This last Signification of the Word $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\mu\omega\nu$ is what at present I must insist chiefly upon, *viz. a created intelligent Being superior to Man* ; (for ^t that *Hesiod's Demons* were made, or created, by the Gods, he plainly asserts) and ^t all such Beings as these were, from the remotest Antiquity, thrown into two different Classes. The one were reckon'd of a good and beneficent Nature, and Friends to Mankind ; the other the reverse --- Beings that (as we have above observed) were implacable, had an invincible Aversion to Men, and made it their Business to defeat them in all their good Pursuits ---- to influence and persuade them to what was *wrong*, and, in short, to draw them

^r *Phil. Jud. de Somn. p. 584, &c.*

^t *Hesiod. lib. 1. v. 110.*

^t *Plut. Dr. Hyde, Stillingfleet, Casaubon, &c. ubi supra.*

to Destruction. That the Notion of *evil Demons* (in this last Sense of the Word *Δαίμων*) was coeval with that of *good ones*, is evident from *Homer*, who is as early an Author as any, if not the first, amongst the *Greeks* that mentions either of them, and ^v who mentions both of them. To the *evil Demon* he joins the Epithets ^w *κακός*, ^x *συγερός*, and ^y *χαλεπός*, and even the Word ^z *Δαίμων* itself, without any of these, he uses in a bad Signification. ^a He more than intimates, that these *Demons* precipitate Men into bad, pernicious, and even fatal Actions: --- and that these Actions are not only *unfortunate* and *physically evil*, but likewise include ^b *moral Turpitude* in them, may be collected from *Pindar*, ^c who seems to allude to the Places of *Homer* here hinted at: --- Which Passage, because it is very remarkable, throws great Light upon the present Subject, and has not been taken notice of by any Writer engaged in the present Controversy concerning the Nature of *Demons* and their Operations upon Men, I shall produce at length with the *Scholiast's* Note upon it.

^v *Hom. Iliad.* Θ. 166. Ο. 403. P. 98, 104, &c.

^w *Od. ff.* K. 64.

^x *Od. ff.* E. 396.

^y *Od. ff.* T. 201.

^z Vid. *Hom. Iliad.* Θ. 166. & *Scholiast.* in loc.

^a In loc. jam laudat.

^b *Pind.* ΠΥΘ. Od. 3. & *Scholiast.* in loc.

^c Vid. *Erasm. Schmid. Delitian.* not. in *Pind.* ΠΥΘ. Od. 3. p. 118. Ed. Schurzer. 1616.

Δαίμων δ' ἕτερος, ἔς
κακὸν τρέψαις ἑδαμά-
σατό νιν.

Ὁ κακοποιὸς ὡς πρὸς
τὸν ἀγαθοποιὸν. Ὁ δὲ
νῆς, ὁ δὲ κακοποιὸς Δαί-
μων, εἰς τὴν τῆς μοιχείας
κακουργίαν τρέψας τὴν
Κορωνίδα, καὶ ἀναιρεθῆναι
αυτὴν κατεσκεύασε. Καλ-
λίμαχος δὲ Φήσιν, ὅτι πάν-
τες, ἀλλ' ἔς ἔσχεν ἕτερος
Δαίμων.

Dæmon vero alter, (malus
scil.) ad malum qui impulerat,
perdidit eam.

By the ἕτερος Δαίμων is to be
understood the *evil*, or *wicked*,
Demon, as being that which
opposes the *good one*. (Either
Coronis's own vitious Disposition,
or her evil *Demon* that
tempted her to commit the Sin
of Adultery, and was the Cause
of her Destruction.) *Callima-
chus* also uses this Expression,
*Not all, but such as were pos-
sessed by the evil Demon.*

Pindar lived about 470 Years before *Christ*,
near a Generation before *Herodotus*, and *Calli-
machus* about 270. Hence 'tis apparent, that
the Opinion of *evil Demons* prevailed amongst
the *Greeks* in very early Ages, and that they
took the Office of these *wicked Beings* to be
intirely of the same Nature with that assigned
to the *Devil and his Angels* in Scripture; and
consequently 'tis highly probable, that they
werè the same implacable and malicious *Be-
ings*.

But this will receive a farther Accession of
Strength if we consider, that the Δαίμων of the
Greeks (in the Sense of the Word at present
under Consideration) answered to the *Genius* of
the *Latins*; and therefore the ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων
(or the δεξιὸς Δαίμων as he is called by ^d *Calli-
machus*)

^d *Callimach.* Hymn. in *Cer.* l. 36.

machus)

ebus) of the Greeks was the *bonus Genius*. of the Latins, and the κακὸς Δαίμων (or ἕτερον Δαίμων, as *Pindar* and *Callimachus* stile him) of the former, the *malus Genius* of the latter. Many Authors concur to evince this Point. The Passage of *Pindar* above mentioned, with the *Scholiast's* Note, is full and express in favour of it; *Callimachus* adds his Testimony to support it; *Pindar*, in another Place, applies to the Word Δαίμων the Epithet ἡμέτερον, which answers to the Notion the Latins entertained of their *Genius*, viz. that he attended the Man he was allotted to, from his first Entrance into Life. *Menander*, as cited by *Plutarch*, says, ἀπαντι ἀνδρὶ Δαίμονα συμπαρασάτειν ἐν θυῖς ἡρομένῳ μυσάγων τῷ βίῃ; and *Empedocles*, as cited by the same Author, διτταί τινες ἡμῶν ἕκασον παραλαμβάνουσι καὶ καλάρχον) μοῖραι καὶ Δαίμονες — which intirely corresponds with what *Servius* has laid down concerning the *Genii*. — *Cum nascimur*, says he, *Genios duos sortimur; unus qui hortatur ad bona, alter qui depravat ad mala, nec incongruè dicuntur Genii, quod cum unusquisque genitus fuerit, ei statim observatores deputantur;* *Plautus* and *Plutarch* put it beyond all doubt, that the *Romans* had in very

* *Pind.* ubi supra, *Callimach.* fragm. *Bentleii* 91.
 † *Callimach.* ibid. & *Bentleii* not. in loc.
 ‡ *Pind.* ΟΛΥΜΠ. Od. 13. l. 148.
 § *Servius* in *Virg. Æn.* l. 6. † 743.
 † Conf. *Plut.* in *Bruto* cum *Plaut. Menæchm.* Act. 1. Sc. 2. l. 29. & *Frid. Taubm.* comment. in loc. Ed. *Schur.* 1621. p. 695.

early

early Times a Notion of *good* and *evil Genii*; the Author of *Onomasticon vetus Latino-Græcum* renders the *Latin* Word *Genius* by the *Greek* Δαίμων; and lastly, the *Platonic* Philosopher ^k *Apuleius* frequently translates the Word Δαίμων by *Genius*. Many other Testimonies and Arguments might be produced in favour of our Assertion, but the Truth of it is so apparent, that they are intirely superfluous.

But to come nearer the Point we have in View, the Word *Genius* cannot, with any tolerable Propriety, be deduced *a gignendo*, as ^l some of the Antients, particularly *Varro*, have fondly imagined: ---- this Etymology is too far fetch'd and unnatural, and 'tis well known that nothing can be more ridiculous than many of *Varro's* Derivations; --- 'tis, in all Probability, to be sought for in the *East*, as a great Part of the *Latin* Words are; especially those that the *Latins* ^m borrowed from the *Etruscans*. This will be clear, almost to Demonstration, when we consider, that the ⁿ *Arabic* *Gen*, or *Gen*, is taken for a Being of the same kind with the *Latin* *Genii*, Act. xii. 15. ---- that it signifies a *Demon*, in the Scripture Sense of the Word, ° *Isa.* xiii. 21. *Matt.* xvii. 15, &c. ---- and that the ^p *Æthiopic* *Genn* denotes a Spectre, or Ap-

^k *Apuleius* de Deo *Socrat.* & de Mundo.

^l *Varro*; *Festus*, *Censorin.* &c.

^m Vid. *Dissert. de Ling. Etrur. reg. vern. Oxon.* 1738.

ⁿ *Castel. Lex.*

° *Castel. Lex.* & *Schind. Lex. pent.*

^p Vid. *Bibl. Polyglot. in loc.*

partition, *Mar.* vi. 49. and the *Devil* himself, ὁ Διάβολος, 1 *Joh.* iii. 8, &c. In short, that *Gen* both in the *Arabic* and *Ethiopic* Languages, when used in a bad Sense, exactly answers both to the Δαίμονες, or Δαιμόνια, and Διάβολος of Scripture; from whence we may, with no small Appearance of Reason, infer, that these Words are all of the same Import; and that a *Demon*, or *Genius*, in the bad Acceptation of the Word, is a *Devil*, or *evil Spirit*, strictly and properly so called. But of this more hereafter.

Before I dismiss this Point, it may not be improper to observe, that *Herodotus*, the Father of History, uses the Word Δαίμων both in the first and last Significations we have taken notice of. Δαίμων equivalent to Θεός may be seen in his *Clio*, c. 87. and for a *tutelary inferior rational Being* (synonymous to ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, or *bonus Genius*) *ibid.* c. 86. Which last Passage I take to be very valuable; since the Office of a *good Demon*, or *Genius*, is there described, and exactly agrees with that assigned to *good Angels* in Scripture, *viz.* to guard and protect the righteous and religious Man from all impending Evils and Dangers; and since from hence we learn, with Certainty, that this Opinion did not only prevail amongst the *Greeks* when *Herodotus* wrote his History, (about 450 Years before the Commencement of the *Christian Æra*) but likewise amongst the *Persians*, when *Cyrus* conquered the Kingdom
of

of *Lydia* (near 560 Years before that Period, and even before the Time of *Zerduſht*) --- two Considerations of very great Moment in the present Enquiry. That *Herodotus* believ'd the Existence of *evil Demons*, or *Genii*, is likewise evident from the Word ^q *κακοδαιμονία*, which may be found in the usual Sense in his Writings.

What has been said of the Word *Δαίμων* is likewise to be understood of its synonymous Term ^r *Δαιμόνιον*; it may however be observ'd, that this last is most frequently used by the sacred Writers, as the other is by the profane. I might easily prove this by an Induction of Particulars, were it, in any manner, necessary; but as it is not, I shall only remark, that the Word *Δαιμόνιον* is properly an Adjective in the neuter Gender, and that according to the genius of the *Greek Language*, such Adjectives are very frequently equivalent to Substantives of the same Original.

From the Authorities produced it appears highly probable,

First, That the *Greek Authors* who preceded the Birth of *Christ* did not always understand by the Words *δαίμονες* and *Δαιμόνια*, *the Spirits*, or *Ghosts*, of departed Men, even when these Words were applied to finite Beings.

^q *Herodot.* in *Clio*, c. 87. & alibi.

^r Pro ipso Numine passim sumitur apud *Xenophontem*, *Demosth.* *Athen.* &c. — Item pro *Dæmone* bono & malo. Vid. *Steph.* *Theaur. Ling. Græc.*

Secondly, That when they were taken in a bad Sense, they were generally supposed to mean such Beings as the *apostate Angels* are represented to be in Scripture; since the Office and Disposition of the *apostate Angels* are attributed to these Beings. And

Thirdly, That the *Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Persians, Greeks, &c.* did all firmly believe the Existence of one particular evil Being, under whose Conduct and Direction were many others; and that, from what we find delivered by the most antient Writers of all these Nations, these^r evil Beings did, in Nature, Office and Disposition, agree with *the Devil and his Angels*, as the sacred Writers describe them.

IV. I shall now proceed to consider the Sense in which the Words *Δαίμονες* and *Δαιμόνια* are used in *the New Testament*; but before this can be done, it will be necessary to enquire into the true Import and Meaning of the Words *Σατανᾶς* and *Διάβολος*.

The first of these is of *Hebrew*, the second of *Greek* Extraction. *Σατανᾶς* is only the *Hebrew* שטן *Satan* with a *Greek* Termination; it signifies *Adversarius, Inimicus, Hostis, &c.* from the Verb שטן *Satan adversatus est, hostis fuit, impedivit, &c.* The inspired Writers of *the Old Testament* often understand by it *the*

^r Τὸ ὀφελιμώτατον, Θεός. Τὸ βλαβερώτατον, Δαίμων.
Plutarch. in *Symposiac.*

Devil, or *Chief of the fallen Angels*, that grand Enemy of Mankind. In this Sense it must certainly be taken, *Job* i. 6, 7, 8, 9, 12. *Zech.* iii. 1, 2, &c. where it is rendered by the *Septuagint* Διάβολος. And the Justness of this Version is confirmed by *St. Matthew*, who makes Σατανᾶς and Διάβολος to be the self-same Being, i. e. *the Chief of the fallen Angels*, ch. iv. 1, 5, 8, 10. ---- by *St. Mark*, ch. i. 13. ---- by *St. Luke*, ch. iv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8. ---- and lastly, by *St. John*, *the Author of the Apocalypse*, ch. xx. 2, &c. Let this suffice for an Explanation of the Word שטן *Satan*, or Σατανᾶς *Satanas*.

As for the Word Διάβολος, I remember not to have seen it in any *Greek* Author before the Birth of *Christ*, except the *Septuagint*, who, as I have just observed, use it to denote the same implacable and malicious Being that the *Hebrews* understand by the Word שטן *Satan* above mentioned; and so do the Writers of the *New Testament*, as has been clearly proved. The Word Διέβολη, indeed, is to be found as equivalent, in Signification to the *Latin Calumnia*, *Criminatio*, *Obtrectatio*, &c. in various Authors, preceding (not only the *Christian Æra*, but even) the Age of the *Septuagint* themselves, particularly *Herodotus*, *Plato*, &c. And that even the Word Διάβολος itself was known to the antient *Greeks* is evident from *Plautus*,

† *Herodot.* in *Polymn.* *Plat.* in *Apol.* &c.

‡ *Plaut.* *Aginar.* Act. 3. Sc. 3.

who uses it as a proper Name in a Scene where all the proper Names are *Greek*, as this manifestly is; as likewise from the Superlative *διαβλώτατα* in *w Aristophanes*, and the Adverb *διαβίως* in *x Thucydides*, both apparently Derivatives from *Διάβολος*, and agreeing in Signification with *διαβολή* above mentioned: ---- and that *Διάβολος* in *the New Testament*, is deduced from the Verb *διαβάλλω* *calumnior, obtrektor, criminor, &c.* plainly appears from *Rev. xii. 9, 10.* where the Office of this Author of Evil is described, and the true Reason of his Name *Διάβολος* assign'd. *y Athenæus* likewise gives us to understand, that this Word was not unknown to Pagan Writers in the Sense wherein 'tis applied to the *Prince of fallen Angels* in Scripture, when he says "many of *Plato's* Followers were *τυραννικοὶ καὶ διάβολοι, ingenio tyrannico & calumniatores.*" The Verb *διαβάλλω* sometimes answers to the *Latin invidiam conflo, odiosum, inimicum, &c. reddo*; and if we suppose *Διάβολος*, as applied to the grand Adversary and Envier of the Happiness of Mankind, to flow from this Signification of the said Verb, it will not only agree with the known Nature and Disposition of this wicked Being, but will likewise very well correspond with the *Hebrew Word שָׂטָן Satan.* The

w Aristoph. in Equit.

x Thucyd. p. 202.

y Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. 11. sub finem.

z Steph. Thesaur. Ling. Græc.

Word therefore Διάβολος is expressive of so many wicked Offices and Qualities of the *Devil*, that a more apposite Name in the *Greek* Language could not have been given him.

Having thus considered the true Import and Meaning of the Words Σάτανᾶς and Διάβολος in the *New Testament*, it will not be difficult to determine the proper and undoubted Signification of the Words Δαίμων and Δαιμόνιον in that sacred Book, particularly *the Gospels*; and this, of course, will enable us to form a right Judgment of those Persons therein said to have been *Demoniacks*, or Persons possessed with *Demons*, and of the Distempers they were afflicted with, as well as the Causes of those Distempers. For, if we can demonstrate, that *Satan* himself is a *Demon*, and the Prince of *Demons*; that to cast out *Demons* is to cast out *Satan*; that for *Satan* to cast out *Demons* is for him to cast out himself; that to cast out *Demons* by *Belzebub* the Prince of *Demons* is to cast out *Demons* by *Satan*, &c. I say, if all this can be demonstrated, it will, it must appear, that *Belzebub* is a *Demon*, (which is allowed by all Parties engaged in the present Controversy concerning the meaning of *Demoniacks* in the *New Testament*) and at the same time *Satan*, or the *Devil*; that this *Belzebub* who is *Satan*, or the *Devil*, is not to be distinguished in any other manner from the other *Demons* than as a Prince, or Chief, from those who act under his Command; that therefore

Demons

Demons are exactly of the same Nature and Complexion and Disposition with *Satan*, or the *Devil*, who is their Prince; and in short, that the *Demons* of the *New Testament* are *Devils* strictly and properly so called. Now that all this is true, may, in the strongest Manner, and with the strictest Justice, be *inferred* from the following Passages of the *Evangelists*.

Then was brought unto Him one possessed with a Demon, blind and dumb: and He healed him, insomuch that the Blind and Dumb both spake and saw.

And all the People were amazed, and said, Is not this the Son of David?

But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This Fellow doth not cast out Demons, but by Belzebub the Prince of the Demons.

And JESUS knew their Thoughts, and said unto them, Every Kingdom divided against itself is brought to Desolation, and every City or House divided against itself shall not stand.

And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself; how shall then his Kingdom stand?

And if I by Belzebub cast out Demons, by whom do your Children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your Judges.

But if I cast out Demons by the Spirit of GOD, then the Kingdom of God is come unto you.

Or else how can one enter into a strong Man's House, and spoil his Goods, except he first bind the strong Man? and then he will spoil his House.

He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad.

Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of Sin and Blasphemy shall be forgiven unto Men; but the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto Men.

And whosoever speaketh a Word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, neither in the World to come^a. Again,

And He was casting out a Demon, and it was dumb. And it came to pass, when the Demon was gone out, the Dumb spake: and the People wondered.

But some of them said, He casteth out Demons through Belzebub the Chief of the Demons.

And others tempting him, sought of him a Sign from Heaven.

But he knowing their Thoughts, said unto them, Every Kingdom divided against itself is brought to Desolation: and a House divided against a House, falleth.

If Satan also be divided against himself, how shall his Kingdom stand? BECAUSE YE SAY, THAT I CAST OUT DEMONS THROUGH BELZEBUB.

And if I by Belzebub cast out Demons, by whom do your Sons cast them out? Therefore shall they be your Judges.

^a Matt. xii. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.

But if I with the Finger of God cast out Demons, no doubt the Kingdom of God is come upon you.

When a strong Man armed keepeth his Palace, his Goods are in Peace.

But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his Armour wherein he trusted; and divideth his Spoils.

He that is not with me, is against me: and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth.

When THE UNCLEAN SPIRIT is gone out of a Man, he walketh through dry Places; seeking Rest: and finding none, he saith, I will return unto my House whence I came out.

And when he cometh, he findeth it swept and garnished.

Then goeth he, and taketh to him seven other SPIRITS more WICKED than himself, and they enter in, and dwell there: and the last State of that Man is worse than the first^b.

Is it possible for the greatest *Sceptic*, after reading these Passages, to deny, that the *Power* here opposed to the *divine Power*, is the *Power of Satan*, i. e. *Diabolical Power*, --- that the *Jews* here attributed the *Miracles* which our blessed Saviour wrought by the *Divine Power*, to *Diabolical Power*; and that 'twas this *Circumstance* which rendered their *Sin* so exceed-

^b *Luk.* xi. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. See *Mar.* iii. 22—31, which is a parallel Place.

ingly heinous and malignant, as he intimates it to be in His Reply to them, --- that *Belzebug*, *Satan*, and *the Devil*, are different Names of the same Being, ---- that this Being is a *Demon*, and differs from the other *Demons* only as a Ruler, or Governor, from those over whom he presides, ---- that the *Demons* of the *New Testament* are *unclean Spirits*^c, *wicked Spirits*, &c. ---- In short, that they are *apostate Angels*, or *Devils*, strictly and properly so called.

To these most clear, evident, and remarkable Texts may be added another as apposite and full to our present Purpose as any of those hitherto produced; *And ought not this Woman, being a Daughter of Abraham,*^d *whom Satan hath bound, lo these eighteen Years, be loosed from this Bond on the Sabbath Day.* Here it must be observed, that *our blessed Saviour Himself* ascribes this chronical Disorder, not to a *Nothing*, a *fictitious Being*, an *imaginary Ghost that had no Existence*, nor even to a *natural Cause*, but to *the Devil himself*; and as He most certainly asserted what was true, so He undoubtedly delivered here the real Opinion of the *Jews*, who attributed a Variety of Diseases to the Influence of evil Beings, which in many other Places of the *New Testament* are called *Demons*, but here *Satan*, or *the Devil*; so that this Passage may be looked upon as an

^c See *Mar.* iii. 29. and *Luk.* viii. 2. where *Demons* are expressly called *unclean* and *wicked Spirits*.

^d *Luk.* xiii. 16.

additional Proof, that, according to the Sentiments of *our blessed Saviour*, and *the Jewish Nation*, and in truth and reality, *Demons, Devils, fallen, or apostate, Angels, &c.* were the same Beings. And that these *Demons*, these accursed Spirits of the same Nature with that grand Rebel, by way of Eminence called *the Devil* (and under his Command) were his Angels, *i. e.* those Spirits that fell from Heaven with him (and not the departed Souls of wicked Men) is farther confirmed by our blessed Saviour, who makes an evident Distinction betwixt these Beings, when He declares, that at the last Day the Son of Man shall say to the Wicked on the Left Hand, *Depart from me, ye Cursed, into everlasting Fire, prepared* (not originally for you who were Men, and designed for a better Place, but) *for the Devil and his Angels.* This, in conjunction with the Texts above cited, seems beyond Contradiction, to imply, that *the Demoniacks* mentioned in the *New Testament* were really and actually possessed with *Devils, or fallen Angels*, ---- and that this was well known to our *blessed Saviour*, and firmly believed by the *Evangelists*, and even acknowledged by the *Jews* themselves.

From what has been advanced under this last Head, are naturally deducible the following Observations.

1. The antient *Greek* Authors who preceded

^c *Matt.* xxv. 41.

the Birth of *Christ*, seem to have annexed the same Idea to the Word Δαίμων, or Δαιμόνιον, when taken in a bad Sense, as the *Evangelists* did in *the New Testament*.

2. If it could be proved, that two different Ideas were annexed to this Word by sacred and profane Authors; yet this would not affect the present Controversy concerning the Meaning of *Demoniacks* in *the New Testament*, which must be determined by the true Sense and Meaning of the Word Δαίμων, or Δαιμόνιον, in the *Evangelists*.

3. In the *Evangelists* the Word Δαίμων, or Δαιμόνιον, always denotes an intelligent Being of a most malignant, noxious, and accursed Nature.

4. The *Devil himself* is here placed at the Head of these Beings; they are here represented to be intirely of his Nature and Disposition, to have in common with him the Name Δαίμων, or Δαιμόνιον, to act in subserviency to him; and such Beings as these are moreover in Scripture called his *Angels*, i. e. *fallen Angels*. The *Demons* therefore of *the New Testament* are *fallen Angels*.

5. Though we could not demonstratively prove (as we have done) that the *Demons* of the *New Testament* were *fallen Angels*; yet, as they are Beings that really exist, as they are *wicked* and *unclean Spirits*, as they are of the same Nature with the *Devil himself*, and the other *fallen Angels*, and lastly, as they act under

his Command and Direction as the *fallen Angels* do, they would be to all Intents and Purposes, with regard to the Letter of the *New Testament*, the same as if they had been *fallen Angels*.

6. Those unfortunate Wretches who are called *Demoniacs* by the *Evangelists* were really and truly possessed by these accursed Spirits, who brought upon them those Diseases which in *the Gospels* they are said to have been afflicted with. And therefore

7. The learned and ingenious Author of two late *Enquiries into the Meaning of Demoniacks in the New Testament* determines with too much Precipitation, when he condemns St. *Austin* for observing, “ that wheresoever the “ Name of *Demons* occurs in the *New Testament*, nothing but evil Spirits are meant,---- when he asserts, that $\Delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and $\Delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\omicron\nu$ denote different Things, ---- that the sacred Writers make a Difference betwixt *Demons* and *evil Spirits*, ---- that *Belzebub* and all other *Demons*, are *Ghosts*, *Vanities*, *Nothings*, &c.---- In short, when he denies that *Demons* had any Power over the Bodies of Men, and that any bodily Disorders were caused by their Influence.

I have not Time at present to enquire into the Nature and Extent of that Power which God has granted these mischievous Beings over Mankind, nor to consider those Operations upon Men attributed to them both in the *Old*
and

and *New Testament*; and which, I am persuaded, upon Examination, will be found to be as consonant to right Reason, true Philosophy, and the general Sense of Mankind in all Ages, as they are to Scripture: These therefore may possibly be the Subject of some future Letter from,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

*Wadham College, Oxford,
October 10. 1738.*

PHILALETHES,



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A N

ENQUIRY

Into the MEANING of

DEMONIACKS

IN THE

New Testament.

Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν δαιμόνια.

Pfalm xciv. 5.

By T.P.A.P.O.A.B.I.T.C.O.S.

Arthur Ashley Sykes

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A. S.

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R E A D E R.

THE Design of the following Enquiry is to clear up a Difficulty which naturally arises in most Men's Minds, upon reading the Cures done by our Saviour upon Persons that were *possessed by Devils*. There are but few thinking People, I imagine, who do not *experience* in themselves, what the *pious and profoundly learned Mr. Joseph Mede* declares that he had *experienced*—to *marvel how these Demoniacks should so abound in and about that Nation which was the People of God, (whereas in other Nations and their Writings we hear of no such,) and that too, as it should seem, about the Time of our Saviour's being on Earth only, because in the Time before we find no mention of them in Scripture. The Wonder is yet the greater,—not to have been accounted then by the People of the Jews any strange or extraordinary Thing, but as a Matter usual. Vid. Mr. Mede's Discourse on John x. 20.* The true Solution of this Difficulty is attempted to be shewn in the following Papers.

Whether the Reasons usually assigned by Men of Learning will prove, that Persons were strictly and properly *possessed with the Devil*, viz. “That Devils *spake* out of the possessed Persons; “ that they were *sent* out of them, and they *entered* “ into the Herd of *Swine*; that *personal* Actions “ as well as Speeches are ascribed to them, which “ can never be ascribed to meer Phrensy and “ Madnes, &c.” must be left to the Judgment of the Reader. If he is desirous of seeing that Side

To the READER.

Side of the Question set in the strongest Light, I know of none that has treated it with greater Accuracy, than Dr. *Whitby*, in his *General Prefaces* to his *Annotations*. Vid. Vol. I. p. xviii. and Vol. II. p. xxvi—xxxii.

Whether the Solution which I maintain, or that of Others, be judged to be true, the Cause of Christ is not affected. For in both Cases a real Miracle is done; the Person affected is cured; and the Evidence arising from Miracle for the Truth of Christianity, is equally strong. The Miracle is the same, if the Person be cured, whatever is the Cause of his Distemper, whether it proceeds from *unclean Spirits*, and their Operations upon Human Bodies; or from any Defect, or from any præternatural and extraordinary Motions in them.

My present Design carries me no further than to consider the Cases of *Demoniacks* in the New Testament, and to produce such Authorities as were necessary to make them understood. Perhaps I may proceed to explain what the *First Christians* meant by their *Demoniacks*; and then I shall distinctly consider what *Justin, Origen, Theophilus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Minutius Felix, Lactantius*, &c. have said upon this Subject. And it is for this Reason that I have said nothing here about the Expulsion of Demons from *Altars*, or of the *Confessions made by them*, when exorcised by Christians; This being the proper Subject of a distinct Enquiry into the Meaning of *Demoniacks* in the first Ages after Christ.

A N

ENQUIRY

Into the MEANING of

DEMONIACKS

I N T H E

New Testament.

THERE is not any one Instance of Miracle in the New Testament, which more excites the Curiosity of People, than the Cure of those who were possessed by Devils. Every one is apt to enquire — What these Possessions were? How comes it to pass that we read of so many Persons, *just at that particular Time*, under the Power of Devils? Whence is it, that we seem so rarely to meet with Accounts of the same Disorders amongst Men, either *before* or *after* the Times of Jesus Christ? Whence was it that God permitted

so much Power to such unclean Spirits, who delight in doing Mischief? These are reasonable Enquiries, and deserve a serious Answer; and therefore I shall attempt impartially to consider them.

In order to this, it will be necessary to observe

First, That the general Notion of *Demons* amongst the ancient *Greeks*, was not the Notion which Christians have usually now adays to the Word *Devils*; but They meant by it in general, the *Souls of departed Men*. *Hesiod* tells us, that in the “Golden Age, when “*Saturn* reigned in Heaven, Men lived like “Gods, free from Evils, and died just as if “they had fallen asleep: These were made “**DEMONS**, *Good Beings*, the Guards of “mortal Men; They observe the Good and “Evil done here; and cloathed with Air, “they are every where on Earth, number- “less,” &c. These were *Good Beings*, and the Authors of *Good* to Mankind. The *Souls*

² Χρύσειον μὲν πρῶτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων

Ἄθανάτοι ποίησαν

Οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνῳ ἦσαν ὅτ' ἕραντο ἐμδασίλευεν

When this Race died,

Τοὶ μὲν Δαίμονες εἰσι, Δίος μεγάλα δῆξι βελάς,

Ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων

Οἱ γὰρ φυλάσσειν τε δίκας καὶ χέτλια ἔργα,

Ἦερα ἐσάμβροι, πάντα φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἴαν.

Again,

Τρεῖς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πελυεστέρη

Ἄθανάτοι Ζηνός, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων

Ὅσα φυλάσσειν, &c.

Hesiod. Oper. 1.

of these Men, after they were removed from this earthly Life, were made the Inspectors of Human Affairs, and as they *dispensed* good Things to Men, they were called *Demons*. Other Writers have made *Demons* the Dispensers of ^b *evil* Things as well as good; the Plagues and *Terrors* of Mankind, and the Authors of much Evil to them.

Secondly, *Homer* makes *Minerva*, after she had advised *Achilles* to lay aside his Anger against *Agamemnon*,—He makes *Minerva*, I say, retire to Heaven to the Palace of *Jupiter* ^c to the other *Demons*, or *Gods*. And who they were is plain, viz. *Apollo*, *Vulcan*, &c. The *Scholiast* says, that ^d he calls the *Gods*, *Demons*, either as *knowing all Things*, or *distributing all Things* [both good and bad] to *Men*; and he likewise observes, that *Hesiod* calls those *Demons* (as *Proclus* likewise ^e had observed) τὰς ἐκ τῆς ζῆν μεταστάντας, *Such as are removed from this Life*.

^b Παρὰ τὸ δαῖναι τὰ πάντα, ἢ μερίζειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ταῖς ἀνθρώποις. *Proclus* in *Hesiod*. οὐ παρὰ τὸ δαίμονας εἶναι—ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ δειμαίνειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκφοβεῖν, δαίμονας τινὰς προσφῶς ὀνομαζέσθαι. *Euseb. Præ. Ev. l. 3. c. 5.*

^c Δάματα ἐς ἀνιόχοιο Διὸς, μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλας.

Iliad. I. v. 222.

Ipsi putatis eos esse Deos quos nos dæmonas scimus.

Tertul. ad Scapul.

^d Δαίμονας καλεῖ τὰς Θεάς, ἤτοι δαίμονας· ἔμπειροι γὰρ καὶ ἰδριεῖ πάντων αὐτοὶ εἰσιν, ἢ ὅτι Δραστηταὶ εἰσι καὶ διοικηταί, τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

^e *Proclus* his Words are, Τοὺς μεθισταμένους τῆς ζῆν, ὄντας δὲ φύλακας τῶν εἰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δαίμονας καλεῖ.

Thirdly, Though *Hesiod* reckoned his *Demons* to be such only as lived on Earth in the *Golden Age*, in *Saturn's Time*, yet *Minerva*, *Apollo*, *Vulcan*, &c. were reckoned likewise *Demons* by *Homer*, though they were born somewhat later. For *Apollo* was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Latona*, and therefore two Generations later than *Saturn*. *Vulcan* was *Jupiter's* Son by *Juno*. *Minerva* was the Daughter, some say, of *Jupiter*; Others of *Neptune*. *Mars* was the Son of *Jupiter*: and *Hebe* his Daughter. And thus we may trace the Origin of others who are called *Demons*.

Fourthly, This Notion of *Demons*, that they were the *Souls* of such as once had lived upon Earth, is so universally allowed by Jews and Christians as well as by Heathens, that scarce will any one dispute it. *Justin Martyr* says ^f *The Gods of the Heathen are Demons*: and more expressly still he calls them ^g *The Souls of the deceased*. And defining what he meant by *Demoniacks*, he says, ^h *They, who are seized by the Souls of deceased Persons, are such as all Men agree in calling Demon-*

^f Δαιμόνια ἔστιν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἕθνων. Justin Mar. c. Tryph. p. 310.

^g Ψυχὰὶ ἀποθανόντων. Apol. 2.

^h Οἱ ψυχῶν ἀποθανόντων λαμβανόμενοι, καὶ ριπτεύμενοι, ἔς δαιμονιογέντας ——— καλεῖσσι πάντες. Ibid.

acks. *Josephus* calls them ⁱ *the Souls of wicked Men.*

We find it thus a common Notion that *Demons*, and the *Souls* of departed Men, were imagined to be the same: But whether they had any *Powers* committed to them over Mankind, notwithstanding it is so frequently *asserted*, yet I do not find it any where satisfactorily proved: Nor do I think that any one could *prove*, that *Jupiter*, or *Apollo*, or *Neptune*, or any of the *Good Men* of the Golden Age, after they were departed this Life, (and much less *wicked Men*,) had any strict and proper *Powers* over the Race of Mankind. It is one Thing to *assert* such a Notion; it is another to make it good: and they that attempt it, must prove with Certainty, that the Heathen Gods and Goddeses, *Neptune*, *Hecate*, *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. were the real Authors of such Actions as were imputed to them.

However, Whether *Demons* were the *Souls* of Good or Bad Men, or whether it can or cannot be *proved* that they had Power over Mankind, yet

Fifthly, The Notion generally, if not universally, prevailed, that those who were called *Gods* and *Demons*, were the Authors

ⁱ Δαιμόνια, ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα. *Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. 7. c. 23.*

and true Causes of extraordinary Distempers amongst Mankind. Thus *Homer*, in a very remarkable Manner imputes to a *Demon*, the Case of a Man who lay ^k *under a Distemper, in great Pain, for a long while wasting; a hateful Demon having entered him.* And it was ^l *Apollo* that sent the Plague upon the *Grecian Army*. And hence *Celsus* very justly observes, that ^m *in those Times they attributed Diseases to the Anger of the immortal Gods, and were wont to desire their Assistance to cure them.* It must be observed in the

Last Place, That when any *particular Distemper* had *extraordinary* and out of the way Symptoms attending it; such as violent Distortions, or Agitations, or such Sort of Affections as they could not account for,—— They imputed such Diseases directly to their *Demons*. *E. g.* The *Epilepsy*, or *Falling Sickness*, (which *Æsculapius* says, was conceived just betwixt the Time of the *Old and New Moon*, as *Serenus Samonicus* tells us,

* ————— Ἐν νόσῳ κείται κρατερὸν ἄλγεα πάσχω
Δηρὸν τηκόμην, συγέρως δὲ οἱ ἔχραε δαίμων. Odyss. E.

l ————— Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Ἐξετ' ἔπειτ ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, μὲν δ' ἰὸν ἔηκε
Ἵουρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπάκετο, καὶ κύναις ἀργαῖς
Ἄυτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἔχεπευκὲς ἐφίεις
Βαλλ', αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκρῶν καίοντο θαρμεαίαι. Iliad. A.

■ Morbos tum ad iram deorum immortalium relatos esse, et ab iisdem opem posci solitam. *Celsus Præf.*

Ipse Deus memorat dubiæ per tempora Lunæ
Conceptum)

The *Epilepsy*, I say, was looked upon as a *Sacred Disease*, and was supposed to have its Origin immediately from some or other of the *Gods*, according as its Symptoms were stronger, or less so; and thence it was called *Lues deifica*, and *Morbus sacer*.

Hippocrates has treated at large of this Disorder, and has endeavoured to shew, that there was nothing in it that ⁿ peculiarly implied that any divine Being was the Cause of it; or that there was any Thing else in it but what was natural to Man. In the Introduction to the Treatise upon this Disease, he tells us what it was that induced him to write upon this Subject: viz. That there were a Pack of *Empiricks and Quacks and strolling Fellows*, who pretended to have a more than ordinary Regard for the Gods, and who, covering their own Ignorance with the Veil of Deity, declared this Disease to proceed from That as the Cause; and therefore pretended to make use of Expiations, Charms, and magick Tricks to cure it. The divine Old man could not bear the Thought of such Cheats and Impostors;

ⁿ Ὡς μὴκέτι τὸ θεῖον αἰτίον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Hippoc. de Morbo sacro.

and therefore wrote his Book to shew, that really and in the Truth of Things, Their *Notions and Practice was impious and wicked, however specious it might seem, or full of Honour to the Gods: nay, though they pretended so much Piety and Regard for them, yet their very Piety was Wickedness, and even Atheism.* He then proceeds to shew that This was a mere natural Disorder, and to be resolved into the natural Course of Things, as other Distempers were; and that it ought by no means to be imputed to any Gods, or Goddesses, or Heroes.

Those artful Cheats, who made such Pretences purely to get a Livelyhood, ascribed to some God or other this Distemper, according as the Symptoms were. *If, say they, the disordered Persons imitate a Goat, if they grind their Teeth, if their right Sides are convulsed, then The Mother of the Gods is the Cause of the Disorder. If the Patient speaks*

◦ Ἐμοιγε ἔπερι εὐσεβείας δοκέσσι λόγους ποιεέσθαι, ὡς εἰόνται, ἀλλὰ περὶ δυσσεβείας μᾶλλον, καὶ ὡς οἱ θεοὶ ἴσασιν εἰσὶ. Τὸ τε εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεῖον αὐτῶν, ἀσεβὲς καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔστιν. Ibid.

Ρ Αἶγα μιμῶνται, καὶ ἢν βρύχων), καὶ ἢν τὰ δεξιὰ σπᾶν), Μητῆρα θεῶν φασὶ αἰτιὴν εἶναι ἢν δὲ ὀξύτερον, καὶ ἔυτονώτερον φθέγγηται, ἰππῶν εἰκάζουσι. καὶ φασὶ Περσεῖδᾶνα αἰτιὴν εἶναι. ἢν δὲ καὶ τῆς κόπρου τὴ παρρη, ὃ πολλὰκις τισὶ γίνε) ὑπὸ τῆς νόσος βιαζομφοισιν, Ἐποδὶς πρόσκει) ἢ προσωνομίη ἢν δὲ λεπτότερον καὶ πυκνότερον οἶον ἄρνιθες, Ἀπόλλων Νόμι. ἢν δὲ ἄφρον ἐκ τῆ σῶματος ἀφίη, καὶ τοῖσι ποσὶ λακτίζη, Ἄρης τὴν αἰτιὴν ἔχει. Ὀκόσα δὲ δειμάτα νυκτὸς παρίστα), καὶ φόβοι, καὶ παράνοιοι, καὶ ἀναπληθῆσεις ἐκ τῆς κλίνης, καὶ φόβητρα, καὶ φεῦχεις ἔξω. Ἐκάτης φασὶ εἶναι ἐπιπελάς, καὶ Ἡρώων ἐφόδης. Ibid.

sharper and stronger than ordinary, they compare him to a Horse, and say that Neptune is the Cause. If he does not retain his Excrements, which often happens to those who are violently affected with this Disease, they derive this Cause from Hecate Enodia. If the Party speaks shrilly and quick, as Birds, then Apollo Nomius is the Cause: If he foams at his Mouth, and kicks with his Feet, Mars is the Cause. And indeed, wherever there is excessive Dread and Fear of Night, and People are beside themselves, and jump out of Bed, and are vehemently terrified, and are for running out of Doors, they say these are Snares which Hecate lays for them, and that the Heroes have taken Possession of them.

But though *Hippocrates* speaks with great Indignation against these Fellows, who made use of Charms and juggling Tricks to impose on People, and to drive out these Demons, I find *Aretæus* speaks more mildly. ⁹ Some think, says he, that this Disease comes upon those who are Sinners against The Moon, and therefore they call it The Sacred Disease. Others think, that it has its Name from other Pretences; either the Greatness of the Evil, for whatever is great, is called Sacred; or else

⁹ Δοκέει γὰρ τοῖσι ἐς τὴν σελήνην ἀλιτροῦσι ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἢ νοσῶ. τὸ νέκεν ἱερὸν κικλήσκουσι τὴν πάθην. Ἄταρ καὶ δι' ἄλλας προφασίας ἢ μέγεθος τῆς κακῆς, ἱερὸν γὰρ τὸ μέγα ἢ ἰσχυρὸν ὡς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ θεῶν. ἢ Δαίμωνος ὁμοίως ἐς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰσὶδῶ. *Aretæus.*

because it cannot be cured by Man, but by some divine Power ; or else, because it is believed that some Demon has taken Possession of the Man.

Now, If the *Mother of the Gods*, if *Neptune*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Hecate*, and the *Heroes*, were *Demons*, in the Sense of the Antients ; *i. e.* Souls of departed Men ; if the pretended Authors of the Epilepsy were Persons who once had lived upon Earth, and whom the Heathen World had foolishly or ignorantly ^r *Deified* ; if *Aretæus's* saying that the Epilepsy was called *Sacred* by some, from a Supposition that a *Demon* had entered, and taken Possession of, the diseased Person——If this be a good Comment to explain *Hippocrates*, ——We have a plain Reason why *Epileptic* Persons should be called *Demoniacks*. For if the ^r *Souls of departed Men* were usually called *Demons*, and by that Word was meant, Such Beings as were no more ^t *mortal*, ^u *being translated out of this Life* ; and if Distempers were conceived to spring from *These* Beings, ——then the Persons who had such Diseases, might very properly derive a Name from the supposed *Cause* of them, and be stiled *Demo-*

^r Δαιμόνια εἰσι οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνων. Just. Mart. c. Trypho. p. 310.

^r Ψυχὰὶ ἀποθανόντων. Just. Mart. Apol. 2. Τὰ κακῆμμερα δαιμόνια ποτηρῶν εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα. Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. 7. c. 23.

^t Ἔσσαι ἀθανατός, θεὸς ἀμφοτέρω, οὐκ ἔτι θνητός. Pyth. Aurea Carm.

^u Μεθυσάμενοι ἔζην. Proclus in Hesiod.

niacks. We shall meet with Instances hereafter, of Persons who were thus named from the supposed *Cause* of their Distempers.

It is not the Design of this Enquiry, to enter into an Examination, whether the Souls of departed Men (be they good or bad) have any *real* Power to inflict Diseases upon us; or whether they are *in Fact* appointed as Guards to us; or whether they can do us either good or evil Offices. My Business is only to consider what the Notions of the Antients were: and it plainly appears that they imagined (but never *proved*,) these *Demons* to be invisible Beings, endued with spiritual Powers, and living in the Air, and attending constantly upon particular Persons, and doing them much Good or Evil. ^w *They inflict, says Tertullian, upon Men's Bodies, Diseases; and are the peculiar Authors of some Sorts of very grievous Mischances; but as to the Soul, they are the Authors of Men's going suddenly and extraordinarily besides themselves. The Subtlety and Fineness of their Make enables them to enter into both the Body and Soul of Men. By Means of their being Spirits, they*

^w Corporibus quidem et valetudines infligunt, et aliquos casus acerbos; animæ vero repentinos et extraordinarios per vim excessus. Suppetit illis ad utramque Substantiam hominis adeundam subtilitas et tenuitas sua. Multum spiritualibus viribus licet ut invisibiles et insensibiles in effectu potius quam in actu suo appareant. *Tertul. Apolog. c. 22.*

have great Powers, so that they can act, though they are invisible and incapable of being felt; and you must judge by the Effect upon Men, rather than by their Act, which is insensible.

Having now a clear Account of what was meant by *Demons*, We may advance a Step further in our Enquiry; and if it appears to be impossible to be proved, that *Neptune*, or *Mars*, or *Hecate*, &c. have such Powers as were usually imputed to them; or if it can be proved, that many of the Heathen *Deities* to whom Distempers were attributed, were nothing but mere *imaginary* Beings, who never did in Fact exist at all; then it follows, that in the former Case, no Evidence can be given, that those Demons to whom a Disease was imputed were really the Cause of it; and in the latter Case, that that Being to whom the Distemper was attributed, was absolutely not the Cause. In both Cases, a mere *Hypothesis* is maintained; and therefore if we meet with any Distemper imputed to Demons, or to the Gods, among the Antients, we have nothing to do but to examine what such Distemper is, what the Symptoms of it were, and how the Persons under it were affected; since we know that whatever was the Cause, it was but an Hypothesis that *Demons* were the Cause of it. And if we find that there is nothing in it but what may be the Effect of mere natural Disorder in an human

man Body, it is absurd to introduce * a Deity into the Affair. Thus, *e. g.*

The *Epilepsy* was imputed, as is evident from the Citation from *Hippocrates*, to *Ceres*, or *Apollo*, or *Mars*, or *Neptune*, or *Hecate*, &c. *Hippocrates* does not indeed attempt to prove that there were *no such Beings* as these; but he shews very judiciously, that in that Distemper, there was nothing but what might arise from *natural Causes*, without the Interposition of the Gods. And so if any one were now to confute the Notion of the God *Apollo's* causing the *Epilepsy*, he would shew with Ease, that *Apollo* was no God; that his pretended Power was what could not be proved; and consequently that He, who could not be proved to have Power, could not be proved to be the *Cause* of such or such Disorders. For though any one should contend that the Soul of *Apollo*, &c. *did exist* after his Death, yet it will not follow, that He had any *Power* over Mankind, or that He was the Cause of any Disorder upon Earth. Call therefore the *Epilepsy* the *Sacred Disease*, or the *Lues deifica*; yet these *Names* imply no more than the Hypothesis by which some attempted to account for the Disorder, and not the true and

* Ὡς μὴ ἐστὶ τὸ θεῖον αἰτίον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, Hippocrates de Morbo sacro.

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus. *Horat.*

proper Cause of it, which was no more than τὶ ἀνθρώπινον, something that was the Effect of mere natural Disorder in human Bodies, as *Hippocrates* has shewn.

If from the *Greeks* we turn to the *Romans*, we shall find that They too imputed to certain *Spirits* certain Disorders. But then the *Names* of such Disorders only implied their Philosophy, or Hypothesis; not the true Causes of the Distempers meant by those *Names*. e. g. Their *Cerriti* and *Larvati* had certain Disorders which they supposed to come from *Ceres*, or their *Lares*, or *Larvæ*. But yet if *Ceres* could not be proved to be the Cause; or if there be no *Larvæ*; or if there be, yet that they have no Power, or cannot be proved to have any; we may be sure that the *Name* implied no more than their Hypothesis, and not the true Cause of the Distemper.

But since it was customary to impute certain Distempers to the *Gods* or *Demons*, it will be worth while to examine what particular *Diseases* these were; because it is possible that hence we may gain some Light to the Subject we are enquiring into. The *Epilepsy*, as we have seen, was one Case which was deemed to owe its Rise to Them. The Accounts we have of the *Cerriti* and *Larvati* will likewise help us to another Sort of Disease, where the *Gods* were deemed concerned. To understand their Case, we need only to consider

der what *Plautus* has said in two or three Places.

Menæchmus, in the Comedy so called, pretends himself to be disordered in his Senses, and falls a *raving* very violently. Upon this, The *Old man* goes for a *Physitian*, and meeting with him, the *Physitian* asks him,

Quid esset illi morbi dixerat? narra Senex.
Num *larvatus* aut *cerritus*? fac sciam.

Presently they see *Menæchmus*; and the *Physitian* puts certain Questions to him: Upon which the *Old man* observes that *Menæchmus*^y begins to be mad——he talks like one besides himself; and asks the *Physitian*, why he would not instantly prescribe, or give him some *Potion*, before he was stark staring mad. The *Physitian* then asks *Menæchmus*,^z are your Eyes wont to be stiff or hard?——do you sleep all Night? can you sleep lying along? Presently after, *Menæchmus* begins to scold at the *Old man*;——Upon which,——^a Don't you see, says the *Old man*, that the *Man* is mad? And the *Physitian*^b tells him,——I'll make you

^y Occæptat *insanire*——deliramenta loquitur.

Quid cessas dare potionis aliquid priusquam percipit *Insania*.

^z Solent tibi unquam oculi duri fieri?——Unquam intestina tibi crepant?——*Perdormiscin'* usque ad *lucem*? facilen' tu *dormis cubans*.

^a Non vides hominem *insanire*?

^b *Elleborum* potabis faxo aliquos viginti dies.

drink Hellebore for some twenty Days. Before this *Physitian* was called, whilst the *Old man* and his *Daughter* were talking of *Menæchmus*, she describes him thus, ^c *Don't you see how his Eyes glare? How he looks yellow about his Temples and Forehead! How his Eyes sparkle!*

Here then we have the Symptoms and Case of a Person whom the *Latins* call *Cerritus* or *Larvatus*; and these Effects they imputed to *Ceres*, or to the *Larvæ*, which they imagined to be mischievous and wicked Spirits: whereas in Truth the disorder'd Person had nothing else but such a Species of *Madness*, as had the Symptoms abovementioned, and which the *Physitian* propos'd to cure by *Hellebore*.

You have another Instance of the like Kind in *Plautus's Amphitruo*. *Amphitruo*, after a long Absence, comes Home to his Wife, and *Sofia* his Servant with him. *Jupiter* in the mean time had put himself in the exact Shape of *Amphitruo*, and had lain with *Alcmena*. At length, *Amphitruo* coming Home to his Wife, a Discourse arises, and she says to him, ^d *Do you deny that you went from*

^c Viden' tu illi oculos virere! ut viridis colos
Ex temporibus atque fronte! ut oculi scintillant! —

Plaut. Menæch. Act. II. Sc. 2, 4, 5.

^d *Alc.* Tun' te abisse hodie hinc negas?

Am. Nego enimvero, et me advenire nunc primum aio ad te domum.

Alc. Obsecro, etiamne hoc negabis, te auream pateram mihi
Dedisse dono hodie, —

Am. Neque ædipol dedi. —

hence this Day? Am. I do deny it, and say that this is the very first Instant that I came to you.

Alc. And will you deny that you gave me this very Day a golden Bowl? Am. No, I never gave you one.—*Alcmena* persisting in what she said, *Sofia* advises *Amphitruo*, ° Pray order her to be lustrated, as (i. e. to be treated as they were wont to treat) a Mad woman. *Amphitruo* replies, Indeed it ought to be done, for in good Truth she is full of the Larvæ. i. e. She is entirely possessed by the Larvæ.

It may not perhaps be easy to define exactly the Difference betwixt the *Cerriti* and *Larvati*. *Plautus* treats them as if they were the same, unless you make the *Cerritus* to be one that is more mad, and more wild, than the *Larvatus*; so much more so, as to be thought *Larvarum plenus*. This seems to be the Case, if one may judge from another Passage in *Plautus*, where some *Advocates* are introduced, walking slow and grave, and defending themselves for not running along the Streets, lest the People should throw Stones at them as *Cerriti*, i. e. quite mad.

—Haud quisquam nostrum currit per vias
Neque nos populus pro cerritis insectabit lapidibus,
Pæn. Act. III. Sc. 1.

° ————— Quæso quin tu isthanc jubes

Pro *cerrita* circumferri. Am. Quin factu est opus;

Nam hæc quidem *ædipol larvarum plena* est.

Plaut. Amphitruo Act. II. Sc. 2.

D

But

But to return. See how some Lustrations were made in the ^f Margin. The Use of these Passages in *Plautus* to our Purpose is, that this Sort of *Madness*, whatever was the *Cause*, was imputed either to *Ceres*, or *Spirits*; and the Distemper was named from Them, as if They were the proper *Causes* of it: whereas in Truth, only certain *Symptoms* could be really expressed by those Terms, since it does not appear that there was any such Person existing as *Ceres*, nor any such *Speētres* as the *Larvæ*.

Apuleius, in his Book *De deo Socratis*, explains what the ordinary Notion concerning these *Larvæ* was. ^g*They were Spirits or Human Souls, who on Account of their Ill-deserts in Life, were punished as it were by a Sort of Banishment, by their having no good Place of Aboad, but always rambling about, vain Terrors to Good men, but to Evil men noxious. Where therefore People, through the Force of any Distemper, were under such violent Fears and Horrors as to be not Masters of their Reason at all, there they were said to be Lar-*

^f Ἐκάθερε, ἢ ἀπέμαξε, ἔ περιέτριψε διαδι ἢ σκίλλη ἔ ἄλλοις πλεί-
στον, (viz. Eggs and Brimstone, &c.) ἢ την ἐπωδὴν ἐκείνω ὑπο-
τονερίσας. *Lucian. Necuomant. v.* Casaubon in *Theophrastum.*
p. 292.

^g Propter adversa Vitæ merita, nullis bonis sedibus, incerta
vagatione, seu quodam exilio punitur, inane Terriculamentum
bonis hominibus, cæterum malis noxium, hunc plerique LA R-
VAM perhibent. *Apuleius de Deo Socratis.*

vati: where it came to Wildness, and incoherent Talk, they were deemed *Cerriti*. Now, in the same Manner, and in the same Propriety of Language, as disorder'd Persons among the *Romans* were called *Cerriti*, and *Larvati*, though their Disorders did not arise from *Ceres*, or *Larvæ*; Persons may be called *Demoniacks*, though *Demons* are not the Cause of their Distemper. Who ever imagines the Disorders of the *Cerriti* or *Larvati* to be owing to the *Mother of the Gods*, or to *Speñtres*? Or when they are said to be *larvarum pleni*, that therefore they had *Legions of Speñtres* in them?

There were likewise a Sort of Madmen, stiled by the *Romans*, *Lymphatici*; by the *Greeks*, *Νυμφοληπτὰι*; as there were those whom *Pliny* mentions to be ^h *Nocturnis Diis* Faunisque *agitati*: by all which they plainly meant nothing but certain Distempers, and to which certain *Medicines* were applied. Had they conceived real *Spirits* possessing such miserable Wretches, how absurd would it have been to have ordered for their Cure ⁱ *Rhadish* and *Ellebores* prepared in a certain Way; or ^k *Horse-piss*, and the *Water of a Smith's Forge*; ^l or the *Tongue, Eyes, Gall,*

^h *Pliny Nat. Hist. lib. xxv. c. 5.* ⁱ *Ibid. lib. xxviii. c. 16.*

^k *Ibid. lib. xxix. c. 4.* ^l *Ibid. lib. xxx. c. 10.*

and Intestines of a Dragon; or ^m *the Blood of a Mole*; ⁿ or *Diamonds*; ^o or *Amber*? Or on the contrary, how could they conceive that the drinking the Juice of a certain Herb, viz. ^p *Thalassegle*, could cause Men to be *possessed with Demons*? Whatever the Word was by which they named this Disorder, (for this was a Disorder of the whole *Body*, as appears by *Pliny*) and notwithstanding the *Name* might imply that it arose from some invisible Beings, yet such a particular Species of *Disorder* is the only *thing* to be regarded in those Names.

From the *Greeks* and *Romans*, Let us next consider the *Jews*. Here we have no great Light one Way or other, except what we can derive from a single Instance in the Old Testament, and from a very few Places in *Josephus*, where he expressly mentions *Demoniacks*. The only Instance of a Disorder mentioned in the Old Testament as arising from an *evil Spirit*, is That of *Saul*: and this is expressly imputed to an *evil Spirit from God*, 1 Sam. xvi. 14—16. c. xviii. 10. The proper Way to judge of this Case is, to

^m Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. c. 10. ⁿ Ibid. lib. xxxvii. c. 4.

^o Ibid. lib. xxxvii. c. 3.

^p Thalasseglen circa Indum amnem inveniri, quæ ob id nomine alio Potamautis appellatur. Hac pota *Lymphari* homines, obversantibus miraculis. Ibid. l. xxiv. c. 17. Nails taken out of a Grave, and fixed into a Threshold, were good against *nocturnas Lymphationes*. lib. xxxiv. c. 15.

lay together the Passages which relate to *Saul*, and from them to see how he was affected. *The Spirit of the Lord went away from Saul, and an Evil Spirit from the Lord troubled, or terrified, him. And Saul's Servants said unto him,——an Evil Spirit from God troubleth thee. Let our Lord now command thy Servants——to seek out a Man who is a cunning Player on an Harp. And it shall come to pass, when the evil Spirit from God is upon thee, and he shall play with his Hand, and thou shalt be well.* This Advice was taken, and *David* was thought of, and brought to the King; *And it came to pass, when the Spirit of God was in [or at or upon] Saul, David took an Harp, and played with his Hand, and Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the Evil Spirit departed from him, v. 23.* This is the *first* Place where this Disorder is mentioned: The *second* has in it an Account of *Saul's* Conduct towards *David*. When *Goliath* was slain, and the *Philistines* routed, The Women came out with Instruments of Music to meet *Saul*, and as they played, they said, *Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands. And Saul was very wroth, and the Saying displeased him, and he said, They have ascribed unto David ten thousands, and to me they have ascribed but thousands: and what can he have more, but the Kingdom? And Saul eyed David from that Day.——And*

it came to pass on the morrow, that the Evil Spirit from God came upon Saul, and he prophesied in the midst of the House. And David played with his Hand as at other Times. And Saul cast the Javelin at David——and David avoided out of his Presence twice, 1 Sam. xviii. 7—12. and c. xix. 9, 10, 11.

From these Places these Things may be observed. 1st, That we have no Circumstances how this *Evil Spirit* affected *Saul*, excepting only that he was *troubled*, or *terrified* very much; and that he *propheesied* in the midst of his House. What is here called *Propheesying*, was acting as a mad man, acting as the *Vates* or Prophets are usually described by the Antients. *Saul* was not inspired as the true Prophets of God were influenced, in a rational Manner, nor indeed at all; but as appears by the History, his Mind was alienated, and his Imagination disturbed. This was the usual Disorder, either real or pretended, of the Heathen Prophets; who are seldom or never mentioned as propheesying, but with Circumstances of Rage, and Fury, and Madness. The true prophetic Spirit is rational and consistent: the false one is all tumultuous and mad. It is observable therefore, that the *Chaldee Paraphrast* says that *Saul was mad*, or *acted as a Mad man* in his House: and it is probable, that from some Similitude
of

of Circumstances that careless and prophane Men treated the best and truest Prophets as false ones, *imputing* that to *Phrensy*, or *Melancholy*, which in Truth proceeded from a divine Afflatus. Hence it was, that when *Elisha* sent a Prophet to anoint *Jehu*, *Abab's* Servants said to *Jehu*, *Wherefore came this mad Fellow to thee?* 2 King. ix. 11. And *Jeremiah* has joined together the Idea of *Madness* to that of *Prophecy*, c. xxix. 26. *For every Man that is mad, and maketh himself a Prophet.*

There certainly must be something in the true Prophet common to him with the false Prophet, from whence this Notion must arise, that *Madness* and *Prophefying* should be used by very good Writers as synonymous. One cannot but observe that *Tully* has used the Words, *Vaticinari*, and *Insanire*, as signifying much the same thing. And whenever the Poets speak of *Prophets*, it is always of Persons under an Alienation of Mind. The *Sibyl* in *Virgil* is described as under violent *Agitations*, and *foaming*, and *raging*. *Lu-*

^a Eos qui dicerent, dignitati esse serviendum, reip. consulendum, officii rationem in omni vita, non commodi, esse duccendam, subeunda pro patria pericula, vulnera excipienda, mortem oppetendam; *vaticinari* atque *insanire* dicebat. *Cic.* Orat. pro *Sextio*.

^r At Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
 Excussisse Deum, tanto magis ille fatigat
 Os rabidum, fera corda domans——

Virg. Æneis. 6. 77—80.

can in the same Manner describes a Priestess as filled with Fury, † her Hair standing an End, and she all burning within, and foaming, and panting, whilst she delivered the Oracle. And *Euripides* observes, † that Mad-ness has a good deal of a prophetick Faculty in it: and that Mad men could foretell future Things. It is probable that this Notion arose from hence, that when the true Prophet received the divine Influx, his *Senses were as it were thrown asleep, and ceased*; and his Mind so taken up, that he attended to nothing else but what was revealed. Thus † *Abbarbenel* says from *Maimonides*, and probably very justly. Hence came false Prophets to affect a like Absence of their Faculties: and as this was common amongst such as were mad with a † divine Influx, or Inspiration, hence Persons, who by Reason of a na-

‡ ——— *Bacchatur demens aliena per antrum*
Colla ferens, vittasque Dei, Phœbeaque fersa
Erectis discussa comis ———

————— *Magnoque exæstuat igne.*
Spumea tunc primum rabies vesana per ora
Effluit, et gemitus, et anhelo clara meatu,
Murmura. ———

Lucan. Lib. 5.

† Τὸ μανιᾶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει.

‡ Όταν ᾤ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σᾶμι' ἔλθῃ πολὺς
λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τῆς μεμνηότας ποιεῖ.

Eurip. Bacch.

‡ A tempore Prophetiæ, Facultates Prophetæ sunt obsopitæ, sensus ejus cessant, et anima occupata est in apprehensione sua, indicatque hominibus quid viderit, vel audiverit, sine ulla operatione voluntatis et arbitrii ejus proprii circa id quod videt vel prophetat. *Vid. Lib. Cozri. p. 413.*

‡ Θεῶ πνοαῖσιν ἐμμανεῖς. *Eurip. Bacch.*

tural Disorder, Phrensy, Melancholy, &c. were alienated in their Minds, were said to *prophecy*. It will appear presently what *Saul's* Distemper was; and this Circumstance of his *Prophecying*, or acting as a *mad Man*, will be a considerable Argument in Point. I observe 2dly, The Cure of him was by a known Method. *Let thy Servants seek out a cunning Player on a Harp——And he shall play with his Hand, and thou shalt be well.* 3dly, The Cure was to be effected, and it was constantly effected, by *Musick* and by *That alone*, Had it been to be cured by Prayer, or any thing that was *devotional*, *Saul's* Servants would have desired a *Prophet*, or a *Priest*, not a *Musician*, to be sent for. 4thly, When *David* played upon the *Harp*, *Saul* was *refreshed*, and was well, and the *Evil Spirit* departed from him. When therefore the *Evil Spirit* was upon him, *Saul* was in a State opposite to what is here called *Refreshment*, and being well. Now the original Word * signifies to *Breathe*, or draw one's Breath comfortably and well. The *Septuagint* translate the Verse thus, 1 Sam. xvi. 14, *An Evil Spirit from the Lord † suffocated him: And when David played, he refreshed him.* And *Josephus* tells

* $\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\tau\iota$ respirare, relaxationi esse, Motum vel agitationem includit, says Mercer.

† $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\acute{o}\nu$.

us, ^z that grievous Disorders proceeding from Demons, attended Saul, which often were ready to suffocate and strangle him, so that the Physicians could think of no other Cure for him but this, that when the Demons came to him and disturbed him, One should stand at his Head and sing. 5thly, When the Evil Spirit was upon Saul, i. e. when he was in the Disorder which thus affected him; when in Josephus's Language, ^a the Demon disturbed and troubled him, it was then that Saul attempted to kill David. The Women with their Songs had made Saul look upon David with an Evil Eye; they had raised his ^b Envy and Hatred; and these Passions, joined to the Distemper he had, made him mischievous, and twice strive to murder David with his own Hand. 6thly, From the Cure proposed, it is evident that this Evil Spirit from the Lord was some natural Distemper. For what Relation has the Sound of a Harp to the Expulsion of Spirits? What makes them so much afraid of Musick as to leave the Body they had

^z Σάβλον δὲ ἀειρήχετο πάθη δεινὰ καὶ δαιμόνια, πνευμῶς αὐτῶν ἐν τραγυῶνας ἐπιφέροντα. — ὅποταν αὐτῶν προσή τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ ταραταί, ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐς ἅπαντα ψάλλειν. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 6. c. 10.

^a Τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐθορύζει καὶ σωετάραιε. Ibid. c. 14.

^b Φθόνον καὶ μῖσθον. Ibid. c. 11.

And when Jonathan interceded with Saul for David, Σὺν πονηρῷ πνεύματος καὶ τῷ δαιμονίῳ ἐγκαθεζομένων τὰ μὲν ἐξέταλεν. Ibid. Lib. 6. c. 13.

possessed, upon hearing the Sound of *Harmony*? Or why do they fly from *exact* and good Musick, more than from inharmonious jarring Discords? For from the History it appears that a *skilful* Musitian was required to cure the King's Disorder. From whence I cannot but infer, 7thly, That we are not to be influenced by the mere Words, *an Evil Spirit*, to imagine that some wicked Being entered *Saul's* Body, and caused those *grievous Disorders* which he laboured under, any more than we can infer in the Instances of the *Cerriti* and *Larvati* before mentioned, that they were under the Influence of *Ceres* or the *Larvæ*. 8thly, From the Circumstances of *Saul's* Case, viz. being *terrified much*; being *refreshed by Musick*, and thence *growing well*; from the Disorders being not perpetual upon him, but returning at Times; and if we take in from the LXX and *Josephus*, his being ready to be *strangled* or *suffocated*;—From these Circumstances, I say, his Case seems to be nothing but deep *Melancholy*. It is one of *Hippocrates's* Aphorisms, *c where Fear or Sadness continue long, it is a Sign of Melancholy*. And, The Returns of this Distemper are usual ^d in *Spring* and *Autumn*. The Symp-

^c Ἦν φόβος ἢ δυθυμία πάλυ χρόνον ἀτελέη μελαγχολικόν το ταῖστον.

^d Τῷ μὲν ἕρος τὰ μανικά κὶ τὰ μελαγχολικά.—Τῷ δὲ φθινοπάρῳ —κὶ τὰ μανικά κὶ τὰ μελαγχολικά. Hippoc. Aphoris.

toms of it are, as Sydenham well observes, these—*They yield themselves up a Prey to Anger, Jealousy, Suspicion, &c.*—*Now they love one to Excess, and instantly they hate the same Person as immoderately. They resolve in one Instant to execute some Design, and in the next, they make another and perhaps contrary Resolution. It sometimes produces dreadful Convulsions, resembling the Epilepsy, the Belly and Entrails swelling upwards towards the Throat, &c.* Let me add in the *Last Place*, that the Antients were wont to apply *Musick* to the Cure of Distempers, and in particular thought it an excellent Remedy against this very Disorder. *Theophrastus*, in his Book of *Enthusiasm*, tells us, that *e Musick cures many Disorders of both Soul and Body, e. g. Faintings, FEARS, long continued Disorders of Mind. The Playing upon the Pipe cures the Sciatica, and Epilepsy. And Martianus Capella* has a great deal to this Purpose in his *9th Book*: where he introduces *Musick* as saying what she had done, *f I have cured*

e Μουσικὴν πολλὰ τῶν περὶ ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα γιγνομένων παθῶν ἰατρῆειν καθάπερ λειποθυμίαν, ΦΟΒΟΥΣ, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ μακρὸν γιγνομένας τῆς Διανοίας ἐκστάσεις. ἴσται γὰρ ἢ καταύλησις ἰσχιάδα καὶ ἐπιληψίαν. *Theophrastus* apud *Apollonium*. c. 48.

f Perturbationibus animorum, corporeisque morbis, medicabile crebrius carmen insonui. Nam *Phreneticos* Symphonia curavi.—Febrem curabant vulneraque veteres cantione. *Aflectiades* item Tuba *surdissimis* medebatur. Ad affectiores animi
tibus

cured Madmen by Symphony,——The Anti-ents cured the Fever and Wounds by singing. Asclepiades cured the very deafest by a Trumpet, and madmen by Symphony. Theophrastus applied Pipes to the Affections of the Mind.——Xenocrates freed those that were troubled with Spirits by instrumental Musick, &c.

Saul's Evil Spirit then does not signify the real proper Cause of his Disorder, since it appears that his was nothing else but natural *Melancholy*, which soft Accents and melodious Sounds were wont constantly and regularly to assuage. What Connection is there betwixt the Sound of a musical Instrument, and Devils or Evil Spirits? How could those about *Saul* think of *Musick*, to expel a *Spirit*? Whereas supposing his Distemper the Effect of Matter and Motion, and like other Distempers; it was natural to have Recourse to the then usual Means of curing them, and accordingly they succeeded. For can any thing be more natural than to procure a *skilful Musitian* to divert *Melancholy*? And will not such a one *always comfort and refresh* the Patient, and make him *well*? The LXX and

tibias Theophrastus adhibebat.——Xenocrates organicis modulis lymphaticos liberabat. Martia. Capella. Lib. 9.

Censorinus says, Asclepiades medicus phreneticorum mentes, morbo turbatas, sæpe per Symphoniam suæ naturæ reddidit. c. 12. de die natali.

Josephus have added Circumstances which are very common in *Hypocondriacal* Cases, I mean his being *suffocated* when the Evil Spirit was upon him. And this may help us to conceive what really was his Case, and what exactly answers in every Circumstance. For though they all agree in the Word *Spirit*, yet still the Thing was no more than *natural Disorder*. Accordingly *Maimonides* observes, that the Jews ^s call every Sort of Melancholy an Evil Spirit: and explains *Evil Spirit*, by *Disease*.

We meet with nothing of *Demoniacks* excepting the Case of *Saul*, in the Old Testament. But yet *Josephus*, (who professes a strict Regard to the Sacred Writings,) mentions certain *Charms* which *Solomon* left behind him, by which they could ^h cure *Diseases*, and so expel *Demons*, that they should no more return: and this Manner of Cure, says he, continues amongst us even to this Day. Upon this he relates a remarkable Story upon his own Knowledge, of one *Eleazar's* casting out Demons in the Presence of *Vespasian*, and his Sons, and Officers, and Abundance of Soldiers.

^s Rambanus. Omne genus Melancholix vocant Spiritum malum. Atque alibi; Spiritus Malus, i. e. Morbus. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. in Luc. c. 13. 11.

^h Πάρεχε αὐτῶν (Σολομών) μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην.—Ἐπῶδας τε συντάξαμεν αἷς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα, καὶ τρέψας ἐξορκάσειαν κατέλιπεν, οἷς ἰνδέρματα τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μακρῆτι ἰσπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώκεσι.

The Story, and the Manner of Cure, was thus. ⁱ *Applying a Ring having a certain Root under the Seal; viz. one of those Roots that Solomon taught the Virtues of, He drew out the Demon through the Nose of him that smelt it: and presently the Man falling down, he mentioning Solomon, and reciting the Charms which he had invented, adjured the Demon never to return into him. Eleazar being willing to satisfy the By-standers that he had this Power, he placed a little Way from them a Cup full of Water, or a little Vessel that they washed their Feet in: and then he commanded the Demon as he went out of the Man to overturn that Vessel, and thus make the Spectators sensible, that he had left the Man.* This is the Account of a *Demoniack* in *Josephus's* Days, dispossessed by this *Eleazar*. The Root which did this wondrous Feat, is that, I suppose, which he mentions in the *Seventh* Book of the *Jewish Wars*, the Story of which is still more ridiculous than the Account of *pulling out the Demon through the Nose* of the Person that was possessed.

ⁱ Προσφέρων ταῖς ρίζαις τῆ δαιμονιοζομίας τὸν δακτύλιον ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῆ σφραγιδὶ ρίζαν — ἔπειτα ἐξεῖλεν ὁ σφραγισμῶς Δε τῶν μυκτῆρων τὸ δαιμόνιον. καὶ πεσόντων εὐθὺς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μικρὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπαγελευθῆν ἄρκος. — βεβλήμενος δὲ πείσαι — ὅτι ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύον, ἐτίθει μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ποτήριον πλήρες ὕδατος, ἢ ποδιόπτρον, καὶ τῷ δαιμονίῳ προσέταττεν ἐξίοντι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ταῦτ' ἀνατρέψαι, καὶ παραχρῆν ἐπιγινῶναι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ὅτι καταλέλοιπε τὸν ἀνθρώπον. *Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 8. c. 2.*

However I'll relate it since it concerns *Demons*. “^k There is a Valley on the North of
 “ *Machærus*, in which is a Place called *Baaras*, which bears a Root of the same Name :
 “ It is of a flame Colour, and about Evening
 “ time it shines very bright. It is not easily
 “ caught by them that would willingly gather it ; but it withdraws itself, and does
 “ not stay, unless one pours the Urine of a Woman, or menstruous Blood upon it. And
 “ even then it is certain Death to them that
 “ touch it, unless you happen to carry the
 “ Root itself hanging down from your Hand.
 “ There is another Way of getting this Root
 “ free from Danger, and it is this. They
 “ dig quite round it, so that the very least
 “ bit of the Root is left in the Ground :
 “ then they tye a Dog to it, and the Dog at-

^k Βαάρας ονομάζε) τις τόπος, φύει τε ρίζαν ομωνόμως λεγομένην αὐτά. αὐτὴ φλογὶ μῦρ τὴν χροίαν ἔοικε. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑσπέρας σέλας ἀπασφράπτουσα. τοῖς δ' ἐπίεσι καὶ βελομήοις λαβεῖν αὐτήν, ὅσα ἐστὶν εὐχείρωτῶ, ἀλλ' ὑποφύγει, καὶ ἔ πρότερον ἴσα) πρὶν ἂν τις ἔρον γυναικίος, ἢ το ἔμμηνον αἷμα χεῖ κατ' αὐτῆς. Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῖς ἀψαμήνοις πρόδηλός ἐστι θάνατῶ. εἰμὴ τύχη τις αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐπενεργάμεν) τὴν ρίζαν ἐν τῆς χειρὸς ἀπηρητημένην. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον ἀκινδύνως. ὅς ἐστι τοιοῦσδε. κύκλω πᾶσαν αὐτὴν περιόρουσσι, ὡς εἶναι το κρυπτόμενον τῆς ρίζης βραχυτάτον. εἶτ' ἐξ αὐτῆς λήπιδος κίνα, κακῆς τῶ δίσταντι συνακαλεθεῖν ἐρμήσαντῶ, ἢ μὲν λήπιδος) ραδίως. θήσκει δ' εὐθὺς ὁ κύων, ὡσπερ ἀντιδοθεῖς ἔ μείλλοντῶ τὴν βοτάνην ἀναίρησααλ. φῶσῶ γὰρ ἑδῆς τοῖς μῦ ταῦτα λαμβάνουσιν. Ἐστὶ δὲ μῦ τοσούτων κινδύνων διὰ μίαν ἰχθύν, περιπέδασῶ. τα γὰρ καλέμεθα δαιμόνια, ταῦτα δὲ πονηρᾶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα, τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδύομενα καὶ κτείνοντα τὸς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντα, αὐτὴ ταχέως ἐξελαινει, καὶ προσνεχθῆ μόνον τοῖς νοσῶσι, Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. Lib. 7. c. 23.

“ tempting

“ tempting to follow him that tied him, the
 “ Root is easily pulled up. But then the
 “ Dog dies instantly, as it were in the Stead
 “ of him who would get the Plant.¹ There
 “ is no Fear to them who shall afterwards
 “ take it. This Root is very desireable for
 “ one Virtue it has, notwithstanding so many
 “ Dangers in getting it. For DEMONS as
 “ they are called, (these are the Spirits of
 “ wicked Men) entering into the Living, and
 “ killing those that have no Help, this Root
 “ presently expels them, even though it be
 “ only brought near those that are ill.”

How ridiculous soever these Stories are,
 both that of *Eleazar*, and this of the *Root*
Baaras, yet *Josephus* plainly thought that
 there were properly *Demoniacks*, or Persons
 into whom the *Souls of wicked Men entered*.
 He gives us no Symptoms of the Disorders
 these Men had: but only that they were *kil-*
led if they had not Help, and that *Eleazar*
 pulled out the *Demon through the Nose* of the
 Person to whom he applied this Root. I can-
 not but think *Josephus's* *Demoniack* to be the
 same with the *Cerritus* of *Serenus Samonicus*,
 whom ^m *dreadful Smells* would often cure.
Serenus is speaking of a Case where through

¹ So the Cynocephale, or Osyritis in Egypt, is present Death
 to him that pulls it up, and is excellent good against all Witch-
 craft. *Plin. lib. xxx. c. 2.*

^m *Cerritum sæpe horrendi medicantur Odores. Seren. Samon.*

ⁿ *some Fault of the Brain a raving Madnefs arofe:* and as the *Cerriti* were *Mad men*, and cured by *strong Smells*, juſt as *Joſephus's* *Demoniacks*, it is very probable they were both under the ſame Sort of Diſorders. It will always be aſked, How *Joſephus* knew, that theſe Perſons had in them the *Souls* of *wicked Men* deceased? How he knew that theſe *wicked Spirits* killed Men? What has the Smell of a Root to do with wicked Spirits? Or how can that *expel* them? To ſay, that he *ſaw the Fact* done; and to add that he ſaw the Demon *overturn a Baſon of Water*, at his going out of a Man, is only affirming one incredible Thing in order to prove another. For what Evidence is there that this was done by a Demon? It is agreed that the Philoſophers of Old talked much of theſe *Spirits*, or *Demons*; but how did they know that theſe *Demons* were the *Spirits of Evil Men*? He might ſay perhaps, becauſe the Perſon that was diſordered, was *agitated*, and *thrown down*, and *ſuffered much Miſchief*. But theſe Effects might have nothing more in them than what was natural and ordinary, as I have already ſhewn. Leaving therefore theſe Inſtances of *Jewiſh Exorcifts*, and the *Charms* which *Solomon* is ſaid to have left, Thoſe idle romantick Tales of *Joſephus*, which ſhew how eaſily he

ⁿ Ex vitio Cerebri Phrenetiſis furioſa movetur
Amiſſaſque refert frendens amentia vires.

was imposed on himself, or how ready he was to impose on others ;

I proceed in the next Place to consider what the *New Testament* Writers have said upon the Subject of *Demoniacks*. And in order to shew what was meant, we must compare the several Relations together ; and when we meet with *plain* and *easy* Accounts of things, we must make them the Standards or Tests by which we ought to understand the more difficult Places ; and not *vice versa*, interpret *easy* Texts by those which are *intricate* and *hard*. It must be remembered likewise, that *Demon* in none of the Instances already produced, signifies what we in *English* call *Devil*, but always is applied to ° the departed *Souls* of *Dead Men*. And lastly, that *Epilepsy* and *Madness* were peculiar Disorders attributed to the Gods.

These Things being already proved, it is necessary to observe, that when our Saviour began to preach, he *went about all Galilee, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing all Manner of Sickness, and all Manner of Disease among the People, and his FAME went throughout Syria ; and there followed him great Multitudes of People from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerufalem, and*

° Ταῦτα πονηρῶν ἐσὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα. Joseph. Φυχῶν δὲ θαλιόντων. Just. Mart. 2 Apol.

from Judea, and from beyond Jordan, *Matt. iv. 23—25.* From hence it appears that *He* was much *known*; and that the Doctrines he preached were likewise *known*; and what he was imagined to be, was well known in all those Parts. This was so notorious, that *they brought unto him all sick People that were taken with divers Diseases and Torments; and those which were possessed with Devils [Demons] and those which were Lunatic, and those which had the Palsy.* Perhaps this might better be translated, *even those who were possessed, &c.* for these are the particular and eminent Instances of Persons who had *Diseases and Torments.* What these Persons *possessed with Devils [or Demons]* were, is now to be considered.

St. *John*, c. x. 20, gives us an Account of a Controversy amongst the Jews on Occasion of some Things which our Saviour had said. In this Debate, *many said he hath a Devil, and is mad. Others said, these are not the Words of him that hath a Devil: can a Devil open the Eyes of the blind? Madness* is here imputed to our Saviour; and the imaginary Cause is, *he hath a Devil.* These were so connected together in their Minds, that *Both Sides* reasoned in the same Manner: and *both Sides* took for granted that That particular Disorder proceeded from some *Evil Spirit* that possessed him. They therefore that
 thought

thought he spoke the Words of Sobriety, replied, can he that is under the Influence of a *wicked Spirit*, i. e. a Mad man, either *say* or *do* such Things as this Man does?

It is exactly in the same Sense that the Jews answered our Saviour, *John* vii. 20, when he charged them with going about to kill him,—They said, *Thou hast a Devil*. The Meaning of which was—*Thou art mad, who goest about to kill thee?* He charged them with an Act which they disclaimed; and they immediately replied, that he had a *Devil*; using the Cause, the imaginary Cause, for a visible Effect, which they conceived naturally to flow from it.

Again; when John came neither eating nor drinking, they say, *He hath a Devil*, *Matt.* xi. 18. i. e. When he appeared in that austere rigid Manner, living in the Wilderness, and preaching strict Repentance as he did, and using severe Mortification, they looked upon him to be *mad*. To name one Instance more.

Our Saviour having told the Jews, *John* viii. 48—52, that they were *not of God*, they said unto him, *Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a Devil?* Jesus answered, *I have not a Devil, but I honour my Father*,—*If a Man keep my Saying, he shall never see Death*. Then said the Jews unto him, *now we know, that thou hast a Devil*. Abraham is dead, and the Prophets; and thou sayest,
If

If a Man keep my Saying, he shall never tast of Death. The Meaning of all this is very plain: “ Do we not say very justly, that you
 “ treat us just as the Samaritans do, with Ran-
 “ cour and Malice; and that you are really
 “ *mad.*” He replies, “ I am not *mad*, but
 “ know what I say and mean; my Design is
 “ to honour my Father, and with a View of
 “ promoting this good Design I tell you, He
 “ that obeys what I say *shall live for ever.*”
 They instantly reply, “ Now it is evident
 “ you are *mad*: *Abraham* is dead, and the
 “ Prophets; and yet you tell us that he that
 “ obeys your Doctrines shall *live for ever*:
Whom makest thou thy self?

Had not St. *John*, in the Passage first cited, explained so particularly what was meant by *having a Devil*, (or *Demon*, for so it is always to be read) we should probably have understood these Places of *Madness*, or of a disordered Understanding: Because so many Instances might be produced out of heathen Authors, where those who were called *Cerriti* or *Larvati*, or *Lymphatici*, and were supposed to be affected by, or to be under the Direction or Influence of *Demons*, were all in their Degree *mad*. But as the Words are explained in the Gospel itself, it is easy to see upon what *Grounds* the Jews said to our Saviour, *Thou hast a Devil*. They had neither *seen* nor *heard* any *Demon* in *him*, nor in *John the Baptist*;

Baptist; and yet instantly they charge them with *having* one. Whence did this proceed? Or why do they say a *Devil*, rather than any thing else? They saw indeed, what they thought to be *Madness*, and nothing else. From this visible *Effect* then they presently imagined a *Demon* (or *Devil*) to be the *Cause*, and therefore charged him with what they did *not see*, arguing from the *Effect* to the *Cause*. And therefore when *Josephus*, or *Others*, call such or such Persons *Demoniacks*, they may do it merely from certain Symptoms of which they *supposed Demons* to be the *Cause*, though no Evidence of such Demons appeared. And indeed it was *customary for the Jews to attribute to Evil Spirits certain great Disorders, which either distorted the Body, or occasioned Phrensy, or Distraction of the Mind*: as *Dr. Lightfoot* has well observed.^p

The Passages already produced, which make the *having a Devil* and *Madness* to be the same thing, will help us to understand some others, which at first Sight may appear more intricate. Thus for Instance; in *St. Matthew*, c. xvii. 15, there came a certain Man to our Lord, who *kneeled down and said, Lord have Mercy upon my Son, for he is lunatick, and*

^p Judæis usitatissimum erat morbos quosdam graviore, eos præsertim quibus vel distortum est corpus, vel mens turbata, et agitata Phrenesi, malis Spiritibus attribuere, *Lightfoot Hor. Heb. Matt. xvii. 15.*

fore vexed: *for oft-times he falleth into the Fire, and oft into the Water.* The other Evangelists give us a more particular Account of this young Man's Case. *St. Mark, c. ix. 17, 18,* makes the Man to say to our Saviour,—*I have brought unto thee my Son, which hath a dumb Spirit; and wheresoever he taketh him, he teareth him, and he foameth, and gnasheth with his Teeth, and pineth away.* When the young Man was brought to our Lord, *v. 20, the Spirit tare him, and he fell on the Ground, and wallowed, foaming.* In *St. Luke,* the Case is represented thus, *c. ix. 39. A Spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out, [or shrieks] and it teareth him that he foameth again, and bruising him, hardly departeth from him.* This Man was plainly, what *Justin Martyr* describes those which were ^q seized by Demons to be, ^r thrown upon the Ground; and he is plainly a *Demoniack*, for in curing him *Jesus rebuked the Devil, Matt. xvii. 18.* From the Symptoms he had—*falling into the Fire, or Water, tearing himself, gnashing with his Teeth, foaming, wallowing on the Ground, being bruised,* and then the Fit leaving him, his Case was *Epileptick.* *Celsus* observes of such Persons, ^f *The*

^q Δαιμονιάζοντες, ψυχαῖς ἀποθανόντων λαμβανόμενοι. *Just. Mart.*

^r ῥιπτόμενοι. *Ibid. Apol. 2.*

^f Homo subito concidit, ex ore Spumæ moventur,—hominem consumit. *Celsus Lib. 3. c. 23.*

Man all of a sudden falls down, foams at the Mouth, and when the Distemper is new upon him, it makes him pine away. Hippocrates has given us the Symptoms of the Epilepsy more accurately. “ He becomes incapable of speaking, “ and is suffocated, and Foam runs out of the “ Mouth, his Teeth gnash, the Hands are “ close shut, the Eyes are distorted, they under- “ stand nothing :—he falls down, he kicks with “ his Feet. After this particular Account of the Symptoms, he explains the natural Cause of each; and says “ Thus is this Distemper to young People; He adds, “ When the Disorder is of long standing, it is not curable. This is a direct Exposition of the Case before us, and shews the Man to be plainly Epileptic.

You will say perhaps then, that *Madness* is not the same as *having a Devil*, but *Epilepsy*, which is a different Distemper. But the Circumstances will clear up this Point. As

1st, It is observed that this Distemper had been *long upon him*. How long, says our Saviour, *is it ago since this came unto him? And he said, Of a Child, Mark ix. 21.* 2^{dly}, I

^t Ἄφωνος γίνεται, καὶ ἀφρός ἐκ τῶ σώματος ἐκρέει, καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες σπινθήρασι, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες συσπῶνται, καὶ τὰ ὄμματα ἀγέφυγονται, καὶ ἔθεν φρονέουσι—προσπίπτει—λακτίζει τοῖσι πόσιν. De morbo sacro.

^u Τοῖσι μὲν ἐν παιδίοισιν ἔτω γίνεται. Ibid.

^w Ὀνόταν ὁ χρόνος γίνεται τῆ ἡλικίᾳ, ὅσα ἔτι ἡσυχία γίνεται. Ibid.

must observe from *Hippocrates*, * *Melancholick Persons are very often wont to be Epileptic, and Epileptic Persons Melancholick. Each of these Distempers prevail, as the Disorder inclines to either Body or Mind: If to the Body, they are Epileptic; if to the Mind, they are Melancholick.* 3dly, It must be added from the same Author, that where the Epilepsy *γ* has grown up with a Person from his Childhood, (as was the express Case of the Person before us) *the Cure is very difficult.* 4thly, *St. Matthew* expressly calls him a *Lunatic. He is Lunatic and sore vexed.* 5thly, I cannot but observe that *Alexander Trallianus* gives us an Account of a *Cure of the Epilepsy, which he learnt in Hetruria from a Countryman, who cutting, says he, wild Rue in a Field, his Fellow Servant, σεληνιακὸς ὢν ἔπεσεν, being a Lunatic, was seized with a Fit of Epilepsy. Alex. Trall. Lib. 1. Exactly in St. Matthew's Language.*

These Things being considered, it appears that this Young man was *Epileptic*: His *Epilepsy* had brought him to be *Melancholick*, which is the natural Turn of the Distemper; and his *Melancholy* had made him *mad*.

* Οἱ μελαγχολικοὶ καὶ ἐπιληπτικοὶ εὐίαθαι γίνεσθαι ὡς ἐπιτοπολὸν, ἔ
 ὅι ἐπιληπτικοὶ μελαγχολικοὶ. Τῶν δὲ ἐκάτερον μᾶλλον γίνεται ἐφ'
 ὅποτέρᾳ ἀν' ῥέυσῃ τῷ τὸ ἀρρώστημα: Ἦν μὲν ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιληπτοὶ;
 εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μελαγχολικοὶ. Hippoc. de Morbis popular.
 Lib. 6.

γ Ὅταν δὲ παῖδ' ἐκ παιδὸς συνήζεται — ἀπάλλαξις καλεπὴ γίνεται.

From hence St. *Matthew*, in his Account, expressly calls him *Lunatic*. The other Two Evangelists take Notice, the One of the *dumb Spirit* which he had, the Other, of the *Spirit*, but say not a Word of his *Madness*, which was implied in the Term, *Spirit*: And then they describe at large the Symptoms of the *Epilepsy*. St. *Matthew* describes the *Epileptic Fits*, as soon as he had said that the Young man was *Lunatic*: The two other Evangelists describe the *Epileptic Fits*, as soon as they had said that he had a *Spirit*, or a *dumb Spirit*. Therefore *Lunatic* and *Demoniack*, or having a *Spirit*, or a *Devil*, must be the same.

I am sensible how difficult it is to account for every Expression on these Occasions, where we often know not the exact Ideas to which some particular Words were applied. We must be often left to Uncertainty and Conjecture, and he that guesses, not irrationally, ought to be excused if he varies from common Sentiments, when common Sentiments are not at all intelligible. In the Process of the History of this Young man, it appears that the Disciples of our Lord could not cure him. The Father of him tells our Saviour, — *I spake to thy Disciples that they should cast him out, and they could not, Mark ix. 18.* or as St. *Matthew* has it, *I brought him to thy Disciples, and they could not cure him.* Our

Savioür curing him *fo easily*, his Disciples afterwards asked him *privately*, or *apart*, *Why could not we cast him out?* His Answer, as it lies in *St. Mark*, is only thus—*This Kind can come forth by nothing, but by Prayer and Fasting*, c. ix. 29. But in *St. Matthew*, the Answer is much larger and fuller, and from thence perhaps we may be able to conjecture at the Meaning of these Words. *Jesus said unto them, because of your Unbelief. For verily I say unto you, if ye have Faith as a Grain of Mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this Mountain, Remove hence unto yonder Place, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible for you. Howbeit, this Kind goeth not out but by Prayer and Fasting.* I observed before, that this was an *Epileptic Case*; and it was an *Epileptic Disorder* of long standing: and consequently either *incurable*, or *very hard to be cured*, by any Means of Art. The Determination of the Old Physitians is, ² *That neither Broths, nor even Meats that are light and easy of Digestion, nor Flesh of any Sort, and particularly Hog's Flesh, is not good for this Sort of People. You are not to give such any Food at all till the third Day after the*

² Cibum post diem tertium—dare. Neque sorbitiones his aut alioqui molles et faciles cibi, neque caro, minimeque suilla convenit,—et ubi tertio die cibus datus est intermittere quartum, et invicem alterum quemque—donec quatuordecim dies transcant. *Celsus Lib. 3. c. 23.*

Fit; and when he has taken some Sufenance, on the third Day, you must leave it off the fourth, and so on every other Day,——till fourteen Days are past. When great Exercife is prefcribed, yet ftill the Rule is ^a *Let him have but little Victuals; or let him abftain altogether from Flefh.*

I know not whether this may help us to folve the prefent Difficulty. The Difciples afk why they could not cure this young man. Our Saviour's Anfwer to them is, “ *Because of your Unbelief.* For had you Faith equal to the Advantages you have, you fhould be able to do the moft difficult Things, nay nothing which is neceffary to gain Credit to your Authority or Doctrine, fhall be impoffible.” This contains a full Anfwer to their Queftion: and what follows, about the Neceffity of *Fafting* and *Prayer*, may not re-

^a Paulum cibi affumat. Ibid.

Κρεῶν παντελῶς καλόν ἐστιν ἀπέχεσθαι——ὀλίγον λαμβάνετω, καὶ ὀλιγάκις. *It is good to abftain from Flefh entirely. But if he defires fome — let him take but little, and feldom.* Again, Τα δε κρέα παραιτεῖσθαι μεχρι τελείας ἀπαλλαγῆς. *He ought to abftain from Flefh till he is quite cured.* And then follow a great many Cautions about what the Epileptic ought to eat and drink. *Alexand. Trallianus. Lib. 1.*

Κρεῶν μάλιστα μὴ ἀπείρχθαι πάμπαν· εἶδε μήγε, ἐν τῇ Θεραπείᾳ. — οἶνός ὀλιγοποσίη, λευκός, λεπτός——λαχάνων ἐφθῶν, ὅσοσα ἐς δύνάμιν θριμύα. *Let him be kept altogether from Flefh; but if that cannot be, let him be kept fo during the Cure. Let him drink but little Wine, white, thin. — Let him eat thofe boilez Herbs, which are as fharp as poffible, &c.* Aretæus Θεράπεια χρονικῶν πάθων. c. 4.

late to the Difficulty which they proposed. A *miraculous* Power was necessary to cure this Disorder in the Way which Jesus cured it. Is a *miraculous* Power to be attained by *Fasting* and *Prayer*? Or cannot a *supernatural* Power cure a Disorder, supposing it to be granted to Men as it was to the Apostles, unless they *fast* and *pray* for the Removal of the Disorder? I cannot conceive that our Saviour meant, that the *Person who* would *expel this Kind of Devil*, (or would cure an *Epilepsy of long Continuance*) must necessarily *fast* and *pray*, or else that he could not *possibly* cure it: For our *Saviour himself* did neither *fast* nor *pray*, notwithstanding he cured the Youth; nor did he blame his Disciples for *not fasting* or *praying*; nor did he charge them with any thing but *Unbelief*, as the Reason why they did not, or could not, cure the Disorder. Nor did the *Disciples* afterwards ever *fast* and *pray* (that we read of) in order to cure any Distempers, or to cast out any Devils. Nor was *Fasting* and *Prayer* required of the *distempered* Person by our Saviour in order to his Cure, since our Saviour shewed his Power in curing him instantaneously, and without the Means which the Physicians were wont to prescribe; *I charge thee to come out, and enter no more into him*. Nor, lastly, can I think, that our Saviour gave this Direction, “ to inform his Disciples, that this miraculous
“ Faith

“ Faith, being the special Gift of God, was
 “ to be sought for by flagrant Devotion, that
 “ it might never be wanting to them.”

An ingenious Physitian, to whom I proposed this Difficulty, offered me this critical Emendation of the Place; instead of ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ, to read ἐν προσεχέει νηστείᾳ, *in constant Fasting*, just as all the Physitians were wont in this Case to prescribe. If this were the true Reading in *St. Mark*, *St. Matthew* must be corrected in the same Manner, since it is agreed, that the Verse was not at all originally in *St. Matthew*, but inserted into his Gospel from *Mark*, as *Dr. Mills* has rightly observed. If this be the Case, the Meaning of the Words is——“ You could not cure
 “ this Man because of your Unbelief: But
 “ yet you see how easy this Distemper is removed; though it be a Distemper, which
 “ when of long Continuance, is allowed by
 “ all to be hard to be cured, and for which is
 “ usually prescribed a long Course of Fasting.”

This indeed would solve the Difficulty; but as no various Reading will countenance the Emendation, it may perhaps be thought to be cutting the Knot.

I am apt to think, that the Phrase, *by Fasting and Prayer*, is proverbially used, and implies *great Difficulty* only. For as neither Fasting nor Prayer were here used on this Occasion by either our Saviour, or the distempered

pered Person, the Words must be taken not in too strict a Sense. I conceive therefore that our Lord designed to oppose to the usual Length of Time and Difficulty of Cure, the Speed and Ease with which he had removed this Distemper; “ This is the Distemper that “ All People make so great Difficulty in curing! yet you see how easily it is done “ by me.” Our Saviour says that it was *because of their Want of Faith*, that the Disciples could not cure this Person: nor does he blame them for not *Fasting*, but justifies them in not *Fasting*, in other Places: Had they therefore had *Faith*, they might have cured this Distemper. This plainly shews, that in this Place, the Words are not to be taken too rigidly; but as when it is said one cannot obtain a Thing, *nec prece, nec pretio*, no more is meant, than that one in vain attempts to get it; So here——*This Kind goeth not out but by Prayer and Fasting*, no more is intended than, that this Disorder is very hardly, or naturally impossible, to be removed. But this I refer to the Reader’s Judgment; and shall readily submit to better Information.

There is another Instance of a *Demoniack*, *Mark v. 1.* (St. *Matthew* says there were *Two* of them, *c. viii. 28.*) which will require a particular Discussion. *Immediately there met him out of the Tombs a Man with AN unclean Spirit,*

Spirit, who had his Dwelling among the Tombs, and no Man could bind him, no not with Chains, because that he had been often bound with Fetters and Chains, and the Chains had been plucked afunder by him, and the Fetters broken in Pieces, neither could any Man tame him. And always Night and Day he was in the Mountains, and in the Tombs, crying, and cutting himself with Stones. St. Matthew says there were Two that met him, exceeding fierce, so that no Man might pass by that way, c. viii.

28. St. Luke's Account is thus, c. viii. 27---29. There met him one which had Devils a long Time, and ware no Cloths, neither abode in any House but in the Tombs.—

THE unclean Spirit oftentimes had caught him, and he was kept bound with Chains, and in Fetters; and he brake the Bands, and was driven of the Devil into the Wilderness. Mark and Luke agree in this, that when our Saviour asked Him [the Man] his Name, HE answered, *Legion*: The Reason of this Answer is in St. Mark, for we are many; in St. Luke, the Reason is, because many Devils were entered into him. Lastly, When the Man was cured, the People found him ^a in his right Mind, say both Mark, c. v. 15. and Luke c. viii. 35.

^a Σωφρονεῖται.

From these Accounts of this unhappy Man, we must observe

1st, Here was a Person, *not in his right Mind*; running about *naked*; plucking asunder his *Chains* or *Fetters*; no one could *tame* him; living in the Mountains like a wild Man; roaring out; cutting himself; fierce; mischievous to Passengers. These are all ordinary Symptoms of *Lunacy*, or *Madness*, if the Person be suffered to ramble out in a raving Condition.

2^{dly}, It is said, no Man could *bind* or *tame* him. Hence it appears that his Case was *Madness*, and not *Epileptick*, since Epilepticks are not wont to be bound with *Chains*.

3^{dly}, This was a Person with *an unclean Spirit*, *Mark* v. 2. and he is, *before his Cure*, constantly treated by our Saviour, and by *Mark* and *Luke*, as possessed by *One* only Spirit. *Come out, thou unclean Spirit*, v. 8. *He was possessed with a Devil*, v. 15, 16. And so *St. Luke*.—*He commanded* THE unclean Spirit *to come out of the Man, for oftentimes* IT had caught him, c. viii. 29. Our Saviour then saying in the singular, *Come out Thou unclean Spirit*, at the Time he cured him; and not in the Plural,—YE unclean *Spirits*,—--notwithstanding the Man had said he had a *Legion* in him, it follows that this Account of *many Devils* was nothing else but the Man's Imagination, and not the
Truth

Truth of Things; For to cast out *one Devil*, when a *Legion* was in him, was really doing no Service to the Person afflicted.

4thly, In *St. Mark* and *Luke*, where we have the Case of this Man at large described, we hear of no more than *One unclean Spirit*, till Jesus asked the Man *his Name*. Now as to *have a Devil* and to be *mad* is the same thing, this Man was considered merely as a *Madman*. And so all that follows is consistent. Our Saviour asks the Man his Name: His Answer was that of a mere *Madman*, that his Name was *Legion*, for many Devils were entered into him.

5thly, Taking him for a *Madman*, could any thing be more natural than what passed. He addresses our Saviour openly, and without any Fear or Care; calling him *the Son of God*, and proclaiming him what he was. *What have I to do with thee, Jesus thou Son of God most high?* It was easy for him to know Jesus, since *his Fame was spread* in all those Parts; and that made him address him in the Manner he did. And it was as natural for him, considering him as a *Jew*, in his *mad* Fit to ask that the *Devils* which were in him might be permitted to enter into the *Herd of Swine* which he saw just before him. The Sight of them would naturally put the odd Image into his Head: And when *Jesus* is said to *permit* them, or *give them Leave*;

or in St. *Matthew's* Language to say——*Go.*
 ——All this is no more than not concerning himself with the fantastic Humour of a *Madman*, but humouring him whilst he cured him.

But the main Difficulty is still behind. *They*, i. e. the Devils, *when they were come out, went into the Herd of Swine, and behold! the whole Herd of Swine ran violently down a steep Place into the Sea, and were drowned*, Matt. viii. 32. All the Three Evangelists agree in telling us, that *the Devils entered the Swine*. But yet we must observe, that all this *Legion of Devils* was nothing but the *Madman's* Talk. If therefore by any *Accident* the Swine ran down the Precipice, whilst the Man or Men were under Cure, whether drove down, or frightened down by the *Madmen*, This would fully answer all the Story. For as to the Request itself, That was nothing but the mad Discourse of one disordered in his Senses: Just as I my self met with a Woman who told me of *Numbers of Devils* in her; and consistent with that Principle, she told me what *This* or *That* particular Devil said; and what they desired to be done; and she asked me, if I did not *hear* or *see* the Devils.

But supposing this Conjecture, that the *Madman drove* or *frighted* the Swine down a steep Place into the Sea, will not sufficiently account for the Expressions of the Evangelists, I conceive

ceive that there can be no greater Difficulty in this Case, than there is in one Man's Disorder passing into another Man. The *Madness* therefore of this Man may be conceived to pass into the Swine, just in the same Manner as the Leprosy of one Man could be transferred into another. The Leprosy of *Naaman* was to cleave to *Gebazi*, and to *his Seed for ever*, 2 Kings v, 27. Which way soever this is to be accounted for, I apprehend that by the same Method the Instance before us may be resolved without any Difficulty, the like Effect being imputable to a like Cause. I shall have a further Occasion to consider some other Circumstances of this Story by and by. In the Interim, I cannot but be surprized at a Calculation lately made of how *many Devils* entered into each *Hog*. Had Mr. *Woolston*, in his Design to expose Christianity to Contempt and Ridicule, calculated in such a Manner; I dare say, that those who were so zealous to inflict Punishments upon the Man for his Banter, would have pitched upon this very Instance, as one of the most flagrant of all.

I know not whether there is a single Instance of a *Demoniack*, which may not fairly and justly be explained by Epilepsy, or Madness. The Case of the *Pythonefs*, Acts xvi. 16—18, is that of a Person that pretended to tell Fortunes; and engaged the Attention of
the

the People, by speaking inwardly. This was called a Spirit of Divination ; and when she was discovered, she was disabled from playing this Trick any longer, by St. *Paul's* saying to her,——*I command thee to come out of her.* No more was, or could be meant, than to put a Stop to the Trick the Woman used. She was not a *Demoniack* in the Sense of those that are mentioned in the Gospels ; no more than the Woman whom St. *Luke* mentions c. xiii. 11—16, who is said to have had a *Spirit of Infirmity eighteen Years*, and to be bound by *Satan* so long. She was never reputed a *Demoniack* ; but only to be so bent in her Body, as not to be able to lift herself up. A *Spirit of Infirmity* is nothing but an *infirm Disposition* or *Habit*, in the Jewish Phraseology : and the Christian Writers are full of the same Manner of Expressions, applying to every Vice, and every Passion, and every Disposition, the Name of *Spirit*. And as to the other Expression,——*Satan hath bound her,*——That Word would have been used, whatever was the true Cause of this Indisposition, or whatever was the Obstruction to her Health. *Satan* is nothing else but *Adversary*, and is to be understood according to the Subject to which it is applied. Thus *Matt. xvi. 23,* Our Saviour says to St. *Peter,* *Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an Offence unto me,* i. e. You are an *Adversary* to the Means by which

God

God intends to erect his Kingdom, and you talk as such. *Peter* here is called *Satan*, from his opposing the Means of the Christian Dispensation. And so to be *bound of Satan*, when applied to an *Infirmity*, means no more than that which was an Adversary to Health, be it what it would. The Woman here, seems to be a *devout, religious, good, Woman*: She was in the *Synagogue* before her Cure; and as soon as she was cured, she *glorified God*. Our Saviour bears this Testimony to her, that *She was a Daughter of Abraham*; by which he meant to commend her for her *Faith*, and *good Disposition* of Mind. Why then should we imagine the *Devil*, or the *Prince of Devils*, to have been in her so many Years? Might not one have Grounds to think that he would have perverted her *Mind*, and not her *Body*; or have distorted her *Soul*, and not have made her Carcase *crooked*?

That it was customary for the Jews to apply the Term, *Satan*, to any *Enemy*, is plain from 2 *Chron.* xxi. 1. compared with the 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1. In the former it is said—*Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel*. In the latter it is said—*The Anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and HE moved David against them, to say, Go number Israel*. Not that GOD moved *David* to do as he did; for then there had been no Fault: but it was somebody

body that was an *Enemy* of the *Israelites* in the Event. And so 2 *Sam.* xix. 22. *David* says to *Abisha*, *What have I to do with you, ye Sons of Tserujah, that ye should be Satan to me?* i. e. that ye should be such deadly *Enemies* to me. So here in the Case of this *infirm Woman*, *Satan* had bound her: whatever was the Cause of her *Infirmity*, whether it proceeded from a natural Cause, or from some malicious Blow, or any other mischievous Accident, which in the Event proved so fatal to her, the Jews would say, that *Satan* bound her. *Judæis usitatissimum erat morbos—quibus distortum est corpus—malis Spiritibus attribuere.* Lightfoot on *Matt.* xvii. 15.

This Case then was mere *Infirmity*: But every Instance of Persons called *Demoniacks* are Instances of *Epilepsy*, or of *Madness*. Thus, *Aët's* viii. 7. *The People attended to Philip, who cast out unclean Spirits crying with a loud Voice; i. e. he cured Men that were raving.* And so *Matt.* ix. 32, 33. *They brought unto him a dumb man, possessed with a Devil: and when the Devil was cast out, the dumb spake.* Again, *Matt.* xii. 22. *They brought unto him One possessed with a Devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw.* The *Possession* being the same as being *mad*, the Circumstances which attended it shew how the Man was affected. *E. g.* in the Case just mentioned, the *Madman* was a
blind

blind Man, and *dumb*, either through natural Infirmity, or else fullen through his Distemper. And if at any Time a determinate Number of Devils are said to have possessed any Person, *e. g. Mary Magdalene, out of whom went Seven Devils, Luke viii. 2. Mark xvi. 9.*—The Meaning is, that she had affirmed in her *Melancholy*, that she had so many Devils in her, just as the Madman said that he had a *Legion of Devils* in him. This will easily shew us the Meaning of what is said in the *Acts*, c. xix. 13—16, concerning the *vagabond Jews who took upon them to call over them which had evil Spirits the Name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth.*—And the Evil Spirit answered and said, *Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye? And the Man in whom the Evil Spirit was, leapt on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that House naked and wounded. The mad man fell upon them, and tore their Cloaths off their Backs, and wounded them. These Vagabond exorcists pretended by certain Charms to cure this Disorder. They finding that the Apostles, endued with supernatural Powers from on high, did in the Name of Jesus easily and instantaneously cure any Disease; They, I say, likewise pretended to this Power; and being able by their Charms, or Exorcisms, to do nothing,*

they suffered justly the Demerit of their Rashness and Folly.

It will be worth our while on this Occasion to consider a little the Practices of these *wagabond Jews*, these strolling Cheats. St. Luke here describes them as ^b *Strollers, taking upon them to expel Devils by the Name of the Lord Jesus*. This was a new Trick they had taken up: for the usual Practice among them had been to do it in the Name of the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. When *Justin Martyr*, and *Origen*, speak of *Jews* and *Gypsies* driving away Devils, they do it as if there was found to be a singular Force or Charm in those Words. ^c *If you exorcise, says Justin against Trypho, in the Name of any of your Kings, or Just men, or Prophets, or Patriarchs, none of the Devils [or Demons] will obey you: But if indeed any of you exorcise by the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, probably he will obey*. However, it is observable, ^d that these *Exorcists* did not rest the Event upon the *Charm* they used; but they

^b Περιερχομένων.

^c Ἐάν κατά πάντος ὀνόματι τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν γεγραμμένων ἢ βασιλέων ἢ δικαίων, ἢ προφητῶν, ἢ πατριάρχων ἐξορκίζητε ὑμεῖς, εἴχ' ὑποταγησεται εἰς τὸν τῶν δαιμονίων· ἀλλ' εἰ ἄρα ἐξορκίζοι τις ὑμῶν κατά τῶ θεῶ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ θεῶ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ θεῶ Ἰακώβ, ἵσως ὑποταγησεται. Justin cont. Tryph p. 311.

^d Τῆ τέχνῃ—χρησμένοι ἐξορκίζουσι, καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ καταδύσμονι χάνται. Ibid.

had Recourse to *Art*: they used *Chains* to secure, as well as strong *Scents* to expel the *Demon* out of, the *Demoniack*.

Origen seems to impute the whole Cure to the mere *Sound* of the Words which these *Strollers* used; and He is of Opinion that the Sounds——*The God of Abraham*——rightly spoken, were effectual to drive away Devils. I say *rightly spoken*: For the *Jewish* *Strollers* and the *Gypsies*, were not to use the *Greek* Words, nor did they in their Charms: But they took Care to pronounce *Hebrew* Words, the better to impose upon the ignorant People. ^d*The Egyptians*, says he, *who did not know who Abraham was*, yet used the Words *the God of Abraham*; and so they did, *Isaac* and *Jacob* and *Israel*; and imputed to, and *promised great Wonders* from those *Hebrew* Sounds; and made it a Part of their *Secret*. Sometimes the *Jews* said in their Charms, ^e*The God of Israel, the God of the Hebrews, the God that drowned the King of the Egyptians, and the Egyptians, in the Red Sea*: And this

^d Πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπαδόντων δαίμονας χρῶνται ἐν ταῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν τῶν ὀ Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ.—σὺν ἐπιστήμοι· οὐ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀβραάμ. Τὰ δ' αὐτὰ λεκτέον καὶ περὶ τῶ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ περὶ τῶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ περὶ τῶ Ἰσραὴλ, ἅτινα ὁμολογημένως Ἑβραϊά ἐντα ὀνόματα πολλαχῶς ταῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις ἐπαγγελιομένοις ἐνέργειάν τινα ἐνέσπαρται μαθήμασι. Orig. c. Cell. l. 1. p. 17.

^e Ὁ Θεὸς τῶ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ καταποτάσας ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ Θαλάσσῃ τὸν Αἰγυπτίαν βασιλέα καὶ τὰς Αἰγυπτίους, πολλαχίς ἐνομάζεται παραλαμψανέμῃ κατὰ δαιμόνων. Ibid. l. 4. p. 184.

was of mighty Influence against Demons, as *Origen* tells us, Book 4. p. 184.

One may well wonder, whence it is that such impudent *Vagabonds* with nothing but hard Names in their Mouths, should be able to gull and impose on so many as they did. But one would more wonder that Men of Learning, such as *Origen* was, should contend for the Power and Efficacy of such *Sounds* upon real Distempers. The Sons of *Sceva* might pretend to cast out evil Spirits by a new Charm as they thought; and they might pretend to vye with *St. Paul*, in the miraculous Cure of distempered Persons, *in the Name of Jesus*. But for Men of Sense to endeavour to account for these Practices of Cheats, I mean for Wonders and prodigious Cures done, by *Sounds*, and *Charms* of Words, and such Sort of *magical* Operation, is, methinks, to promote the Cheat, and to encourage the World to consult Inchanters, and Witches, and Wizards, and Necromancers, notwithstanding it is said so expressly, that they which do such Things are *an Abomination to the Lord*, Deut. xviii. 12.

The Place where these Sons of *Sceva* pretended to cast out Devils by the Name of *Jesus*, viz. *Ephesus*, puts me in Mind of the *Ephesian* Letters which *Plutarch* in his *Symposiacs* says, *the Magicians commanded such as were posses-*

† Οἱ Μάγοι τὰς δαιμονιζομένους κελύουσι τὰ Εφέσια γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὰς καταλέγειν ἢ ὀνομάζειν. Plut. Sympos. Lib. vii. c. 5.
scilicet

sed by Devils [or Demons] to read over, and pronounce, when they were by themselves. Ridiculous Words! Senseless Sounds! fit to cheat the ignorant with! They are of the same Stamp with the famous *Abracadabra*, or *Abraxas*, and a thousand others. The Reader may see the original *Ephesian* Words, (for some Cheats had afterwards added others to them,) in *Hesychius*, ε' Ασκι, Κατάσκι, Αίξ, Τέτραξ, Δαμνάμενευς, Αΐσιον. They are just such Cant Words as now our strolling Gypsies use: by' Ασκι they meant *Darkness*, Κατάσκι *Light*, by Αίξ, *He*; Δαμνάμενευς signified *the Sun*, and Αΐσιον, *True*; as for Τέτραξ, it is not explained. This will shew sufficiently, what *Eusebius* has observed in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, Lib. 3. c. 1. That these Impostors when they did any thing, ^h made use of certain Charms with unintelligible, inarticulate, and barbarous Sounds.

It is easy from the Instances produced to understand any other Case which the New Testament Writers mention. Their *Demoniacs* are much the same with the *Cerriti*, or *Larvati*, or *Lymphatici*, of the antient Romans, or with those whose Disorders are mentioned by *Hippocrates*, as coming from the Gods. Not that any of the Antients could

ε Εφέσια, γράμματα, ἣν μὲν πάλαι, ὑστερον δὲ προσέθεσαν τινὲς ἀπατεῶνες καὶ ἄλλα. φασὶ δὲ τῶν πρώτων τὰ ὀνόματα τάδε. ἀσκι, &c. *Hesychius*.

^h Μετὰ τινὲ ἀσκήν καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ἐπιρήσεως. *Euf. Præ. Evan.*
l. 3. c. 1.

prove, that those whom they called *Demoniacs*, or *Cerriti*, or *Larvati*, were really possessed by the Souls of *Ceres*, or *Apollo*, &c. or by the *Larvæ*. These Terms might imply an Hypothesis originally, in order to account for certain Disorders; but they do not imply the Truth of Things. And when once Words are applied to such or such Disorders, every Man that speaks of such Cases must use the technical Terms, and cannot with any Justice be deemed to approve the Hypothesis, because he speaks as Custom has made it necessary.

But against this way of interpreting the Scripture, it is objected

First, that the Scriptures and Ecclesiastical Writers make a constant and a plain Distinction betwixt these two things, *the curing of Diseases*, and *the casting out Devils*. Thus *Matt. iv. 24*; *They brought to him all sick People that were taken with diverse Diseases, and those which were possessed with Devils; and those which were Lunatick, and those that had the Palsy*. So likewise, *Matt. x. 1*. He gave to the Disciples *Power against unclean Spirits to cast them out, and to heal all Manner of Sicknes and Diseases*. And *Mark i. 34*. Our Saviour *beheld many that were sick of diverse Diseases, and cast out many Devils*. And thus too *Luke iv. 40, 41*. *All they that had any sick with diverse Diseases brought them unto him; and he laid his Hands on every one of them*

them and healed them, and Devils also came out of many crying out and saying, *Thou art Christ the Son of God.* To all this the Answer is obvious,

That what is usually called *Possession of Devils*, is no more to be distinguished from Disease, or Sicknes, than the *Palsy* is, which in the very first Citation from *St. Matthew* is put in the same Manner as *Lunacy* is, and is contradistinguished from *Diseases*. In truth, the proper Rendering is, He cured all that were taken with diverse Diseases, even *Demoniacks*, *Lunatics*, and *Paralyticks*. In the other Passages the Sense is very clear: He gave the Disciples Power over unclean Spirits, and not only that Power, but likewise to heal all other Distempers. As to Himself, our Saviour cured the sick, and likewise all Sorts of Lunacy. Lunacy or Madness is a Disease which appears in different Shapes: ⁱ *Some are merry, some are sad, some are easily kept within Bounds, and are only mad in their Words; others are furious and outrageous, and of these some only offend in using Violence, others apply Arts, and look and act as if they were in their Senses*

ⁱ *Alii hilares, alii tristes sunt, alii facilius continentur, et intra verba desipiunt, alii insurgunt, et violenter quædam manu faciunt, atque ex his ipsis alii nihil nisi impetu peccant, alii etiam artes adhibent summamque speciem sanitatis in captandis malorum operum occasionibus præbent, sed exitu deprehenduntur.*
Celsus lib. 3. c. 18.

only to catch an Opportunity of doing Mischief: The Difference betwixt them is discovered by the Event; as Celsus has rightly observed. It is very hard to cure this Distemper by natural Means; and so it is to cure the Palsy: They who are afflicted with it ^k seldom are brought to be well again, and generally drag on a miserable Life, losing their Memories: Sometimes it is acute in particular Members; often it is a long Disease; commonly it is an incurable one. Celsus lib. 3. c. 27. The Meaning therefore of these Passages is, That our Saviour healed all Sorts of sick Persons; even those that were most difficult to cure.

If it be said, that the Scriptures not only make a Distinction betwixt *curing Diseases*, and *casting out Devils*; but likewise in this Passage of St. Matthew betwixt those that were *possessed with Devils*, and those that were *Lunaticks*. I might answer,

That *Theophylact* did not read in his Copy those Words,——*And those which were possessed with Devils*: And it is plain they are wanting in some MSS. v. *Mills in loc.* In some Copies which have the Words——*And those which were possessed with Devils*——the following ones——*And those which were Lu-*

^k Raro ad sanitatem perveniunt, et plerumque miserum spiritum trahunt, memoria quoque amissa. In partibus nonnunquam acutus; sæpe longus; fere insanabilis est morbus. *Ibid.* l. 3. c. 27.

naticks — are omitted. But say that the common Reading is the true one, it amounts to no more than this, That our Saviour cured all Sorts of *Madness*, whencesoever it arose, whether it were from Melancholy, or from any other Cause. It is objected,

Secondly, “ The Difference betwixt Demoniacks and Lunaticks is evident from the Circumstances relating to the Devils to be, or that actually were, cast out. *e. g.* Christ suffered not the Devils to *speak*, because they knew him to be the Christ, Mark i. 34. Luke iv. 41. They said, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of God*: They expostulate with Christ, saying, *What have we to do with thee? Art thou come to torment us before the Time?* and pray that he would not torment them: They ask his Leave to *enter into the Swine*; and being entered, they hurried them into the Sea; and beg that they may not be *sent out of the Country*; They acknowledge that their Name was *Legion*. Now to make all these Sayings the Effects of a Disease, or to conceive that Christ *spoke* thus to a *Disease*, is too great an Evidence of one that is himself Diseased.”

As this is the principal Objection, I must be more particular in my Answer. And

First, It is said that Christ suffered not the Devils to speak because they knew him to be the Christ. The plain Meaning of these Texts is,

that he checked the Demoniacks whom he cured, just as he did likewise his immediate Disciples and Followers, if at any time they publicly and openly declared him to be the Christ. It would be foreign to the present Purpose to consider the Reason of this Conduct in our Saviour; and it has been fully and satisfactorily shewn by Others. When a *possessed* Person, *i. e.* a *Lunatick*, declared Jesus to be the Christ, and with an Unguardedness usual to such Men said, what might expose him to Danger, and even Death, before his Time was come, it was right to *rebuke* them, and not to suffer them to talk in that Manner.

Again, 'Tis said, Jesus *rebuked* the Devils, *Luke* iv. 41. Now to conceive that he *spoke* to a *Disease*, is absurd.

The Answer is very obvious; since the same Manner of Expression, nay the same Word, ἐπιτίμησε, is applied to a *Disease* but two Verses before, which is here applied to *Devils*, *i. e.* *Madness*. He *rebuked* the Fever in Peter's Wife's Mother, is no harder to be understood, than He *rebuked* *Madness*, the one being as much a Disease as the other. If by *rebuking* Devils, or Demons, be meant, His not suffering them to say Who he was, This has already been considered. But I must add, that the *Romans* considered *Fever*, as a certain Being to which they ¹built Altars

¹ Ara vetus stat in Palatio Febris. Cicero de Legibus. Ῥωμαῖοι. Πυρετῆ ἄνοστοι. Clemens Protrept. Ὡς ἐν ῥώμῃ πυρετῆ βασιλεῖς ἔσσι. Arrian. in Epiēt. l. i. c. 19.

and sacrificed. In this Case, to rebuke a *Fever* is exactly the same with rebuking a *Devil*. Each was in reality nothing but a *Disease*; and yet each was considered, and treated as if it were a *Person*.

It is said, That the *Devils* cryed out, *Thou art the Christ the Son of God*. Ans. If the Man that was possessed, or *mad*, made such Declarations in Consequence of his Distemper, it may I think in the same Propriety be attributed to the Distemper, as when *St. Paul* says, *Rom. vii. 17, 20. It is no more I that do it, but Sin that dwelleth in me.* The *Madmen* spoke what *Fame* had spread: *For the Fame of Jesus very soon went throughout all Syria, and great Multitudes of People followed him from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan.* *Matt. iv. 24, 25.* Now as this Imprudence, in saying what our Saviour's Circumstances would not admit, was the Effect of Distemper in these *mad* men, and the Distemper was imputed to *Demons*, it was not unnatural to forbid these *Demons*, i. e. the Men who were disordered, to publish what was so unfit and improper to be published. Wherever *Diseases* are treated as *Persons*, or Virtues or Vices are considered as such, it is always usual to speak to them in *personal* Characters. Thus, not to repeat what I just now observed about the Goddess *Fever*, The Goddess *Fides* had a Temple built to

her ; and see how she is addressed in *Plautus's Aulularia*, Act. IV. Sc. 2. *Euclio* says, ^m *Take heed, O Faith, and do not shew any one that my Gold is there.* And *Strobilus* hearing him, says, O Faith, *Do not you be more faithful to him than to me, &c.* I shall presently take Notice of an Instance, where That is directly imputed to a *Devil*, which could belong only to the *Man* that was disordered.

It is added in the Objection, That the *Devils expostulated* with Christ, saying, *Let us alone, What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth: Art thou come to destroy US? I know thee who thou art, the Holy one of God,* Luke iv. 33, 34. Mark i. 23—26. At another Time, *They cried out saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus thou Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before the Time?* Matt. viii. 29.

In the first of these Places, I cannot but take Notice of a very extraordinary Change of

^m *Euclio.* Tu modo cave cuiquam indicassis, aurum meum est isthic, Fides.

————— Verum id te quæso ut prohibefferis, Fides. Vide, Fides, etiam atque etiam nunc, salvam ut aulam abs te auferam.

*Tuæ Fidei concredidi aurum: in tuo luco et fano modo est situm.

Strob. ————— Fides,

Cave tu illi fidelis, quæso, potius fueris, quam mihi.

————— perscrutabor, si inveniam uspiam

Aurum, dum hic est occupatus: sed si repperero, O Fides, Multa congialem plenam faciam tibi fideliam.

Plaut. Aulul. Act. iv. Sc. 2.

Persons. The Man which had A Spirit of an unclean Devil, says, *Let us alone, What have WE to do with thee? Art thou come to destroy US? I know thee who thou art. And Jesus rebuked HIM, saying, hold THY Peace.* Would any but a mad man have reasoned thus? Had he nothing to do with the Holy one of God, who was already so famous for his curing all Manner of Diseases? Or why is it said, *Art thou come to destroy US,* since the Man had but One unclean Spirit? If it be said, that the Word *Us,* relates to the Man, and the unclean Spirit, in what Sense did the Holy one of God come to destroy the Man? I add

2. That the Evangelists sometimes impute that to the Cause of a Disease which is proper and peculiar only to the Man who is distempered: They impute that to Devils which the Man alone could do. And therefore if it be said in some Places, that Devils expostulated with Christ, That may be understood of the Man expostulating; just as when that is imputed to Devils which does not, or cannot, belong to them. e. g. St. Mark says, c. iii. 11. *Unclean Spirits when they saw him, FELL DOWN before him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God. Unclean Spirits saw him, and fell down!* No. The Persons who had the Disorders imputed to unclean Spirits did so. Just in the same Manner as
Devils

Devils fall down *before him*, did they cry out or expostulate with Christ; *i. e.* The Persons who were so or so affected did so.

It was a Remark made at least as long ago as the *Author of the Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, usually annexed to *Justin Martyr*, * That the Scripture attributes to the *Demoniack* the Works of the Demon. The Reverse of this is as true, That the Scriptures attribute to *Demons* the Acts of the *Demoniack*: which shews, that in these Cases, we are not to regard the Letter, but the real and exact Meaning of the Sacred Writers.

To account fully for all the Difficulties in the Other Passage, *Matt.* viii. 29, and the corresponding Places in the Other Evangelists, is something more hard. It has been already observed, that when the Man said, that a *Legion* of Devils was in him, This was nothing but the Answer of a *Madman* to our Saviour that asked him his Name. It is generally supposed that in this Story, it was the Devils which cried out,——*Art thou come hither to torment us before the Time.* But there is no Necessity for this Construction; and it is plain that both *St. Mark* and *St. Luke* expressly ascribe this Declaration to the *Man* himself. *St. Mark's* Words are, ch. v. 6, 7, *When* [the

* Ἡ δὲ εἰς γραφὴ τῶν δαιμονιάωντι προσῆψε δαίμονος τὰ ἔργα.
Quest. et Resp. ad *Orthod.* Quæ. 41.

Man] He *saw* Jesus *afar off*, he *ran and worshipped him*, and *cried out with a loud Voice*, and *said*—*I adjure thee that thou torment me not.* St. Luke expresses himself in the very same Manner—*When He saw Jesus*, he *cried out*, and *fell down before him*, and *with a loud Voice said*, *What have I to do with thee*—*I beseech thee torment me not*, Luke viii. 28. St. Matthew relates this of *Two Men*; and therefore consistently with his Narration, he says—*Art thou come hither to torment Us.* The Reason of the Man's, or Men's, making this Request, seems to be, that they remembered the ill Usage they had formerly met with, when they were bound with *Chains and Fetters*: and consistent with that Notion, they beg of Christ that he would not, βασανίσαι, torment, or vex them. βασανίσαι, which we interpret *to torment*, signifies not only to torment in the way of Punishment, or to extort the Truth, but is used in general in any way *to vex*, or *put to trouble*; and figuratively it is used in Cases where it signifies no more than trying any thing as with or by a Touchstone. In this place the Sense is plain; The Men who had felt the Pain and Anguish arising from being *fetter'd and chain'd*, desire that *Jesus* would not put them to that Torment again.

There is another Difficulty in Relation to this Story; and that is, It is said that the Devils

Devils besought him, that he would not command them to go into the Deep, Luke viii. 31. St Mark says, He, that is, the Man, besought him much that He [Jesus] would not send them away out of the Country. ch. v. 10. In some Copies of St. Mark it is——that He would not send him, i. e. the unclean Spirit, out of the Country. The Lunatick had said that his Name was Legion; that he had many Devils in him; and he had desired that those things which he called Devils, might enter into the Herd of Swine. These were Instances of excessive Madness, and that the Disorder was in a high Degree upon him. The Request here made was another Instance of the same Kind, that Christ would not command them to go into the great Abyss. Had he been in a right Mind at this Time, would he have desired the Company of such malicious Beings near himself, or near his Neighbours? Or would he not have desired them to be sent into the deep, or any where else rather than continue in his Country? The History of this Cure therefore seems to me to be thus. When This Man, who was not in his right Mind, saw Jesus, he ran and worshipped him: Jesus upon this commanded the Disorder to cease: Before this Effect was produced, or whilst the Madman was before our Saviour, He requested that Jesus would not command the Devils (which were, as he said, many that were entred into him).

him) to go into the Deep; and seeing the Swine there, he besought him that he would suffer *the Devils* to go into Them. This was all the Effect of high Madness; and natural upon that Supposition: It was as natural for such a Man, or Men, to run amongst the Herd and drive them down the Precipice. And when this Mischief was thus done by the *Madmen*, could any thing, after they were brought to a *right Mind*, be more natural, than for them to desire to be taken along with *Jesus*, when he left that Country?

Another Difficulty in relation to this Cure is, That, *Matt. viii. 29*, The Madmen say to Christ, *Art thou come hither to torment Us before the time?* When it is asked, *What Time?* the common Answer is, Before the time of the *Day of Judgment*, until which the *Evil Angels are reserved in Chains under Darknes*. *2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude 6*. I am apt to think, that this Passage may more justly and consistently be accounted for thus. When the Men saw our Saviour, (known sufficiently thereabouts, and famed for curing all Disorders) they cried out, *Art thou come ὧδε hither*, viz. into the Country of the *Gergesenes*, ὁ πρὸ καιροῦ, *ante tempus*, i. e. unseasonably; sooner than was expected or desired, to vex us? Or it may be, *Art thou come*, ὁ thus, after

ὁ Πρώτον, πρὸ καιροῦ. *Hesych.*

ἢ ὧδε, Οὕτως, εἰς τέτον τὸν τόπον. *Hesych.*

this manner, untimely, to *torment* us? In this Sense $\omega\rho\theta\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ will be opposed to $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\omega}$, or $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, or $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$, which signify *opportunately*, or *seasonably*; and will be the same as $\omega\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, or $\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, *untimely*, *unseasonably*. But this I submit, as I do whatever I have said on this Subject, to the Judgment of the candid Reader, who will take the trouble of examining and considering all the Circumstances of this Cure, which on all imaginable Schemes must be allowed to be attended with some Difficulties.

A *Third* Objection is taken from hence, That Christ sometimes puts Questions to these Demons, asking their *Names*: Sometimes he commands them to be *silent*: And sometimes to *come out* of a Man, and *enter no more* into him. v. *Mark* i. 25. *Luke* iv. 31. *Mark* ix. 25.

The Answer to these Difficulties is easily collected from what has been already said. *e. g.* He did not ask the *Devil*, but the disordered *Man*, his Name: When the Man saw Jesus, *He* cryed aloud—And Jesus said unto *Him*, what is *Thy* Name. When in *St. Luke* it is said, *Devils came out of many, crying out and saying, Thou art Christ the Son of God; and he rebuking them, suffered them not to speak, or to say that they knew him to be the Christ,*—The Meaning is, He rebuked the Persons who had such Disorders

ders upon them, when he cured them; nor would he suffer them to publish openly that he was the *Christ*. When it is said, that Devils were commanded to *come out* of a Man, it is the same Sort of Language with *rebuking a Fever*: which if any one should take too rigidly, it would imply the *Fever* likewise to be an intelligent Being, or a *Goddeſs* as the *Romans* made it. The Meaning therefore of such Expressions is no more than, “ *Be thou cured*; or be free from “ this Disorder.” These Disorders being supposed, possibly, to arise immediately from Demons residing in, and working upon the Body, it was natural enough to speak *as to* them, and to command them: Whereas when now those Cases are looked upon as proceeding from different Causes, the Language must necessarily be changed, and it must sound harsh to our Ears. When the Gods were supposed to inhabit any *Statue*, the People made no Scruple of addressing them as in that Statue; they spoke to them in that; and worshipped them in that; and implored their Aid from that; and Custom made it easy and familiar to them to do so. But to Us the Language and the Notion being rare, we think it harsh to talk of *rebuking a Fever*, or to speak to Demons, when we know that the Disorder is owing to quite a different Cause.

A Fourth Objection is, that *these* Demoni-acks were of such Strength, that no Chains or Fetters could bind them. Mark v. 3. Nor is it possible for *Diseases* to fear to be destroyed, or sent out of the Country, or into the Abyss, by Christ, since this is an Absurdity that strikes one at the first Sight.

It is easy to answer to this, that these Expressions,——*no Man could bind him, no not with Fetters,*——can mean no more than this, that the disordered Person had been often bound with *Fetters and Chains*, and he had often broke loose. There needs no straining of Words to answer this; And as to the other Part of the Objection, it is founded upon mistaking the Texts, as has been shewn.

I know not by what Authority the *Author* of the *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox* asserts, that ^m*the Demon did not enable the Man to break his Chains and Fetters, but the Demon himself broke them.* This is owing to an Hypothesis, which has been shewn sufficiently to be groundless.

But the *Last* Objection appears to have some Weight in it, *viz.* Why would *Jesus* countenance such a Notion as this, if there were really no such things as *Demons*, nor Persons possessed

Ἡ ὄψις τῷ σώματι παρέχεν ὁ δαίμων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι συντρίβειν καὶ ἀφάρρῳσαι τὰ δεσμά καὶ τὰς ἀλύσεις. ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ὁ δαίμων συντρίβει καὶ διέρρησε τὰ δεσμά καὶ τὰς ἀλύσεις, εἰ καὶ ἡ θεία γραφή τῶν δαιμονίωντι προσῆψε τῷ δαίμονι τὰ ἔργα. Quest. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos. Resp. 41.

by them? Why would he not rid Men of such pernicious Opinions, and plainly tell them, that these *Possessions* were nothing else but *Lunacy* or *Epilepsy*, or whatever other Name the Disorder had?

To this I answer, that no Man conceives the Design of the sacred Writings to be to correct the Mistakes of Men in *Physick*, more than it is in *Astronomy*, or any other Art: No nor is it its Design to guard against wrong Notions of God himself. It speaks of God in the Language of the Vulgar, in a figurative manner, and supposes all Men to have such common reasonable Notions of him, as not to understand literally what is said of his *Hands* and *Ears* and *Eyes*. It speaks of the Motion of the Sun, and the Rest of the Earth; and yet it is now universally known that that is a groundless Hypothesis. And so here; It was the miraculous Cure which our Saviour did, the Cure of all Sorts of Distempers, whatever they were, and how long soever they had continued, which was the thing by which he evinced what he was: But as to the *Cause* of such Disorders, it was of no Consequence to his Design to explain them. This was what indeed the Philosophers of old expected: *They seek after Wisdom*, says St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 22. But what was foreign to our Saviour's Purpose he very wisely avoided, content with what would
 prove

prove him to be *Christ the Power and the Wisdom of God.*

And now to resume the Questions proposed at first, the Answer to them is very easy. How comes it to pass that we read of so many Persons just at *the particular Time* of our Saviour's Appearance under the Power of *Devils?*

Answer. We meet with no more at *that Time*, than we meet with *now*; or than were in Being at *all Times* equally, and will be always, when their Case is rightly understood.

Q. Whence is it that we so *rarely* meet with Accounts of the *same Disorders* amongst Men, either *before*, or *after*, the Times of our Saviour?

A. The Instances produced of Persons *supposed* to be possessed *by the Gods*, shew that there were always such like Cases in the World. The Philosophy of the Antients was entirely groundless in these Matters; and now their Language, founded on their Hypotheses, is made the Foundation of the present Confusion in Men's Minds.

Q. Whence was it that God permitted so much *Power* to such *unclean Spirits*, who seem to delight in doing Mischief?

A. God did not permit in Fact any such Power as is imagined to *unclean Spirits*: nor was there any Instance of *unclean Spirits* having

ving such Power over the Bodies of Men, when the Case comes to be examined thoroughly.

Q. What then were those *Possessions* which are so frequent in the New Testament?

A. They appear all to be such Cases of *Madness*, or of *Epilepsy*, as all the Antients agreed in imputing to their *Gods*, or *Demons*. The New Testament Writers made use of the Terms and Language usual in their Times: And as the Hypotheses they then had in Philosophy equally served the Purpose of our Saviour in his great Designs, as the very exactest Truth would have done, it had been to no Purpose for him to have engaged in Disputes, or to have opposed the received Notions. His Cause would not have been in a better Way; nor would the Cause of the *One God* in Opposition to Idolatry; or of *Religion* and *Virtue* in Opposition to *Vice*, have been better promoted, by refuting the *Demonology* then received, than by using the common ordinary Language: it was enough that our Saviour shewed a *Power* over all that was before Him, and cured the Diseases *with a Word*, which to every body else were *incurable*.

A N

ESSAY

Towards VINDICATING the

LITERAL SENSE

OF THE

DEMONIACKS,

IN THE

New Testament;

In answer to a late *Enquiry into the*
Meaning of them.

By Mr ~~Thomas~~ Churton

Ἐθεώρουν τὸν σατανὰν ὡς ἄστροπὴν ἐκ τῆς θέραις
πεσόντα. Luke x. 18.

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

A N

E S S A Y

Towards VINDICATING the

L I T E R A L S E N S E

Of the DEMONIACKS in the
NEW TESTAMENT, &c.

IT is, no doubt, a very commendable Employment, and a very useful Design, to endeavour to clear up the Difficulties of *Scripture*, to let in Light to any of its dark Passages, to solve the Doubts, and answer the Objections, which may have been raised, concerning them. And it is as unquestionably our Duty to receive such Interpretations, as contribute most to these Ends. *Si nusquam occulta esset Scriptura, non te exerceret.* For these, as well as other Reasons, God might please to leave

some Difficulties in the *Sacred Writings*, to exercise our Diligence in enquiring, and to try our Honesty, in adhering to what, upon Enquiry, appears best.

It is more to be desired, than expected, to be able, in every Case, to hit on an Interpretation, which is perfectly satisfactory, and which leaves no just room for any farther Contention. There are Places capable of several Senses, for all of which a great deal may be said; and yet not one of them raise in the Mind so full an Assent, as to put an end to all Doubt. Here, it must be reasonable to examine carefully each Meaning, to weigh impartially their several Difficulties and Advantages, and receive that, which, on the whole, we find attended with *fewest* Objections, tho' it may not be free from *all*. Where we cannot come at absolute Certainty, we must be content with the best Light we can get, and embrace what appears most probable. This will often happen in our Study of the *Scriptures*, of those Parts of them, which do not immediately relate to Articles of Faith, or Rules of Life.

In general, I believe it must be allowed, that the Presumption lies on the Side of the *literal Meaning* of any Book. This will ever first occur to the Mind of the Reader, and seems to claim his Attention, unless it be contrary to any allowed Principles, inconsistent with the reasoning in the same Place, or with the clear Sense of the same Book in any other part. Indeed,
if

if *common Sentiments* be not at all intelligible, no one wants an *Excuse*, for *varying from them*, *Enq.* p. 43; and we are at liberty to seek out for, or even to *guess at*, another Supposition which is so. And if this Supposition be also *rational*, we are obliged to receive it. But there is a wide difference between a Meaning's being entirely *unintelligible*, and its being attended with *Difficulties*. Our Ignorance of the *Reason* is no sort of Argument against the *Fact*. There are few Truths, which we can perfectly account for. Tho' therefore the plain literal Meaning should have some *Difficulties*, still it may stand, and these not be considerable enough to disprove it. I own, if another Sense can be found out clear of all such, or, which has much fewer and lighter, on the Comparison, it is to be chosen. But the *Letter* ought always to be adhered to, where the *Difficulties* are equal, and much more, where they are greater on the Side of the *Figure*.

I am led into these Reflections by reading a late Tract, entitled, *An Enquiry into the Meaning of Demoniacks in the New Testament*. The Author, or * Authors of which have, with Learning and Ingenuity, with Seriousness and Modesty, endeavoured to remove and *to clear up a Difficulty*, which is said naturally to arise in

* I mention this, merely, because the unusual Number of initial Letters in the Title-Page may denote several Hands concerned. For the future, I beg leave to speak of the Author, or to apply to him, in the Singular.

most Men's Minds, upon reading the Cures done by our Saviour on such. (Pref.) I am so far a Friend to Freedom of Debate, that I think, Enquiries made in such a Temper and Spirit, well deserve the Attention of the Publick, and the Consideration of serious and thinking Men. And I flatter my self, that this Gentleman has the same regard to Liberty, and will excuse me, if I make use of it, to examine his Reasons, and to differ from his Sentiments.

The Difficulty was raised by the truly pious and learned Mr. Mede, and is in effect this. If the *Demoniacks* were really Persons possessed by Devils, whence came it to pass, that we hear of them in no other Nation or Age, but in *Judea*, and there too, about the Time of our Saviour's being on Earth, only? And farther, that then this was not looked upon as any strange or extraordinary Thing? In order to avoid this, Mr. Mede imagined, that by *Demoniacks* in the *New Testament*, we are not to understand Persons properly possessed, but such as were afflicted with some particular Distempers, which the World, misled by Prejudices, looked upon as proceeding from Demons; such as *Madness*, the *Epilepsy*, and such like. This Scheme the *Author of the Enquiry* has proceeded upon, opened at large, and applied to the most remarkable Cases of this sort in the *New Testament*. And indeed, it effectually destroys the general Difficulty, and puts an end to all the Wonder which can arise from thence. But the Question

is,

is, Whether it be not liable to other Difficulties, more in Number, and harder to be got over? The *common Sentiment* here is very *intelligible*, and ought therefore to keep its Ground against any *Conjectures*, which may be offered in its room, if these are not less exceptionable.

Before I go farther, it may be proper to testify my Satisfaction in this Gentleman's Reasoning, in his Preface; where he says, that "the Cause of Christ is not affected" by this Dispute. "For" on both Suppositions, "a real Miracle is done; the Person affected is cured; and the Evidence arising from Miracles for the Truth of Christianity is equally strong." But then I must add, and I believe this Author will agree with me, on a View of what I shall advance, that if it be true, we have an additional Evidence of our Religion. So that, by his Scheme, our Faith is not hurt, by the common one, it is necessarily confirmed.

The better to compare both together, and to range what I have to say in some Order, I proceed to consider them distinctly; and, in examining his Interpretation, will, first, view what he has urged in Defence of it, and then propose such Objections, as occur to me, against it.

The *Enquiry*, Pag. 2. begins with some Observations about *the general Notion of Demons among the ancient Greeks*; which I can't think to the present Purpose of settling the Meaning of the *Demoniacks in the New Testament*. For, however indifferent the Use of the Word $\Delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\upsilon$

μων might be among those, yet *Δαιμόνιον* in *Scripture*, is always, when designed to shew the Opinion of the sacred Writers, used in a bad Sense, and applied to the *Devil*, or to *Idols*, as has been observed by Criticks ancient and modern*. It is therefore probable, that this different Acceptation of the Word will and must occasion a peculiar Acceptation of that derived from it; and that we cannot have any Light from the general Sense of *Δαίμων* among the *Greeks*, to determine the Sense of *δαιμονιζόμενοι* in the *New Testament*.

Indeed this Gentleman tells us, *P. 4.* that
 “ this Notion of *Demons*, that they were the
 “ *Souls* of such as once had lived upon Earth,
 “ is so universally allowed by Jews and Chri-
 “ stians, as well as Heathens, that scarce any

* To *Celsus*, who pleaded, that *Demons*, as well as *Gods*, descended from Heaven for the Service of Men, *Origen* answers, *ἐκ ὧν, ὅτι τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων ὄνομα εἰδὲ μέσον ἐστίν, ὡς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν αἷς τινὲς μὲν ἀσθεῖαι, τινὲς δὲ φαυλοὶ εἰσιν — ἀεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν φαύλων ἔξω τῆ παχυτέρας σάμαλις δυνάμειαν τάσσεται τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων ὄνομα, πλανώσαν καὶ περισπᾶσαν τὰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ καθεκτόσαν ἀπὸ τῆ Θεῶ καὶ τῶν ὑπερβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε πράγματα.* *L. 5. Ed. Cantab. p. 234.*

Nos autem, sicut S. Scriptura loquitur, secundum quam Christiani sumus, Angelos quidem partim bonos, partim malos, nunquam verò bonos dæmones legimus. Sed ubicunque illarum literarum hoc nomen positum reperitur, sive dæmones, sive dæmonia dicantur, non nisi maligni significantur Spiritus. *Aug. de Civ. Dei. L. 9. c. 19. Twell's Crit. Exam. Part 1. p. 116. H. Steph. Lex. in voce Δαίμων. Warren's Answer to Plain Account, Part 2. p. 7, &c. Vid. etiam Du Frêne Gloss. V. 2. in voc. Dæm. August. ubi supra, adds, that not even the Heathens ever said, Dæmonem habes, but by way of Curse, and Reproach. Grotius on Matth. iv. 24. observes, That the Hellenists used Δαίμων in an ill Sense, as the Hebrews did Baal; tho' both originally indifferent in their Signification.*

“ one will dispute it.” But if he means, that this is the proper Notion of the *Scripture Demons*, I apprehend he is mistaken, and will find but few that affirm it. He quotes *Justin Martyr*, and *Josephus*. As to the former, what wonder can it be, that one bred up in the Schools of the *Platonick Philosophy*, should not be able to get rid of all the Notions he learned there, and should still retain a Prejudice, which could have no very ill Consequence? And that the other, to recommend his Histories to the Heathens, for whose Sake he wrote them, should probably have adopted one of their Mistakes, and given an Explication of the Word *Δαιμόνιον*, which they had been used to? However this be, it is certain, that this is not the *Scripture Sense* of this Word; which there denotes either *Idols*, or *Devils*. Thus, *Pf. xcvi. 5.* πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν * δαιμόνια. The *Hebrew Word* is אֱלִילִים, which *Lev. xxvi. 1,* is by the *LXX* rendered χειροποίητα, and which is derived from אֵל which signifies, *nothing*, agreeably to what *St. Paul* says, εἰδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ, *1 Cor. viii. 4.* Vid. *Rév. ix. 20.* That the *Scripture* considers the *Gods of the Heathen* as *Devils*, I believe wants no Proof, no more than that they were so looked upon in the *Primitive Church*; of which more hereafter.

The next Point proposed to be considered in the *Enquiry*, is, (*Pag. 5.*) “ Whether” these *De-*

* *Symmachus* ἀνόπαρξις. *Aquila.* ἐπίπλαστοι.

mons, or the *Souls of departed Men*, “ had any
 “ Powers committed to them over Mankind? ”
 This the Gentleman does not think has been
 “ satisfactorily proved, ” and imagines, that
 “ they that attempt to ” do this, “ must prove
 “ with Certainty, that the Heathen Gods and
 “ Goddeses, *Neptune, Hecate, Ceres, Apollo,*
 “ &c. were the real Authors of such Actions,
 “ as were imputed to them.”

Here also I am obliged to differ from the Au-
 thor. I can't think it at all necessary to do so.
 Upon the present Foot of our Debate, it ap-
 pears sufficient to prove, that the *Devils*, the
Scripture Demons, had some “ Powers commit-
 “ ted to them over Mankind.” And this, I be-
 lieve, this Gentleman will not deny. And I
 can't but add, that the general Notion of *Pos-
 sessions*, whether just or not, seem to imply as
 much. The *Jews* certainly had no Notion of
Neptune, Hecate, &c. And yet we find the
 Belief of *Possessions* as strong in them, as in the
Greeks. How to account for a Belief so *uni-
 versally prevailing*, will perhaps be difficult ;
 unless we, at least, have recourse to some tra-
 ditionary Account of *evil and mischievous Spi-
 rits* suffered to range about the World. The
 Prejudices and Superstition of the Heathens here
 are owned. I would beg to know, from whence
 they proceeded? If it be said, from their Fears,
 the Question returns, What gave occasion to
 these? Surely either Experience, or Tradition.
 Men do not use to fear what they have never
 seen

seen or heard of, and what they have no Reason to imagine. — If their *Ignorance* of the true Cause of any Distemper be pleaded as the Reason of their ascribing it to their *Demons*, — This, I own, is not improbable, if we first suppose them acquainted with the Nature of these *Spirits*. But from whence had they this Knowledge? Probably, from what they saw, and from Tradition, which being by degrees corrupted, and mixed with Fable, and like their Prophecies, *obscuris vera involvens*, might come to be, what the Heathens esteemed it. This however, is offered only as a Conjecture. That the *Devils* had a *strict and proper Power* over Men, and that they exercised this Power under the Names of the *Heathen Deities*, is what the *Scripture* supposes, and is all that my present Argument requires.

The Author of the *Enquiry* next observes, *Pag.* 6, 7. that some particular and extraordinary Distempers “were imputed directly to their *Demons*.” He first mentions the *Epilepsy*, which was thence called *lues deifica*, and *morbus sacer*. And from *Hippocrates* he shews, that some Quacks pretended to cure it by *Expiations*, and *Magic Charms*, *P.* 7, 8, 9, 10. Now, besides that this concludes nothing against the *Demoniacs* of *Scripture*, the Sentiments and Language of which can't be supposed to have been borrowed from the *Greeks*, we should take notice, that this is not one of the Cases, which were generally thought *Demoniacal*. To go

no farther than to *P. 9.* of the *Enquiry*, we find from a Passage of *Aristæus* there quoted, that there were several Opinions about this Distemper, and that this was but one Reason, (among others which he assigns) for its being called *Sacred*. Suppose then those, who gave this Reason, were mistaken in this Particular, as I can easily grant they were — what follows? That there were no Persons in those Times *properly possessed*, because these were by some falsely said to be so? — No surely. — Nay the contrary may rather be concluded from hence. For if there were no *real Possessions*, whose Symptoms or Appearances were known, and with which the Case of the *Epileptick* could be compared, 'tis hardly probable, that any one would have thought of representing this as a *Possession*.

Nor can any Thing be drawn from the *Impostors* which appeared then, or from *Hippocrates* speaking with Indignation against them, to prejudice my present Argument. That there should be Cheats, who took hold on the Prejudices of the People, and imposed on their Ignorance; and that so excellent a Physician should discover and expose them, both out of Kindness to the People, and in Vindication of his Profession; there is surely nothing wonderful in this. We see the like happen every Day. But from such Mistakes and Impostures, the Consequence will be only a *Possibility* of other Cases being such. We have not yet the least Proof, that they were *actually* so.

From what has been said, we see a ready Answer to the Argument in the two next Pages, *Enq.* p. 11, 12. It is here supposed that *Tertulian* meant by *Demons*, the *Souls of departed Men* : Whereas it is plain from what we shall have occasion to cite hereafter, that he understood *Devils*, or evil Spirits, which the Gentiles worshipped. And as to the Passage before us, every Word is as applicable to these, as to the others. * P. 12. proceeds on a like Mistake, that *Neptune*, *Mars*, &c. can't be proved to " have such Powers as were usually imputed to them." And that " Many of the Heathen Deities, to whom Distempers were attributed, were nothing but mere imaginary Beings," And therefore that " in both Cases, a mere *Hypothesis* is maintained," that these were the Cause of such Distempers. But what then ? If these were " Imaginary Beings," are the *Devil* and *his Angels* also " Imaginary Beings ?" Have these no *Existence*, or no *Power* over Mankind ? And may it not be something more than " a mere Hypothesis," That these exercised this Power in such a manner, and were the Occasion of Diseases ? These are the only *Scripture Demons*, whose *Possessions* I am concerned to defend, and who were the Authors

* Corporibus quidem et valetudines infligunt, & aliquos casus acerbos ; Animæ vero repentinos et extraordinarios per vim excessus. Suppetit illis ad utramque substantiam hominis adeundam subtilitas et tenuitas sua. Multum spiritalibus viribus licet, ut invisibiles et insensibiles in effectu potius quam in actu suo appareant. *Tertul. Apologet. c. 22.*

and Objects of the Heathen Worship, under the Names of *Mars, Pluto, Hecate, &c.* †

The Paragraph I am examining concludes with the following Rule, which, however plausible it appears, I can't think universally true. " If we find there is nothing in [any Distemper] but what may be the Effect of mere natural Disorder in an human Body, it is absurd to introduce a Deity into the Affair." This is confirmed by that Line of *Horace, nec Deus intersit, &c.* The Poet certainly proves nothing here, as he spake of a quite different Matter. And as to the Rule itself, though it should be allowed to hold in Cases, where we have no Reason to believe any *Possession*, yet it cannot hold against Evidence of *Possessions*, or be sufficient to set it aside. Who can pretend to an exact Knowledge of the Extent of the Power of *evil Spirits*? Who can say, that they can't inflict even natural Diseases? If they can, then, tho' nothing more than mere natural Disorders appear, it *may not* be absurd to introduce them into the Affair. And, if we have sufficient external Testimony, that such Disorders did proceed from them; in such Case, it *is not* absurd,

† " Because those, whom the Gentiles took for *Demons*, and for *deified Souls of their Worthies*, were indeed no other than *evil Spirits*, counterfeiting the Souls of Men deceased, and masking themselves under the Names of such supposed *Demons*, under that Colour to seduce Mankind; therefore the Scripture useth the Name *Demons*, for that they were indeed, and not for what they seemed to be." *Mede's Works*, p. 635. Vid. *H. Grot. de Verit.* L. IV. Sect. III.

to introduce them ; or rather, it is absurd, not to introduce them. As *Scripture* must be owned by *Christians* to be *sufficient Testimony*, this can be no just Rule for examining into the Cases mentioned therein. Where this ascribes any Disorders to *Devils*, however * natural the Effects of such Disorders may be, yet the Persons labouring under them, are to be esteemed *Demoniacs*.

The first Instance the *Enquiry*, p. 13. gives of the Application of this Rule, is that of the *Epilepsy*, the Case of which is reassumed. But I need not repeat what has been said about this. We are no way concerned to vindicate the Heathen in any Mistakes. It is acknowledg'd, that They without Grounds ascrib'd this Distemper *in general* to their Gods. This *Hippocrates* very judiciously and justly confuted, by shewing it *in general* to be τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, *naturally incident to Man*. But they gave him no Occasion to proceed any farther. Had they assign'd any *particular* Cases, and been able to produce as

* That *Devils* had a Power in those Days to inflict Diseases, is owned by Dr. *Hammond*, on *Mat. x. i. xvii. 15.* So *L'Enfant*, on *1 Cor. v. 5.* “ Soit mis dans la puissance du Diable, pour en être tourmenté, affligé de maladies, & de peines temporelles, jusqu' à la mort meme, si Dieu le permet.” Mr. *Locke's* Opinion is much the same, —“ Deliver the Offender up to Satan, that being put thus into the Hands and Power of the Devil, his Body may be afflicted and brought down, &c.” On *St. Paul's Epist.* See also Dr. *Cave's Primitive Christianity*, p. 449.

“ Why may not the Operation of an evil Spirit on the Body create Distempers, as well as the Operations of many Natural Substances ?” *Discourse of our Saviour's miraculous Power of Healing*, &c. 1730. p. 24.

sufficient Evidence, as *Scripture* is to us, that, in these, the Distemper was owing to *evil Spirits*; I apprehend, it would not have been sufficient for him to have pleaded, that the Effects of the Disorder were natural: And he must, notwithstanding this, have admitted such Persons to have been real *Demoniacks*; unless he could have proved those *Spirits* to have had no Existence, or no such Power. Which, I believe, *Hippocrates* would hardly have undertaken to do.

The *Cerriti* and *Larvati* come next to be consider'd, of whom the Author treats pretty largely, *Enquiry*, p. 14--19. proving from *Plautus*, that *Madmen* had those Titles given them, and concluding " That in the same manner, and
 " in the same Propriety of Language, as disorder'd Persons among the *Romans* were
 " called *Cerriti* and *Larvati*, tho' their Disorders did not arise from *Ceres*, or *Larvæ*;
 " Persons may be called *Demoniacks*, tho' *Demons* are not the Cause of their Distempers." p. 19. Were all this granted, I cannot see how it would affect the Point I am defending. The Question is not whether *Madmen*, &c. may be called *Demoniacks*? But whether they are the *only Demoniacs*, or the *Demoniacs* of the *New Testament*? This will by no means be allowed to follow from the other. Thus, to use the same Instance, *Madmen* were called *Cerriti*. But were they the *only Cerriti*? No. *Calepin* informs us, that this Word originally

nally signifies *one tormented by Ceres* ; for the Priests in performing her sacred Ceremonies, were seiz'd with Madness. And he subjoins another Instance very apposite to this Purpose ; And as from Bacchus comes the Word Bacchanis, so from Ceres that of Ceritus *.

The truth of the Case, in short, is this. The Mysteries of the Heathen Gods, and the Ceremonies of their Worship, were perform'd in such a disorderly tumultuous manner, that it had much more the Appearance of Madness, than Religion. Hence the Custom of giving the same Names, or such as were deriv'd from them ; to all Persons, who, whether thro' Misfortune, or otherwise, acted in a like manner. Thus the Word *Bacchor*, came to signify *to rage*, in general : Thus *Ceritus* : Thus *δαίμωνια*, (the first Sense of which is to be possessed with a Demon,) * from the furious Actions usually observ'd in such, came to be used for *to be mad*. These secondary Senses then may be allowed, but ought not to exclude or prejudice the primary original Interpretations ; on which they are wholly grounded, and which indeed they greatly confirm †.

* Ceritus, hoc est Cereris irâ et indignatione vexatur, *δαίμωνια*. Nam in Cereris Sacris furore corripiebantur. Et sicut a Baccho bacchantem dicimus, sic a Cerere Ceritum. *Caesp. Diab.*

* *δαίμωνια* ἐστὶ *δαίμωνος* κατέχεται. *Hesych.*

† Thus also the Author of the *Enquiry* himself, p. 22, 23. affords us an Instance of this in the Words, *Fate*, & *vaticinari*, which were applied to *Madness* and *Madmen*, without destroying the Reality of the *Prophets*, or the Use of the Words, in this their first Meaning.

Thus also *Larvatus* was used for a *Madman*. But from whence arose this Sense? *H. Steph.* in his *Thesaurus*, tells us, from *Festus*, *Larvatus, mente motus, QUASI à larvis exterritus*. This should seem to imply, that there had been Instances of Persons really *so affrighted*. And I hope I shall not be thought superstitious, if I think it probable there were such. For if the *Larvæ* were indeed, what the Author of the *Enquiry*, p. 16. owns they were imagined to be, “ mischievous and wicked Spirits;” then they were something more than *Speâtres*, and there is no Difficulty in believing, that they might *terrify* and *torment* Men. And I am confirmed in this Supposition, by observing, how nearly the Account we have, p. 18. from *Apuleius*, of “ the ordinary Notion concerning these *Larvæ*,” corresponds with the *Scripture* Account of *evil Spirits* *. Are those said to be *punished on Account of their ill Deserts in Life*? So *St. Peter* speaks of these, 2 Ep. ii. 4. ὁ Θεὸς ἀγγέλων ἀμαρτησάντων ἐκείσεσται. Are they *punished with a sort of Banishment, always rambling about*? Exactly the same is the Account of the *Devil*, *Jobi*. 7. 1 *Pet.* v. 8. *Were they vain Terrors to good Men, but to evil Men noxious*? It would be needless to cite particular Texts to justify this

* Propter adversa vitæ merita, nullis bonis sedibus, incertâ vagatione, seu quodam exilio punitur, inane terriculamentum bonis hominibus, cæterum malis noxium, hunc plerique *Larvam* perhibent. *Apuleius de Deo Socratis*.

Comparison. — The whole Character of *evil Spirits* in *Scripture* makes it good. — We see then, how probable it is, that the *Larvæ* were imagined to be, what they really were; that they were not mere *Speētres*, but actual Beings, whose Nature prompted them to do Mischief, and who might be permitted, in some Measure, by the *Supreme Being*, to do it. Nor can it be any Objection to this, that they were known by these Names; that their Natures might be a little misunderstood; or that they gave Occasion to a real Distemper's being called after them.

As to the *νυμφολήπτοι*, or *Lymphatici*, which are mentioned in *the Enquiry*, p. 19. I find great Difference about the origin of the Word. We saw that *Calepin* made them the same with the *Ceriti*. *Hesychius's* Interpretation is, *Persons possess'd with the Nymphæ, and Prophefying under their actual Influence*.*

Others derive it from the poetical Stories of the *Nymphs*, and from some, who were represented as seized by Madness, for having seen them coming out of the Water †. Others make it only a most particular sort of Madness, when Men have such a Terror of the Water upon them, that they can't forbear plunging into it §. And it has

* οἱ κατεχόμενοι νύμφαις, μάντις δὲ εἶσι καὶ ἐπιθιαστικοί.

† Dicitur νυμφιῶν furore corripi ob visam Numphæ effigiem, seu speciem è fonte. *H. Steph. Lex.*

§ Alii autem Lymphatos dici existimant eos, qui metu et horrore quodam aquæ afficiuntur, adeo ut se sæpè in eam præcipitent: Quos Græci ὑδροφόβος appellant. *Ibid.*

been observed, that *Aristotle* applied the Word *υμφιάω* to *Mares*. So that amidst such a Variety of Interpretations, it may be hard to say, whether any *Possession*, strictly speaking, was intended by these Expressions; or not. The Gentleman thinks “they plainly meant no-
 “thing but certain Distempers, and to which
 “certain Medicines were applied.” And he goes on to mention from *Pliny* several of these Remedies, most of which indeed are ridiculous enough. But from their being so ridiculous, it may be concluded, that something more than *mere Madness* was conceived to be the Case. For by far the greatest Part of these Medicines are equally as unsuitable to this, as to *real Possession*. If this be supposed, *Superstition* will easily account for the Absurdity of ordering such things; since nothing is so ridiculous, which *Superstition* will not lead Men to. But if these were only *conceiv'd* to be common Disorders, nothing could be more absurd, than to apply some of these Remedies. I will mention only one we find, *Enq.* p. 20, in the *Margin*.
 “Nails taken out of a Grave, and fixed into a
 “Threshold, were good against *nocturnas Lym-*
 “*phationes*.” This has evidently the Face and Appearance of a *Charm*, and could never have been thought of, as a Remedy against *Madness*, or any other *natural Distemper* †.

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† Much the same may be said of the *Lustrations* mentioned, *Enq.* p. 18. If it should be here objected, that Charms have been used

We have now gone through, what this Author has urged about the Notion the *Greeks* and *Romans* had of *Demons*, and their *Possessions*. And, I hope, it has been made appear, that the Objections he has brought, do not destroy our Belief of such, or force us to think all Cases of this Nature mentioned by them to be no more than *Natural Disorders*. Nay, I hope, it has been shewn to be *probable*, that *evil Spirits* exercised some Power over the *Bodies*, as well as the *Minds* of Men, among them, and in those Times. The *Certainty* of this I might now proceed to shew from the Testimonies of some of their wisest Men, who can't be thought to have wanted Sagacity enough to have seen through the Opinion of the *Vulgar*, if it had been all a Mistake. But this will fall more properly under a future Head. At present I will only mention one publick Instance, which I can't but be surprized the Author of the *Enquiry* has neglected to take notice of; and this is that of the *Heathen Oracles*. The universal Regard paid to these is as well known as any Fact whatever. 'Tis impossible to imagine, that the Accounts are all false, or that here was nothing more than natural Disorders: And that the Persons who delivered them were *really possessed*, or *proper Demoniacks*, I think, to cure Diseases, I answer, in the Words of *Grotius*, in *Mat. xii. 22. Ad demonibus ad morbos mos transit*. Nor is there any other good Account to be given of their Original. And perhaps these Diseases might be then imputed to *evil Spirits*. See also *Dr. Freind's Hist. of Phys. V. I. p. 122, 123.*

there is no room to doubt. The *antient Fathers* often rank them with such, and speak of them as *actuated by Devils*. Thus *Justin Martyr* having mentioned several Kinds of *Necromancy* and *Divination*, adds, *and Persons seized and thrown down by the Souls of dead Men, who are called by all Δαιμονιολήπτοι Demoniacks, and Madmen, and what you call the Oracles of Amphiloebus, and Dodona, and Delphi, &c.* * So *St. Cyprian* said of evil Spirits, *these are they who inspire the Breasts of the Prophets, who are the Authors of Oracles, who creeping into Men's Bodies, raise secret Terrors in their Minds, distort their Limbs, destroy their Health, and cause Distempers* †. *Arnobius*, having mentioned our LORD's Power in curing Diseases, in a pious strain of Rhetoric, asks, *Was He one of us, the Presence and Sight of whom the Devils which had entered into human Bodies could not bear, but frightened with a new Power, yielded their Possession?—Whose Name once heard puts the evil Spirits to flight, silences the Prophets, and makes the Diviners*

* Νικησμεναιϊαί μὲν γὰρ, καὶ αἱ ἀδιαφθέρων παιδῶν ἐποπλίευσσις, καὶ ψυχῶν ἀνθρώπων κλίσεις, καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς μάγοις οἰεροπόμοι καὶ πάρεδροι——καὶ οἱ ψυχῶν ἀποθανόντων λαμβαστόμοι, καὶ ριπίθμοι ἄνθρωποι, ἐς δαιμονιολήπτας καὶ μαινομένους, καλέσει πάντες, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν λεγόμενα μαιϊα Ἀμφιλόχε, καὶ Δωδάνης, καὶ Πυθῆς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτά ἐσι. Apol. 2. Vid. Lactan. de Orig. Error. l. 2. c. 16.

† Hi Spiritus——Afflatu suo vatum pectora inspirant——Oracula efficiunt——Irrepentes etiam in corporibus occultè mentes terrent, membra distorquent, valetudinem frangunt, morbos laceffunt. De Idolor. Vanit. Ed. Ox. p. 14.

foolish?

foolish * ? *Lactantius* follows his Master in the same Sentiment. Let there be set before us one, who, it is certain, is possessed by a Demon, and the Delphic Priest or Prophet, we shall see them both in the same manner terrified at the Name of God; and Apollo will with the same haste depart out of his Prophet, as the Spirit will out of the *Demoniack* †. *Eusebius* is my next Witness. In his *Præparat. Evangelic.* we find one Chapter with this Inscription, That the Heathen Prophecies and Oracles proceed from evil Spirits ||. *St. Augustin's* Testimony shall close this Account. He tells us, that among other Things, *Apuleius* also refers to the Demons the Divinations of the Augurs, Soothsayers, Prophets, and Dreams §.

We see here the Sense of the primitive Church concerning the Gentile Oracles, that the Fathers spoke of these as of *diabolical Possessions*, attributed them, as well as other *Demoniacks*, to the

* Unus fuit è nobis, cujus præsentiam, cujus visum, gens illa nequibat ferre merforum in visceribus Dæmonum, conterritaq; vi novâ membrorum possessione cedebat? — Cujus nomen auditum fugat noxios Spiritus? Imponit silentium vatibus? Haruspices inconsultos reddit? *Arnob. adv. Gent. L. 1. p. 26.*

† Si constituatur in medio & is, quem constat incursum Dæmonis perpeti, & Delphici Apollinis Vates, eodem modo Dei nomen horrebunt; & tam celeriter excedet de Vate suo Apollo, quam ex homine Spiritus ille Dæmoniacus. *Lact. de verâ Sapient. L. IV. Ed. Spark. p. 399.*

|| *L. V. c. 4.* Περὶ τῆς πονηρῶν δαιμονίων εἶναι τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν μαρτυρεῖται τε καὶ χριστιανῶν.

§. Inter cætera etiam dicit [*Apuleius*] ad eos [*Dæmones*] pertinere divinationes Augurum, Aruspicum, Vatum, atq; Somniorum. *Aug. de Civ. Dei, L. 8. c. 16.* Vid. *Minuc. Fel. Octav. Ed. Lugd. Bat. p. 30, &c.*

same *evil Spirits*, and declared, that against both Cases, the same Means were equally successful. Whatever Mistakes therefore there might be in other Instances, tho' I see no Reason to suppose such in all; these appear to be such, as can't well be denied, without destroying the Faith of History, in general. If it should be asked, for what Reason God permitted the *Devils* to have this Power then? I know not enough of his Divine Counsels to answer this, nor am I at all concerned that I am not able to answer it. If plain Facts are to be denied, because we are ignorant of the Reasons, why they were permitted to happen, we shall, I believe, be obliged to deny almost every Thing we hear, or see.

I now follow the Author of the *Enquiry*, and proceed, as he does, *P. 20*, to "consider the *Jews*," and first, the Instance of *Saul*; which he dwells upon some time, and offers several Considerations to prove it to be nothing but deep Melancholy. Now here it may be said, with Probability, that we are not obliged to believe any *Possession*, in the Case, and that the History seems to intend no more, than that, the *evil Spirit*, by ordinary Instigations, stirred up the Mind of *Saul* to *Envy*, *Malice*, and *Fury* *. These are the chief Effects we find mentioned of his *coming upon*, or assaulting, *him*; and these, we know, denote some-

* In this manner it is said, that *Satan entered into Judas*. *Luke* xxii. 3. *Job*. xiii. 2, 27.

thing very different from our Notion of his *seizing*, or *possessing* any human Body.

Or, by an *evil Spirit* may be meant nothing else, but the Temper and Affections of his Mind. Thus, we read of *the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding*: And, as this may properly enough be called a *good Spirit*, so we may as properly speak of the *Spirit of Sadness*, or *Fear*, or *Rage*, under the Notion of an *evil one**. In this Sense, the Instance of *Saul* is very far from being parallel to the *Demoniacks* of the *Gospel*. The Language here may be thought not to point out to us any Thing more than common, which can never be said of those, with the least Justice. Since whatever the real Case of these was, they are plainly, and strongly represented, as actuated by *Devils*.

I mention these Interpretations, out of regard to some learned Men, who chuse in one of these Ways to avoid the Difficulty. But as I think this not so formidable, and as the literal Sense appears most agreeable to the whole History, I shall, with the generality of Commentators, and, as it is said, with all the ancient Christian Writers, suppose *Saul* to have been a *real Demoniack*; and accordingly go on to represent what I take to be the true Account of this Matter, and then to vindicate it from the Objections of the *Enquiry*.

* Possibly the *Jews* might mean somewhat like this, when they called all kinds of *Melancholy*, an *evil Spirit*.

Among some other Predictions, which *Samuel* made to *Saul* on his first anointing him to the Kingdom, we read, *1 Sam. x. 5, 6.* that he should *meet a Company of Prophets coming down from the High Place, with a Psaltery, and a Tabret, and a Pipe, and an Harp before them; and that the Spirit of the Lord should come upon him, and that he should prophesy with them, and should be turned into another Man.*

Whatever might be the particular Consequences of this *Spirit*, whether Wisdom, or Courage, or Goodness; it appears past Dispute, that it *descended from above*, and was supernaturally derived upon him. We find in the 9th and 10th Verses, that this Prophecy was fulfilled. And we have Reason to believe, (*vid. ch. xi. v. 6.*) that this *Spirit* did not abide continually with him, but came to his Support and Assistance, on such proper Occasions, as called for it. However, it was not long before he disobeyed God, and forfeited His Favour: And then we read, (*ch. xvi. v. 14.*) that *the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil Spirit from the Lord troubled him.* The *Antithesis* in these Words is very observable; the one part tends greatly to illustrate the other. As, by the *Spirit of the Lord*, which he had forfeited, we must understand some extraordinary Influences and Communications; so, by the *evil Spirit*, as opposed to that, what can be meant, but some uncommon Assault of the spiritual Enemy? Let us next observe the different Effects of these. *The*

Fruits of the Spirit of GOD are Love, Joy, Cheerfulness, and Confidence. Those of the Spirit of Darknes, are Envy, Wrath, Terrors, and Fears. Thus GOD suffered Satan to possess Saul, afflicting him with divers Diseases and Torments, such as Melancholy, Distraction, &c. and driving him to the greatest Excesses of Rage and Disorder. All the Relief he could get, in these deplorable Circumstances, was from Musick, which often gave him Ease and Refreshment, and made the evil Spirit depart from him; till his Envy brought him again. Vid. ch. xviii. ver. 10, 11, 12. Ch. xix. v. 9. †

This, on a diligent Examination of the whole, I take to be the true State of this Story. We see now how *Saul* was affected. Nothing indeed more than natural Disorders appear. But these the *Scriptures* ascribe, not to his natural Constitution, but to an evil Spirit from the Lord, by His Permission, * *troubling*; or * *terrifying*, or * *seizing*, or * *strangling* him. It may be questioned, whether this his *Melancholy* gave occasion to the evil Spirit to enter into

† ——— Πονηρῆ πνεύματι, κ' τῶν δαιμονίων ἐγκαθεζομένων τὰ μὲν ἐξέβαλεν. Joseph. Antiq. L. 6. c. 13.

* In these several Ways the ancient Interpreters have expounded this Passage. Vulg. *exagitabat cum, & arripuerit*. Chaldee Paraph. *terrified*. Syriack, *vexed, and invaded*. So the Arabick, LXX ἐπιγεν, Josephus, πνιγμὸς αὐτῷ κ' τρασύλας ἐπιφέρειν. And how agreeable these Actions are to the Nature of such wicked Spirits, appears from Eusebius's derivation of the Word δαίμων; ὡσαύτ' τὸ δαιμάειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ φοβεῖσθαι κ' ἐκφοβεῖν, δαίμονας τινὰς ΠΡΟΣΦΥΝΣ ὀνομάζεισθαι. Præp. Evang. L. 4. p. 5.

him * ; or, whether it was a necessary Consequence of the *Spirit of God*, the Author of Joy and Chearfulness, *departing from him*; or, whether it was, with the other Disorders, first raised and occasioned by the *evil Spirit*. But, whether there was any *evil Spirit* concerned in the Affair, for my part, I can make no doubt. The last of those Suppositions is, I think, most consonant to the sacred Text, which makes all the Disorders of *Saul* consequential to the *evil Spirit's* coming upon him. And, as was observed before, 'tis very easy to imagine, that the Devil may be permitted by GOD, to exercise a Power of inflicting *common Diseases* on the Bodies of Men.

Let us now consider what the Author of the *Enquiry* urges against this Interpretation. *Saul*, P. 22, is said to *prophecy*, *i. e.* "to act as a Madman, acting as the *Vates*, or Prophets, are usually described by the Ancients." All this I own, and yet, according to what has been said, he might, strictly speaking, have been a *Demoniack*. And tho' *Vates* came to signify *Madmen*, yet it also retained its original Meaning, and signified *Prophets* too, both good and bad, in the truest Sense. And, from a Sentence of *Euripides* quoted, P. 24, we find the *Heathens* had a Notion of a sort of *Madness*, occa-

* " Dieu permit, qu'il fût agité par un mauvais Esprit, qui se servant de la mauvaise disposition des humeurs de ce Prince, & de sa mélancholie, l'agitoit et l'obsédoit." *Calmet Diss. in Saul.*

fioned by *Divine Inspiration*, Θεῶν πνοαῖσι ἐμμανεῖς. And to this only, not to all *Madness*, in general, he attributes “a good deal of a prophetic Faculty.” His Words are these, *Madness has much of a prophetic Power; for when a powerful God enters into the Body, he makes the Madman foretell what is to come* *.

The Gentleman's 2d Observation is, “that the Cure of [*Saul*] was by a known Method.” Here I apprehend the great Objection lies. He asks afterwards, *P. 26.* “What relation has the Sound of a *Harp* to the Expulsion of *Spirits*?” And much the same, *P. 29.* Tho' there be no direct or immediate Connection between these, yet we may easily conceive, how one might, in a great measure, be affected by the other. If we suppose *Saul's* Melancholy and Disorders inflicted by the evil Spirit; still these are the same *in kind* with other Cases of this Nature, tho' they were different, *with regard to their Original.* And natural Disorders, from whomsoever they proceed, may be lessened, (and *Saul* does not appear to have been perfectly cured) by natural Methods. As therefore “a skilful Musician will always comfort and refresh the [*melancholy*] Patient:” *Saul's* Servants might easily think of this Remedy; and *Musick* might naturally raise his Spirits, and cheer his

* Τὸ μανιαῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει.
Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἔλθῃ πολὺς,
Δίγειν τὸ μέλλον τὰς μεμνηότας παῖσι.

Heart, and in some degree chase away those Fears, and that Sadness, which the *evil Spirit* had raised within him.

2dly, * If we imagine *Saul's Melancholy* prior to his *Possession*, and that the *Devil* made use of the ill Temper of his Blood and Spirits to afflict him; then, 'tis not difficult to be conceived, that what contributed any wise to drive away such Disorder, and to enliven and glad the Heart; as *Musick* undeniably does, must, in such proportion, contribute to disappoint the great Enemy of Men's Happiness, and to relieve them from these his Torments. Since it is actually depriving him of the *Means*, if I may so speak, by which he torments them. But,

Lastly, what difficulty is there in imagining, that *Musick* might be proposed to *Saul*, as one way of inviting the *Spirit of the Lord* to come upon him again, and to drive out the *evil Spirit*, which had been suffered to trouble him? Tho' this be not expressly mentioned in the Text, yet neither is it there excluded: Nor

* Musica naturaliter pellit melancholiam, quâ Dæmon utebatur ad cruciandum Saulem. Nullus enim humor hoc opportunior est Diabolo, ut homines vexet, tentet, incitetq; ad mœrorem, invidiam, iram, desperationem. Quare eo utitur Dæmon (qui per causas naturales agit) ad homines adigendum in angores, scrupulos, odia, cædes. *A Lapid. apud Synops. Critic. in 1 Sam. xvi. 16.* Hâc ergò melancholicâ dispositione ut gaudet Dæmon, ita, eâ sublatâ, per accidens & indirectè vel abigitur, vel impeditur. *Ibid.* Musica quidem nihil potest in Dæmonem directè, cum Spiritus sit, potest tamen per accidens, quia mitigatis affectibus, per quos in animos nostros Diabolus se insinuat, etiam ipse pellitur. — *Bochart. ibid.*

does it seem at all improbable. That the *Prophets*, among the *Jews*, then used this Method is past Dispute. *Saul* himself appears first to have experienced the good Effects of this, and might therefore be not unwilling to try it a second Time. *Elisba*, having been ruffled by the Presence of a wicked King of *Israel*, takes the same Way of calming his Mind, and of fitting it for the Reception of the Divine Influences. *Bring me*, said he, 2 Kings iii. 15. *a Minstrel*. And it came to pass when the Minstrel played, that the Hand of the Lord came upon him.

Indeed, it is hard to believe, that ever the *Spirit of God* came upon *Saul* as before: But this is no Proof, that neither he, nor his Servants had some such Hopes, and View. And tho' it did not please *God* to grant him any more extraordinary Favours, yet he might let the Method have its natural Force and Power; or if this was necessary, enjoin the *Devil* for a Time to leave him. Or those about *Saul* might design no more than the present Relief of their Master; and at the same Time think, that, what was so well known to be an Instrument of inviting a *good Spirit* into Men, might prove as effectual in driving out a *bad one*. There is nothing in any of these Suppositions, but what is very conceivable. On either of them, the Objection of the unfitness of *Musick** to cast

* *Chrysofome* calls *David's Harp*, Δαιμόνων Φυγαδευτήριον.
Ed. Par. 1636. Tom. p. 41.

out an *evil Spirit*, appears sufficiently answered. And therefore I shall venture to put down *Saul*, as he is described by the only ancient Histories we have of his Life, the *Scripture* and *Josephus*, for one true and undoubted Instance of *real Possession*.

The Author of the *Enquiry*, P. 30, &c. next considers the *Charms*, which *Josephus* mentions; and which indeed he has great room to ridicule and expose. But still this is not enough to disprove the Fact in question, the reality of *Possessions* among the *Jews* *. Nay, I think this is rather hereby confirmed. For if there had been no such *Possessions*, 'tis unaccountable, whence the general Belief of them arose: And if there had been no such general Belief; we can never imagine, that those *Charms* would have been invented, or have been used, among them. Whereas, on the other hand, we need no longer wonder: *Superstition*, as has been observed, will account for every Thing of this Nature! It is not therefore necessary to the Vindication of *Demoniacks*, that we should allow every Remedy that was practised against them: But it is difficult to say, how these came to be ever thought on, on any other Scheme, than the Supposition of such *Demoniacks*.

* "The *Targum* on *Pf.* xci. 6 " where the LXX is ἀπὸ τῶν Δαιμονίων μισσημένων, " numbers *Troops of Demons*, among those " who inflict *Plagues*, and *Death* upon Men." *Whitby* on *Luke* xiii. 16.

However, *Josephus* is not the only Author, who gives us an Account of these, and of the *Jewish* Manners of exorcising them. We have Relations of both as serious, as his appears to be ludicrous. *Justin Martyr* seems to have made * *no doubt* that the *Devils* might be subject to those among them, who would cast them out, in the Name of the GOD of *Abraham*, and the GOD of *Iaac*, and the GOD of *Jacob*. † This we have confirm'd by *Irenæus*, whose Testimony is so strong, that I beg leave to set it down at length. *All things are subject to the Name of the Supreme, Omnipotent Being: By calling upon whom, even before our LORD's coming, Men were delivered from the most evil Spirits, from every Kind of Demons, and from all Apostacy: Not that any earthly Spirits or Devils had ever seen Him; but knowing Him to be GOD over all, they trembled at his Name.—For this Reason, the Jews, even to this Day, put the Devils to flight by this*

* The Word ἰσως in the following Citation does not necessarily imply *Doubtfulness* in *Justin*. *H. Stephens* in his *Lexicon* having observed, that in *Aristotle* and others, *interdum adhiberi locis ubi alioqui de re minime dubiâ agitur*. And accordingly *Grotius* renders ἰσως, quoting this very Place, by *Credo*. in *Mat. xii. 27*.

† Ἐάν δὲ κατὰ παντὸς ὀνόματι τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν γεγενημένων, ἢ βασιλέων, ἢ δικαίων, ἢ προφητῶν, ἢ πατριάρχων ἐξορκίζητε ὑμεῖς, εἴτε ὑποταγησέσθαι εἶδεν τῶν δαιμονίων. ἀλλ' εἰ ἄρα ἐξορκίζοι τις ὑμῶν κατὰ τῆς Θεῆς Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Θεῆς Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Θεῆς Ἰακώβ, ἸΣΩΣ ὑποταγησέσθαι. ἤδη μὲν τοι οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπορκισαὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὡσπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, χρωμένοι ἐξορκίζεσσι, καὶ θυμιάμασι καὶ καταδύσμοις χρωῶνται, εἶπον. *Just. Dial. cum Tryphon*. Ed. Paris, 1636, p. 311. Vid. Orig. L. 4. Cont. Cels. p. 183, 184.

very Invocation, because every thing fear the Name of their CREATOR §.

Nay, it is not difficult to collect this from the *New Testament* itself. When the *Pharisees* ascribed our LORD'S Cures to *Beelzebub*, he asks them, *by whom* then do YOUR SONS cast them out? Alluding to something well known among them, and, as I think, most evidently implying, that such Miracles had been undeniably performed by the *Disciples* of the *Pharisees*. For, as to the Supposition, that by your Sons here, were meant any of the *Twelve*, or the *Seventy*, though it has the Countenance of some very learned Men; I cannot think it probable. Because, our *Saviour* plainly spoke of some Cures, which the *Pharisees* could not deny, but were obliged, on their own Principles, to admit. Whereas there is but little Probability, that they would allow these Miracles, in the *Disciples* of *Christ*, to be Instances of a Divine Power, any more than they did, in * *Himself*. St. *Jerom's* Commentary on this Verse, appears very just. "By the

§ — Altissimi et Omnipotentis appellationi omnia subjecta sunt: Et Hujus invocatione, etiam ante adventum Domini nostri, salvabantur homines, et à spiritibus nequissimis, et a Dæmoniis universis, & ab apostasiâ universâ: Non quasi vidissent eum terreni spiritus aut Dæmones, sed cum scirent, quoniam est, qui est super Omnia Deus, cujus et invocationem tremebant—Et propter hoc Judæi usque nunc hac ipsâ adfatione Dæmonas effugant, quando omnia timeant invocationem Ejus qui fecit ea. *Irenæ. Adv. hæref. L. 2. c. 5.*

* *Matth. x. 25.* Εἰ τὸν αἰχμασπόλιν βεελζεβὺλ ἐκάλεισαν, πόσω μᾶλλον τὸς ἐκικακῆς αὐτοῦ; Vid. *Grot. in Matth. xii. 27.*

Sons of the Jews is signified either the usual exorcists of that Nation, or the Apostles, who were born of their Race. If the exorcists, who cast out Devils by Invocation of God, then our Lord, by a prudent Question, forces them to confess, that His Cures weret he work of the Holy Ghost. For, says He, if when your Sons cast out Devils, you ascribe this, not to Devils, but to God, why may not the same Works, when performed by me, be imputed to the same Cause †? We see then, that our LORD supposed the Reality of some such Cures among the Jews, and spake of them, as he spake of his own, § without the least Intimation, that they were only pretended ones, or that they had no better Foundation, than the Prejudices of the Pharisees: Which I cannot think he would have done, if this had been the Case. But of this I purpose to speak more hereafter.

There is one seeming Objection against this, which I find very strongly urged by a present very learned Prelate of our own Church, and which I therefore beg leave to set down in his Lordship's Words.

† Filios Judæorum, vel exorcistas gentis illius ex more significat, vel Apostolos ex eorum stripe generatos. Si exorcistas, qui ad invocationem Dei ejiciebant Dæmones, coartat interrogatione prudenti, ut confiteantur Spiritus Sancti esse opus. Quod si expulsio Dæmonum, inquit, in filiis vestris Deo non Dæmonibus deputatur, quare in me idem opus non eandem habeat Causam? Hieron. Com. in Mat. c. xii. v. 27. Vid. Whitby, in locum.

§ Hâc voce quid magis portendit, quàm in eo ejicere se, in quo et filii eorum? In virtute scilicet Creatoris. Tertul.

After

§ After he had mentioned “ the Accounts,
 “ given by the several *Evangelists* of the extreme
 “ Surprize of the *Jews*, that were Eye-witnes-
 “ ses of the several Disposseffions of evil Spirits
 “ by our Lord ; which *Astonishment* of them
 “ is not capable of any natural Explication,
 “ on Supposition that the Disposseffion of De-
 “ vils was an *unusual* Practice among the *Jews*
 “ in our Saviour’s Time, independently of his
 “ Authority.”—His *Lordship* goes on to observe,
 “ it is not easy for any one that pays a due
 “ Veneration to the Divine Authority of the
 “ Gospels to perswade himself, that *the casting*
 “ *out of Devils* was *before* customary among
 “ the *Jews*—It is clear too, that not merely
 “ the *People* consider’d our Lord’s *Disposseffion of*
 “ *Devils* as a *new* thing, but the *Pharisees*
 “ themselves, as malicious and learned as they
 “ were, are not found to derogate from those
 “ Facts, as if they were things *usually* practis’d
 “ among them, and that consequently gave
 “ *Jesus* no peculiar Authority.”

Now I readily own, that such Instances of
Disposseffions were not *usual*, or frequent, and
 therefore the Surprize of the *Jews* is no more
 than natural. As Men are too apt to degene-
 rate into *Superstition*, the generality of the
Exorcists among them depended on *Magical*
Charms and Incantations, the Success of which
 we have no Reason to contend for. The Fact

is not only certain from *Josephus*, if his Authority here be worth any thing, but from *Justin Martyr*, who tells us, that they made use of *Arts and Methods*, to this Purpose, in common with the *Heathens*, Vid. *Supra*. And probably, those *Jewish Vagabonds, the Exorcists*, mentioned *Acts* xix. 13. (who, without any regard to our *Saviour*, only having observed the Success of *St. Paul*, presumed to use the Name of *JESUS*, as a *Charm*;) were of this Number. We may therefore suppose there were very few left, though some *Christ* seems to imply in the forementioned Question, who called on the Name of *God*, and thus cast out *Devils* §. And it is not difficult to imagine, that those who were Eye-witnesses of this Miracle in our *Saviour*, might not have seen any Instance of this Power: And then how naturally does that Speech, *it was never so seen in Israel*, fall from People in their Circumstances! A little Allowance will serve to explain this, without taking it in the strict and rigorous Sense.

Not but I believe and allow a real Difference between our *LORD'S Dispossession*s and theirs, which will justify even this Sense, and sufficiently account for that *Astonishment* of the

§ *Grotius* on *Mat.* xii. 27. gives some Instances of the Name of the *God of Abraham* being used in exorcisms, among the *Egyptians*, and other Nations. See also *Hammond* on *Mat.* xii. 27.

N. B. *The Enquirer*, p. 58. to lessen our Notion of these *Egyptians*, calls them *Gypsies*, which I think is too low for one of his good Sense.

Jews, which they expressed by saying, *what new Doctrine is this? for WITH AUTHORITY commandeth He even the unclean Spirits, and they obey Him*, Mark i. 27. These Words plainly point out to us some Superiority in our LORD'S Cures, above any they had seen; and this probably consisted in His performing them, without any of those solemn *Invocations* and *Ceremonies*, which they had been accustomed to, and by *His bare Word* alone, *Mat. viii. 16.* which may be the thing denoted by *κατ' ἐξουσίαν, quasi κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἰδίων.* But this I submit to the learned Reader; and conclude these Remarks, so far as they relate to the *Jews*, with the Words of the *Right Reverend Author* just now mentioned.—“ The Dispos-
 “ sessions of evil Spirits performed by our Lord
 “ were not only the immediate Effects of one
 “ commanding Word, by which he extorted
 “ the plainest Acknowledgments of His Divinity
 “ from *all manner of evil Spirits*—that were
 “ dispossessed by him with greater Efficacy,
 “ and in greater Numbers, than was ever
 “ known before; but He likewise communi-
 “ cated the same Power to others of *casting out*
 “ *Devils in His own Name*, and thereby evinced
 “ that He was that *Messiah*, whom He profes-
 “ sed Himself to be. For such Dispossessions
 “ were not only made personally by Himself,
 “ but by others *in His Name*, as they are sup-
 “ posed to have been *before* performed *in the*
 “ *Name of the true God.* And consequently
 “ the

“ the Pretensions of JESUS to the *Messiahship*
 “ and Divine Authority, were not only other-
 “ wise well supported, but received some
 “ sort of Confirmation from the said Suppo-
 “ sition *.”

And thus at last we are fallen upon the proper Subject both of the *Enquiry*, and of the present *Essay*, the Cases of the *Demoniacks* mentioned in the *New Testament*. In entering on which, p. 35, the Gentleman I am opposing lays down a Rule to which I readily agree, “ when we
 “ meet with *plain* and *easy* Accounts of things,
 “ we must make them the Standards or Tests,
 “ by which we ought to understand the more
 “ difficult Places.” And, for the same Reason, *forced* and *laboured* Constructions are never to be chosen without an absolute Necessity, being very seldom the true Sense of the Author. I should now examine the Instances he mentions as *plain* and *easy*, and shew that nothing can be collected from them, in favour of his Scheme: But it may be necessary first to obviate a Pretence or two, which may lye in our way, and the Error of which has been fully shewn. “ *Demon* in none of the Instances
 “ already produced signifies what we in *En-*
 “ *glish* call *Devil*.” And, p. 38. “ a *Devil* or
 “ *Demon*, for so it is always to be read.” In no *Scripture* Instance, it signifies what this Gentle-

* *Ibid.* p. 197, 198.

man particularly means by *Demons* *, *the Souls of departed Men*; but, always, where it is put for any Beings at all; it is used, in the Opinion of the sacred Writers, for *Devils* properly so called. “ The *Epilepsy* and *Madness* were the peculiar Disorders attributed to the Gods. ” That *Madness in general, every kind of Madness*, was attributed to the Gods, or that the *Epilepsy* was *universally, and by all*, so attributed, has not yet appeared, but rather the contrary. — “ Those, who were called *Cerriti*, or *Larvati*, or *Lymphatici*, and were supposed to be affected by, or to be under the Direction or Influence of *Demons*, were all in their degree mad.” P. 38. These have been severally considered. And it appears, that they were not *common Madmen*, but were actuated by *Devils* †.

The first Text insisted upon in the *Enquiry*, P. 36. is *Job. x. 20. He hath a Devil, and is mad. Others said, these are not the Words of him that hath a Devil: Can a Devil open the Eyes of the blind?* Here this Gentleman owns, “ that both Sides took for granted, that that particular Disorder proceeded from some *evil Spirit* that possessed him.” But, tho’

* This Notion of *the Souls of Men being turned into Devils*, Dr. Hammond calls a *vain Persuasion*. — On *Matt. viii. 28*.

† This is the Opinion of the great *Grotius*, who thus explains the Word *δαίμονιζομένους*, non quovis modo *insanientes*, sed *impurorum spirituum vi majore correptos, atq; agitados, quales erant quos Græci νυμφολήπτες, Latini Larvatos, Ceritos, Lymphaticos* vocabant. In *Matth. iv. 24*.

they were undoubtedly wrong in the *particular* Application to our *Saviour*, yet I see no Reason, why they were not right in the *general* Sentiment, that *Madness* might be imputed to a *Devil*. But here you will say, the Notion of *having a Devil* is explained by the following Words, *and is mad*. I answer, that it could not be the Intention of those, who spoke them, to explain them so, who are acknowledged to have believed a *real Possession*. Neither could this be the Design of the *Evangelist*, who had the same Prejudice, and that, so far from being removed by our *Lord*, that it was confirmed by him. Nor indeed do the Words imply so much. Nay, from this very Text, a late learned and excellent Critick has thought, that to *have a Devil*, and to be *mad*, were *two distinct Cases*, with both which the *Jews* charged our *Lord* *. But should we allow the utmost that can be collected from hence, that every *Demoniack* was *mad*, the Notion of *real Possessions* would remain the same. *Madness* may be here represented as one Attendant, or Sign, or Effect of such *Possession*; but it will not therefore follow, that it was the *whole* of it †. Both sacred and prophane Writers speak of *Madness*

* Mr. *Twells's Critical Examination*, &c. Part 1st. P. 97.

† Το μαινόμενός igitur pro effectu potius in δαίμονι ζώνεω habendum est, quam ut totus ille status mania constituisse existimetur. *Wolf. Curæ Philolog.* Thus also *Tertullian* makes this *Madness* to proceed from the *Devil*, *Compar exitus furoris & una ratio est instigationis.* Apologet. XXIII. So *Minutius Fel.* Ed. Lugd. Bat. p. 39.

very frequently, without the least intimation of a *Demon*; which shews, that, *as such*, it was looked upon as a *common Disorder*, and nothing more ||. To confirm what I have said, I shall add the Words of an Author of great Learning and Judgment. “ The Truth is, that the *Jews* “ reckoned this one sort of *Madness*, and the “ worst sort; but they distinguished between “ this, and what we properly call *Madness*, arising from some Distemper of the Body: So “ that tho’ they called all Persons possessed by “ the Devil, by the Name of Madmen, yet “ they did not give to all Madmen the Name “ of Persons thus *possessed*: And they distinguished very rightly in the Case.” &c. §.

We saw before many parallel Instances of this. The Author of the *Enquiry* helps me to another, P. 22. “ The true prophetic Spirit “ is Rational and Consistent, the false one is all “ Tumultuous and Mad.” But can any one gather from hence, that it was nothing more than *mere Madness*? The Passages cited from *Virgil*, *Lucan*, and *Euripides*, P. 23, directly forbid such a Supposition. And the ancient *Fathers* made Raving and Extasies, one *Criterion* of *diabolical Possession*. I shall only mention the Case of *Montanus*, as described by some Author in *Eusebius*, “ he gave the *Adversary* an “ entrance into himself, and being hurried a-

|| Acts xxvi. 24. Μείνη Παῦλι, κ, τ, λ.

§ *Miracles of Jesus Vindicated*, 1729. Part 2d. P. 32.

“ way by the *Spirit*, he began to be seized
 “ with a sudden *Possession* and *Madness*—Some
 “ rebuked him as one *actuated by the Devil*,
 “ and in the Power of the *Spirit* of Error*.”

As to the Question, *Can a Devil open the Eyes of the Blind?* Tho' it may be understood of a *Madman*, it has much more Force and Strength, when applied to an *evil Spirit*. For as the Powers of these are limited, the *Jews* might well think this a *Miracle* superior to them, and a certain Mark of a divine Authority. Or, as they are subject to *God*, it might with Reason be imagined, that he would not permit them to work so clear and undeniable *Miracles*, as could not but deceive the best and most cautious of Men.

The next *plain* and *easy* Text we find *P. 37.* It is *Job. vii. 20. Thou hast a Devil, who goeth about to kill thee?* “The Meaning of which,” says this Gentleman, was, “thou art mad, &c.” “using the Cause, the imaginary Cause for a visible Effect, which they conceived naturally to flow from it.” But this Interpretation is unsupported by any Proof; and therefore it will be sufficient to oppose to it, that of *Dr. Whitby*, which I think more probable, and more agreeable to the Occasion of the Answer.

* — Δούλα πάροδον εἰς ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἀνλικειμένῳ, πνευματοφρονηθεῖν τῆς αἰφνιδίας ἐν καλοχῆ τῷ καὶ παρεκτάσει γεόμενον ἐνθρασιῶν — οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ ἐνεργουμένη καὶ δαιμονῶντι, καὶ ἐν πλάτῃς πνεύματι υπάρχοντι — ἐπιτίμων. *Hist. Eccl. L. V. c. 16.* See *Stillingsfleet's Answer to Cressy*, p. 63, &c.

“Thou art possessed with a lying Spirit,” *who goeth, &c.*

To *Matth. xi. 18.* When *John* came neither eating nor drinking, they say, *he hath a Devil.* I answer, “they looked upon him to be” more than “mad,” or at least they intended to represent him as Possessed. For resolving not to hearken to, or believe him, and not knowing any other Ground of Accusation, they took occasion from his living in so peculiar a manner*, to throw out a random Reproach, and to represent him as a *Demoniack.* That by this Charge, they intended something worse than *Madness,* is very clear from *St. Mark, iii. 21, 22.* “When” *Jesus’s* “Friends” or Relations “heard of” his gathering Disciples, &c. “they went out to lay hold on him, for they said, *ὅτι ἐξέστη, he is beside himself.* And the Scribes which came down from *Jerusalem* said, *ὅτι βεελζεβούλ ἔχει, he hath Beelzebub.*” Here we see a manifest difference, between these two Expressions. Our *Lord’s Friends* at that Time no more approved of his Actions, than the *Scribes* did: But the former accounted for them in a favourable manner ||; the others in the most malicious one, that

* Perhaps, *John’s* living in the *Wilderness* might give them a specious Occasion. For thus we find *St. Luke* describing one certainly thought possessed, *Ch. viii. v. 29.* ἠλαυνεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν δαίμονος εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους.

|| There is another Interpretation of the Word ἐξέστη to be seen in *Grotius* and *Dr. Whitby*, which is, *that he was faint.* But this seems not to agree with the Circumstances of the Story so well

that they could think of. The one imputed them to Misfortune, the others to the greatest Crime. And it is very probable, that they designed to throw the same Disgrace, in the same Sense, on the *Baptist*, who was also an Object of their Envy and Hatred; and consequently, “ they ” did not “ look upon him to be ” merely or commonly “ mad.”

Let us next consider *Job*. viii. 48—52. “ Say we not well, that thou art a *Samaritan*, and hast a *Devil*? *Jesus* answered, I have not a *Devil*, but I honour my *Father*, and ye do dishonour me — Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a Man keep my Saying, he shall never see Death. Then said the *Jews* unto Him, now we know thou hast a *Devil*, ” &c. Here again the Gentleman, *P.* 38, in a Paraphrase represents the *Jews*, as charging our *Saviour* with *Madness*. But surely, if we should allow, that *having a Devil* was merely an *imaginary Cause* of *Madness*, yet it was what they believed, in the strict literal Sense; and there-

well as our Translation. The plain Opposition between the Accounts of our *Lord's Friends* and of the *Scribes* is also here entirely lost. And, tho' Christ had given no sign of *Madness* to raise an Opinion of this, in his Relations, (which was what swayed the learned *Doctor* to chuse this Interpretation) yet, as *St. John* informs us, that it was some time before *His Brethren* believed in Him, they might be apt to fear some Disorder in His Head, from His extraordinary Proceedings; or, at least, when they knew no other Way to excuse Him, they might do it in this Way. *2 Cor.* v. 13. ἐξέστημεν is opposed to σαφρονέμεν. Vide *Hammond* on *Mark* iii. 21. I can't omit the Reason *Erasmus* gives here for the common Sense, “ Id est agnatorum, [ut comprehenderent eum] si quis commotæ mentis esse cœperit.

fore 'tis hard to conceive, that *they* meant to say no more, than that *you are really mad*, when they said, *thou hast a Devil*. I therefore shall beg leave to offer another Paraphrase, more consistent with their Sentiments. “ Can we
 “ be justly blamed for laying on you these Re-
 “ proaches, as severe as they are? After you
 “ have so bitterly accused us of being the *Sons*
 “ of the *Devil*, of *doing his Works*, and of re-
 “ fusing to *bear God's Words*, [See Verses,
 “ 44, 47] are we not in the right in saying You
 “ *are a Samaritan*, an Enemy to our Nation
 “ and Worship, accursed of GOD; and that
 “ you are *possessed with some evil Spirit*, who
 “ pushes you on thus to dishonour GOD, and
 “ to build up his own Glory, by the Means of
 “ yours? The former Accusation our LORD
 “ thought it not worth his while to reply to;
 “ but as this last might prejudice the Belief of
 “ his Mission, he not only denies, but confutes
 “ it, by answering them, that neither his own,
 “ nor *Satan's*, but GOD's Honour alone was
 “ His End and Aim; and therefore, says He,
 “ *you dishonour me*, by this Charge. However,
 “ notwithstanding this, I will not leave off
 “ teaching you, that *keeping my Saying* is the
 “ only Means to bring you to *Life and Happi-*
 “ *ness*, to prevent your *seeing eternal Death*;
 “ Ver. 51. The *Jews*, misunderstanding this
 “ Speech, and resenting more Christ's *making*
 “ himself superior to *Abraham* and the *Pro-*
 “ *phets*, who had all died, with greater Con-
 fidence

“ fidence renew their Charge, *Now we know*
 “ *thou hast a Devil*: For nothing but his *Insti-*
 “ *gation* and *Possession*, could make thee guil-
 “ ty of such intolerable Assurance and Blasphe-
 “ my, so far to exalt thy self above the best of
 “ Men in all Ages. In answer to this, our
 “ LORD refers to GOD, who had *honoured* Him,
 “ and confirmed all His Pretensions.”

And indeed, if the *Jews* had esteemed CHRIST as a *Madman* only, 'tis amazing, that they would enter into so long a Conversation with Him, and still more so, that they should at last attempt to *stone* Him for *Blasphemy*. 'Tis somewhat unusual to deal with such unfortunate People, in either of these Ways.

To the literal Sense it is objected, *Enq. P.* 38, 39; that the *Jews* “ had neither *seen* nor
 “ *heard* any *Demon* in Him, nor in *John* the
 “ *Baptist*, and yet instantly they charge them
 “ with *having* one. Whence did this proceed?
 “ Or why do they say a *Devil*, rather than any
 “ Thing else? They saw indeed what they
 “ thought to be *Madness*, and nothing else.
 “ From this visible *Effect* then they presently
 “ imagined a *Demon*, or *Devil*, to be the *Cause*,
 “ and therefore charged Him with what they
 “ did *not* see, arguing from the *Effect* to the
 “ *Cause*.” But what will not Malice and Pre-
 judice prompt Men to? Is this the only Case,
 where a good Person has been accused without
 sufficient Reason or Evidence? Can it be denied,
 that the *Scribes*, &c. were guided by Envy and

Rage against our *Saviour*? Why then should not these Passions have, in them, their usual natural Consequences? And, farther, what could they see in *our Saviour*, or in *John the Baptist*, which could give them the least Reason to think either of them *Mad*? All their *Words* and *Actions* were those of *Truth*, and *Soberness*. There was therefore no such *visible Effect*, as the Gentleman supposes. In short, if they would have taken pains to have formed a right Judgment of both, they would have accused neither of being *Mad*, or *Possessed*: As it is certain, they did not take such pains, 'tis equally easy, on this account, to believe their accusing them of the one, as of the other *.

I have been the longer on the foregoing Texts, because they are the † *plain* and *easy* ones, which the Author of the *Enquiry* says, P. 39, “ will help us to understand some others, which at first sight may appear more intricate.” They are, I must suppose, such, as he thought clearest in Proof of his Supposition. We have seen, that they are fairly on our Side. And therefore I now go on with

* This Gentleman quotes Dr. *Lightfoot*, that the *Jews* attributed certain great Disorders to *evil Spirits*. If they went too far herein, the Use I would make of this their Error is, to caution us not only against it, but against the other extreme, of attempting to bring every Thing down to *natural Causes*.

† N. B. I call these the *plain* and *easy* ones, purely in compliance with this Author. For, in fair Construction, those Cases are most *plain*, and most fit to be made the Standards of Interpretation, which are related at large, with the greatest Number of Circumstances. Whereas these are the shortest.

more Courage to examine some others, which he produces, and thinks ought to be explained by these.

And the first that occurs, is *Matth. xvii. 15.* the Case of the *Lunatick*, which is handled in the *Enquiry, p. 39—48.* But it is, I think, universally agreed, that this was *Epileptick*, and some considerable Criticks deny that there was any *Madness* in it *: Which makes me wonder that this Gentleman should, on the Strength of the *English Word Lunatick*, and the Ambiguity of the *Greek* *σεληνιαζόμενος*, contend, that the young Man was *Mad*, as well as *Epileptick*, *p. 42, 43.* Surely, he cannot but know, that the Word *σεληνιαζόμενος*, is used for all Distempers, on which the *Moon* has any Influence. As therefore here was no sign of *Madness*, the bare Word will not be sufficient to imply it. If then any Thing can be collected from this Place, to exclude the Agency of the *Spirit*; we must say, that not "*Lunatick* and *Demoniack*," but *Epileptick* and *Demoniack*, "must be the same."

But, shall we then say, that this was no more than a *common Epilepsy*? By no means. All the three *Evangelists*, who relate this Cure, ascribe it to a *Devil*, or *dumb Spirit*. Many of

* *Σεληνιαζόμενος* vertunt vulgo *Lunaticos*: sed alia morbi species designatur, *Epilepsia* videlicet, sive *morbus comitialis*. Causæ sunt quæ videntur persuadere: *Lunatici* enim vulgo sic dicti non habent symptomata illa, quæ *Matth. xvii. 14.* *Epilepti* i autem habent. Hi enim sæpius in ignem cadunt, &c. *Scultet. apud Leigh Crit. Sacr.* So also *Dr. Hammond*, in locum.

the ancient Versions do the same, not so much as mentioning any particular Distemper*. Indeed, we must own, that very early the heathen Physicians were for reducing this Case to mere Matter and Motion, and for representing it as a natural Distemper. But how does Origen exert himself against such? “ Let the Physicians,” says he, “ dispute about the Nature of Things, imagining that here was no *unclean Spirit* concerned, but a bare bodily Disorder. — But we, who believe the Gospel, that this Disease was visibly raised in the Patients by an *unclean, deaf, and dumb Spirit*, — will affirm, that this *unclean Spirit* watches the Configurations of the *Moon*,” &c. † And a Christian Physician, tho’ he defends the Position, that the *Moon* has an effect on human Bodies, yet allows this Case to be *Demoniacal*, and attempts to account for it on this Principle ||.

This

* *Vers. Persic. Quia filium habeo, in quem dæmonium potestatem obtinet, & gravissime laborat, &c. Arabic. Quia cum Dæmone est, & vexatur valdè in principiis pleniluniorum. — Vers. Æthiop. Malus Dæmon prehendit eum, & murmurare eum facit. Vid. Walton. Polyglot.*

† Ἰατροὶ μὲν εἰς φυσιολογίῳσσαν, ἅτε μηδὲ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα εἶναι νομίζοντες κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ σωματικὸν σύμλωμα — ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ πιστεύοντες, ὅτι τὸ νόσημα τῆτο ἀπὸ πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου, ἀλάλις, καὶ κωφῆ ἐν τοῖς πάχουσι αὐτὸ θεωρεῖται ἐνεργούμενον — φήσομεν, κ, τ, λ. Origen. Com. in Matth. Ed. Huet. V. 1. p. 311.

|| — Pravis Corporis nostri humoribus Dæmones se immiscet, & Lunæ quadras appositè sequuntur, ut addicti corporali substantiæ, humorum nempè orgasmo, & apparatusi morbifico, multò

This therefore appears plainly to be an *Epilepsy*, occasioned by the Operation of an *evil Spirit*. The Distemper, in kind, was *natural*: Yet the Man was properly a *Demoniack*. It can then be no wonder, that this should answer so exactly the Description the Physicians have given of that Distemper. Nor can it follow from hence, that this is all we are to understand by *Possessions*.

The Gentleman, *Enquiry* p. 34, is “ sensible how difficult it is to account for every Expression on these Occasions,” &c. and indeed on his Hypothesis, he had Reason to be apprehensive of this. Take the common Supposition, and there will be very little difficulty. Why therefore should we indulge any forced and strained *Conjectures*, and only involve ourselves in more *Uncertainty*? This, I fear, will be the Consequence, if we leave the *literal* Meaning, and follow him in his new Criticisms on *Ver. 21. Howbeit this kind goeth not out, but by Prayer and Fasting.* This *St. Mark* expressly represents as *our Lord's* Answer to that Question of His Disciples, *why could not we cast him out?* And yet, because *St. Matthew* makes this only one part of His Answer, and prefixes to it a Sentence, importing the Necessity and Prevalence of *Faith*, this Author imagines the *An-*

multò facilius ægrotos divexent, corpora contorqueant, & animorum falsâ imaginatione in absurda præcipitent. *Gulielm. Ader. de Morbis Evang. Enar. IV. Apud Critic. Sacr. Tom. 9. p. 3366.*

swer stops here, and that, what “ follows a-
 “ bout the Necessity of *Fasting* and *Prayer*,
 “ may not relate to the Difficulty they propo-
 “ sed,” *P.* 45, 46. But if it did not, can we
 think *St. Mark* would have wrote only this,
 and dropt the whole of so proper and useful an
 Answer, to a Question of such Consequence?
 And what Inconsistency is there in these two
 Conditions, that they can’t both “ relate to the
 “ Difficulty?” Is *Faith*, that which qualified
 them to eject *Devils*? And, may not *Prayer*
 and *Fasting* be the Means to procure an increase
 of *Faith*? On the other hand, is it to these Du-
 ties, that this Miracle was owing? And, could
 they be performed rightly without *Faith*? Do
 not they derive all their Virtue and Acceptance
 with *GOD* from this Divine Principle? But let
St. Matthew explain himself, *Ch.* xxi. ver. 21,
 22. *How soon is the Fig-tree withered away?*
JESUS answered and said unto them. Verily I
say unto you, if ye have Faith and doubt not,
ye shall not only do this which is done to the Fig-
tree, but also, if ye shall say unto this Mountain,
be thou removed, and be thou cast into the Sea;
it shall be done. And all Things, whatsoever ye
shall ask in PRAYER, BELIEVING, ye shall re-
ceive. We see here *Faith* and *Prayer* joined to-
 gether, and both made the Grounds of a Pow-
 er to work the most difficult Miracles. And, as
 for *Fasting*, we know this is in *Scripture* re-
 presented as an Attendant of *servent, effectual*
Prayer. But this Gentleman, *p.* 44, seems to
 think,

think, that this *Fasting* was to be practised by the Patient*. Else, to what end is he so particular in giving us the Determinations of the old Physicians, that *Fasting* is of Service in *Epileptic* Cases?

Now let us consider, what we find urged against the common Interpretation, *Enq.* p. 46. “ A *miraculous* Power was necessary to cure this Disorder in the Way which JESUS cured it. Is a *miraculous* Power to be attained by *Fasting* and *Prayer*? Or cannot a *supernatural* Power cure a Disorder, supposing it to be granted to Men, as it was to the Apostles, unless they *fast* and *pray* for the Removal of the Disorder? ” The Question is not, what a *Supernatural* Power can do, or in what manner it may work Cures? But, whether the Author of *Supernatural* Power did not lay down these Duties, as Conditions necessary to the attaining it, or to the due Exercise of it? The *Gifts of Healing* were certainly *miraculous* Powers. And yet we learn from St. *James*, that these very Conditions were required, without which those Powers were not used. *The Prayer of Faith, shall save the Sick* †, v. 15. — “ Our *Saviour Himself* did neither *fast* nor *pray*, notwithstanding He cured the Youth.”

* Indeed, p. 46. He denies, that *Fasting* and *Prayer* was required of the *distempered* Person, in order to his Cure. But still I am at a loss to account for all those Citations, where *Fasting* is prescribed.

† Vid. *Whitby* in *Loc.*

These might be necessary in the Disciples, tho' they were not so in Him; unless they could pretend to Divine Power, in the same manner, that He had it; or unless they were as sure that their *Faith* would never *fail*. — But “ He charges them with *Unbelief* only, and not with “ neglect of *Fasting* and *Praying* as the Reason, why they did not cure the Disorder.” Tho' *Unbelief* be first and most plainly charged, yet the others follow, and are sufficiently mentioned. — “ Nor did the Disciples afterwards “ ever *fast* and *pray* (that we read of) in order “ to cure any Distempers, or to cast out any “ *Devils*.” We read, that St. *James* exhorted *sick* Persons, to call for the *Elders* of the Church, that they might *pray* over them, and to this he encourages them, by promising, that *the Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick* *. At least therefore they *prayed* to “ cure Distempers.” And they might use this Means in casting out Devils too; for the Silence of Scripture in these Circumstances, will hardly be allowed to prove the contrary. Besides, are we obliged to suppose, that *Prayer* and *Fasting* were *immediately* necessary before such Cures? Perhaps, they were so. For my own part, I believe them *generally* to have been so. But the Objection vanishes, if we suppose them only to have been *antecedently* necessary to procure, and to keep up, that mira-

* In this manner is St. *Peter* related to raise *Tabitha* to life; he knelt down and prayed, and turning to the Body, said, &c. Acts ix. 40.

culous *Faith*, which is the special *Gift of God*. In this Sense, we are sure the Apostles complied with these Conditions. Nor can I see, what hinders this Gentleman's thinking, " that our " *Saviour* gave this Direction to inform His " Disciples, that this Faith—was to be sought " for by flagrant Devotion, that it might " never be wanting to them." This is *Dr. Whitby's* Interpretation : And such a Design is perfectly agreeable to *Infinite Wisdom*, and to the Occasion of the *Direction* itself.

The Conjecture of the Physician at first View looks ingenious enough, ἐν προσεχέει νηστεία in constant fasting, instead of ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστεία. But *Fasting* and *Prayer* are too often mentioned together in *Scripture* to allow us to think of altering the Text, without any Authority, or Necessity. Nor will even this be an Answer, as *St. Mark* makes this Sentence to be, to the Question proposed by the Disciples.—

But this Gentleman chooses to drop his Friend's Emendation, and proposes a new Interpretation of his own, which is, " that the " Phrase, by *Fasting* and *Prayer*, is proverbially used, and implies great *Difficulty* only, " and that our *Lord* designed to oppose to the " usual length of Time, and Difficulty of " Cure, the Speed and Ease, with which he " had removed this Distemper." P. 47, 48. As he " refers this to the Reader's Judgment," I hope I shall not give any Offence by declaring
mine ;

mine; that it is a strained Exposition; that it is hardly to be reconciled with the Relation in *St. Matthew*, and not at all with *St. Mark's*; and that, if the common literal Sense be not absolutely unintelligible, there is no room to consider, whether one so foreign should be received. It might have been expected, that so learned and ingenious a Writer should have given us some Authority, one Instance at least from any Author of Credit, of this Phrase's being so used. But this he has not done, and I believe would be much puzzled to do. For, as to the Proverb, *nec prece, nec pretio*, it is far from similar or parallel; *prece* here no more signifying what the *Scriptures* mean by *Prayer*, than *pretio* does *fasting*. We have an *English* Proverb, not unlike this *Latin* one. We say a thing can neither be got *for Love, nor Money*. Words, which carry a very different Idea, from a Distemper not being cured *by Prayer, nor Fasting*.

The next Instance of a *Demoniack* we are to view, is that mentioned by *St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke*,* with but little Variation; out of whom the *Legion of Devils* were cast, and suffered to enter into the *Swine*. This the Author of the *Enquiry* considers, p. 48.—53. And indeed, if he can reconcile this to his Scheme, I think, we must be obliged to yield up the Point. “For in the Instance of this “Miracle before us, we find, that the Devils

* *Mat.* viii. 28. *Mark* v. 2. *Luke* viii. 27.

“ spake out of the possessed Persons, they were
 “ sent out of them, and they entered into the
 “ Herd of Swine: Personal Actions as well
 “ as Speeches are ascribed to them; which can
 “ never be ascribed to mere Phrenzy and Mad-
 “ ness: For had there been nothing more than
 “ Madness, then, when it ceased in the Men;
 “ it would have had no Influence on the *Swine*;
 “ whereas that, which went out of the one, and
 “ entered into the other, must have a distinct
 “ Being and Existence of its own *.” Thus
 are the Circumstances of this Story shortly and
 excellently summed up by a Writer, from
 whom I took the liberty to borrow a Passage
 before. And if these Difficulties can be an-
 swered to Satisfaction, I believe all others may
 be more easily got over: There being no other
 Account, where the Operation of *evil Spirits*
 is so plainly and particularly described. Let
 us therefore examine, what we find objected
 against the *literal Meaning*, and what is reply’d,
 in Answer to the several Questions, which will
 arise from the whole History.

From the Accounts “ of this unhappy
 “ Man,” this Gentleman “ observes, 1st,
 “ here was a Person *not in his right Mind*;
 “ running about *naked*; plucking asunder his
 “ *Chains or Fetters*; no one could *tame* him;
 “ —These are all ordinary Symptoms of *Lu-*
 “ *nacy or Madness*, &c.” I grant, that this
Demoniack, supposing him really such, might

* *Miracles of Jesus Vindicated*, ubi supra.

well be said to be *not in his right Mind*: But I deny, that it therefore follows, that he was a *mere Madman*. Enough has been said already, to disprove any such Consequence. Nor “ are “ these all ordinary Symptoms of” common “ *Lunacy*.” Surely, whether *Madmen* can be cured or not; if once taken, they may be *bound with Fetters*. If they can't be *tamed*; yet there is no such Difficulty in *confining* them. And therefore I think the *Author* of the *Questions* and *Answers* to the *Orthodox*, in the Works of *Justin Martyr*, had good Reason to attribute this extraordinary Degree of Power, which appears in the Instance before us, not to the *Person possessed*, but to the *Devil himself* *. But we are told, p. 76. “ That these Expressions, *no Man could bind him, no not with Fetters*, can mean no more than this, that the disordered Person had been often bound with *Fetters and Chains*, and he had often broke loose.” Yes, certainly, they *may* mean more, and, in their plain Meaning, *do* mean more. — And though the Sense this Gentleman gives might take Place, in case the literal one were unintelligible; yet, when there is no such

* *Quest.* XLI. “ If it be the Property of *God* to give *Strength*, how could the *Devils* enable the *Man* to break his *Chains*,” &c. ? We see, the *Question* supposes some *Supernatural* Power. The *Answer* is, Ὁν τῷ σώματι παρίσχεν ὁ δαίμων τὴν δύναμι, πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι συνδέειν καὶ διαρρήσσειν τὰ δεσμά καὶ τὰς ἀλύτους, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ὁ Δαίμων συνίτρισε καὶ διέρρησε τὰ δεσμά καὶ τὰς ἀλύτους ἐν καὶ ἡ θεία γραφὴ τῷ δαιμονιώτῃ προσῆψε τῷ δαίμονι τὰ ἔργα.

Difficulty, there can be no Necessity to allow it. However even here the Objection returns. What mere *Madmen* do we hear of, who, having *been* OFTEN bound with Fetters, and Chains, have Strength enough as OFTEN to pluck *asunder* the Chains, and to break the Fetters in Pieces? It is natural to imagine, that if he had got loose once or twice (as we have known a late Instance of this in one not mad) by the Means of human Strength or Art: This could not have been OFTEN done; and it must have put his Keepers, when once they had got him again, upon surer Means to have secured him effectually.

The *Enquirer*, p. 50. lays a good deal of Stress on the Observation, that the Man, into whom *many Devils had entered*, is sometimes represented, “as possessed by *one* only Spirit.” But, for my own Part, I can’t see, what this has to do with the present Debate; or what real Use it can have. By the *Evangelists* speaking so indiscriminately, we must suppose, that they did not imagine it a Point of such Consequence. These Variations are, in themselves, trifling; and such, as few of the best Writers are entirely free from *. As this is no Prejudice to the *Miracle*, which it was the Business of the *Gospels* to record and testify; so neither is it to the *literal Sense* of it, which it

* We have many Instances of this change of Number, in *Deut.* xii.

is my Design to vindicate and support. Our Question is not, whether *one* or *more Devils* were cast out? But, whether there were *any at all?*

But, from hence the Gentleman collects, “ That this Account of *many Devils* was nothing else but the Man’s Imagination, and not the Truth of Things : For to call out *one Devil*, when a *Legion* was in him, was really doing no service to the Person afflicted.” Still I must confess my self at a Loss to understand, what can be the Purpose of this Remark, or what could induce him to make it. For was only *one Devil* called out? But, every one of the *Evangelists*, when they record their being *cast out*, speak of them in the *Plural*. And *St. Mark* v. 12. says, *ALL the Devils besought Him*, &c. How then was “ The Account of *many Devils*, not the *Truth of Things?*” How could it have been more plainly set down, even on Supposition, that it had been *the Truth of Things?* And I observe farther, that this is so far from being “ nothing else but the Man’s Imagination,” That *St. Luke* recites it, not as the Man’s Words, but as *his own Reason* or Explication of the Name *Legion*. For thus we read in his Gospel, viii. 30. *And JESUS asked him, what is thy Name? And he said Legion : Because many Devils were entered into HIM.*

In the 4th Observation, p. 51. There are two or three Mistakes, which have been evidently

dently confuted already. On the Strength therefore of what has been said, I shall venture to contradict them, and to assert, that “ to “ *have a Devil* and to be *mad* is” not “ the “ same thing;” that “ this Man was” not “ considered merely as a *Madman*,” and that, when he said his Name was *Legion*, this was not “ the Answer of a mere *Madman*,” but the involuntary Confession of *wicked Spirits*.

“ Taking him for a *Madman*, could any “ thing be more natural, than what passed?” The Answer is easy. Many Particulars of his Conduct have no Relation to *Madness*: And others, which might possibly have proceeded from this, are much better accounted for, on the Supposition of his being a *Demoniack*. Of this last Sort we have an Instance in this Page. “ It “ was—natural for him, considering him as “ a *Jew*, in his *mad* fit, to ask that the *Devils*, “ which were in him, might be permitted to “ enter into the *Herd of Swine*, which he “ saw just before him. The Sight of them “ would naturally put the odd Image into his “ Head.” Not to insist upon the learned Dr. *Lightfoot*’s Reasons for believing him to have been a *Gadaren*, and not a *Jew*, † we will suppose this a *probable* Account. But is it not *more* so, to imagine this a Petition of *evil Spirits*? What can be more suitable to their Nature and Disposition, than a Delight in doing *Mischief*? What stronger Picture can we have

† Vid. *Whitby* on *Mark* v. 2.

of this Temper, than this before us; that when they were going to be deprived of the Power of hurting Men's *Bodies*, they desire leave to damage them, in their *Possessions*? Besides the excellent Observations of *Theophylact* on this History, and *Dr. Hammond's* Reasons for Christ's not forbidding the Consequences, tend so much to the Honour of God's Power, and Justice, and Goodness; that they, of themselves, mightily incline us to believe, that Sense to be the true one, from which they are drawn †,

We have also in this Page two Passages, which, I apprehend, are very unnatural and unintelligible, if we take the afflicted Person to be nothing more than a *Madman*. The first is, his *worshipping* JESUS, and saying, *what have I to do with thee, JESUS, thou Son of GOD most High? I beseech thee torment me not.* Now these Words, if ascribed to an unclean Spirit are easy and plain. *The Devils knew him to be the Christ.* They knew him also to be come to destroy them utterly; and to have often displayed His Power in casting them out. This must be granted, if we allow them no superior Knowledge to Men. But then how natural is it for Beings in these Circumstances, conscious of their Guilt, and seeing their Destroyer, to be apprehensive of Punishment? And how well do these Words express at once their Conviction and Fear? Whereas if we put these in the Mouth of a *mere Madman*, there will be

† See these in *Whitby*, on *Mark* v. 14.

this glaring Inconsistency, that we suppose such a one, in the same Breath, declare his Belief in the true Nature and Business of our *Lord*, and his utter Ignorance thereof. Which *Contradiction* 'tis very hard to imagine even a *Madman* guilty of. The first Part, it is certain, betrays no Disorder: Nothing can be more consistent and rational. What Authority or Warrant have we therefore to interpret the Words, which immediately follow, in such a Sense, as nothing but the most excessive Raving can justify? Do but take the whole of this Case. Our *Lord's* Miracles had raised a *Fame* of him. A Man, who had been long afflicted, and who had heard this *Fame*, and thence *knew him to be the Christ, met Him, fell down at His Feet, worshipped Him*, declared his Knowledge, and Conviction, and yet in the same Moment, said, *he had nothing to do with Him, and begged Him not to torment Him*. Imagine this Affliction to have been *Madness*, if you will. Yet, this was not upon him, when he first *met* our Saviour. Nor is here the least Intimation, that it afterwards so *suddenly* seized him. He must be supposed at first to come with Hopes and a Desire of being cured: He is also supposed to have heard of our *Lord's* Cures. How could he therefore think of being *tormented* by Him? How could he think, "he had nothing to do with" one, whom he had just owned to be, "*the holy One of GOD*, who " was already so famous for

His curing all manner of Diseases?" *Enq.*
p. 69.

These are Difficulties attending this Supposition; and which I can't but think much harder than any, which follow the common Application. Others will appear by and by, when we shall have Occasion to resume the Consideration of this Text.

No less hard to account for, if we reject the literal Interpretation, is our LORD's Answer, wherein He gives them leave to go. This is clear enough if understood, as spoken to the *Devils*. No Objection can be raised, but what may be easily answered. But the *Enquirer* must excuse me, if I cannot think his Meaning so free from it. "All this" he tells us, p. 52. "is no more than concerning Himself with the fantastick Humour of a *Madman*, "but humouring him, while he cured him." But, in my Opinion; this "is concerning "Himself with" it greatly. Besides, such a Comment has no Countenance from the *Style of Scripture*, nor from the *Nature of the Case*. Not from the *Stile of Scripture*, which affords us nothing parallel, which never represents our LORD as directing an Answer to no Body, but only seeming to answer Beings not present, in order to *humour* a *Madman*, who conceived they were. —Nor from the *Nature of the Case*; there being no End or Use of His thus *humouring* him. This indeed, in the *Application* of *natural Remedies*, may be sometimes necessary to facilitate

litate the Cure. But *Miracles* never stand in need of any such to forward their Success. And therefore we have no Reason to believe our LORD did it here.

But the Consequence shews, that this Speech of our LORD's was not barely "humouring" the Man while he cured him, but that it had a real, a manifest, and most surprizing Effect. *The Devils went out of the Man, and entered into the Swine: and the Herd ran violently down a steep Place into the Lake, and were choaked.* This the Gentleman owns, p. 52. to be "the main Difficulty." Let us see how he gets over it. "All this *Legion of Devils*" was nothing but the *Madman's* talk."—We saw before, that *St. Luke* himself confirmed this talk, by assigning the Reason of this Name: *Because many Devils were entered into him.* And we have the Testimony of our Author himself, that "all the three Evangelists agree" in telling us, that *the Devils entered the Swine.*" How then is this "nothing but the *Madman's* talk?" To proceed:

"If therefore by any *Accident* the Swine ran down the Precipice, whilst the Man or Men, were under Cure, whether drove down, or frightened down by the *Madmen*, this would fully answer all the Story." No, most certainly it would not. — Whether or no to have a *Devil*, and to be *Mad*, mean the same Thing; to have a *Devil*, and to be *accidentally frightened*, will never be allowed to do so. For

then it may follow, that, in many Instances, here was nothing but an uncommon *Fright*, and consequently no occasion for any *Miracle*. I would not be understood to charge the *Enquirer* with intending this Consequence, the contrary to which he has asserted; both in the Entrance, and Conclusion of his Piece. And therefore I must look on this, as a Sign of the Distress he was in; and farther, as an Interpretation he seems not satisfied with himself. For, as if he suspected it, he immediately offers another.

“ But supposing this Conjecture — will not
 “ sufficiently account for the Expressions of the
 “ *Evangelists*, I conceive, that there can be no
 “ greater Difficulty in this Case, than there is
 “ in one Man’s Distemper passing into another
 “ Man, &c.” Diseases communicated by *Infection* must here be set aside, *Madness* not being such a one. And other Distempers can’t pass into another Man, but by *Supernatural Infliction*, which can’t be pretended to be the Case here. Let us illustrate this by the History of *Gebazi*, to whom the *Leprosy* of *Naaman* was to cleave, 2 *Kings*-v. 27. Since this is the Instance this Gentleman pitches upon, p. 53, and chuses to compare with the present Case. Here the first Difference that occurs, is, that tho’ the *Leprosies* of *Naaman* and *Gebazi* were the same, *in kind*, yet they can’t be thought *one and the same Leprosy*. It did not “ pass from
 “ the one to the other,” nor was it immediately
 ately

ately communicated. Whereas, if by *Devils*, in the Gospels, we must mean *Madness*, it is certain, that it was the *self same Madness*, from which the *Man* was delivered, which seized the *Swine*: Since the same *Devils*, which went out of him, are said to have entered into these. 2dly, *The Leprosy of Gehazi* was plainly a Judgment upon him for his *Covetousness*, which God was not only pleased to permit, but directly inflicted. But, it would be ridiculous to imagine this of the *Swine*; nor have we sufficient Warrant to say any such Thing of the *Owners* of them. And our LORD, by two of the Evangelists, is only said to have permitted, or given the *Devils* leave to enter into the Herd. Which implies nothing active in our LORD, as *Grotius* has observed. So that, we find these two Cases very different. Nor will the *Scripture* Account of *Gehazi's Leprosy* at all help us to “ resolve the Instance before us,” or to conceive how the *same Madness*, under the Notion of *Devils*, could leave the *Man* and seize the *Swine*.

At present, I take my leave of this Instance, till this Gentleman gives me cause to take it in hand again, and to consider his Explication of some other Circumstances relating to it, and what he has offered in reply to the Argument arising from hence. I now attend him to view the Case of the *Pythonefs*, *Acts* xvi. 16. which, p. 53, 54, he says, “ is that of a Person that pretended to tell Fortunes; and engaged the Attention of the People, by speaking inward-
I 2 “ ly.

ly. This was called a Spirit of Divination; and when she was discovered, she was disabled from playing this Trick any longer, by St. Paul's saying to her, — *I command thee to come out of her.* No more was, or could be meant, than to put a stop to the Trick the Woman used. She was not a *Demoniack* in the Sense of those, that are mentioned in the Gospels." This is the whole of this Gentleman's Account, which I can't but think very different from St. Luke's. Here she is represented not as a mere *Fortune-teller*, but as *possessed with a Spirit of Divination*, or, as it is called in the *Old Testament*, a *familiar Spirit*; in the manner the *Delphick Priestess* used to be *.

2dly, We have not the least Intimation in the Text of any such Cheat's being *discovered*, and therefore this could not be the occasion of what St. Paul said, &c. On the other hand, as the *Devils* in the *Gospel* were forced to confess CHRIST, so this *Pythones* bore witness to His Disciples. Had she been only a Cheat, how shall we account for this Proceeding, which could have no other tendency, than to divert the Attention of the People from her? 3dly, It was *to the Spirit* himself, that Luke describes St. Paul, as *turning* and saying, *I command thee*, &c. And I know not what Warrant the En-

* See Hammoud and Whitby, in locum. "Python was a Name of the City Delphos, where Oracles were delivered by the Devil." Hence πύθια κούρατος. "Hesychius, Suidas, and Phavorinus agree in this, that Python is δαίμωνιον μαρτυρῶν."

quirer had to change the Person, and to direct these Words of the Apostle to her. 4^{thly}, The Charge itself, *I command thee in the Name of JESUS CHRIST to come out of her*, and the Event, *he came out the same Hour*, is so exactly the Language of the Gospels, when Devils are said to be cast out, that I think, we can't, without Violence, understand them of any Thing else. The only difference is the addition of those Words, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which is conformable to His Direction and Promise; *Mark xvi. 17*. Lastly, there is then no Reason to question but she was properly a *Demoniack*, i. e. one possessed with an evil Spirit, as those were, that are mentioned in the Gospels. Indeed, in what manner the Devil afflicted her we are not particularly told. But that in general she was thus afflicted, St. Paul's Concern seems to imply; διαπονηθεὶς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος, κ, τ, λ. This Word denotes Grief, which might arise either from Pity or Indignation, the former relating to the Woman, this last to the evil Spirit. In this Sense, St. Luke used this Word before, *Acts iv. 2*. διαπονόμενοι διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὸν λαόν. — We see then here a Woman possessed with an evil Spirit. This was cast out by the Apostle, in the same manner, as others are said to have been. Can this be understood to mean either *Madness*, or the *Epilepsy*? Neither is pretended. Can it be explained by a Power to do Tricks, and to deceive, without supposing some real Possession? It does not appear,

pear, that the Word was ever used in any such Sense. Besides, this Account entirely destroys the *Miracle*, and can't therefore be admitted.

Much the same we find in the *Enquiry*, p. 54. of the *Woman*, who had the *Spirit of Infirmary*, and who is said by our SAVIOUR to have been bound by *Satan*. "She was never reputed a *Demoniack*, but only to be so bent in her Body, as not to be able to lift herself up." This indeed was her Disorder: But if it proceed from an *Evil Spirit*, she was a *Demoniack*: And it surprizes me to hear this Gentleman say, "she was never reputed" such. What the *Jews* accounted her case, we can't say. But the present *Bishop of Lichfield* has shewn it to be the Opinion of *St. Augustine*, of *Ader* and *Bartoline* the Physicians, and of *Grotius*, that an *evil Spirit* was the Author of this Disease *. He also tells us, that *Theophanes Cera-meus*, a *Greek Homilist* in the 11th Century, "corrects the Opinion of common Naturalists, and says, that *St. Luke*, as skilled in *Physick*, did not impute this Infirmary to mere natural Causes, but to the Influence of an evil Spirit in concurrence with them §." To these we may add *Dr. Hammond*, who paraphrases a *Spirit of Infirmary*, *Luke* xiii. 11. "A fore Disease, inflicted on her by the *Devil*." And *Whitby* on *V. 16*.—"A *Spirit of Infir-*

* *Vindicat. of Miracles*, V. I. p. 321.—326.

§ *Ibid.* p. 338.

“ *mity* is nothing but an *infirm Disposition* or
 “ *Habit*, in the Jewish Phraseology; and the
 “ Christian Writers are full of the same man-
 “ ner of Expressions, &c.” My Lord of *Lich-*
field is so strong to my Purpose, that I will
 give the Answer in his own Words. “ The
 “ Words, *a Spirit of Infirmity*, might possibly
 “ have been understood, by an *Hebraism*, of
 “ the very *Infirmity* itself, if our Lord had
 “ not afterwards informed us, that *Satan had*
 “ *bound*, or contracted the Nerves or Sinews
 “ of this Woman; and had not thereby
 “ shewn, that by these Words, *a Spirit of*
 “ *Infirmity*, was meant an Infirmity, or such
 “ a Weakness of Body, as *bow'd it together*,
 “ that was inflicted by an evil Spirit †.” Since
 therefore this Expression, *whom Satan hath*
bound, must determine the Meaning of the
 other, let us see what the *Enquirer* says to it:
 “ --That Word would have been used, whatever
 “ was the true Cause of this Indisposition—
 “ *Satan* is nothing else but *Adversary*—Thus
 “ our Saviour says to *Peter*, *get thee behind me*
 “ *Satan*—And so to be *bound of Satan*, when
 “ applied to an *Infirmity*, means no more than
 “ that, which was an Adversary to Health, be
 “ it what it would.” P. 55. So that by *Satan*

† Ibid. p. 317. Exactly in the same manner says *Grotius*, posset
 quidem πνεῦμα Hebræorum more pro ipso morbo accipi, secun-
 dum ea quæ alibi diximus : Sed cum infra apertè dicatur à Satana
 immo hinc hoc malum, præstat ita intelligi, quomodo πνεῦμα ἀλάστον
 dixit Marcus ix. 17. *Dæmonium quod loquendi facultatem impedi-*
ret. In loc.

we are to understand any *Distemper*, or any *Accident* that may cause it. But what one Instance have we of either of these being called by this Name? *Satan* in general signifies an *Adversary*, and the *Jews* applied it to any *Enemy*. This is no Reason, that it must be applied in so lax a Sense in the Place before us. It is certain, that the most frequent Signification of this Word in *Scripture* is, the *Devil*; and in the few Places *, where it means only an *Adversary*, it is still applied to *Persons*, and never once to *Distempers*, *Accidents*; &c. So that the Criticism I am considering appears arbitrary, and without Foundation. And if, in Cases of such *Infirmity*, "The *Jews* would say that *Satan* bound," p. 56. 'Tis manifest from the Quotation out of *Lightfoot*, that they only meant to attribute it to *evil Spirits*. And, that this their Notion was universally wrong has not hitherto been proved. And at this Distance of Time it must be hard to prove it.

But it is farther objected, that "the Woman here seems to be a *devout, religious, good Woman*: She was in the *Synagogue* before her Cure, and as soon as she was cured, she *glorified God*. Our Saviour bears this Testimony to her, that *she was a Daughter of Abra-*

* Our LORD's rebuke to *Peter* is owned to be one Instance of this Figure. But I see no Reason, why 1 *Chron.* xxi. 1. *Satan*, who stood up against *Israel*, and provoked *David* to number *Israei*, should be only "somebody that was an *Enemy* of the *Israelites* in the *Event*," should not be understood of the *Devil*. The *LXX* translates it *διαβολος*.

“ *ham*; by which he meant to commend her
 “ for her *Faith, and good Disposition* of Mind.”
 I have no desire to detract from this Woman’s
 Character. But, in justice to my Subject, I
 can’t but observe, that *Grotius* gives a quite
 different Reason for these last Words of our SA-
 VIOUR, “ because the Name of a *Son* or *Daugh-*
 “ *ter* of *Abraham* was among them in the high-
 “ est Esteem.” He refers to some Places for
 the Truth of this, and then adds, “ this Inter-
 “ pretation is plainer and truer than their’s,
 “ who make them relate to the *Faith* of the
 “ Woman *.” But be it allowed that she was
 as *good*, as this Gentleman will have her, —
 What follows? — That she was not *bound* by
Satan, literally speaking? What Grounds have
 we to draw this Consequence? To be *delivered*
to Satan was, I own, sometimes a *Punishment*.
 But who can say, that GOD never permitted him
 then to *possess* and *afflict* the Bodies of *good* Per-
 sons? *Job* was one Instance of this; and the
 Woman, whose Case we are upon, for ought
 I know, might be another. The Gentleman
 asks, “ Why then should we imagine the *De-*
 “ *vil*, or the *Prince of Devils* †, to have been
 “ in her so many Years?” I answer, we a-

* Non contentus hominem pecudi opponere, quod satis fuerat,
 adjicit filiam Abrahami, quod nomen apud illos in maximo erat
 pretio — Hæc interpretatio simplicior & rectior quam eorum,
 qui *fidem* Fæminæ spectatam volunt. in loc.

† I know not the Reason of this Explication. *Satan* being
 often in *Scripture* used, as a common Name for the *Powers* of
Darkness.

scribe her Distemper to *Satan*, because our *Blessed SAVIOUR* Himself has done so before us. If the Reason be asked for this, *I can't tell, GOD knoweth*: But one Thing I am sure of, that, as He permitted it, this was not without the highest and the best of Reasons.—“ Might “ we not have Grounds to think, that [the “ Devil] would have perverted her *Mind*, and “ not her *Body*,” &c. No doubt, he would have done it, if he could. But, supposing her a *good* Woman, she might easily have Power to prevent this, tho' she could not the other. GOD might see fit to permit the *Devil* to torment her *Body*, and yet enable her to preserve her *Mind* from all his Assaults. In this Case, He is ever ready to assist His faithful Servants. And can we then conclude, because *Satan could not* accomplish all his malicious Designs upon her, that he did not gratify his natural Love of Mischief at all? “ This Case then was ” more than “ mere *Infirmity*.” And thus, we have “ Instances of Persons ” really “ *Demoniacks*,” where there is no apparent *Epilepsy* or *Madness*.

The next Texts will not keep us long, *Acts* viii. 7. *Unclean Spirits, crying with a loud voice, came out of many that were possessed with them*, i. e. says this Gentleman, p. 56. “ he cured “ Men that were *raving*.” If he will understand it so, there is no help for it. Certain it is, there is no Necessity for this Interpretation: Nor can the Words, without some Force, be capable of

of it. — But to go on, — On *Matth.* ix. 32, and 33; and xii. 22, which recite the Cure of a *Demoniack dumb*, and of another *blind and dumb*, we have this Remark. “The *Possession* being the same as being *mad*, the Circumstances which attended it, shew how the Man was affected; *e. g.* in the Case just mentioned, the Madman was a blind Man, and *dumb*, either thro’ natural Infirmary, or else fallen through his Distemper.” The Principle he proceeds upon has been shewn to be groundless: Neither are these Circumstances to be considered as belonging to the *Man*, otherwise than as they were occasioned in him by the *Devil*. They were part of the Evils, by which he afflicted him. *St. Luke* xi. 14. appears to make this the whole of one *Possession*; καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν κωφόν. ἐγένετο δὲ τῶ δαιμονίῳ ἐξελεθόντος, ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός. We need not indeed, with *Origen*, attribute this *Dumbness* to the *evil Spirit*, personally: But surely the least we can understand is, that he was the Author and Cause of it, in the Person so affected. And the same is sufficiently clear, by implication, in the Passages before us. The recovering Sight and Speech, are represented as the immediate and direct Consequences of casting out the *Devil*; which fairly and strongly implies, that the Loss of both was owing to him. As therefore it would be absurd to talk of *blind* or *dumb Madness*, and contrary to Experience to say, that this makes Men *blind* or

dumb; we have here a good Argument, that by the *Devil*, in the Places under Consideration, can't be meant *mere Madness*. It must import some Being to which those Disorders may be assigned *. As to the latter Words, " or " else sullen thro' his Distemper," my Exception to them is, that this Explication tends, in some measure, to set aside the Miracle; which the Gentleman, as well as my self, is concerned to support; since *Sullenness*, of what kind soever, may well be conceived to be cured without any Miracle. And, if this be allowed, another may pretend, as reasonably, that the *Blindness* was *Obstinacy*, and the *Madness* counterfeited; and thus the whole Miracle will be destroyed at once.

" And if at any Time a determinate Number of Devils are said to have possessed any Person, *e. g.* *Mary Magdalene*, out of whom went seven Devils, *Luke* viii. 2. *Mark* xvi. 9.—The Meaning is, that she had affirmed in her *Melancholy*, that she had so many Devils in her, just as the Madman said, that he had a *Legion* of Devils in him." P. 57. This is mere Conjecture, and, I fear, an unfortunate one. For we saw before, that it was not the *Madman* only, who said this. *St. Luke* confirmed it, and gave a Reason of his own for so extraordinary a Title. And, with regard to *Mary Magdalene*, we are no where told, that

* Vid. *Grotius*, *Hammond*, *Whitby*.

she ever laboured under any *Melancholy*, or that she ever *affirmed* any such Thing, as that *seven Devils* were in her. It is plain from the Accounts of both the *Evangelists*, that this Remark, *out of whom, He had cast, or went, seven* Devils*, was made by them, in their own Names; probably, to distinguish her from the other Women of this Name, mentioned in the Gospel. Whatever Difficulty may be then in this Place, we can't be thus helped out. But really there can be no more, than in the other Account of the *Legion*. And, as in this, *Possession* is pointed out as plainly, as Words can describe it, I see no Reason to look out for any figurative Construction of that relating to *Mary Magdalene*: Especially, since whatever Difficulty be in either Case, it may be attributed to our Ignorance of the Power of *wicked Spirits*, and of their manner of acting.

Of the *vagabond Jews Exorcists*, and what is related, *Acts* xix. 13, &c. to have happened to them, this Gentleman gives this Construction, *p.* 57. "The *mad* Man fell upon them, and "tore their Clothes off their Backs, and "wounded them." But surely, that Answer, *JESUS I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?* is not the Answer of a *Madman*, but is perfectly *consistent* and *rational*. And I must own it to be a Difficulty that sticks with me, that almost every one of this sort of *Madmen*, mentioned

* *i. e.* In the *Jewish* Phraseology, a great many.

in *Scripture*, should, as it were, combine, in giving Honour to our *Blessed LORD*, and in bearing Witness to His Power over them. This too often happens, to be accounted mere *Chance*; and it is certain, nothing could be more contrary to the Notion of *Madness*. Besides, this Speech is most clearly put into the Mouth of the *evil Spirit*, as distinguished from the Person *possessed* with it. Ἀποκριθὲν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν, εἶπε; — ἢ ἐφαλλόμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ᾧ ἦν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν, κ, τ, λ.

The *Enquirer*, p. 58. thinks it “worth while to consider a little the Practices of these *vagabond Jews*.” As I have before spoken what I think of them, I propose to be very short on this Point. It may be however proper to repeat my Opinion, that they were different from those *Exorcists* who used the Name of the *GOD of Abraham, and the GOD of Isaac, and the GOD of Jacob*. This does not appear to be any Trick. And this Gentleman very rightly translates *Justin Martyr* so, as to make their Success *probable*, [ἴσως ὑποαγάσεται, *probably he will obey*,] which is more than we have Reason to believe of the others, the *Strollers*. To these only the last Words ἤδη μὲν τοι κ, τ, λ. seem to relate. These two sorts of *Exorcists* *Grotius* has clearly distinguished; and observes, that whereas the *Herbs, and Scents, and Chains*, used on this Occasion, by the one, were borrowed from the *Gentiles*, the invoking the

the Name of *the GOD of Abraham*, &c. was originally a *Jewish Custom*; to which GOD might often vouchsafe to grant Success *, even when used by those who knew him not. However, these Invocations were, 'tis plain, used, and that to drive away *Devils*; and if we may credit not only *Origen*, but *Justin*, *Theophilus*, and *Irenæus*, they were often effectual. The Authority of all these Writers with regard to *Facts*, should, methinks, be of some Weight; and I much question, whether our Surprize or Conjectures, at this Time of Day, be sufficient to set their Account aside. We have seen, that no less Men than *Grotius*, and Dr. *Hammond* have offered a Reason for the Success, that so much causes this Gentleman's Wonder, P. 60. and he may see, they attribute nothing to *mere Sounds, and Charms of Words*, but all to GOD, thus bearing Testimony to His *true Name*. These *Exorcisms* therefore should not be confounded with the Arts of the *Vagabonds*, for whom I do not contend. Nor can I discern

* *Grot. in Matth. xii. 27. οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν*] Non Apostoli — sed populares Phariseorum atq; Discipuli: neq; inter eos illi qui herbis, suffitibus, & vinculis adversus Dæmonas utebantur (quod non erat institutum origine Judaicum atq; à Solomone deductum, quod vult *Josephus*, sed a Gentibus desumptum, ut recte docet *Tryphonem Justinus*) sed ij qui dæmonas ejiciebant — invocantes *Deum Abrahami*, &c. — Ejusmodi ergò exorcismi eventum sæpe suum habuerunt; non quod vis ulla in syllabarum pronunciatione esset sita, sed quod verus Deus illis potissimum nominibus nosci appellariq; vellet, atq; ideo vim suam tum demum exfereret, cum apertissimâ locutione constaret ipsum, non aliquem Gentilium Deorum, esse invocatum. See this same Reason in *Hammond* ad loc.

how the believing, or “endeavouring to account for” those, can deserve so severe a Reflection, as we find in the Page before us; how this “is to promote the Cheat, and to encourage the World to consult Inchanters, and Witches, and Wizards, and Necromancers;” unless it could be affirmed, that these act *in the Name of the GOD of Abraham, and the GOD of Isaac, and the GOD of Jacob*; or that calling upon this is any *magical Operation*.

My present Design does not require me to enter upon a Defence of the *Ephesian Letters*, which the Author of the *Enquiry*, p. 61, with Reason enough calls “ridiculous Words, senseless Sounds, fit to cheat the Ignorant with.” We may however very fitly observe, that *Plutarch*, a sober and good Writer, alludes to the Custom of *commanding Demoniacks to read them over**, without the least Mark of Dislike or Suspicion. All that I would collect from this, is, that there are such *possessed Persons* mentioned by an *Heathen* Writer, as Cases that were common, and at which he expresses no manner of Surprise. Nor can we prove, that they were not truly, such as he represents them. The *Charms* here used, however senseless, rather imply they were. Since, as has been observed, these *originally and properly* have a respect, not to Distempers, but *Possessions*.

* Ὅσπερ γὰρ οἱ μάγοι τὰς δαιμονιζομένους κελεύουσι τὰ ἐφέσια γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὴς καταλέγειν καὶ ὀνομάζειν — Plut. Sympos. L. 7. quæst. 5. ad fin.

are only found wanting in two Copies, and these of no Character for Correctness. For, as to *Theophylact*, Dr. Mill tells us, he omitted them industriously, and out of Regard to his particular Opinion *. In which he was undoubtedly wrong. Had his Notion been never so true, and he never so strongly assured of it, he neither could have Authority, nor be at Liberty, to alter the Sacred Text.

Enq. p. 63. “ What is usually called *Possession of Devils*, is no more to be distinguished from Disease or Sicknes, than the *Palsy* is, which is put in the same manner as *Lunacy* is, and contradistinguished from *Diseases*. In Truth, the proper rendring is, he cured all that were taken with diverse Diseases, even *Demoniacks*, *Lunaticks*, and *Paralyticks*.” Let the excluded Words be here inserted, and we may venture to admit this rendring. These particular Cases must then be thought the chief Instances of the *divers Diseases and Torments*. And therefore the *Demoniacks* may be designed to be included under those who were *tormented*, and may still be here distinguished from the *divers Diseases*. However, which is more to our Purpose to observe, they are and must be distinguished from those which were *Lunatick* †, and those that had the

* Omisit Theophyl. de industriâ, quod σεληνιαζομένους putârit δαιμονιώτας, ut apparet ex commentario. Not. ad loc.

† i. e. as Dr. Hammond has here paraphrased it, “ affected with any Disease, on which the Changes of the Moon had influence, whether Madness, or Falling-Sickness”.

Palsy. To which we find two Answers, p. 64, 65. Neither of which I conceive sufficient. “*Theophylact* did not read in his Copy those Words, and those which were possessed with Devils.” *Mill* says, that he omitted them, as in his Opinion superfluous*. Here again, he was undoubtedly wrong. “It is plain, they are wanting in some MSS.”—Only in two—“In some Copies, which have the Words—*And those, which were possessed with Devils*, the following ones—*And those which were lunatick*—are omitted.” I find in *Dr. Mill* but one, and this of no Note—“But say that the common Reading is the true one, it amounts to no more than this, that our Saviour cured all sorts of *Madness*, whensoever it arose, whether it were from *Melancholy*, or from any other Cause.” If *Devils*, or their *Possession*, be allowed to be a Cause, this Interpretation perhaps might be admitted. Otherwise it appears to be making those Cases one and the same, which the Evangelists have clearly and expressly distinguished: And I see no Reason, why the *Paralyticks* might not as well be taken in too; since it has here no other Mark of Difference, than the *Demoniacs*.

The Gentleman cites three other Texts, and observes of them all “—The Sense is very clear :

* *Missio ἡ δαιμονιοζομίας*, ceu superfluo, quod lunaticos haberet *Theophyl.* pro *Dæmoniis*, ut apparet ex *Com. Millii Prolegom.* 1059.

“ He gave the Disciples Power over unclean
 “ Spirits, and not only that Power, but likewise
 “ to heal all other Distempers. As to Himself,
 “ our Saviour cured the sick, and likewise all
 “ sorts of Lunacy.” Let us now compare this
 Account with the Texts themselves. The first
 is *Mat. x. 1.* *He gave them Power against un-*
clean Spirits to cast them out, and to heal all
manner of Sickness and Diseases Here one
 would think unclean Spirits can't be interpreted
 of *any* Disease, when it is so expressly opposed
 to *all manner* of them. But, as in citing the
 last Text, the *Enquirer* left out two Words of
 Importance, so in his Exposition of this, he
 has added one, which the Text itself will not
 warrant. *All manner of Sickness*, he explains,
all OTHER Distempers. This Word *OTHER* is
 entirely his own. This Sense therefore which
 depends upon it, may be said to be *His*, but is
 not *St. Matthew's*.

Mark i. 34. *He healed many that were sick of*
divers Diseases, and cast out many Devils.
 And, *Luke iv. 40, 41.* *He laid his Hands on*
every one of them [sick with divers Diseases] and
healed them, and Devils ALSO came out of many
crying out, and saying, &c. We have cited the
 Gentleman's Interpretation of these, in which I
 cannot agree with him; because it is making
 the Evangelists use a direct and absolute Tau-
 tology. *Madness* is allowed to be a *Disease*, p.
 63. *Epilepsy* is certainly one: If therefore these
 be all that is meant by *Devils*, there had been

no Occasion, after the mention of our LORD's healing *many that were sick of divers Diseases*, to have added, *and cast out many Devils*. What Sense is this, he cured *many that were sick of divers Diseases*, and likewise *many that were sick of some particular Diseases*, such as *Lunacy*, &c? Besides, *St. Luke's* Words are yet more emphatical. We see a different Way of speaking in his Relation of the Cure of Distempers, and of the casting out Devils. Of the former he only says, ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς; but these latter he speaks of *personally*, as active Beings, and accordingly puts Words into their Mouths, ἐξήρχετο δὲ καὶ δαιμόνια ἀπὸ πολλῶν κράζοντα καὶ λέγοντα, κ, τ, λ. Would a correct Writer have said this, if these had been no other than *Diseases*, and therefore included under the former Part of the Sentence *?

A second Objection this Gentleman sets down, p. 65. in the Words of *Dr. Whitby*; which he answers particularly; and therefore it may not be amiss to set down the whole of it, that the Strength of it may appear. "The
" Difference between Demoniacks and Luna-

* Mr. *Twells* observes that "the Greek ἐκ ἐκπορεύεται, is frequently used of ejecting Devils, but never of Distempers that are healed." *Critic. Exam.* Part I. p. 96. And I believe the Enquirer can't shew, that it is used of any Disorders, but those under Consideration. The same may be said, of ἐξέβαλε, *Mat.* viii. 16. applied to *Spirits*, in Opposition to ἐθεράπευσεν, applied to ALL that were sick. So *Ch. x. i. Mark* iii. 15. These are also clearly distinguished, *Mark* xvi. 17, 18. Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλῆσιν — ἐπὶ ἀρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσονται. See also, *Luke* vi. 17, 18. ix. 1. *Acts* xix. 13.

“ ticks is evident from the Circumstances relating to the Devils to be, or that actually were, cast out. E. g. Christ suffered not the Devils to speak, because they knew him to be the Christ, Mark i. 34. Luke iv. 41. They said, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of God*: They expostulate with Christ, saying, *what have we to do with thee? Art thou come to torment us before the Time?* And pray, that he would not torment them: They ask His leave to enter into the Swine; and being entered, they hurry them into the Sea; and beg, that they may not be sent out of the Country; they acknowledge that their Name was Legion. Now to make all these Sayings the Effects of a Disease, or to conceive, that Christ spoke thus to a Disease, is too great an Evidence of one that is himself diseased.”

Wit and Reflections apart, let us consider, what is replied to the several Parts of this Objection. And first, when our LORD suffered not the Devils to speak, because they knew Him. This Gentleman says, p. 65, 66. “ He checked the Demoniacks whom he cured, just as He likewise does His immediate Disciples and Followers, if at any Time they publickly and openly declared Him to be the Christ.” But this Reply appears founded on a Mistake, viz. That because this Speech may be imputed to the Person possessed, therefore it must be so. Whereas, though sometimes there may be a Necessity for this, here there is none. Devils are

are Beings capable of *knowing* JESUS to be the CHRIST, and also of using the Man's Speech, or some Power of their own, to utter what they knew. And therefore as the literal Sense is no way absurd, it ought to prevail; and 'tis unreasonable to look out for a Figure. Our Saviour might rebuke the Devils for the same Reasons, which are assigned for his restraining the Men: As also, for one Reason peculiar to those, that He would *not receive Testimony from Devils*.

In Answer to *rebuking the Devils*, Luke iv. 41. The Gentleman, p. 66. sets V. 39. He *rebuked the Fever*, and thinks no more can be concluded from the one Place, than the other. And, indeed, if there had been no other Circumstances to help us, this Reply would have been very just and true. But, in the Place before us, we have such. The *Devils* here *rebuked* are real Beings: They are rebuked for Speeches actually attributed to them; which are never attributed to *Fevers*, and which there is no manner of Reason to believe necessary to the Persons afflicted. The Objection therefore remains in full Force.

To that Speech of the *Devils*, *thou art the Christ the Son of God*, the *Enquirer* answers, p. 67. " If the Man that was possessed, or " *mad*, made such Declarations in Consequence " of his Distemper, it may I think, with the " same Propriety be attributed to the Distem- " per, as when St. Paul says, Rom. vii. 17, 20. " *If*

“ *It is no more I that do it, but SIN that dwell-
 eth in me.*” Now, first, the Declarations
 here made, were no Effect or Consequence of
Distemper, and are therefore not to be im-
 puted to it. This Gentleman owns, in the
 preceding Page, that much the same were also
 made by our *Lord's* “ immediate Disciples and
 “ Followers,” who surely were not *mad*. 2dly,
 I grant, that *Diseases*, as well as *Virtues*, and
Vices, may be considered, and treated as *Per-
 sons*: But then the *Prosopopeia* must be plain
 and manifest, and can't be mistaken. Thus,
 in the Passage above, there is no danger of un-
 derstanding *Sin* in a *Personal* Sense; no one
 has ever understood it so. We all know, that
 its *Being* is but feigned and imaginary. Where-
 as, the Case of the *Devils* is very different.
 These are certainly *real Persons*, capable of
 acting, and speaking, what is ascribed to them.
 And therefore here there is not the least Occasion
 to have recourse to Figure, when the literal
 Sense is so very intelligible and proper. Besides,
 we find the Cure of many other Distempers re-
 lated in *Scripture*; but none of them are re-
 presented as *speaking*, or *crying out*. Which
 makes it highly probable, that had the *Posse-
 sions* been only common Diseases, we should
 have heard nothing of this Way of Speaking.
 It ought also to be remembred, that we ob-
 served before, how inconsistent and unreasona-
 ble it is to impute such Declarations of *Truth
 and Soberness* constantly and perpetually to *Mad-
 ness*.

The

The next Part of the Objection, the Gentleman examines; p. 68. is the Devil's Expostulation with CHRIST, saying, *let us alone, what have we to do with thee, thou JESUS of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the holy One of God.* Luke iv. 34. Mark i. 24. I shall not repeat what I have already urged against the Supposition of these Words being applied to any but the *Devils*, nor the Answer given to the Observation, that the Evangelists speak sometimes of *one*, and sometimes of *more Devils*; on which this *Enquirer* here again lays a great Stress. And I come directly to his second Reply, which we have, p. 69. " That the Evangelists sometimes impute
 " that to the *Cause* of a Disease which is proper
 " and peculiar only to the *Man* who is dis-
 " tempered: They imputed that to the *Devils*,
 " which the *Man* alone could do.—*e. g.* Mark
 " iii. 11. *Unclean Spirits when they saw Him,*
 " *FELL DOWN before Him, &c.*" Now though it was the *Man* only, who visibly did this, yet it can hardly be called the act of the *Man alone*, exclusive of the unclean Spirits; as it is imputed to these in Terms, and as the least that can be understood is, that it was done, as certainly 'tis easy to conceive it might be done, through their Influence. Even in this Text their Power is supposed. To impute an *Effect* to its proper *Cause* and *Occasion*, is no hard Figure, though another *Instrument* be used; but to assign it to what never was, nor can be, a *Cause* of it, is,

I apprehend, Language unknown to *Scripture*. In these Cases therefore it will not be sufficient to say, that these Actions may be imputed to the *Man* alone, or that the *Man* must have immediately performed them.

If therefore we use this Text to explain the *Expostulations* mentioned above; at least we must say, that these were utter'd under the Influence of *Devils*, and by their Direction. But, in Truth, we can collect nothing from this Place, to make us reject the literal Sense of the others. If, in this, there be Actions attributed to the *Devils*, which we cannot easily understand of these; yet, in the others, there is no such Difficulty; nay, without manifest Inconsistency, we cannot apply them to any one else. The Speeches here are very proper and natural, if supposed to proceed from the *Devils*; but otherwise they can't well be reconciled.

The Remark of *the Author of the Questions and Answers to the Orthodox* has been produced before. The *Enquirer* says, p. 70, “ the Reverse of this is as true, that the Scriptures attribute to *Demons* the acts of the *Demoniack*.” We grant, that both these Observations are true, provided we do not understand the last, exclusive of the *Demons* themselves. And we find them both allowed by *Grotius* * — “ Which shews that in these Cases, we are not to re-

* Bene ad hunc locum [*Mark* v. 4.] Scriptor responsionum ad *Orthodox*. — Ita contra, Cap. iii. 11. Dæmoni ascribitur id quod orat τῷ δαιμονιώτῳ.

“ regard the Letter, but the real and exact Mean-
 “ ing of the Sacred Writers.” This no doubt
 is chiefly to be regarded : But, in order to find
 this out, I believe it a good Rule, not to depart
 from the Letter, unless it be clogged with any
 plain Absurdities. However, in this very Page,
 this Author has thought fit to leave his Infe-
 rence, and builds a great deal on the *very Let-*
 “ *ter* ; I mean, in accounting for all the Diffi-
 “ culties in *Mat. viii. 29.*” Here he says, “ It
 “ is generally supposed, that in this Story, it
 “ was the Devils which cried out—*Art thou*
 “ *come hither to torment us before the time?*
 “ But there is no Necessity for this Construc-
 “ tion ; and it is plain, that both *St. Mark* and
 “ *St. Luke* expressly ascribe this Declaration to
 “ the *Man* himself.” And indeed, it seems to
 have been a Point quite indifferent with them,
 to whom they immediately ascribed it. For,
 having so plainly represented the Man as posses-
 sed with *many Devils*, they might leave it to
 every Reader to collect, that at least the Man
 made this Declaration under the Influence of
 these wicked Spirits. This at least it seems neces-
 sary to suppose. For otherwise, there is in this
 whole Speech so much Inconsistency and Inco-
 herence, that a *general* Supposition of *Madness*
 will not account for it. Should we grant he
 was a *Madman* ; yet it appears from his *wor-*
shipping JESUS, and owning his Conviction of
 His Divine Nature and Mission, that this was
 a lucid and calm Interval, and therefore we

have no Reason to interpret the rest of his Speech in such a Sense, as Distraction only can justify. This Supposition then being attended with so great a Difficulty, and the common one being easy and suitable to the Nature of the evil Spirits, there can be sure no Doubt which to prefer.

However, this Gentleman offers, p. 71. a Criticism to explain the Reason of the Man's making this request. "The Men who had felt the Pain and Anguish arising from being *fetter'd and chain'd*, desire that JESUS would not put them to that Torment again." But, what room was there for such a Suspicion? They had heard of the *Fame* of JESUS, which His miraculous Cures had raised and spread. They accordingly declare Him to be the *Son of God*. But, had they heard of any one Instance where He had *bound* Persons in their Condition, and thus *vexed* or *tormented* them? If Madness be here pleaded, I must again answer, that *Reason* and *Raving* are not very consistent. So that if the Words under Consideration must be applied to the Man afflicted; it is most probable, that they were the Words of a Man not *dreading*, but *desiring* a Cure. For observe the Context. He *came out of the Tombs, exceeding fierce*, a Terror to all Passengers; and yet, as soon as he *saw Our Saviour afar off*, he knew, and acknowledged, Him to be *the Son of God*; he voluntarily *met Him*, and *worshipped Him*. How is all this consistent with the supposed Fear

Fear of being *chained again*? Had this been his Concern, instead of thus *meeting* JESUS, he surely, when *afar off*, would have attempted to fly from Him, or to terrify Him, as he had done others. These Difficulties vanish on the common Scheme. Even the *Devils* knew their Conqueror, feared His Power, and trembled at His Presence.

Another Difficulty is, that the *Devils* besought our Lord, that he would not *command* them *to go out into the Deep*, Luke viii. 31. or, as St. *Mark* has it, that He would not *send* them *away out of the Country*. The *Enquirer's* Reply to this has been in a great Measure considered already. He thinks it "all the Effect" of high Madness; and natural on that *Supposition*." P. 73. And surely if it is Madness, it is Madness in a much higher Degree, than the Man appears at this time to have been possessed with. This Gentleman does not tell us, what he understands by *the Deep*, or the *great Abyss*. But St. *John* clearly explains this; and who so fit to explain one Sacred Writer, as another? Rev. xx. 13. We read that *an Angel laid hold on the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan—And cast him into the bottomless Pit—* εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον. As 'tis not difficult to conceive them acquainted with this their Doom, we see what Reason they had to be apprehensive of it, and to deprecate it. But what Authority have we to induce us to believe that the Madmen knew any thing of this Place

of Punishment prepared for the Devil and his Angels? And, if they did not, how shall we account for their so directly alluding to it? As to the Words in St. Mark, ἕξω τῆς χώρας, they may indeed be parallel to those of St. Luke, and mean no more than a Request to continue longer on Earth. However, it must not be omitted, that both *Grotius* and *Whitby* explain the Words of that particular Country, and gave the following Reason for the *Devils* desiring to abide there, because of the Numbers of the *Apostates* from the *Jewish* Faith, over whom, they were particularly suffered to exercise their Power, as they were afterwards over the *Apostates* from *Christianity*.

“ And when this Mischief was thus done,
 “ by the *Madman*, could any thing, after they
 “ were brought to a *right Mind*, be more na-
 “ tural, then for them to desire, to be taken
 “ along with *Jesus*, when He left that Country.”
 Answer, The *Evangelists* do not make the *Man*
 at all concerned in doing this Mischief; much
 less, doing it in the manner this Gentleman
 supposes, by “ running among the Herd, and
 “ driving them down the Precipice.” For the
 Action of entering into the *Swine*, whatever it
 may signify, is not attributed to the *Devils*,
 till after they were forced out of the *Man*; and
 therefore can never properly, with any Sense,
 be imputed to him. Is it then a more natural
 Supposition, that his Desire of being with
 JESUS was not owing to any Fear he had of the
 People’s

People's Hatred, and revenging themselves on him, for the Loss of their *Swine*, but of the *evil Spirits* coming upon, and possessing him again. And thus may we best understand our LORD's Refusal, importing, that he needed not to be under any such Apprehensions; that the same Power, which had delivered him, could *in all Places* preserve him.

The last Difficulty relating to this Cure, is about *Matth. viii. 29.* *Art thou come hither to torment us before the Time?* This Gentleman represents it thus; "When it is asked, what *Time?* the common Answer is, before the *Time of the Day of Judgment*, until which *the evil Angels are reserved in Chains under Darkness*, *2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude 6.*" We see then that this Opinion has some Countenance from *Scripture*, and well agrees with what is herein said of the *Devils*. Nor does this Author deny this. He is only "apt to think, that this Passage may be more justly and consistently accounted for thus," *viz.* by taking the Meaning of it to be, "art thou come hither — unseasonably, sooner than was desired or expected, to vex us? Or, — art thou come thus, after this manner untimely to torment us?" But some Questions, asked before, will here return. How could it be thought, that our SAVIOUR was come to vex them? He was known sufficiently thereabouts, and famed for curing all Disorders:" But was He famed for tormenting any one? How then could Persons,

sons, who so well understood His Nature and Office, betray at the same Time such gross Ignorance of His way of acting, and entertain such undue Suspicions of Him? Or how is this His coming to be thought *unseasonable*, or *sooner than was expected and desired*, by those, who when they *saw Him afar off, met Him*, of their own accord, in a quiet, submissive Manner, and (if they must be thought *Madmen*) very probably, with Hopes and Desire of being *cured*?

We have now done with this Miracle. The *Enquirer*, p. 74, “ submits whatever he has said — to the Judgment of the candid Reader.” I do the same, only begging leave to add, that if there are some Difficulties attending this Case on all imaginable Schemes, as ’tis said there are; on our Side, they are entirely owing to our Ignorance of the Powers of *Devils*; on his, they arise from a manifest Repugnancy to the Accounts of the *Evangelists*.

This Gentleman has given us a third Objection to his Scheme in these Words; “ Christ sometimes puts Questions to these Demons; asking their *Names*; sometimes he commands them to be *silent*: And sometimes to *come out* of a Man, and enter *no more* into him. *Vid. Mark i. 25. Luke iv 31. Mark ix. 25.*” There is nothing in his Reply to this new, or that has not been considered already. He makes all these *personal* Addresses and Properties to belong either to the Man affected, or
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to *Demons*, only as the supposed Cause of such and such Distempers. Of this last Particular we shall say more by and by. Of the other, we need only add, that it has been proved; that, in many Instances, what is said of, and to, the *Devils*, can't be applicable to the *Men*; and that where they may be so, as they are expressly attributed to these *Devils*, and as these are doubtless real Beings capable of them; we have no Warrant to apply them to the *Men*, unless we consider these as possessed by them, and under their Influence.

Besides these Texts, there are a few others, relating to this Subject, unconsidered by the *Enquirer*. One or two may not improperly be mentioned here. *Luke* iv. 35. We have the following Account of the Cure of a *Demoniack*, when the Devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not. Μηδὲν ἐλάψαν αὐτὸν. These last Words shew, that this is not spoken of a Distemper. Had there been nothing more than this in the Case, there had been no occasion for such a Remark. For, can a Man ever be hurt, by the very Act of being cured, and much more miraculously cured, of a common Distemper? This therefore had been superfluous, and consequently, in all probability, had not been added by St. *Luke*, had not the Disorder proceeded from some Being, who might naturally be thought to leave the Man with some Reluctance and Violence, and to have a Power to hurt him.

Another Text is, *Acts* x. 38; where St. Peter, giving *Cornelius* an Account of JESUS, says, He went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed by the Devil, ἡ ἰατρὸς πάντας καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τῆς διαβολῆς, all that were under his Power and Tyranny. This may well be thought a Paraphrase of the Word δαιμονιζόμενοι. We here see, not only, what the true Notion of the *Scripture Demon* is, but in what very strong Language the *Possessions* mentioned in the Gospel are ascribed to him.

Before I leave this Subject, I beg, in my turn, to ask a few Questions: And first, if these *Demoniacks* were no other than *Madmen*, or *Epilepticks*, from whence proceeded the common Opinion, that these Disorders were owing to *Demons*? This, I own to be one of those Difficulties, which are Matter of mere Curiosity, and of no Importance to the Determination of the Question. But so are those objected to the *literal* Meaning. And if our Curiosity must be gratified in one Case, why not in the other? It is equally as proper an Enquiry, why there were so many Persons, at least vulgarly imagined to be, possessed at that Time; as, why we have so few Instances before, or why so much Power was then permitted to unclean Spirits?

Farther, if Superstition, or any other Cause, should be allowed sufficient to account for this Prejudice in the common People; yet, whence were all their *Pharisees* and *Doctors* deceived?

If these had not believed the Truth of these Cases, they would, no doubt, have been forward enough to have objected against them. And, in so many Instances, had they all been Mistakes, it must have been easy to have seen the Falseness of the vulgar Notion.

But if these also were thus led away with a groundless Fancy, what were the Naturalists and Physicians then doing, who were particularly engaged in searching into the Causes of Distempers, and whose Interest and Credit it was, to overturn such an Hypothesis; that they did not detect this Pretence, and rightly inform the World? If this had been done, probably this Language had been soon out of Use. — St. *Luke* was one of this Profession; and the late learned and ingenious Dr. *Freind** observes of him, that on this account, his Language “is more simple, and more correct, as well as more *physical*.” And yet he is as large and copious as any of the others, in Narrations of *Demoniacs*.

Lastly, “Why would *Jesus* [Himself] countenance such a Notion as this, if there were really no such Things as *Demons*, nor Persons possessed by them? Why would He not rid Men of such pernicious Opinions, and plainly tell them that these *Possessions* were nothing else but *Lunacy* or *Epilepsy*, or whatever other Name the Disorder had?” This

* Vid. *History of Physick*, V. I. p. 222, 223, 224.

Objection is made, p. 76, 77, of the *Enquiry*; it is owned to have some Weight in it; and a Reply is there offered. This shall be examined presently. It may be proper to shew first, in how strong a manner our LORD countenanced this Notion. He did not barely forbear to disprove it; but He reasoned upon it; and His Language on some particular Occasions shews, that He believed it. When His casting out *Devils* was ascribed to *Beelzebub*, in His Answer, He argues on the Supposition, that *Possessions* particularly belonged to this *wicked Spirit*, were his own proper Work, and contributed to support his Power and Interest. What is all this to mere Distempers? If it be said, that this was an Argument *ad Homines*, I answer, that as this may be built on true Premisses; should we grant it to be such, we can't hence conclude, that CHRIST disbelieved the Supposition He appears so plainly to allow. But, if the *Pharisees* did not deserve to be undeceived, would He have suffered His *Disciples* also to continue in Error? And yet, when He had a fair Opportunity offered Him to remove this their Prejudice, we find, He falls in with it, and confirms it. *Luke x. 17, 18.* When the *Seventy* returned *with Joy*, saying, *even the Devils are subject to us, thro' thy Name*; He answered them, *I beheld Satan as Lightning fall from Heaven*; and at the same Time, He gave them Power to *tread on all the Power of the Enemy*. This is no Argument *ad Hominem*. It bears
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an evident Relation to their Supposition, and seems fully to justify it. As if our LORD had said, “ ye need not wonder at the *Devil's being* “ *subject* to you thro' My Name. The Time “ is come, when their Reign on Earth must “ end, and their Tyranny be totally destroy- “ ed*.”

The Reply to this whole Reasoning is this, that “ the Design of the Sacred Writings ” is not “ to correct the Mistakes of Men in *Phy-* “ *sick* ” — That they speak even of GOD “ in “ the Language of the Vulgar,” as having *Eyes*, and *Hands*, and *Ears*, that they speak of the Motion of the Sun, and the rest of the Earth; — That the Hypothesis of *Demons* served the Purpose of our SAVIOUR, and what was foreign to it He avoided, p. 77, 79. I answer, That neither of those Instances are parallel to that we are examining. This is neither a Point purely indifferent, as one of them is, nor, like the other, is it sufficiently guarded from Misapplication. If the *Scriptures* sometimes speak of GOD as having *Parts* or *Passions*, the better to adapt the Discourse to our Capacities; there can be no Danger of Misunderstanding these; since it, in many other Places, speaks of Him as a *Spirit*, without any Shape or Likeness whatever. Whereas the Supposition of *Possessions*, if it be an Error, is, as we have seen; very often laid down in *Scripture*, but never once

* Vid. *Grot. Hammond, Whitby, &c.* in *Loc.*

contradicted therein. Neither is it a Point of such Indifferency, as the other Instance of the *rest of the Sun*, &c. is. It is not merely a *Physical* Mistake, but one that naturally tends to very pernicious Consequences, and to lead Men into all manner of Superstitions. And therefore it seems to be highly agreeable to our LORD'S Purpose, to have rooted the Notion out of the Minds of His Followers. He came *to destroy the Power of the Devil*, and can we then imagine, that He would leave them under any undue Apprehensions of this *Power*? Were not the Fears, nay, the Idolatry of the Heathen World, much occasioned and kept up by the Notion of these *Possessions*? And would not then "the Cause of the *one* GOD, in Opposition " on to " such " Idolatry — have been better " promoted," by refuting this Notion, and telling Men at once, that those Fears were vain and groundless? We have therefore Reason to think, that had these commonly receiv'd Opinions been all an Error, our *Blessed* LORD would never have given them any countenance, but, on the contrary, would have opposed them.

By GOD'S Permission, I have now gone thro' this Gentleman's Scheme, according to his own Method, and left nothing of Moment in it unexamined. The Reader has now the *Scripture* Account of this Matter before him, and is left to judge impartially, which Sense is most worthy of his Choice. One Thing I beg leave to add,

add, submitting it to his most serious Consideration: Whether any mere Difficulty has not too great a Regard paid it, when, to avoid it, we have recourse to such very lax and figurative Interpretations? And whether these do not give occasion to the Enemies of any *literal* Part of the Gospel to interpret it away, or to represent the whole as an unintelligible Figure. They have their Difficulties too, or at least will pretend to have them *. I would not however be understood to fix such a Consequence, tho' it appears a natural one to me, on the *Enquirer*. This would not be fair, as he has not given any Reason to believe he saw, or designed it: And to charge Men with all the Consequences, which may be deducible from their Opinion, is neither consistent with Peace, nor Charity †.

We are now in the 2^d Place to take a view of the general Difficulties, which attend the literal Sense, and which gave occasion to this Debate. These are thus summed up in the first Page of the *Enquiry*. “How comes it to pass, “that we read of so many Persons, *just at* “*that particular Time*, under the Power of “*Devils*? Whence is it that we seem so rarely “to meet with Accounts of the same Disorders “among Men, either *before* or *after* the Times “of *Jesus Christ*? Whence was it, that God “permitted so much Power to such unclean Spi-

* How *Woolston* argued on this very Subject, See Bishop *Smal-broke's Vindicat.* V. 1. p. 344.

† See Archbishop *Sharpe's* Sermon on *Rom. xiv. 19.*

“ rits, who delight in doing Mischief? ” In answer to which Difficulties, I will first consider the State of the Fact, and see whether we can't get some Abatement of them, from hence. — Then, view the several Reasons, which have been given to account for this Difficulty, — *Lastly*, see, whether any ill Consequences can justly arise, should we even acknowledge, that it can't be clearly accounted for.

Let us enquire, whether we can get any Help from viewing more narrowly the State of the Fact. — Was this exactly as it is here represented? Do we “ so rarely meet with the Accounts “ of the same Disorders, — either *before* or *after* the Times of Jesus Christ? ” With regard to the Times of Heathenism, we have, in a great measure seen the contrary. This Gentleman owns, that there “ were always Cases *supposed* to be possessed *by the Gods*,” p. 78. And we have shewn, how probable, nay how certain, it is, that many of these were real Cases of Persons possessed *by Devils*, under the Disguise, and Titles of the Pagan Deities. Their *Oracles* I must insist upon as a clear and standing Instance. And I will add, that this Notion of *Demoniacks*, among them, was not the Notion only of common ignorant People, but of the greatest Philosophers. We need only mention *Plato*, who reasoned upon it. For thus *Clemens Alexandrinus* introduces him, as *attributing a peculiar Dialect to the Gods, and concluding this from Dreams, and Oracles, and from*
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the Demoniacks, who do not speak their own Language or Dialect, but that of the Demons, who were entered into them *. We see here the Sentiments and Judgment of this wise Man. He speaks of these, in Terms which cannot be applied to *Madness*, &c, and as of Cases, the Truth of which he made no doubt of. And yet, had they been erroneous, he must certainly have had Opportunities to discover them; he certainly had Abilities to do so; and there is no room to think; he wanted an Inclination to find out, or to speak, the Truth.

Among the *Jews*, I hope, I may have leave to call *Saul* an undeniable Instance of *Possession*. Others there undoubtedly were, as has been shewn above.

To come then to the Times *after* our *Saviour*. — Here we have Evidence enough. These Cases were so far from being *rare* or *unusual*, that we meet with them in almost every Author. *Plutarch's* Testimony to the Reality of them in his Days, we have seen already. He lived about the Year 110. *Lucian*, who flourished about the same Time, tho', as his manner is, he treats the Subject in a scoffing Way, yet bears sufficient Witness to the common Persuasion, and mentions some, *who deliver the*

* Ὁ Πλάτων ἢ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς διάλεκτον ἀπονέμει τινά. μάλιστα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄνειράτων τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῶν χρησμῶν, ἄλλως δὲ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων, οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν εἰ φθέγγονται φωνὴν εἰδὲ διάλεκτον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ὑπερσίστιων δαιμόνων. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. Ed. Par. 1631. p. 338.

Demoniacks from their Terrors *, — And immediately afterwards, he plainly alludes to these Cures of our SAVIOUR, saying. *And these Things I need not speak, every one knowing, that That Syrian of Palæstine, skilful in these Matters, recovered as many as were Epileptick, &c.* --- And again he adds, *the sick Man himself is silent, but the Devil answers, either in the Language of the Greeks or Barbarians, or of what Country soever he be, by what Means, or from whence he entered into the Man : But He, exorcising the Devil, and also threatenng him, if he did not obey, drives him out.* I might here add the Testimony of *Porphyry* †, and of *Philostratus*, who makes *Apollonius Tyanæus*, in order to rival *JESUS CHRIST*, cast out an *unclean Spirit* ; but I chuse to come to Authors of more undoubted Credit, the ancient *Fathers* and *Apologists*. And, I am sensible, that here I must, in some measure, anticipate the *Enquiry* the Gentleman proposes to make into the Sense of these ; which I should not do, if it were not necessary to a true Account of the State of the Dif-

* — Ὅσοι τὲς δαιμονῶνας ἀπαλλάττησι τῶν δαιμάτων, ἕτω σαφῶς ἐξάδουτες καὶ τὰ φάσμασι. καὶ ταῦτα ἕκ ἑμὲ χρὴ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι τὸν Σύρον τὸν ἐκ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις σοφιστήν, ὅσους παραλαβὼν καταπίπτοντας πρὸς τὴν σιλήνην, καὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ διασρέφοντας, καὶ ἀφρῶ πιμπλασμένους τὸ σῶμα, ὁμῶς ἀνίστησι, καὶ ἀποπέμπει ἀρτίως — ὁ μὲν νοσῶν αὐτὸς σιωπᾷ, ὁ δαίμων δὲ ἀποκρίνεται, ἐλληνίζων, ἢ βαρβαρίζων, ἢ ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἦ, ὅπως τὲ καὶ ὅθεν ἐπῆλθεν ἐς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὁ δὲ, ὅρκους ἐπάγων, εἰ δὲ μὴ πεισθεῖη, καὶ ἀπειλῶν, ἐξελαύνει τὸν δαίμονα. *Lucian in Philopseud. Ed. Par. p. 833.*

† It may be seen in *Euseb. Præp. Evang. L. IV. c. 23.*

faculty, as well as to put out of all Doubt the *literal* Meaning of the *Scripture Demoniacks*. I shall only set down a few Testimonies, which seem most clear and exprefs, out of the many*, which might be produced to this Purpose.

We begin with *Justin Martyr*, who, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, uses this Argument †, as you may even now, if you please, be easily convinced by the Things done before your Eyes; For by this very Name of the Son of GOD, the first-born of every Creature, who was born of a Virgin, and was made a Man liable to Sufferings, and crucified under Pontius Pilate, by the People of your Nation, and died, rose again, and ascended into Heaven, [in His Name] every Devil being adjured, is conquered, and obliged to submit.— And in another Place, this Author gives the following Reason for praying to be preserved from wicked and deceiving, or wander-

* Whoever would see more, may consult, *Whitby's* General Preface, to the *Epist.* p. 26, &c.

† Ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ὄψιν γινομένων ῥᾶον ὑμᾶς πεισθῆναι, ἐὰν θέλητε. Κατὰ τὸ τῆς ὀνόματι αὐτῆ τέττε ὑἱῶ τῆ θεῶ, καὶ πρατοτόκω πάσης κτίσεως, καὶ ἀφ' παρθένω γεννηθέντι, καὶ παθητῶ γενομένω ἀνθρώπω, καὶ σαυρωθέντι ἐπὶ Ποντίω Πιλάτῃ ὑπὸ τῆ λαῶ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀποθανόντι, καὶ ἀναστάντι ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ἀναστάντι εἰς τὸν ἔρανόν, πᾶν δαιμόνιον ἐξορκίζόμενον νικᾶται, καὶ ὑποτάσσεται. Ed. Par. p. 311. — Οὗ καὶ τὴν τῆς ὀνόματι ἰχθύν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια τρέμει, καὶ σήμερον ἐξορκίζόμενα κατὰ τῆς ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς σαυρωθέντι ἐπὶ Ποντίω Πιλάτῃ τῆς γενομένω ἐπιτρόπῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὑποτάσσεται, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τέττε πᾶσι φανερόν ἐστίναι, ὅτι ὁ Πατήρ αὐτῆ τσοαύτην ἔδωκεν αὐτῶ δύναμιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεσθαι τῶ ὀνόματι αὐτῆ, καὶ τῇ τῆς γενομένω πάθῃ αὐτῆ οἰκονομία. Ibid. p. 247. — Καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς οἱ πιστεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸν σαυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίω Πιλάτῃ Ἰησοῦν Κύριον ἡμῶν, τὰ δαιμόνια πάντως καὶ πνεύματα πονηρὰ ἐξορκίζοντες, ὑποτασσόμενα ἡμῶν ἔχομεν. Ibid. p. 302.

ing, Spirits. At the Power of His Name, even the Devils tremble, and at this Day, being exorcised in the Name of JESUS CHRIST, — become subject. So that it is from hence manifest to all Men, that His Father hath given Him so great a Power, that even the Devils are subject to His Name, and to the Dispensation of His Passion.— And again he says, and now we that believe in our Lord JESUS, that was crucified under Pontius Pilate, exorcising all Devils, and wicked Spirits, have them subject to us.

Theophilus of Antioch writes thus, *Demoniacks are sometimes even to this Day, exorcised in the Name of the Living GOD, and these deceitful Spirits confess themselves to be Devils, &c.*

*. Irenæus, speaking of the miraculous Powers given to the true Disciples of CHRIST, and exorcised by them in His Name, mentions the dispossessing evil Spirits in the first Place, and very sufficiently distinguishes it from the Cure of Diseases. Some, says he, certainly and truly eject Devils; insomuch that those who are thus healed and cleansed, are often converted to the Faith, and remain in the Church. And after reciting the Gifts of Prophecy, communicated to others, he adds, *and others heal the Sick, by Imposition of Hands, and restore them whole* ||. But of all ancient Writers, none is more express

* Οἱ δαίμονες ἐπίστευον καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας ἐξερκίζονται κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁμολογοῦν αὐτὰ τὰ πλάνα πνεύματα εἶναι δαίμονες. Ad. Autol. Ed. Ox. l. 2. p. 77.

|| Οἱ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονας ἐλαύνουσι βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, ὥστε πολλὰκις καὶ

press to this Purpose than *Tertullian* in his *Apology*, who appeals to the very *Eyes* and *Ears* of the Enemies of Christianity, and makes the following very remarkable Challenge. “ Let
 “ there appear before your Judgment Seats one,
 “ who is certainly *possessed* with a *Devil*; that
 “ *Spirit*, being commanded by any *Christian*
 “ to speak, will as truly confess himself to be a
 “ *Devil*, as in other Places he falsely calls
 “ himself a *God*. Even so, let there be pro-
 “ duced one of those, who are thought to suf-
 “ fer from a *God*—If they do not own them-
 “ selves *Devils*, not daring to lie to a *Christian*;
 “ shed the Blood of that *Christian* in the
 “ same Place, as of a most shameless Deceiver:
 “ —If on the other side, they are truly *Gods*,
 “ why do they bely themselves, and confess
 “ the Name of *Devils*? Do they this in
 “ Obedience to us? Then is your *Deity* now
 “ subject to *Christians* *.” *Minutius Felix*
 comes next in order of Time, and gives us

κὴ πιστεύειν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος τὴς καθαρῆς δέντας ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευ-
 μάτων, κὴ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ — ἄλλοι δὲ τὴς κάμωντας διὰ τῆς
 τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰώνται, κὴ ὑγιεῖς ἀποκαθιστῶσιν. Adv. Hæres.

l. 2. c. 57.

* Edatur hic aliquis sub tribunalibus vestris, quem Dæmone agi constet, jussus a quolibet Christiano loqui Spiritus ille, tam se Dæmonem confitebitur de vero, quam alibi Deum de falso. Æque producatu aliquis ex iis, qui de Deo pati existimantur, qui aris inhalantes numen de nidore concipiunt, qui ructando conantur, qui anhelando profantur—Nisi se Dæmones confessi fuerint, Christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite—Si alterâ parte verè Dei sunt, cur sese Dæmonia mentiuntur? An, ut nobis obsequantur? Jam ergo subjecta Christianis divinitas vestra. *Tertul. Apologet. Sect. 23.*

much

much the same account in much more elegant Language. After he has largely described the Nature and different Operations of impure Spirits and Devils, with regard to their *Oracles, Prophets, &c.* he goes on, “ all this, as
 “ is known by most, by several among your-
 “ selves, the very *Devils* confess of themselves,
 “ as often as we drive them out of Bodies by
 “ the Tortures and Force of our Words, and
 “ the Vehemence and Warmth of our Invo-
 “ cations—Believe them, when they testify
 “ themselves to be Devils, and thus confess the
 “ Truth. For being adjured by the *true and*
 “ *only* God, Misery and Horror seizes them
 “ within the Bodies, [they possess] and they
 “ are either forced to depart out of them im-
 “ mediately, and at once, or by Degrees to
 “ leave them; according as the Cure is for-
 “ warded by the Faith of the Patient, or the
 “ Favour of the Exorcist.*” No less strong
 to this Purpose is *Origen*, in his famous Dis-
 course against *Celsus*; in Answer to whom,
 when he objected against these Cures of the
Christians, as made by Invocations of certain
Demons, the *Father* says, “ that they do not

* Hæc omnia sciunt plerique, pars vestrum, ipsos Dæmonas de semetipsis confiteri, quoties a nobis tormentis verborum, & orationis incendiis de corporibus exiguntur—Ipsis testibus esse eos Dæmonas de se verum confitentibus credite. Adjurati enim per Deum verum & solum, inviti, miseri, corporibus inhorrescunt, et vel exiliunt statim, vel evanescent gradatim, prout fides patientis adjuvat, aut gratia curantis aspirat. *Minuc. Fel. Octav.* Ed. Ludg. Batav. p. 30, 31.

“ think to prevail by [such] Invocations, but by
 “ the Name of JESUS, together with reciting
 “ the several Particulars of His History. For
 “ the mention of these have often forced the
 “ *Devils* out of Men.”—And again, “ So
 “ great is the Power of the Name of JESUS
 “ against *Devils*; that it has Success, even
 “ when named by wicked Persons, as JESUS
 “ taught saying, *many shall say to me in that*
 “ *Day, &c. Mat. vii. 22.*—It is plain, that
 “ *Christians* use none of the Arts of Enchan-
 “ ters, but the Name of JESUS CHRIST, and
 “ the other Doctrines, &c †.” *Cyprian* is full
 of such Testimonies. I shall only quote one from
 his Letter to *Demetrianus*, who was, as some
 think, *Proconsul* of *Africa*, but, according to
 others, a *Judge* or *Counsellor* in *Carthage*; cer-
 tainly a Man of Power and Authority, and a
 bitter Enemy to the *Christians*. This Letter
 therefore is of the same Kind as an *Apology*:
 In it, we find the good *Bishop* applying to him
 thus: “ O! that you would but hear and see
 “ the *Gods* of the *Gentiles*, when they are ad-
 “ jured by us, and tormented with our spiri-
 “ tual Scourges, and cast out of the Bodies,

† Οὐ γὰρ κατακλίσεισιν ἰσχύει δοκῆσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ,
 μετὰ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἰσορίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ λεγόμενα,
 πολλάκις τὰς δαίμονας πεποιήκει ἀνθρώπων χωρισθῆναι ——— τὸσῶ-
 τον μὲν γε δύναται τὸ ὄνομα τῷ Ἰησοῦ κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων, ὡς ἐστὶ
 ὅτε καὶ ὑπὸ Φάουλαν ἰνομαζόμενον ἀνύειν, ὅπερ διδάσκων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγε
 ——— σαφὲς ὅτι Χριστιανοὶ ἐδὲμῆ μὲν ἐπιπέτῃ ἐπωδῶν χρώμενοι ἐντυχά-
 νουσι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἄλλαν λόγων πεπισημῶσιν
 κατὰ τὴν θείαν γραφὴν. *Orig. cont. Cels. l. 1. Ed. Cantab.*
 p. 7. Vid. l. 7. p. 334.

“ they possessed, by the force of our Words,
 “ when crying out, and lamenting with an
 “ human Voice, and feeling the Strokes of a
 “ Divine Power, they confess the Judgment
 “ to come. Come, and know the Truth of
 “ what we say. And, since you so pretend to
 “ worship the *Gods*, believe at least the very
 “ *Gods*, you worship—You shall see us sup-
 “ plicated by those, whom you supplicate,
 “ feared by those, whom you fear, whom
 “ you adore. You shall see those standing
 “ bound under our Hands, and trembling like
 “ *Captives*, whom you reverence and wor-
 “ ship, as your *Lords*. Surely even thus you
 “ must be ashamed of those your Errors,
 “ when you shall see and hear your *Gods*, on
 “ our questioning them, immediately betray
 “ what they are, and not able, though you
 “ are present, to conceal those their Cheats and
 “ Delusions §.” *Arnobius's* Testimony to this
 Point has been produced before. We may

§ O si audire eos [Deos gentium] velles et videre, quando a nobis adjurantur, et torquentur spiritalibus flagris, & verborum tormentis de obsessis corporibus ejiciuntur, quando ejulantes, et gementes voce humanâ, et potestate divinâ flagella & verbera sentientes, venturum judicium consentunt. Veni et cognosce vera esse, quæ dicimus. Et quia sic Deos colere te dicis, vel ipsis, quos colis, crede—Videbis nos rogari ab iis, quos tu rogas, timeri ab iis, quos tu times, quos tu adoras. Videbis sub manu nostrâ stare vinc-tos, & tremere Captivos, quos tu suspicis et veneraris ut Dominos. Certè vel sic confundi in istis erroribus tuis poteris, quando conspexeris et audieris Deos tuos, quid sint, interrogatione nostrâ statim prodere, & præsentibus licet vobis, præstigi-
 as illas & fallacias suas non posse celare. *Cyprian. Op. Ed. Ox. p. 191. Vid. etiam ad Donat. p. 4. & de Idol. Vanit. p. 14.*

therefore

therefore pass to *Lactantius*, who speaks in exactly the same Language, and who shall be the last Author cited, on this Occasion. He says, that the Spirits “ adjured by the Name of God, depart out of Bodies. And that being, as it were, scourged by the Words of good Men, they not only confess themselves to be *Devils*, but also declare their Names —Which they most commonly do before their Worshippers—Because they can neither lye to God, by whom they are adjured, not yet to good Men, by whose Voice they are tormented.”—And again, “ How great a Terror this Sign is to *Devils* must be known by any one, who will see, how being adjured by *Christ*, they fly out of the Bodies they possessed. For as He himself, when He lived among Men, cast out all *Devils* with His Word, and restored to their former Senses, Men, whose Minds were distracted by the Assaults of evil Spirits : So do His Followers now cast the same impure Spirits out of Men, both in the Name of their Master, and by the Sign of His Passion *.”

P

Thus

* —Cujus [Dei] nomine adjurati, de corporibus excedunt. Quorum [justorum] verbis, tanquam flagris, verberati, non modo Dæmonas se esse confitentur, sed etiam nomina sua edunt. —Quod plerunque coram cultoribus suis faciunt—Quia nec Deo, per quem adjurantur ; nec justis, quorum voce torquentur, mentiri possunt. De *Orig. Error. Cap. xv. Ed. Spark. p. 193, 194.* —Quanto terrori sint Dæmonibus hoc signum, sciet, qui viderit, quatenus adjurati per Christum, de corporibus, quæ obsederint,

Thus we see, the Accounts of the best Writers of the three first Centuries are very uniform in this Matter. How this Gentleman, in his second intended *Enquiry* will be able to get over, or to explain them, so as to make them agreeable to his Scheme, I must confess, I am not able to imagine. The Difficulty is surely great: The Points attested are open *Facts*: There can be therefore no room for any Charges of *Enthusiasm*; which does not relate to *Facts*, but *Opinions*. As little Reason have we to suspect any *Mistakes*. The Cases are represented as very numerous: Their Enemies were called upon to examine into them: They were called upon, in *Controversial* Writings, and in solemn *Apologies*: The Truth of *Christianity* was in a manner put upon it, as a certain and undoubted Test: This Fact was of such a Nature, as to be, in the highest manner, reflecting on the Heathen Religion, and derogatory to the Honour of their *fancied Deities*. If it could therefore have been disproved, would not they, who were so very zealous for these, have gladly taken hold on such an Occasion, to have vindicated them, and laid so just a Reproach on *Christians*?

The present *Bishop* of *Lichfield* calls the

rint, fugiant: nam, sicut ipse, cum inter homines ageret, universos Dæmones verbo fugabat, hominumque mentes emotas, et malis incurfibus furiatas, in sensus pristinos reponebat; ita nunc sectatores ejus eisdem spiritus inquinatos de hominibus, et nomine magistri sui, et signo passionis excludunt. Id. de *verâ Sapient.* L. IV. c. 27. p. 397.

Apologies

Apologies of the *antient Fathers* “ some of the “ very best of their Productions †.” And indeed, there was need enough of their being exact and correct in these. No less than the Lives and Safety of all the *Christians*, or of many of them, depended thereon. Let us consider a set of Men, holding a Faith contrary to the Profession of the *Civil Governours*, who thereupon misrepresented and reviled it; and, when this would not do, attempted to stop the Progress of it by Persecution and Torments. Several of those Sufferers, at once to vindicate their Religion and Characters, and to obtain an End of their Miseries, present solemn Addresses to the very Chief of their Enemies; all of them agree in asserting a Fact, as common and well known; dare the others to look into it, and make Trial of it; put the Success of their Cause upon it; and make a voluntary Offer of forfeiting their Lives, if it should fail.--And can we, in these Circumstances, think such a Fact false? Could Men ever shew a fuller Assurance of the Truth of any *?—But perhaps the *Apologists* were themselves some of the *Enquirer's Demoniacks, Madmen*. No—these very Works contradict such a Supposition. They are written in the Spirit of Truth, Soberness, Calmness, and Decency. Besides the Event of some of them abundantly justifies their Un-

† *Vindication*, &c. V. I. p. 65.

* Vid. *Nicol's Conference*, V. II. p. 147, 148.

derstandings, as well as the Truth of their Assertions. Madmen, we may be sure, would not have been listened to: And any Falshood would have been far from doing Service, would certainly have aggravated the Malice of their Enemies, and given these a real handle to afflict them, still more. Whereas, many of those *Apologies quenched the Violence of the Fire* of Persecution, and obtained Rescripts and Decrees in favour of *Christianity*. We may therefore receive for undoubted Truths, whatever Facts they all advanced in this manner; We may depend upon their Care in making Assertions, the Falshood of which they would soon have answer'd with their Lives.

How long the Power of *casting out Devils* continued in the *Church*, I cannot say. There is Reason to think, it remained after the other miraculous Gifts were ceased. For, as *Arch-Bishop Tillotson* observed, “ The Power of
 “ casting out Devils, which was most com-
 “ mon (for every Christian had it) continued
 “ longest; and there was Reason it should con-
 “ tinue, so long as the Devil reigned, and the
 “ Pagan Idolatry was kept up, to shew that
 “ the Spirit of Christ was superior to the Devil,
 “ and would finally overcome him, and over-
 “ throw his Kingdom;---and this appeared, in
 “ that they were able in the Name of Christ
 “ to cast him out, wherever he had taken
 “ Possession, which God permitted to be very
 “ frequent in those Times, for the more glori-
 “ ous

“ ous Manifestation of His Power in casting
 “ out *the Prince of the World*. But when the
 “ Powers of the World became Christian, and
 “ the Heathen Idolatry was every where over-
 “ thrown, and Satan’s Kingdom every where
 “ destroyed, then this miraculous Gift also
 “ ceased, there being no further occasion for it*.”

From this State of the Fact we find, that the Foundation of the Difficulty before us is far from being altogether certain ; that we do not *so very rarely* meet with Instances of *Demoniacks* before, or after, our SAVIOUR’S Time ; and consequently, that it must lose much of its Force. However, I own, this does not entirely remove it. The Instances before Christ were but few, in Comparison to those about that Age : And we have long been without any of undoubted Evidence. I shall therefore next propose some Solutions of this, some Reasons, which learned Men have given to account for it.

We have two of this sort in *Lightfoot*, which are the same offered by *Bartholine* the Physician, *viz.* Because the *Jews* at that Time were arrived to the Height of Impiety, and because they were exceedingly addicted to *Magick Arts* †. There appears to be some Force in this last Reason especially. That they were really so addicted is clear, from St. *Luke*’s Account

* *Tillotson’s Sermons, last Edition, 1735. Vol. III. p 488.*

† *Vide Bartholine de Morb. Biblicis, quoted in Bishop Smalbroke’s Vindicat. V. I. p.348. and Lightf. Vol. II. p. 175.*

of the Value of the *Books*, relating to such *curious Arts*, which were burnt at *Ephesus* only, by the *Jews*, who believed. *Acts* xix. 18. &c. And, nothing is easier to suppose, than that *Magic*, as it is really applying to the *Devil* for Aid, and calling him to use his Power, might be suffered by *God Almighty* to have this dreadful Effect.

A late very good Writer * has assigned another *Answer*, which he thinks *plain* and easy. “ That then only were those Beings known
“ and heard of, because then only those Pow-
“ ers were exercised, which alone were able to
“ bring their Doings to Light. The Diseases
“ were visible; but the Cause of them was un-
“ known; till He, who wrote the Cure, made
“ it evident by His Power what it was. And
“ possibly should the same Power again revive,
“ we might again hear of just the same Effects
“ of it. We know little by our Reason, or our
“ Senses, of the Being of evil Spirits, or of their
“ Power, and therefore are apt to make no
“ reckoning of them in considering the possible
“ Causes of those Effects, which we daily see
“ before us; but should any one say, that even
“ now a great many of those Diseases, which
“ afflict Mankind, are caused by evil Spirits;
“ some modern Writers would find much
“ more use of their Talent for Ridicule, than
“ of their Reason and Understanding in con-

* *Discourse of our Saviour's miraculous Power of Healing, &c.*
1730. P. 24.

“ futing him.” According to this Account, Possessions were never peculiar to any Age. There may be many such at this Day. And, if it be thought *mere Supposition and Conjecture* only, still such is a sufficient reply to a *mere Difficulty*. Nor can this be supported, without shewing the Impossibility and Falseness of it.

The learned *Prelate*, so often mentioned before, has helped us to another Solution, which is, “ That the *Devil* might have been permitted “ by GOD to exert himself in an unusual manner, at and after JESUS’s Advent, in order to “ be more signally triumphed over by the SAVI- “ OUR of the World, and those that were de- “ legated by Him to convert Mankind to His “ Religion *.” And, what is there in this, but what is very probable, and very consistent with our Notions of GOD? Can we conceive a wiser End of His acting, than the Advancement of His own Glory, in order to the Salvation of Mankind? Or can we conceive any more likely way of promoting this, than such a signal sensible Victory over his grand Enemies, the Powers of Darknes? Could there be a more clear and expressive Representation of that great and final Conquest, which he came to finish? Or, could there be a more certain and convincing Argument, to turn the Nations of the World from their idolatrous Worship to Him, then to shew them, in a visible manner, that the Beings they adored were, by their own

* *Vindication, &c. Vol. I. p. 349. Vid. Tillotson, ubi supra.*

Confession, *Devils*, subject to His Name, and cast out by the Power of it?

None of these Suppositions are once mentioned by the Enquirer; though I can't but think, that, both in regard to the Authority of their respective Authors, and their real intrinsic Weight, they all deserved to have been well considered. Sure I am, that the Difficulties, with which his Scheme is clogged (I need not repeat them) are not capable of such plain and rational Solutions.

But really we are not obliged to give Answers to such Questions as this Gentleman here asks, nor should it be the least Concern, if we could not give any. For should it be granted, that the whole of the Difficulty he objects, remains, and that no Answer hitherto given, could be admitted as satisfactory; yet, what is the Consequence? That the *Gospel* should be rejected? He does not push the Matter so far; though *Woolston* did. And surely, a Book of such Authority is not presently to be given up, merely, because we may not be able to answer every Doubt, which may arise about any Part of it. The Difficulties of *Scripture* are acknowledged by the very best Friends of it, by an inspired Writer Himself. But none amount to the least charge of Contradiction, Impiety, or Untruth—Or, are we, on this Account, to disapprove and reject the literal Sense of the many Passages considered? But first, it would be adviseable to make sure of another Sense more
easy

easy and clear. This is far from being the Case of the Supposition I have examined. We have seen, that it has greater Difficulties attending it, gives room for more Cavil and Contention, and is so far from satisfying a thinking Man, that it appears irreconcilable to many Places of Scripture, and hardly consistent with the Simplicity and Plainness of the *Gospel Style*, in general. And for such an Interpretation, the literal Sense, though its Difficulties were more and greater, is by no Means to be left.

Let us view a little closer, the *Questions* at present asked; and we shall find them such, as it is reasonable to think, Men cannot *answer* perfectly. Did they relate only to common Distempers; yet *, as these may rage more at one Time than another, so it would be no Objection to the Truth of them, if well attested, in any particular Age, that they have not been heard of before, or since. Nor could we say, why GOD suffered this to be so. But there is

* In several hundred Years, the *Small Pox* never appeared in the *Grecian Empire*. *Freind's History of Phys.* V. 1. p. 274. Vid. Vol. 2. p. 188 et seq.

We have also in the same ingenious Author an Account of the *Sweating Sickness*, “ a Distemper, which was never heard of before 1483. in any Age or Nation; and which after returning now and then for the Space of some Years, has ever since entirely disappeared. Vol. 2. p. 332, &c.

He also observes, that “ the *Lues Venerea* broke out as late as the 16th Century,” and contends at large, that it was *new*, and unknown both to the *Greeks* and *Arabians*. Ibid. p. 336, &c. As likewise is the *Scurvey*, p. 387.

something still more extraordinary in the Instance of *Demoniacks*. A Supposition of some Power more than *natural* is here made. And therefore the Difficulty objected will at last come to this, “ why GOD *Almighty* thought fit to “ punish (and that *supernaturally*) one Age, “ or Generation of Men, in a Manner, in “ which, He neither *before* nor *since*, has pu- “ nished any others?”—And what Mortal can, without evident Presupposition, pretend, or expect, to enter deep enough into the Counsels of *infinite Wisdom*, to assign a certain Answer to this? The Question should be asked with great Humility and Modesty; or otherwise it will hardly be excusable. All we can do, by way of Reply, is to give some probable Account, a Reason not inconsistent with the *Divine Attributes*, for which Things *may have been* thus ordered. But we go much too far, and wade vastly out of our Depth, when we are positive, that any Reason *must be* the true one—Certainty therefore, in the Case before us, ought not to be expected. If any of the Answers already given be *probable*, they are *sufficient*. Nor should the Want even of this create any Suspence or Uneasiness in the Mind. Such Difficulties as these are no unusual Things, no formidable Objections—Nay, it appears to be Matter of our real Thanks and Praises, to find ourselves, deserving as we are of the *Divine Punishments*, free from these severe ones felt formerly; to find

the Power of the *Devils*, in any Measure, restrained, and his mischievous Devices so far confounded.

Still we are, in too just a Sense, subject to these. God yet permits wicked Spirits to assault us : And we are yet liable to yield, and too often give them the Victory. Let me therefore conclude this *Essay* with one useful practical Admonition ; in which I dare say, the Gentleman, I have been opposing, will concur with me. This is, that we here prove *Exorcists* to ourselves ; that, *by Prayer and Fasting*, by Care and Vigilance, we prevent their taking Possession of our Minds ; or, if it be too late to do this, that we use the same Methods immediately to drive them thence : And particularly, that we guard against that too common *Device*, the leading Men, under the Pretence of *Impartiality*, to be *partial* against the Cause of Religion, and the Truth of *Scripture* ; and from *doubting* to *disbelieve* them, without enquiring into the Foundations, on which they stand. Herein, if we are not wanting to ourselves, we shall assuredly be successful : We need not fear their Number, Power, or *Delusions* : We know, who has promised, and this *He is able also to perform*, that if we *resist the Devil*, he *will flee from us*.

A
S E R M O N

Preach'd before the

UNIVERSITY of OXFORD.

by Thomas Hutchinson

LUKE XIII. 32.

-- Behold, I cast out devils, --

THIS is a declaration of that power, whereby our Savior compell'd evil spirits to leave those unhappy persons, whom they had corporally possess'd. The misery of such possession, and the blessing of a release from it, are recorded by the Evangelists ¹ so often, in so plain and distinguishing a manner, that their meaning might seem abundantly secur'd from mistake. Even the ² bitterest enmity against Christianity, in it's

¹ Matt. IV. 24. VIII. 16, 28 and foll. IX. 33. X. 8. XII. 24, 28. XVII. 15 and foll. compar'd with Mark IX. 17 and foll. and Luke IX. 39 and foll. Mark I. 25, 26, 34, 39. V. 2. and foll. VI. 13. XVI. 9, 17. Luke IV. 40, 41. VIII. 27 and foll. IX. 1. X. 17. XI. 18 and foll. ² Julian. apud Cyril. l. 6. p. 191. edit. Spanh. Even Lucian, whil'st he indulgeth himself in his usual raillery, sheweth, that the dispossession of evil spirits was not uncommonly spoken of in his time: Philops. p. 337.

4 *The usual interpretation*

more early ages, cou'd not stifle an acknowledgment, that the facts, referr'd to in the text, were really such, as they are represented in the Gospels. Yet, amongst persons, who assume the Christian character, some have not scrupl'd to charge the portions of sacred history, which those facts are the subjects of, with absurdity, or mere accommodation to vulgar error. Under the specious colour (and what imposture hath not taken the specious colour?) of disabusing credulous mortals, rectifying their sentiments and removing their apprehensions of danger, where no danger is, they have attempted, by a peculiar kind of exorcism, to eject both the possessors and the possess'd out of the volume of Scripture. In pursuit of this benevolent undertaking, they maintain, that the original words, which, in our translation, are render'd -- *devils* -- signify (not any particular order of spirits; in power, superior to our own; or in temper, perpetually dispos'd to mischief, but) only the souls of men, which have left the body, and are kindly affected to them, who still are in it. This interpretation leadeth it's authors to conclude, that, wherever any grievous sufferings of men are imputed to the influence of *δαίμονες* or *δαί-*

I And, not improperly, as the sequel will evince.

μόνια,

μόνια, the whole narration must vanish in figure, or sink in condescension to popular, erroneous persuasion. And this conclusion is likewise suppos'd to receive additional support, from the inconsistency with divine attributes, which it's patrons pretend to discover, in the contrary opinion. But, the false criticism and false reasoning of the whole scheme will be expos'd, by proving,

FIRST, That the notion, usually annex'd to δαίμονες and δαιμόνια, in Evangelical history, is confirm'd by the use of the same words, in the writings of eminent heathens :

SECONDLY, That those passages of the Gospel, wherein are express'd the vehement malignity and power of the Beings so call'd, ought to be understood in the literal, obvious meaning of the expressions :

THIRDLY, That by the literal exposition, here asserted, the justice, wisdom and goodness of God are so far from being contradicted, as to be signally display'd.

And, FIRST, the notion, usually annex'd to δαίμονες and δαιμόνια, in Evangelical history, is confirm'd

confirm'd by the use of the same words, in the writings of eminent heathens.

I. In these writings, then, (and to these our adversaries appeal) the terms, under consideration, are sometimes ¹ equivalent to θεός or θεῖον, when the grammatical number is the same, and denote the divine Being, absolutely supreme. But, ² they are most commonly apply'd, in the plural number, to represent created Beings, originally superior to man. Besides the passages, wherein this notion of them is directly requir'd, many others supply such mediums, as clearly suggest it. They are describ'd, for instance, as ³ first employ'd in the creation of men, by divine appointment; and afterwards, as guarding and conducting each in-

¹ Plato in Politico p. 272. extr. edit. Steph. Hierocl. p. 280. edit. Cant. Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 143. ed. Rhod. Ælian. V. H. l. 6. c. 13. adde J. Poll. l. 1. c. 1. ² Plato in Sympos. p. 202. Iamblich. de Myst. Ægypt. sect. 111. c. 22, 30. edit. Oxon. Porphy. Epist. ad Anebon. p. 1 & seq. ferè singulis. Iamblich. de Myst. Ægypt. sect. 1. c. 3, 4, 5, 7. sect. II. c. 1, 2. Max. Tyrius diff. 26. p. 272 - 4 - 6. edit. Cant. Iamblich. de vitâ Pythag. c. 8. p. 28. & c. 21. p. 84. & c. 32. p. 177. edit. Kust. Porphy. de vitâ Pyth. p. 39. ed. Kust.

³ Plato in Timæo, p. 41. - ibid. - 42 - 69 - 71 - 75. Confer. Apul. p. 585 & 690. edit. Par. Plato in Politic. p. 271. extr. ibid. 274 - 5. Idem de Republ. l. 10. p. 617 - 620. Idem in Phædon. p. 107. Porphy. Ep. ad Aneb. p. penult. Hierocl.

dividual of the race, from their ent'rance into this world, 'til their departure out of it.

The philosophers, who plac'd them in these points of view, must, in consequence of their own tenets, suppose those Beings to be indu'd with advantages of nature, which exalt them highly above the human species. And ¹ Plato, in particular, collecteth from the offices here assign'd them, that, upon a comparison with men, they must be intitul'd to the same pre-eminence, which the shepherd is allow'd to have, when compar'd with the flocks, over which he presides.

In regard to this their superiör order in the creation, as well as their important commissions, they are call'd ² σιωάρχοντες τῶ μεγίστῳ δαίμονι — ³ Διαπορθμεύοντες θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν — ⁴ ἐρμηνεῖς καὶ ἄγγελοι τῶν συμφερόντων ἀνθρώποις — ⁵ ἀλεξίκακοι, γενεσιουργοί,

p. 276 - 8. Arrian. in Epiät. l. 1. c. 14. Dionys. Hal. A. R. l. 2. c. 63. edit. Oxon. Menand. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 727. edit. Oxon. ¹ Plato de leg. lib. 4. p. 713. ² Plato in Politico, p. 272 extr. ³ Plato in Symp. p. 202. Porphyr. de abstin. &c. l. 2. sect. 38. edit. Cant. ⁴ Plato in Epinom. p. 984 & seq. Plutarch. T. 2. p. 361. edit. Paris. -- p. 416. ferè extr. -- p. 417. Hierocl. in aur. carm. p. 240. edit. Cant. ⁵ Iamblich. de myst. Ægypt. sect. 1.

οἵτινες τοῖς στοιχείοις τῆ παντὸς, καὶ τοῖς μερικαῖς σώμασι,
ζώοις τε ἔ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πᾶσιν ὑπερβηκότες, ἄγχοι
τὰ Φαινόμενα μετὰ τῆς ῥασιώνης, ὅπηπερ ἂν δοκῆ τοῖς
θεοῖς.

These characters are too sublime, to be drawn for human ghosts. And, tho' they are stain'd with mixtures of error; yet, upon application of such correctives, as may be fairly admitted, they testify a prevailing persuasion of the existence and ministerial office of good angels. If they were not, indeed, copy'd from some part of the sacred originals; yet, in a comparative view of them and the ¹ texts subjoin'd, several traces of likenesses will be offer'd to an attentive mind.

Whenever, then, philosophers have so far conform'd ² to poëtic language, as to give the name *δαίμονες* to the ghosts of men; it cannot

c. 13, 20. & sect. III. c. 15. sect. VI. c. 3, 6. Confer. Diog. Laert. l. 3. segm. 79. 1 Psal. XXXIV. 7. XCI. 11, 12. CIII. 20. CIV. 4. Dan. X. 13. compare Tobit XII. 12 and foll. Matt. XVIII. 10. Luke I. 19, 26 and foll. XVI. 22. Act. X. 3. Heb. I. 7, 14. Rev. V. 6. VIII. 3, 4. XVII. 1. 2 Vide Platon. de Rep. l. 2. p. 377. In Hierocl. p. 38. the ghosts of men, ἀληθεία καὶ ἀρετῆ χρησθηδέσται, are call'd δαίμονες, ὡς δαίμονες καὶ ἐπισήμονες: and are immediately afterwards distinguish'd from the ΟΙ ΦΥΣΕΙ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ.

from hence be justly collected, that they dis-own'd the natural difference between those Beings. Rather shou'd it be presum'd, in order to maintain consistency in their sentiments, that they thought the souls of the good, upon departure from the body, ¹ were advanc'd to such a nearness of similitude with the most excellent creatures, as might justify a community of their names. Thro' this construction of their words, they are reconcil'd to themselves; and their conceptions of things spiritual become, in some measure, consonant to the clearer discoveries of revelation. For, by the Gospel we are plainly taught, that the pious will be bless'd with so happy ² a change, upon the second union of their constituent parts, as to be thereby render'd ³ *equal to the angels*.

Thus far truth and tradition conspire, in regard to the favorable notion, annex'd to δαίμονες and δαιμόνια.

1 Vide Platon. Cratyl. p.398. & Max. Tyr. p.282. Confer. Procl. in Plat. Theolog. p.64. edit. Hamb. & Plutarch. de orac. def. p.415. Iamblich. de myst. Ægypt. Sect. II. c.2. In Hierocles they are call'd ΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ and ΙΣΟΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ— p.40. 2 1Cor.XV.51 and foll. 3 Luke XX.36. Mark XII.25.

But, this is not the notion, which those terms most frequently signify. For, the more contemplative heathens, allowing the ¹ essential identity of the Beings so call'd, have consider'd them also as accidentally distinguish'd, by contrary qualities. And, as their writings import some notices of the holy angels; so do they discover an equal degree of knowledg, in reference to the deprav'd. These are describ'd therein, ² as malevolent and maleficent Beings; delighting (or seeming, at least, delighted) in the indulgence of cruel inclinations; in promoting wickedness, imposture and misery amongst men.

From the irreconcilable repugnancy between moral goodness and a constant disposition to fraud and wrong, ³ reason taught phi-

1 Plutarch. de Is. & Osir. p.360. Idem de orac. def. p. 417. Iamblich. de myst. Ægypt. Sect. II. c. 7. Porphy. de abst. &c. l.2. sect.38. Confer. Chalcid. in Plat. Tim. p.329. & seq. edit. Fabr. 2 Plutarch. T.2. p.361. Porph. epist. ad Aneb. p. 5. by γένος ἀπατηλῆς φύσεως &c. and ὁ ἀγέστης, seems to represent these, and their chief: whom, at the conclusion of the same epistle, he distinguisheth from the ἀγαθὸν δαίμονος, and calleth ὁ πλάγιος. Iamblich. de myst. Ægypt. sect. III. c.31. Sect. IV. c. 7. Sect. X. c. 7. 3 Plato de Repub. l. 2. p.379 & seq. Iamblich. de myst. Ægypt. sect. IV. c. 6. Hierocl. p.283.

losophers to infer, that this disposition cannot be ascrib'd to the Deity. When the ¹ same authors, therefor, make the most pernicious delusions, the favorite imployment of δαίμονες: when they pronounce them the inventors and encouragers of such practices, as are most injurious both to individuals and to communities of men; they must, by necessary consequence from their own reasoning about the Deity, be presum'd to look upon δαίμονες, as extremely evil. And ² Plutarch supposeth, that several inquisitive heathens (whom he citeth as consentient with Plato herein) were justly led to this notion of those Beings, by various occurrences in the natural and moral world. These occurrences exhibited the tokens of such power, as far exceeded human nature; and of such wickedness, as appear'd directly opposite

¹ Plato apud Plutarch. T. 2. p.361. Idem in Phædro p. 240. Confer. idem de Repub. l.2. p.364. & p.378 --381--2. Where, indeed, he useth the word θεοί, yet δαίμονες, 'tis probable, are to be understood by it. For, thus Proclus in Platon. Theol. p.64 -- ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑΣ, οἱ κατ' ἔσασιν δεύτεροι τῶν ΘΕΩΝ εἰσὶ -- ΘΕΟΥΣ προσωποποιεῖ (scil. Plato) πολλαχῶ. Plutarch. περὶ εὐθυμ. p.474. & de orac. def. p.417,419. Porphyr. de abst. &c. l. 2. sect. 40, 41, 58. Iamblich. de myst. Ægypt. sect. III. c. 13, 16, 31. Sect. IV. c. 7, 13. Liban. decl. 43. p. 906. edit. Morel. ² Plutarch. T. 2. p.360. & seq. -- & loc. suprâ modò cit. Confer. Sallust. Philos. c.12. edit. Amstel.

to the divine. In search of satisfaction about them, ¹ the theorists, 'tis not improbable, had recourse to the remains of antient tradition; and by collecting it's scatter'd raies, they were at length induc'd to conceive ideas of that middle sort of Beings, which had much more ability than man, to execute purposes intirely unworthy of God. These Beings (besides the description of them already given) are remarkably characteriz'd, in the same authors, ² as exiles from heaven and from the divine presence — as wand'ring thro' the air, about sea and land; and ³ striving with such assiduity and fierceness, as giveth them a resemblance of savage animals, to delude men into ruin, and actually making some of the species their prey.

¹ Plutarch. de orac. defectu, p. 415, 416, 417. Confer: Plato de Repub. l. 2. p. 379 & seq. ² Plutarch. T. 2. p. 830. extr. & orac. def. p. 418 extr. & 419. -- & ibid. p. 361. *Εμπυδικλῆς δὲ καὶ Δίκας φησὶ διδόναι τὰς δαίμονας ὡν ἕξα μέρη τῶσι καὶ πλημμελίωσι —*

Αἰθήριον μὲ γὰρ σφε μένος πόντων δὲ δίακει, (Scribe πόντωνδὲ)

Πόντος δ' εἰς χθονὸς ἕδας ἀπίπτουσι, γαῖα δ' εἰσαῦθις (Legē εἰς αὐγαῖς)

Ἡελίς ἀκάμαντος, ὃ δ' αἰθήρος ἔμοσσε δίνας.

Ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλης δέχεται, συζέσει δὲ πάντας.

³ Proclus in Hesiod. p. 45. edit. Plantin. Orph. *Εὐχὴ πρὸς Μῆσ.* v. 31. Orac. Chald. XI. v. 313. edit. Cler. Iamblich. de myst. Ægypt. sect. II. c. 7. Confer. Pfell. p. 45. edit. Par. Plutarch. de orac. def. p. 417, 418, 420. Iamblich. de myst. Ægypt. sect. III. c. 13, 31. Sallust. Philos. c. 14.

In these images likewise, as well as in those of δαίμονες consider'd above, it is not difficult to discern that truth delineated in fainter colours, which the inspired writers have drawn in the strongest. In their stile, 'tis well known, who ¹ *the prince of the power of the air is*; and who ² *the ἁποκατάστασις*, that ³ *kept not their first estate*, but fell from heaven. And the same spirit, of which the ⁴ *serpent and dragon* are sometimes made emblems, is also describ'd by them, as ⁵ *going to and fro in the earth*; ⁶ *walking about, as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour*, ⁷ and exercising the avenging justice of God on the wicked.

Hence it appeareth, that profane authors do not contradict, but confirm, the use of δαίμονες or δαιμόνια, in the sacred. The Inquirer, then, who pretends to build his interpretation of those words, upon the monuments of the former, cannot evade the force of an evidence, which he himself hath interest'd in the cause. And tho' they have, confessedly, sometimes born a favorable significa-

1 Eph. II. 2. 2 --VI. 12. 3 Jude 6. 4. Rev. XII. 9, 14. --XX. 2. 5 Job II. 2. 6 1 Pet. V. 8. 7 1 Sam. XVI. 14, 23. 1 Cor. V. 5. 1 Tim. I. 20.

tion, in pagan antiquity; yet, this supplyeth not any valid objection to the establishment of a contrary sense thereof, in holy Scripture. Words, 'tis obvious to observe, have not uncommonly pass'd from a general and indiscriminate, to a peculiar and distinguishing, representation of things. Thus ἄγγελοι, a name sometime promiscuously given to the highest rank of creatures, hath been more eminently apply'd to them, who persever'd in their primitive station. And, if an example of heathen authority may be more acceptable to the Inquirer, it will be sufficient, without accumulating more, to recommend τύραννον or σφισις to his consideration. If no person of letters can dispute a change in the use of these terms, from a morally indifferent, to a bad meaning; why shou'd it seem incredible or improper, that δαίμων or δαιμόνιον, which had been the common appellation of created intelligences, shou'd at length be appropriated to the leading rebels against our Creator? And, as the name -- *devil* -- conveyeth the same idea, in our translation; the translation is just, and the rejection of it owing to ignorance, fastidious opposition to custom, affectation of unusual accuracy, or Sadducean disbelief.

Thus far it seem'd expedient to comply with the Inquirer's method of attempting to support his opinion; and to evince the agreement between Evangelical and external writers, in the use of the words discuss'd.

The plain tenor of holy writ, indeed, shou'd supersede the necessity of anxious researches after such agreement, amongst real Christians. But, when the perverse, who are ever inventing, or repeating, occasions of doubt and dissatisfaction, publish their fancy'd discoveries, with an air of triumph and uncommon learning; it may be proper to draw those instruments out of their hands, which they use unskilfully or unfairly; and to shew, that a resolute admirer of innovation will rather torture even the parties, which he summons to his defence, than suffer them to be uningag'd in his contest with Scripture.

And, when the Inquirer shall think fit (as he seems to threaten) to try his cause by the testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity, he may expect to find it prov'd, that he hath only chang'd the seat of the debate, without changing his success.

But,

But, the foundation of his cavils having been destroy'd, by ascertaining the idea belonging to the words, which he hath misinterpreted; a way is open'd to the more unexceptionable admission of this SECOND proposition,

That the passages of Gospel-history, wherein great malignity and great power over human bodies are attributed to devils, (for, so they may now be call'd) ought to be literally understood.

II. Besides the support, which this conclusion receiveth from the preceding observations, assent to it is still more strongly demanded, by the tenor of the whole narration concerning the possess'd. When we read, (not to mention other remarkable circumstances) ¹ that evil spirits, which had enter'd into men; were cast out -- that they talk'd with Christ -- acknowledg'd His divine mission -- propos'd requests to Him; and return'd answers to questions propos'd; can it be thought, with any appearance of truth, that the Evangelists in-

¹ See the places cited at the beginning.

tended herein, only to describe the symptoms and effects of some natural disorders? Can local motion, speech, reason, choice, discernment more than human, be assign'd, in a plain relation of facts, without the utmost absurdity, to qualities; where no intimation is given by the historian, that he designs to recede from the known, receiv'd signification of words? Or, is it to be imagin'd, consistently with soundness of mind, that ' tho' madness cou'd not, yet the mad might, know the person of Christ, merely by His fame? If the mad can be suppos'd to have enjoy'd intervals, frequent and lucid enough, for the attainment of such wonderful knowledg; yet, can it also be suppos'd, that he gave proofs of his madness and of his knowledg, in the same instant? The Inquirer, indeed, liberally² granteth him sagacity enough to discern the supereminence of Christ, upon the first view; and, by consequence, to perceive, that He was both able and willing to cure him. Do'th he not, then, permit the distress'd, to imbrace this fair opportunity of being heal'd? No -- so capricious is this writer's humor, that he recalls his former liberality, and allows his most fa-

¹ See Enquiry p. 67 -- 73. Luke IV. 33, 34, VIII. 28. Mark I. 23--26. V. 6, 7. Matt. VIII. 29. ² See Enq. loc. cit.

gacious patient to betray such a degree of frenzy, in that very juncture, as to express horror, at the sight of an acknowledg'd deliverer, and a desire of not feeling the beneficial influence of His power. So strong a propensity to paradox prevails, we find, in some writers, that if they fail of gaining it a suitable indulgence in the sacred writings, they will, at least, indulge it in their own.

The same person, 'tis true, who, in ¹ one place of Scripture, is describ'd in a state of obsession; ² in another, is call'd a lunatic. But, is it regularly concluded from hence, that the grievance, represented in these two forms of speech, was single, and naturally incidental to the suffering party? Or, may it not be more justly affirm'd, in virtue and in favour of both accounts, that both are strictly true -- that the case was complicated; and that an evil spirit had turn'd a distemper'd habit of body into an occasion of exercising his cruelty in it? This solution is even pointed out by the parent, who intreated our Savior to relieve his son. For, according to his representation of the distress, the young man was not only ³ σεληνιαζό-

¹ Mark IX. 17. compare Luke IX. 38, 39. ² Matt. XVII. 15. ³ Matt. loco cit.

μῦθος, but also κακῶς πασχὼν --- labouring, at once, under the disease and the torments of the devil.

When, again, we find -- ¹ Δαιμόνιον ἔχει, καὶ μαινέται, -- it is ² a mistake to fancy, that the latter verb is only exegetical of the former phrase. It is rather subjoin'd, to express an additional malady, which resulted from the other disaster, as it's immediate cause.

These passages, then, which have been thought most favorable to the Inquirer's hypothesis, being expounded with clearness and consistency, according to the customary import of words; with what colour of reason can a foreign and figurative sense be obtruded either on them, or other portions of the Gospel, wherein similar facts are related?

Judgment and integrity will then, indeed, induce an interpreter to depart from the literal, obvious meaning of language, when the nature of the subject demandeth the departure -- when Scripture suggesteth, at least, elsewhere, some reason for the change; and when, without it, a manifest contradiction to the

¹ Joh. X, 20. ² Mede, disc. VI. p. 29.

plainest truths must unavoidably insue. But, what plea can be offer'd in behalf of expositors, who will rather bid defiance, than pay due obedience, to these restrictions; and violate the rules of avoiding absurdity, even for the sake of maintaining it?

By such licence, the ambiguity of Satan's oracles may be introduc'd into the lively oracles of God; and these, instead of being *useful for doctrine and instruction in righteousness*, may be perverted to the promotion of *confusion and every evil work*. For, what is so sacred, or so important, in the system of Christian doctrines, as not to be thereby reducible to the level of indifferent things, or even to the catalogue of popular mistakes?

If, for instance, *πνεῦμα ἀνάταρτον* may be transferr'd to the signification of a bodily, natural disorder; *πνεῦμα ἄγιον* may cease to represent a Divine Person. If mediatorial and propitiatory acts are ascrib'd to a SAVIOR of mankind; yet, thro' the Inquirer's dexterity, the language, expressive of those acts and that office, may be (and hath actually been) resolv'd into mere conformity to the practices and sen-

timents of idolatrous nations; amongst whom were Saviors, sacrifices, and mediators, many.

If, again, an Evangelist declareth the divine and human nature of Christ, in saying, that *the Word was made flesh*; an Artemonian eludes the proof by replying, that *Word* denoteth, in the original, only reason or speech; and *flesh*, not the substance, but the accidents, or infirmities, of human nature. And, in reality, if the works of *the prince of this world* may be judg'd to rest upon no better foundation, than vulgar error; those also, by which *the Prince of peace, and Redeemer of the world* is distinguish'd, may, with equal ease, be added to the number of imaginary characters. And, that such are the consequences of wantonly deserting the common purport of language, is too clearly prov'd by the wild, blasphemous reveries of the most antient and later heretics.

If, then, the usual interpretation of Evangelical history, concerning the malignity and power of devils, be not only not oppos'd, but even confirm'd, by external writers -- if a rational, consistent sense may be deduc'd from the ordinary acceptance of the original words -- if the unnecessary application of an allusive, figurative

rative construction hath been instrumental in imposing the most monstrous and detestable conceits upon writings, dictated by the Spirit of God -- if these assumptions are all, as they have all been prov'd to be, so many truths; then, the laws of sound judgment and sound reasoning will evidently persuade this conclusion -- That the passages, wherein the case of demoniacs is describ'd, ought to be understood according to the literal, obvious meaning of the expressions.

A pious concern, indeed, for the honour of the Deity, and a design to correct an opinion, which is deem'd injurious to it, have been made the pretence for giving figure, in this case, a preference to the letter. But, allowing the patrons of figure the whole benefit of their piety, in the intention of their schemes; yet, the necessity of forming and proposing them will totally disappear, when it is shewn,

THIRDLY, That by the interpretation, here asserted, the justice, wisdom and goodness of God are so far from being contradicted, as to be signally display'd.

III. Can, then, the justice of God be reconcil'd

conci'd with a permission, that Beings, whose nature is so contrary to His own, shou'd exercise a power so extensive, and so hurtful to the rest of His creatures? Or, do'th not this divine attribute lead us rather to presume, that they are restrain'd from executing their evil purposes; and condemn'd to suffer, instead of causing, misery? The difficulties, which these inquiries may be fancy'd to contain, are solv'd by observing, that the misapplication of power, whereby wicked spirits continually attempt the promotion of natural as well as moral evil, is not agreeable, but directly contrary, to original institution -- that this contrariety is the result of their voluntary depravation -- that the restraint of acts, suitable to this supervening depravation, is not more requisite to the idea of rectorial justice in the Deity, than the effectual prevention of criminal solicitations and criminal conduct, which are often mutually experienc'd amongst men.

To these observations it may be added, that, tho' the delay of punishment, completely adequate to guilt, must be own'd by every mortal, who is not an intire stranger to himself, to be consistent with divine justice; yet, the *damnation of the rebellious spirits even now slumbereth*

b'reth not; being, together with the continuance of their existence, their torture is also continu'd. For, besides a tormenting consciousness of absolute exclusion from the invaluable blessings of grace and glory, they are likewise represented as positively feeling the severity of their sentence. ¹ *Chains of darkness* -- a gloomy, painful, disconsolate state, out of which no expedient can extricate them, is already their allotment; whilst their complement of misery is ² *reserv'd*, 'til the judgment of the great day. After this decisive period, it seems intimated, that they shall be intirely swallow'd up with their own torments; tho', before it, liberty is allow'd them to exert their malice against mankind. In regard to these, then, the great authors of evil, divine justice may seem plac'd in a satisfactory light. Nor is it less capable of vindication, in regard to the calamity of the possess'd. For, if, amongst those signal sufferers, there were some notorious sinners, the charge of injustice becometh, in respect of these, immediately invalid. Or, even granting them a moral character, more consonant to their obligations; yet, were they still only parts of their Creator's works, which might be apply'd, according to His good plea-

1 2 Pet. II. 4. Jude 6. 2 Locis cit.

sure, in subserviency to general advantage. Even ordinary failings might justify the afflictive treatment, which was only of short duration: nor is the interposition of almighty power requir'd immediately, in behalf of the afflicted. *The hand of the Lord is not therefor shortened*, because it is not continually stretch'd forth against every act or attempt of Satan. He weigheth all the circumstances of the oppress'd, and knoweth the proper seasons and proper methods (to men usually unknown) of rescuing, aiding and rewarding the objects of His mercy. And, even during the seeming suspension of His providential care, His consolations may be secretly dispens'd, qualify the severity of the torture indur'd, and improve the sufferer's ability to bear it.

But, it may be observ'd still more directly and appositely to the present purpose, That the Jewish nation, when the instances of obsession more remarkably occur'd amongst them, were peculiarly expos'd to vengeance. Their errors were gross, numerous and pertinaciously retain'd; and their corruption of manners was aggravated by impenitence and obduracy of heart. What ground, then, is here left to build complaint upon, if the great avenger of

unrelenting offenders permitted the bodies of some to be seiz'd by Satan, who had before resign'd their souls to *be led captive by him?*

And, even in the exercise of this chastisement, divine wisdom (which is accusom'd to bring good out of evil) found means of increasing the lustre and amiableness of the *truth and grace, which came by Jesus Christ*. For, the prophecy, that He *shou'd bruise the serpent's head*, was then to be publicly verify'd, by a corresponding event. And, tho' it's full and final accomplishment was referr'd to a later period; yet did the accomplishment commence, and gradually open it-self to Jew and Gentile, in His repeated triumphs over the enemy, whom He had undertaken to subdue. Herein was offer'd to both an opportunity of conviction, ¹ that *the kingdom of God was come*; whil'st they beheld *the rulers of darkness* constrain'd to confess, and obey, a superior, irresistible power. In each ejection of them out of human bodies, an absolute dominion over them was demonstrated, before a multitude of witnesses; and, by the same means, was produc'd a most sensible argument of Christ's proceeding successfully to answer the end of His

¹ Luke XI. 20. Matt. XII. 28.

manifestation in the flesh; whilst He thus evinc'd His ability *to destroy the works of the devil.*

These facts, indeed, are therefor disputed, because they appear to have been numerous. But, granting the number of the possess'd to have been unusually great, during the course of our Savior's ministry; yet, the inference, which this supposition recommendeth, is, That *God, in the midst of judgment, rememb'reth mercy,* and comforteth mankind with tokens of His love, whilst He teacheth them to revere His justice. All other calamities, that are incidental to us, have their respective seasons, providentially determin'd: nor doth our Creator's tenderneſs towards His creatures allow His judicial punishments to prevail perpetually. And, when they have been with-held thro' a long series of years, men ought, 'tis true, in gratitude, to acknowledg His clemency; cannot, in reason, maintain, that no such calamities had ever been felt, as might have indanger'd their safety. Instead, then, of turning the remarkable examples of demoniacal obsession, during our Savior's life on earth, into an objection against the reality of the fact; impartiality of judgment requireth assent to the relation of

the fact; whilst piety calls for a reverential acknowledgment of divine goodness, in that extraordinary dispensation.

For, what is more declarative of divine goodness, than the suppression of the fury and force of the apostate spirits, 'til that Person appear'd on earth, thro' whom their tyranny was to be visibly chastis'd, and, at length, abolish'd? According to this gracious appointment, the malady was not suffer'd to break out in it's utmost virulence, before the physician was exhibited to view, whose command was sufficient to effect a cure. Of the time, indeed, of His advent and it's consequences, the grand adversary perhaps, thro' his acquaintance with prophecy, might be appriz'd. Sensible, therefore, that his kingdom was threaten'd with approaching ruin, he might hereupon naturally collect, and discharge, his utmost rage against mankind; make his assaults more frequently as well as vehemently, and the torments of the assaulted more intense. And, in proportion to the violence *of the strong*, must rise

1 Matt. XII. 29. Luke XI. 21, 22, compar'd with Is. XL. 10, where the words **בְּחֹק יָבֵא** -- seem most properly render'd -- *shall come AGAINST THE POWERFUL* -- by THE POWERFUL being meant ὁ ἰσχυρὸς, *robustus ille*, mention'd in the Gospel. See the learned Vitringa on the place.

the idea of that goodness, which provided a stronger than him -- One, more *mighty to save*, than he was to destroy.

Upon the whole -- This event might be so far conducive to the general benefit of men, and promotion of the great ends of Providence, in the incarnation of the Son of God, as it is apt to create a more lively sense and dread of the dangerous attacks of Satan; and to raise a grateful admiration of that friendly and powerful arm, which so visibly and effectually interpos'd, to repel and repress them totally. In the salutary influence deriv'd on the body, by the word and thro' the name of Christ, His divine authority might clearly be discern'd; and a firm persuasion thence collected, that His influence wou'd extend it-self with equal efficacy, to the deliverance of the soul. And, from this persuasion the transition is easy to the necessity of believing in Him and obeying His laws, in order to be qualify'd to partake of that great, compleat salvation, of which He declar'd Himself, by *many infallible proofs*, to be the author.

In fine -- By the tenor of the preceding reflexions we may be instructed, to suspect the
arts

arts and designs of pretenders to such discovery, as the Inquirer hath propos'd. The use and intent of language forbid his interpretation; the stream of antiquity is unfavorable to it. And tho' this floweth not unpolluted always; yet, impurities are not utterly inseparable from it, provided assistance herein be drawn (as it ought to be) from the sacred sources of revealed truth. The contrary method of altering, or rather, corrupting Scripture-notions, by the unexamin'd, or unduly examin'd, evidences of pagan monuments, is equally ¹ unreasonable and irreligious. But, this practice is not peculiar to the Inquirer: nor is he alone in the sentiments, which he hath undertaken to defend. One venerable name he hath produc'd in favour of his cause; and several others might have been cited with equal propriety, at least; because equally, if not more directly, consentient with him. If he did not know, that ² Pomponatius, ³ Vaninus,

¹ *Unreasonable* -- because thereby, what is clear, plain and consistent, is exchange'd for that, which is often obscure, intricate, and full of contradiction: *Irreligious* -- because it imports a preference of that, which is human, to that which is divine. ² Tract. de incantat. p. 10. & de immortal. animæ p. 135. quem citat doctif. Deyling. Observ. sacr. XXVIII. T. 2. ³ Dialog. 54. p. 406.

¹ Hobbs, ² Spinoza, and ³ Bekker especially, had all patronis'd the same opinion; he may perhaps, when he cometh to this knowledg, congratulate himself upon the lucky coïncidence of his own thoughts with the thoughts of men, distinguish'd by singular penetration. If he was not a stranger to their concurrence, their characters might have justify'd a suspicion, at least, of the doctrin, and occasion'd a more accurate inquiry into the foundation of it, before it was espous'd and publicly reviv'd. But, disputes of irreligious tendency must be kept up, in one or other form; and, when invention hath been exhausted, in a variety of antisciptural attempts; old, scatter'd forces must be rally'd, in order to maintain the ingagement.

The obstinate, diversify'd resistance, indeed, to Gospel truth, with which this age and nation are disgraced, may seem to argue, that this is *the hour of it's enemies, and of the power of darkness*: a power, which is then most likely to be fatal, when it is industriously and hardily ridicul'd; none being more expos'd to

¹ Leviath. p^t. 4. c. 45. ² Tractat. theolog. polit. c. 2.
³ Le monde enchanté liv. 4. c. 8, 9.

32 *The usual interpretation &c.*

fall by it, than those, who think they stand in greatest security from it.

The believer regards it in a proper manner, when he maketh it an argument of *sobriety and vigilance* -- of the necessity of recurring to a superior principle for aid against it; and of begging, that, thro' the interposition of divine grace, he may find *a way to escape* uninjur'd, in the exigencies of trial.

God grant us such strength and protection, as may support us in all dangers, and carry us thro' all temptations, for Jesus Christ His sake -- To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be universal and eternal glory.



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AN
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ON THE

DEMON OR DIVINATION

OF

S O C R A T E S.

Robert Nares ✓

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TO a work so trifling as this is, a Preface would be ridiculous. What the author thought necessary to say of the nature and importance of the subject is included in the Essay itself, or in the Notes annexed. Suffice it here to say, that the solution now offered of an acknowledged difficulty, was first suggested by the words of Xenophon, and that some years ago. Had the hypothesis been previously formed, and the interpretation of the passages adduced afterwards accommodated to it, the result might have

been less worthy of attention : for what cannot a theorizer detort to his purpose ? Subsequent reading and enquiry have confirmed the idea : and as the author has not discovered, in any book that he has consulted, any further traces of it than those which will herein be produced, he conceives that it is in some degree a new one. This is his reason for offering it to the public.

June 1,
1782.

R. N A R E S.

ON THE
DEMON OR DIVINATION
OF
SOCRATES.

WHETHER the admirable Socrates had or had not a supernatural attendant, a prophetic Demon, by whose warnings he was frequently assisted; whether he imagined himself to be so attended, or wished only to impress that belief upon those about him; or, lastly, whether a misconstruction of his words, and an inattention to his style of conversation, have not been the sole support of these extraordinary ideas; are questions

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long

long debated, variously handled, and yet at this day confessedly undecided (A). Several ancient treatises, in which they are expressly discussed, are still extant; nor are modern writers wanting who have devoted their pens to the same enquiry (B). Of those who, in all times, have incidentally touched upon the subject, a catalogue might easily be drawn out to a formidable extent. Yet so strangely opposed to each other, in this instance, are hypothesis and evidence, probability and historical faith, that, after all his reading, the mind of the enquirer still fluctuates in suspense.

It must however be acknowledged, that the importance of the question is sufficient to justify the diligence of investigation bestowed upon it. We are accustomed, not without reason, to look up to Socrates with the highest admiration. We behold him as one of those exalted characters, in the contemplation of which the good man feels an honest pride, rejoicing, as a patriot in the great
community

community of the world, in that excellence whereby the dignity of the species is asserted. Socrates was the fountain of the purest philosophy of Greece; and the brightest example of that morality, of which he was the ablest teacher. Of such a man the most trivial anecdotes acquire a dignity; but those in particular deserve a diligent discussion which are connected with his speculative opinions. A proper zeal for maintaining the consistency of a character so distinguished, makes us very unwilling to descend into the dilemma to which a free-thinking wit of our own times has endeavoured to reduce the whole dispute. "As for the human soul, says Voltaire (the author to whom I allude), Socrates had doubtless been informed of its nature, by his Demon. There are indeed, he adds, some persons who maintain that a man, who boasted of a familiar genius, must have been either a knave or a fool; but these are too nice in their ideas." *Melanges de Philos. et Literat.*—If Socrates was

either of these, he was wonderfully successful in establishing an opinion of himself diametrically contrary to both; and the dilemma, if a just one, will embrace a considerable company, all of whom have been thought worthy of a better fame; for what, on such a supposition, can be thought of the numerous followers of this philosopher, who regarded both his principles and his abilities with the truest esteem, and the most enthusiastic admiration?—But I am wasting time and words on that which is beneath a refutation.

The question, however, is of such a nature as to demand great caution in those who would resolve it, since either to cut the knot entirely by discrediting the whole narration, or to elude the pressure of it by forced explanation and unsatisfactory refinement, is alike to shake the very pillars of historical evidence, and confound every rule of criticism and interpretation. The learned Olearius saw this, and was willing rather implicitly to
believe

believe the whole, than to hazard the consequences of denying it. The concluding words of his treatise are to this effect: “ Non dubito ad summum probabilitatis gradum provehi eam, quæ Socrati vitæ magistrum adhæsisse genium existimat, sententiam. Quæ si cadat, magnorum inter veteres virorum autoritates, Socratis virtus & integritas, ipsa, pæne dixerim omnis historiæ fides ruinam ejus subsequatur, necesse est.”

A question that involves so much, cannot be unworthy of examination: and if in the course of this Essay it should be shewn, that though the historical narration of these things wants neither foundation nor fidelity, yet the wisdom and integrity of Socrates may remain unimpeached, neither the writer nor the reader will, I hope, repent of the moments bestowed upon it.

It will be convenient to clear our way to this enquiry by a very brief review of prior opinions concerning it. These may be reduced to two general heads; no

notice being taken of those who discredit the whole, nor of the curious hypothesis just mentioned; which, if it abound not with philosophy or candour, has at least that merit which the author unfortunately esteemed too highly, that of novelty (C). The remaining opinions are, as I said, of two kinds only. 1. The first is that of those who are inclined to give implicit credit to the history as commonly understood, and to allow that Socrates was actually attended by a familiar Demon; an opinion founded upon the words of Plato, supported upon the principles of his philosophy, by the superstition of his followers; and too easily admitted afterwards by the Platonizing Christians, whose notions of Demons were nearly coincident with those of the Academic (D). 2. The second, and of late years, for evident reasons, the most in fashion, is that of those who endeavour to explain away the meaning of the word *Demon*; who would persuade themselves and others that the reason, penetration, or wisdom of the philosopher,

with

with a certain felicity of conjecturing contingent events, is all that the expression implies. The *Demonists*, if I may be allowed the expression, have been subdivided into two parties. For though the character of Socrates was, one should conceive, exalted enough to secure even that of his familiar from suspicion, there have not been wanting some (E) who have included his Demon in the list of malignant spirits.

To give the reader, who may happen to be uninformed upon this curious subject, an idea how strong the evidence for the literal or platonic acceptation of the history has appeared, even to the most judicious and cautious critics, I need only mention, that Dr. Jortin (a man to whose judgement and sagacity almost every branch of literature has been indebted for illustration) has confessed himself "*so far a fanatic,*" as to incline to give it his assent, "though," he adds, with his usual candid moderation, "without blaming those who are of another mind." *Rem. on Eccl. Hist.* vol. I. p. 95.

But the admission of this opinion brings on too great a train of consequences not to produce some hesitation; and for the other, I can only say that, if there be meaning in words, and criticism be any thing better than an idle name of what has no existence, it is repugnant to the plainest reason, and on a multiplicity of accounts wholly inadmissible.

My own hypothesis will have some objections to encounter, unless the two following propositions be previously admitted. But these are, if I mistake not, too plain to occasion the slightest hesitation.

1. That for the determination of any question concerning Socrates, whether it relate to his history, or to his opinions, the authority of Xenophon is preferable to that of Plato.

2. That a single instance of error, or of superstition, is by no means incompatible with the character even of the greatest and best of men.

The

The former of these assertions is allowed even by those who in practice have the least applied it; and is indeed too clear to require much illustration (F). To every one not wholly ignorant of the Greek philosophy it is known, that of all the numerous followers of Socrates, Xenophon was he who confined himself in his writings most religiously to the principles of his master. But, notwithstanding this, it certainly has happened that the testimony of Plato has in this question been received with perfect reliance (G), and Xenophon himself made to speak a language which neither his expressions nor his arguments will admit, in order to favour the preconceptions to which some passages of Plato's writings have given birth. Had the former been silent upon the subject, or had he spoken slightly or obscurely of it, necessity would have excused the recurrence to his rival; though even then that evidence would have been liable to some exceptions. But Xenophon, as will appear most fully when

when his words shall have been considered, has treated it professedly, with clearness and strength of expression; and nothing can account for the misconception or the disregard of his opinion, but the resistless power of prejudice, and an idea too hastily adopted, that these two great followers of Socrates could not disagree in the relation of a fact respecting him. The Platonic writers being the first who discussed the question, the fact has been chiefly seen through the medium of their representations, and the tincture of Platonism has remained upon it to this day.

For the proof of my second proposition, it would be requisite to dwell upon the failings of those men whose excellencies are most universally acknowledged. The task, though invidious and unpleasant, would be in no great degree laborious. A catalogue of the great men who have suffered their imaginations to be seduced by the follies of judicial astrology, would alone be of considerable extent. We have the confession of one
deservedly

deservedly eminent, under his own hand, to assure us, that he was among that number (H). But of all those against whom a similar accusation may be made good, Socrates is perhaps the most excusable, as we shall see more fully in a subsequent part of this essay. If the above propositions should appear too easy and obvious to deserve the attention here bestowed upon them, let it be remembered how capable the slightest prejudice is to obstruct the admission of truth.

To dwell no longer upon prefatory matters, the solution here proposed to be given of this famous question is founded on a fact very often denied, and that upon the very principles against which the latter of the above propositions is aimed, “*That Socrates believed in the gods of his country, and was not free from the superstitions connected with that belief; particularly those respecting omens and divination.*” This fact, as well supported by historical evidence as any thing in the history of Socrates, has been so obscured

scured by false hypotheses, and a mistaken zeal for the character of the philosopher, that it was near being consigned to oblivion : but it could not escape the penetrating eye of the illustrious Bishop Sherlock ; with whose words upon the subject I shall be proud to ornament my page. “ The apology which Socrates made for himself is preserved to us by two the ablest of his scholars, and the best writers of antiquity, Plato and Xenophon ; and from both their accounts it appears, that Socrates maintained and asserted before his judges, *that he worshiped the gods of his country*, and that he sacrificed, in private and in public, upon the allowed altars, and according to the rites and customs of the city. After this public confession, so authentically reported by two so able hands, there can be no doubt of his case. *He was an idolater*, and had not, by his great knowledge and ability, delivered himself from the practice of the superstition of his country.” Then follows the noble
contrast

contrast between the conduct and sentiments of this philosopher, and those of the apostle Paul, one of the finest pieces of eloquence that ever flowed from the pen of a writer not inspired. To which is subjoined the following answer to a probable cavil. “The manner in which Socrates died was the calmest and the bravest in the world, and excludes all pretension to say that he dissembled his opinion and practice before his judges, out of any fear or meanness of spirit; vices with which he was never taxed, and of which he seems to have been incapable.”

—*Sherlock, vol. I. disc. 4. part 2.* Nor can I see any better foundation for a supposition that he indulged himself in the double doctrine, which many other philosophers thought proper to maintain. He does not appear, like them, to have had any distinction of *esoteric* and *exoteric* principles, of a religion for the wise, and another for the vulgar. The plain truth, which accounts for this, and every other difficulty in the history of his religion,

ligion, is this: His theological speculations were altogether of a general kind; nor did he ever allow himself to descend into the examination of minute particulars concerning matters which he thought beyond the comprehension of any human faculties. His strong reason induced him to believe, and enabled him most admirably to defend, the existence of an intelligent Providence. His education furnished him with the names and offices of numerous deities, whose existence, though he could not nor ever tried to prove, he never once presumed to dispute(I). Such enquiries he thought presumptuous, and had no good opinion of their utility. The idle fables related of them he probably rejected as the figments of inventive brains; but these might be false without affecting the existence of those beings, of whose interposition in the conduct of human affairs he seems not to have entertained the smallest doubt. This evidently appears from every history of his life, and from every register

register of his opinions. Such being his established principles, he was naturally led from thence to the belief in omens, dreams, oracles, and divinations, of every name and species; a belief which, as he took it up without any rigorous examination, did doubtless, according to the invariable nature of such ideas, grow habitual and inveterate in his mind. In the first chapter of the memoirs written by Xenophon, the creed of Socrates is very exactly stated; in it, not the words, but the opinions of the sage, are delivered; and I think it hardly possible to read it through with attention, without being convinced that he had at least as much faith in the religion of Athens, as in this essay is attributed to him.

The whole chapter is so easily read, and so well worthy of a perusal, that I shall extract but little for my present purpose, choosing rather to refer my readers to Xenophon himself. “Concerning matters of uncertain event, he sent his friends to enquire by divination whether or not
they

they ought to be undertaken.”—§. 6. Of this his practice, the writer of the account had the most unequivocal knowledge, for he had experienced it in a case of his own (K). “He thought that neither private families nor public business could properly be administered without the aid of divination.”—§. 7. “Far from confining the knowledge of the gods to partial matters, as was done by some, he thought them omniscient and omnipresent; and believed that on every suitable occasion in human life, they gave intimations to direct the conduct of men.”—§. 19. If we want further proof, that Socrates was not above the common notions of divination, we may recollect that the occasion of his admirable discourse with Aristodemus on the existence of the Gods, recorded in the same book of memoirs, was not only his neglect of worship, but his disregard of the arts of divining. But why do I multiply authorities from a book abounding with them; a book so certain to repay, in a multiplicity

plicity of ways, the attention of those who consult it? Known it certainly is, in some degree, to all who have advanced as far only as to the threshold of academical instruction; but such is it, that those who know it best may derive some advantages from knowing it yet better; the more it is considered the more it will be admired, and the better will that heart be on which its simple and elegant documents are most deeply engraven. The study of the Life of Socrates will furnish abundance of collateral evidence to the point here argued, and will tend to the same good purposes of morality.

After what has been said, it will appear no longer wonderful that Socrates, in his latest days of life, should be moved by an ambiguous dream to turn his thoughts to poetry, and address an hymn to Apollo:—and that even his dying injunctions related to the performance of a vow previously made to the false deity *Æsculapius*, actions, in vain attempted to be accounted for on the notion of irony or

C

ridicule

ridicule (L), yet too well supported by historical evidence not to be believed; which therefore have embarrassed, and ever will embarrass, those who suppose him to have been superior to every species of superstition.

Having proceeded so far as this, I can hardly persuade myself that my readers will not be before-hand with me in forming to themselves the conjecture which I am about to offer; "*That Socrates, by the expressions usually understood to refer to his Demon, alluded only to some species of divination perfectly analogous to the omens of his age and country;*" and it might at least pass current as a probable hypothesis, could I give it no further support. But there is no need to abandon it in a state of such imperfection; the express testimony of Xenophon is for it, and that testimony so amply illustrated by the words of a subsequent Greek writer and philosopher, that not the slightest doubt of its meaning can remain.

"Socrates,"

“ Socrates,” says his best and truest disciple, “ was accused of having introduced new deities ; an accusation which seems to me to have arisen chiefly from what was commonly reported as a saying of his, *that the Deity* * *gave him intimations*. But in so saying, he introduced nothing more new than all others do that believe in divination ; who, when they employ auguries, and the like, to that purpose, never suppose any knowledge of what is sought to reside in the bird, or whatever else it be that furnishes the omen ; but that the gods, by the agency of these, declare it. *The same was the opinion of Socrates* ; but they (not expressing themselves with accuracy) affirm themselves to be advised by the birds, &c. whereas he was always careful to refer the advice to that power whence he (and they also) conceived it really to proceed ; therefore he said that *the Deity*(M)

* It should be recollected, that the Greek term *δαίμωνιον* has an ambiguity, which in English cannot be preserved.

gave him the signal." In making this translation of the words of Xenophon, my endeavour has been rather to explain and illustrate his meaning, and to state his argument clearly, than to adhere exactly to his expressions; but that in so doing I have taken no unwarrantable liberties, the original passage in the notes, which I would wish every reader to consult, will sufficiently demonstrate(N): in my opinion, unless the argument proceed upon the principles here attributed to it, there is neither sound reasoning, nor any real defence of Socrates, contained in the passage. The refutation of the same charge is repeated in the apology of Xenophon, in terms very similar to those here employed, but still more strongly pointing to the conclusion which I deduce from them. "How is it," says Socrates, "that I am guilty of introducing new deities, in that I say that *the voice of the Divinity* gives me notice what I shall do?—All men, as well as myself, are of opinion, that the Divinity foresees
the

the future, and to whom he pleases signifies it: but the difference between us is this; they name the birds, the omens, &c. as the foretellers of what is to come: I call *the same thing* the Divinity (or the Deity); and I think that, in so saying, I speak more truly and more respectfully than those do who attribute to birds the power which belongs to the gods (O).” And so far was this writer from annexing to the words in dispute any idea of a Demon, that in the very next paragraph he substitutes for them *a god*, and *the gods*, as expressions perfectly equivalent.

This surely is sufficiently strong; but yet, to give it still greater weight, we find, in the elegant treatise of Plutarch upon the genius of Socrates (P), a passage so strongly pointed to our purpose, that a commentary, expressly written to illustrate it, could not more happily have performed that office. It is fair, however, previously to remark, that the author himself, if his opinion can be ga-

thered from a dialogue in which the question receives no formal solution, appears inclined to regard the Demon of Socrates as being actually one of those mediatorial agents so conspicuous in the Platonic system. In this dialogue a personage, named Galaxidorus, is made to defend the very hypothesis here insisted upon, that probably the divination of Socrates was a mere omen, and even one so arbitrary and common as the act of sneezing (Q). And for the mode of expression employed by the philosopher, he accounts exactly as Xenophon, when his words are rightly understood, is found to have done; but, fortunately for my argument, in terms still more explicit and decisive: "I turn," says he, "to you, Polymnis, who express a wonder that Socrates, a man, whose peculiar merit it was, that, by unostentatious simplicity, he accommodated philosophy to the uses of human life, should not have called this sign a sneeze or a sound, if such it were, but in a style of tragic pomp, *the Deity.*

On the contrary, I rather should have wondered, if a man so perfect as Socrates in the art of speaking, and in the due application of proper terms, had said that the sneeze gave him the intimation, instead of attributing it to the Deity. As if any one should say that he was wounded *by* a dart, rather than *with* a dart, *by* the person who threw it, or that the weight of any thing is estimated *by* the scales, instead of saying that it is performed *with* the scales, *by* the man who weighs with them. For a work is not properly to be ascribed to an instrument, but to him who possesses the instrument, and applies it to its proper office; and the sign, in the present question, is the instrument which that power employs from whom the intimation proceeds (R).” What is this but the very distinction insisted upon by Xenophon? that other persons, though they believed the divination to proceed from the gods, commonly mentioned the birds, &c. as the authors of it, confounding the instrument of divination with

the real agents in it; whereas Socrates was careful to maintain the dignity of the gods, even in his expressions, by ascribing the whole to them.

What might be the very omen which Socrates considered as instrumental in the direction of his affairs, is not an important enquiry, nor likely to meet with much success (S). Galaxidorus reports that it was the accidental sneezing of himself or friends, on one hand or on the other. That it was something similar in its nature, seems supported by very strong authority. The reporter of it in this place is made to say, that he had it from a Megaric philosopher (T). Possibly this was the opinion of that sect in general; a sect remarkable for its strict and logical precision in the use of words. We are told also that it was originally circulated by Terpsion, one of the few non-heretical Socratics, and one of those actually present at the death of that great man, as we learn from the Phædo of Plato.

Thus

Thus have we stated and supported a very clear account ; namely, that the divinations of Socrates were perfectly analogous to those in common use at the time in which he lived ; but that he, from a scrupulous exactness in his expressions (and probably also with a desire to inculcate, as frequently as possible, the notion of a constantly active and superintending Providence) chose rather to refer his divination always to its primary and original cause, the gods, than to their secondary and unconscious instruments, the omens by which it was conveyed. In consequence of these ideas, he appropriated to the subject an expression which, first the malice of his enemies, and since the mistaken zeal of his friends, have wrested to his disadvantage, as if he had pretended to a communication with some attendant Demon ; than which nothing could be more remote from his ideas (U). It appears, indeed, that he conceived the particular signal or omen by which he was directed to be something

something in a manner appropriated to himself; or at least more accurately observed and attended to by him than by others. But in this there is nothing repugnant to the common notions of prophetic warnings in his and every age, nor in the least subversive of what has been here advanced. From this representation of the matter, it will appear that there is, in the history of this extraordinary man, nothing which can countenance the vague and romantic notion of attendant tutelar Demons (W); nor any thing which can in the least invalidate our conceptions of his strict integrity and open disposition: a conclusion, which every lover of philosophy will doubtless embrace with pleasure, if the arguments and authorities which form the foundation of it be esteemed of sufficient strength.

NOTES.

N O T E S.

(A) **O**NE of the latest writers upon this subject, who may certainly dispute the palm of diligence with most of his predecessors, has declared himself incapable of forming a decision upon it. His words are these: “In tantâ itaque rei obscuritate, et difficultatum ex utrâque parte ancipiti et gravi numero, certi quid definire tantum non impossibile est: nec ferendum ægrè est, si cauti, et ad regulas fidei historicæ attenti lectores historiæ Socraticæ, iudicium prorsus suspendant, et hoc unum pronuncient,—*non liquere*. Certè si ulla
historiæ

historiæ veteris particula est, quæ quam incerta veterum facta et fata sint, quamque dubiam vetus historia legentibus se offerat, demonstrat, hoc de genio Socratis argumentum est, unde quam necessarius sit Pyrrhonismus historicus, sobriâ ratione institutus, quilibet, nemine moneante, intelligit." And again: "Malumus ἐπέχειν, quam vel ex unâ vel alterâ parte audacius conjiciendo veritatis et verisimilitudinis transmigrare limites: rati et hoc in veteri historiâ prodesse, ut noscamus, quæ sciri nequeant." *Brucker, Histor. Crit. Philos. par. II. lib. II. cap. II. § 9.* Another gives it as his opinion that it cannot ever be settled: "Sur une matiere si obscure, et si éloignée de nous, & qui depuis si long tems est en contestation, il ne faut pas pretendre etablir rien de si assuré qu'il ne reste toujours quelque doutes et quelque difficultés à combattre." *Charpentier, Vie de Socrate, p. 115.*

(B) Of the ancients, Plutarch, Maximus Tyrius, and Apuleius, have treated expressly

expressly of the genius or demon of Socrates. Maximus has set apart two dissertations for that purpose. Ælian has assigned a chapter to it in his various history; which is however little more than a memorandum extracted from the Theages of Plato. Of the moderns, the chief who have treated it at large are Olearius, in a dissertation inserted in the best editions of Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers; M. Fraguier, in the fourth volume of the Memoirs of the French Academy; or the Choix des Memoires, vol. III. published at London; and Brucker, in his Critical History of Philosophy. All the compilers of the life of Socrates of course have touched upon this subject, of whom the chief are M. Charpentier in France, and Mr. Gilbert Cooper in England. M. Rollin has given to it the second section of *cb.* IV. *b.* IX. in his Ancient History, being there employed about the history of this philosopher. To give a catalogue of those authors who have occasionally delivered
their

their sentiments upon this matter, would appear like ostentation, and could not be of any great use. Those who wish to be referred to them, will find that desire amply gratified by the learned authors of the modern dissertations above mentioned. It ought not to be omitted that the Theages, and the Apology of Plato, are the parts of his works where information is chiefly to be sought. Mention is also made of the Socratic divination in the Euthyphron, the Theætetus, and perhaps elsewhere. Cicero copies from Plato his account of it; and from him we learn that Antipater of Tarsus had made a large collection of the divinations of Socrates: but the work is lost. So ample reference will be made hereafter to the writings of Xenophon, that it is unnecessary to say any thing in this place of his authority in the decision of this question.

(C) It is indeed mentioned by Origen contra Cels. p. 280. (edit. Cantab.) that the whole account was by some in
his

his days disbelieved. But though these incredulous persons are there treated as calumniators, I do not recollect that they are said to have accompanied their unbelief with a sarcasm so illiberal.

(D) The Platonic notions of demons are pretty generally known. Those to whom any information upon that subject may happen to be necessary, will meet with it abundantly in the XVth dissertation of Maximus Tyrius (edit. Reiske), in which it is endeavoured to be proved, that such agents as demons are supposed to be, must necessarily exist, to preserve the chain of beings unbroken. That the departed souls of good men were supposed to hold this rank and office, we learn in Plutarch's treatise, already cited. By the vision of Timarchus the Chæro-nean, in the Cave of Trophonius, we are informed that souls differ in their degree of union with the body; that some are entirely immersed in it; but that others have a pure part floating without, of more or less magnitude, which is unaf-
fected

fected by the passions : this is by men in general called *vices*, but by those who are rightly instructed, *the demon*. It is easy to see, through the veil of this allegory, an opinion very similar to that which supposes the demon of Socrates to mean his understanding only.

(E) Namely, Tertullian, Lactantius, and Minucius Felix. Fortunately, M. Dacier was *certain* that the contrary was true. Une marque *certain* que Socrate a été *veritablement* conduit par un bon genie, c'est qu'il a été toute sa vie pieuse, temperant et juste ; qu'il a toujours pris le bon parti en tout, qu'il n'a jamais fait tort a personne, qu'il a toujours fait la guerre au vice, *et combattu les fausses religions*, et qu'il a travaillé toute sa vie à rendre les hommes plus gens de bien, et à leur faire connoître la vérité et la justice. *Toute la difficulté* est de savoir comment ce genie se faisoit entendre a lui, &c. *Argument de l'Apologie, &c.* To this latter assertion the learned author will perhaps find as many dissentient

readers as to the former. But he appears to have been in a very positive temper of mind when he wrote the argument in question, for he tells us immediately after, “*étoit sans doute une inspiration.*” It may not be amiss to observe, that M. Dacier founded this implicit belief, on a text of Scripture, which by no means leads to all that he would deduce from it, at least not necessarily; namely, *Math. XVIII. 10.* *see Camero and Grotius on the place.* Whitby says, “I do not think that the opinion concerning one particular angel having the custody of one soul as his charge, hath any good foundation in the holy Scriptures.” The passage in the *Acts, ch. XII. v. 15.* certainly proves no more than that the persons to whom the appearance of St. Peter was related, were prepossessed with that opinion.

(F) Olearius says, “*Ne tamen quod unico Platonis testimonio hactenus niti videtur, inter fabulas rejiciendum penitus esse aliquis existimet, cum et alia multa de Socrate credatur finxisse, & neglectâ So-*

D

craticâ

craticâ simplicitate ad Pythagoricas τερατολογίας, & Ægyptiorum commenta (quod acerbe in Epistolâ ad Ælchinem reprehendit Xenophon) fuerit proclivior.

Ipsam quoque audiemus Xenophontem, purioris doctrinæ Socraticæ sectatorem acerrimum.” *De Genio Soc.* § 4.

The passage above alluded to, in Xenophon’s Epistle, is this: τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἄρα Αἰγύπτῃς ἠρώσθησαν, καὶ τῆς Πυθαγόρου τερατώδους σοφίας, ἧν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ μὴ μόνιμον ἐπὶ Σωκράτει ἤλεγε ἐως τυραννίδος, καὶ αὐτῇ διαίτης λιτῆς, Σικελιώτις γαστρὸς ἀμέλεια τροπέζα. § 8.

Occasion will be taken, in a future note, to shew, that the authority of Plato in this matter, is not so very opposite to the opinion which I attribute to Xenophon, as by vicious interpretation, and the fanaticism of his followers, it has been made. Olearius, with all his shew of deference for Xenophon, adopts implicitly the Platonic dogma.

(G) In particular, it has been generally supposed, upon the assertion of Plato, that the signal attendant upon Socrates acted

acted dissuasively alone, *v. Cic. de Divin. I.*

§ 4. whereas Xenophon introduces Euthydemus, saying to him, *προσημαίνεσί σοι ἄ τε χρεὶ ποιῆν κ' ἂ μή. Mem. IV. 3.*

§ 12. which Socrates does not contradict. With this, one of the accounts in Plutarch's treatise agrees, for it is there said, that if the signal came to him in one way, he proceeded in what he was doing, if in another, he desisted; but this is connected with an hypothesis which presently will be more fully explained.

(H) The duke de Sully; see his *Memoires*, liv. II. ann. 1580, 1585, and elsewhere. Richlieu and Mazarin kept an astrologer in pay. See *Warton on Pope*, vol. II. p. 187. Marsilius Ficinus was thought by Politian worthy of this encomiastic epitaph:

“ Mores, ingenium, musas, sopheriam-
que supremam,

Vis uno dicam nomine?—

——MARSILIUS.”

Yet was this man so besotted with Platonism, astrology, and demonology, as to give us the following nonsense, by way of commentary on the apology of Plato. “ Si quæras qualis Socratis dæmon fuerit, respondebitur *igneus*, quoniam ad contemplationem sublimium erigebat. Item *Saturnius*, quoniam intentionem mentis quotidie mirum in modum abtrahabat a corpore; non provocabat unquam, *quia non Martius*, sed sæpè ab actionibus revocabat, *quia Saturnius*. But a far more eminent instance occurs to me, which I cannot prevail upon myself to withhold. The character of the great Varro for learning and abilities has been acknowledged in every age, and requires no new encomium to set it off. Who then would suppose, that this wise and acute chronologer, in an age when the Romans were beginning to rise above the follies of their popular theology, could have been weak enough to employ his friend Tarutius, to cast the nativity

not

not only of Romulus but of Rome itself? Yet that he did so, we are authorized by Plutarch to assert. *Vit. Romul.* § 12. He directed that it should be done by a kind of analytic astrology, because, he said, it must belong to the same art to predict future fortunes from known nativities, and to discover nativities unknown from fortunes recorded by history. The result of this curious process was admitted by this great man in his chronological writings, as a decided fact. Cicero, who was likewise intimate with Tarutius, saw more clearly into the matter, and thus ridicules his superstitious enquiry. “O vim maximam erroris! etiamne Urbis natalis dies ad lunam et stellas pertinebat? &c.” *De Divin.* II. 47. In the same chapter he subjoins some notorious instances of the fallibility of these admirers of the Chaldaic astrology. The 10th section of Olearius’s dissertation will supply more curious instances of superstition in some who ought to have been wiser.

(I) Why Socrates refrained from minute enquiries upon theological subjects, Xenophon will inform us, who, in the Epistle to Æschines, speaks the very language of his master concerning it. "Οτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ θεῖα ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, παντὶ δῆλον. εἰπόχρη δὲ τῷ κρείττονι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς σέβειν. οἷοι δὲ εἰσιν, ἕτε εὐρεῖν ῥάδιον, ΟΥΤΕ ΖΗΤΕΙΝ ΘΕΜΙΤΟΝ. εἰδὲ γὰρ δεσποτῶν φύσιν ἢ παρᾶξιν δόλους δεῖ εἶδέναι, οἷς εἰδὲκ πλεον ὑπερησίας προσήκει." § 3. Both Cudworth and his annotator Mosheim, consider Socrates as a Polytheist. *Intell. Syst. cap. 4. § 23.*

(K) The fact is this, While Xenophon was yet in doubt whether, at the instance of his friend Proxenus, he should join himself to that expedition which he afterwards so finely related, he asked the advice of his friend and instructor; but Socrates, instead of offering an opinion of his own, recommended that he should enquire of the Delphic oracle. His pupil, stimulated by youthful and military ardour, did not choose to hazard the receiving a dissuasive answer, and therefore

fore enquired, not whether he should go or stay, but in what manner he should undertake the journey. But Socrates, when he heard it, by no means approved his conduct, not thinking it right to have embarked in so important an undertaking, without the previous sanction of divine approbation. *Xen. Anab. III. c. 1. § 5. Diog. Laert. in Xen. § 4 & 5.* It may serve in some measure to strengthen the argument, if we consider that this best disciple of Socrates is said to have been himself εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλοθύτης, καὶ ἱερῶν διαγνώωναι ἰκανός. *Laert.* which indeed appears abundantly from his narrative of his own transactions. In the character of his fictitious Cyrus he seems to have been desirous to work up all that he conceived of good and great; and has therefore, in many parts of that elegant composition, the *Cyropædia*, interwoven the principles, and even the words of Socrates. Yet to Cyrus he has ascribed a steady faith in the Pagan Theology, and has made him, in his very latest hours, return thanks to the gods for having shewn him always

ἱερὸν ἴς, καὶ ἐν ἑρανοῖς σημεῖοις, καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς, καὶ ἐν
 Φήμαις, ἃ τ' ἐχρῆν ποιῆν, καὶ ἃ ἔκ ἐχρῆν.

(L) For the reason, among many others, assigned by Plutarch in the beginning of his Platonic questions, εἰ γὰρ εἰρωνεύομενός τε καὶ παίξων προσωχρήσατο ἂν τῷ τῷ Θεῷ ὀνόματι.

(M) Some time ago I collected, and have now by me, abundant proof that the words ὁ Θεός, οἱ Θεοί, τὸ Θεῖον, τὸ δαιμόνιον, are, in the usage of Xenophon, and many other writers, perfectly synonymous. But the point is so plain, that I cannot persuade myself it can ever be controverted: I shall therefore spare myself the trouble of transcribing those memorandums. Let those who think otherwise look only as far as the beginning of the 8th section of the chapter so often quoted, and see there in what sense the word δαιμόνιον was understood by Xenophon. *L. I. cap. 1.*

(N) The original passage is as follows: The words in parentheses in the translation are inserted for the sake of perspicuity.

διατεθρύλλητο

διαλεβρύλλητο γὰρ, ὡς φαίη Σωκράτης, ΤΟ
 ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΩ ΣΗΜΑΙΝΕΙΝ
 ἔθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστά μοι δοκῆσιν αὐτὸν αἰτιάζασ-
 θαι καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν. — Ὁ δὲ ἔδεν
 καινότερον εἰσέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι μαυηκὴν
 νομίζοντες, οἰωνοῖς τε χρωῖται, καὶ φήμαις, καὶ
 συμβόλοις, καὶ θυσίαις· ἔτοίτε γὰρ ὑπολαμ-
 βάνουσιν, ἢ τὰς ὀρνίθας, ἔδὲ τὰς ἀπαληῶνας
 εἰδέναι τὰ συμφοράτα τοῖς μαυησομένοις, ἀλλὰ
 τὰς θεὸς διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰτιάζειν. ΚΑ-
 ΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΝΟΜΙΖΕΝ. ἌΛΛ'
 οἱ μὲν πλείοσι φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρνίθων
 καὶ τῶν ἀπαληῶνων ἀποτρέπεσθαι τε καὶ προτρέ-
 πεσθαι. ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΔΕ ὩΣΠΕΡ
 ΕΡΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΝ, ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΛΕΓΕ. ΤΟ
 ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΗ ΣΗΜΑΙΝΕΙΝ.
Memorabilia, lib. I. cap. 1. § 2. &c.

If any person doubt the assertion about the argument, let him endeavour to put it together according to the words of any modern translation whatever. According to the best that our country has produced, it stands, if I mistake not, thus: "Socrates was said to declare that *his Genius* gave him intimations of the future; but in this he asserted nothing new,

new, nor departed from the general opinion; for the generality imagine themselves to be directed in their divinations by the gods, and he, by internal consciousness, which he chose to call his genius." Which two things are as far as possible from being the same, unless my notions of identity are singularly incorrect. Substitute my interpretation, and all is plain: "they think themselves to be directed by the gods, and he likewise; in declaring which he usually employed the phrase, τὸ δαιμόνιον; and from the ambiguity of this, occasion was taken to form an accusation against him."

(Ο) Καινά γε μὴν δαιμόνια πῶς ἂν ἐγὼ εἰσφέρωμι λέγων, ὅτι ΘΕΟΥ μὲν φωνὴ φαίνεται σημαίνουσα ὃ, τι χρὴ ποιεῖν; — Ἄλλὰ μέλλοι καὶ τὸ προσεῖδέναι γε ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τὸ προσσημαίνειν ὡς βέληται, καὶ τῆτο ὡσπερ ἐγὼ φημι, ἔτω πάντες καὶ λέγουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οἰωνές τε, καὶ φήμαις, καὶ συμβόλαις τε, καὶ μάνθεις ὀνομάζουσιν τὰς προσσημαίνουσας εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ ΤΟΥΤΟ Δαιμόνιον καλεῶ, καὶ οἶμαι ἔτιως ΟΝΟΜΑΖΩΝ, καὶ ἀληθέστερα καὶ ὀσιώτερα λέ-
γεω

γεν τῶν τοῖς ὄμοισιν ἀναλίθων τὴν ΤΩΝ
ΘΕΩΝ δυνάμιν. *Xen. Apol. Socr. § 12. Sc.*

On reviewing this passage, I am not certain whether it be not still more plain in the original words than in my translation. It is worth remarking, that in the 8th section of the same apology, Socrates speaking of the same matters, uses οἱ Θεοὶ instead of τὸ δαιμόνιον. Ὁρθῶς δὲ οἱ Θεοὶ τότε μὲ ἀναλίθω.

(P) This treatise is perhaps one of the most elegant morsels that time has spared. Besides the discourses concerning Socrates, which are interesting and curious, it contains a circumstantial and a very striking account of a most important revolution in Thebes. It is delivered by one of the principal actors in it, and contains some very masterly strokes of dramatic conduct, and some admirable traits of that extraordinary man Epaminondas. He who can read without emotion the account of the consternation into which the conspirators assembled at the house of Charon were thrown, on his

being sent for by the tyrants ; his offer of his son as a pledge of his fidelity ; and the heroical behaviour of that brave youth ; must have less feeling than he ought to have.

(Q) Though we should suppose that a sneeze was the very omen employed by Socrates, his expression concerning it would have nothing in it very extraordinary. Aristotle says, τὸν πλάρμον Θεὸν ἠγγεμέθα, *Probl. § XXXIII. cap. 7.* and we find it considered, by Xenophon and his whole army, in no very different light. Τῆτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτῆ, πλάρνηλαί τις ἀκίσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται, πάντες μιᾷ ὀρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν Θεόν. ἢ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τῆ Διὸς τῆ Σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθαι τῷ Θεῷ τῆτω, δύσειν σωτήρια, &c. *Xen. Anab. lib. III.* The learned archbishop Potter appears to have admitted this conjecture as a fact : “ Socrates himself, though a great despiser of Heathen superstition, judged it not unreasonable to make a sneeze serve as an admonition from

from the demon which always attended him." *Archæol. B. II. ch. 17*, where the subject of sneezing, considered as an omen, is treated at large with great learning. It appears that in the time of Homer sneezing was reckoned altogether a fortunate omen. See *Odyss. 17. l. 542. &c.* We may observe, by the way, an odd mixture of ideas in the passage above cited from Potter. He seems to admit that the sage was really attended by a demon, yet he supposes that he, and not the demon, fixed upon the signal whereby their intercourse was maintained; this seems strange, and still he regards him as untinged with superstition.

(R) Μέτεμι γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς σέ, ὦ Πολύμνι,
 θουμάζοντα Σωκράτους, ἀνδρὸς αὐτυφία καὶ
 ἀφελεία μάλιστ' ἀφ' ἑξαιτίας φιλοσοφίαν ἐξαιθροπί-
 σατος, εἰ μὴ πλάρμον, μηδὲ κληδοναί, τὸ ση-
 μείον, ἀλλὰ τραγικῶς πάντῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον
 ὠνόμαζεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τεναντίον ἐθαύμαζον
 ἀνδρὸς ἄκρῃ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ κρατεῖν ὀνομάτων,
 ὥσπερ Σωκράτης, εἰ μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀλλὰ
 τὸν

τὸν ὡληαρμόν αὐτῷ σημαίνειν ἔλεγει· ὡς περ
 εἴ τις ὑπὸ τῆ βέλους φαίη τετραῦσθαι, μὴ τῷ
 βέλαι ὑπὸ τῆ βαλόντος. μεμετρῆσθαι δ' αὐτῷ τῷ
 βάρους ὑπὸ τῆ ζυγῆ, μὴ τῷ ζυγῷ ὑπὸ τῆ
 ἰσαίντος. ἔ γάρ τῆ ὀργάνω τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἔ ἢ
 τὸ ὄργανον, ᾧ χρῆται πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. ὄργανον
 δὲ τι ἢ τὸ σημαῖον, ᾧ χρῆται τὸ σημαῖνον.
De Genio Socr. p. 301. Ed. Reiske.

(S) To gratify our curiosity concern-
 ing the omen by which Socrates was
 guided we have little or no light; but it
 may be some consolation, under that dis-
 appointment, to recollect that the con-
 temporaries and even the auditors of our
 philosopher, were pretty much in the
 same case. If we may credit what Plu-
 tarch makes Simmias the Theban declare
 as the result of his own experience,
 was not easy then to gain information
 upon the subject, even from the sage
 himself: αὐτὸς δὲ (ὁ Σιμμίας) Σωκράτην
 μὲν ἔφη περὶ τῶν ἐρόμενός ποτε, μὴ τυχεῖν
 ἀποκρίσεως, διὸ μὴδ' αὐτὸς ἐρεῖσθαι πολλάκις
 ὃ αὐτῷ παρακαλεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν δι' ὄψεως
 εἰ τυχεῖν θεῶν τιλὶ λέβοησις, ἀλαζόνας ἠγεμένω,
 τοῖς

τοῖς δ' ἀκῆσαι τινος φωνῆς, προσέχοντι τὸν νῆν,
 ἢ διαπυθαινομένῳ μετὰ σπεδῆς. *Plut. tom.*
VIII. p. 324. Ed. Reiske. Whence, says
 he, we concluded that this demon *was*
something of the nature of a voice. The
 reserve of Socrates upon this point seems
 to indicate some degree of diffidence in-
 ternally felt concerning it, such as would
 naturally arise in a mind wherein much
 good sense and some superstition were in-
 timately blended together. His eager-
 ness to enquire of those who professed to
 have enjoyed similar communieations,
 appears to be the act of one seeking
 earnestly for a complete confirmation of
 some ideas predominant in his imagination,
 which as yet he felt occasionally disturbed
 by doubts. Of this conduct in him we
 find a strong instance. When the extra-
 ordinary narration of Timarchus was re-
 peated to him, he was displeased that he
 had not been told of it while it was
 possible to examine the young man him-
 self upon it: ἐμέμφατο ἡμᾶς, says Sim-
 mias, ὅτι μὴ, ζῶντος ἔτι τῷ Τιμάρχῳ, διήλθο-
 μεν*

με· αὐτῆ γὰρ ἂν ἠδέως ἐκεί·α πύθεσθαι
 καὶ προσανακρίναι σαφέστερον. These, how-
 ever, are conjectures only, and deserve
 no greater weight. If indeed we rely
 upon the information of Plato, the matter
 is decided, so far at least as this, that it
 was a voice. Whether it was his for-
 tune to meet with Socrates in a more
 communicative humour, or whether
 he wished to give weight to the con-
 jecture of the Socratics, by putting
 it into the mouth of their master himself,
 is no very necessary enquiry. The rise
 of the opinion among his friends that he
 was really attended by a demon, is well
 marked by Olearius. His words are
 these: “ Et sane vix dubito inter Socra-
 ticos de génio suo verba facientem Socra-
 tem audientes, plerisque de mediâ qua-
 dem inter Deos et homines naturâ, cujus
 nutu ille regeretur, id accepisse. Sanè
 enim recentibus adhuc Pythagoræ, Em-
 pedoclis, et ejus generis philosophorum
 dogmatibus, assuetæ erant eorum aures
 ejusmodi doctrinæ. Ut taceam amorem

et existimationem, quâ discipuli præceptores plerumque prosequuntur, facile illum, sensum verborum Socratis ipsis persuasisse, qui honori præceptoris maxime conducere videretur. De Platone sane ex illis, quæ hactenus diximus, omnibus manifestum est, eum vel ita sensisse, vel aliis ut ita sentirent, persuadere voluisse. Eumque sequitur tota recentiorum Platoniorum schola, quæ valde in dignitate hujus genii, aliisque quæ ad eum pertinent celebrandis, est ingeniosa.

§ 7.

(T) The Greek is Μεγαρικῆ τινος ἡκροα. *Plut.* VIII. p. 296. which signifies not a Megarenian or a person of Megara, as it is usually translated, but a Megaric philosopher, of the sect of Euclides; the confusion has arisen from the subsequent mention of Terpsion, who is known to have been of that country. Hence the conjecture of Reiske, who for Τερψίωνος δὲ ἐκεῖνος would read Τερψίων δὲ ἦν, loses its foundation: it is indeed on many accounts exceptionable. The national

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(U) It may, as I have already hinted, be doubted whether Plato really differed in opinion from Xenophon concerning it. In his *Theages* it is thus spoken of, “if it be pleasing to the Divinity (εἰάν μιν τῷ Θεῷ φίλον ἦ) you will, O Theages, make great and rapid improvement, otherwise not.” The following is the passage in that dialogue on which the principal stress is laid: ἔσι γὰρ ΤΙ Θεία μοίρα παρεπόμενον ἐμοὶ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρξάμενον ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ· ΕΣΤΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΦΩΝΗ, ἢ, ὅταν γένηται, αἰεὶ μοι σημαίνει, ὃ ἂν μέλλω πράττειν, τέττα ἀποδροπήν· πρῶτρεπει δὲ ἐδέποσε. καὶ εἰάν τις μοι τῶν φίλων ἀνακοινῶται τι, καὶ γένηται ἢ Φωνῆ, ταυτὸν τέττο ἀποδρέπει, καὶ ἐκ εἴᾳ πράττειν. Had he thought any thing of a genius, would he not rather have said, “*this advises me by a voice,*” than “*this is a voice?*” The whole evidently points to some naturally insigni-

ſcant ſound. The following expreſſions, which all occur in Plato's apology, ſeem to point almoſt excluſively to the preſent hypotheſis. ἡ εἰωθῆσα μοι ΜΑΝΤΙΚΗ, ἡ τῷ δαιμόνιῳ.—τὸ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ σημεῖον.—τὸ εἰωθὸς σημεῖον.—ΘΕΙΟΝ τί, ἢ δαιμόνιον. It is true that in the ſame piece he ſpeaks of it as ſomething wonderful and peculiar to himſelf; but an uncommon warning, ſingular from the regularity or frequency of its recurrence, might eaſily be ſuppoſed to have been conveyed in an ordinary manner, or in ſome way at leaſt analogous to the common omens. So in the Theages, where we find ἡ δυναμὶς αὐτῆ τῷ δαιμόνιῳ τέτε, may we not fairly ſubſtitute τῷ Θεῷ τέτε, as equivalent, and underſtand it of the divine power in general, inſtead of tranſlating it “*the power of this demon?*” I would aſk any attentive reader of the Phædo, what concluſion he can draw from the account there given by Socrates of his reaſons for undertaking to compoſe verſes, and of the choice of his ſubjects? I can ſee nothing in it but

a most scrupulous attention to the supposed divine admonition, and a desire most strongly to propitiate Apollo. More might easily be said upon this subject, but it seems unnecessary. I will add only, that if there are in Plato's writings any passages which will admit of no construction but such as favours the notion of a demon in this matter, either I have not ever met with them, or have suffered them to pass me unnoticed. I confess, I have not very accurately sought them, thinking it needless to support so strong an evidence as has been adduced, by the concurrence of a weaker testimony.

(W) If the opinion of the reality of Socrates's demon were still prevalent, it might be requisite to say something against the argument which might be deduced for its support, from the boasted veracity of his predictions, which we find asserted even by Xenophon. *Memorab. l. I. c. 1.* The inspiration of the Delphic oracle might be defended upon the same ground. Infallibility is easily claimed,

claimed, and is maintained without much difficulty, so long as the task of interpretation remains in the hands of prejudice and superstition. Nor is it by any means necessary that imposture should bear a part in such pretensions, the first deceit of these pretenders is often practised upon themselves. Euthyphron makes a similar claim in the dialogue which bears his name, and probably from a similar cause.

F I N I S.

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ficant sound. The following expressions, which all occur in Pláto's apology, seem to point almost exclusively to the present hypothesis: ἡ εἰωθῆς μοι ΜΑΝΤΙΚΗ, ἡ τῆ δαιμόνιᾳ.—τὸ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ σημεῖον.—τὸ εἰωθὸς σημεῖον.—ΘΕΙΟΝ τί, ἢ δαιμόνιον. It is true that in the same piece he speaks of it as something wonderful and peculiar to himself; but an uncommon warning, singular from the regularity or frequency of its recurrence, might easily be supposed to have been conveyed in an ordinary manner, or in some way at least analogous to the common omens. So in the Theages, where we find ἡ δυνάμις αὕτη τῆ δαιμόνιᾳ τέττα, may we not fairly substitute τῆ Θεῶ τέττα, as equivalent, and understand it of the divine power in general, instead of translating it "*the power of this demon?*" I would ask any attentive reader of the Phædo, what conclusion he can draw from the account there given by Socrates of his reasons for undertaking to compose verses, and of the choice of his subjects? I can see nothing in it but

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THE END

A SHORT

State of the Controversy

About the MEANING of the

DEMONIACKS

IN THE

NEW TESTAMENT:

WITH

A VINDICATION of the REPLY,
to the *Farther Enquiry*, from all the
Objections of a late Tract, intituled,
A Review of the Controversy.

By THE SAME HAND.

Thomas Church.

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“ *for a Devil, will be almost confined to the*
“ *Gospels, where the Subject spoken of being Men,*
“ *vexed with evil Spirits, COULD ADMIT NO*
“ *OTHER SENSE OR USE.”* Mr. Mede's Works,
Edit. 1664. p. 784.



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P R E F A C E.

WHEN a Controversy has been lengthened out, and several Books or Pamphlets have appear'd on each side of the Question, it must be owned to lye under many Disadvantages. The Curiosity of the Reader, which perhaps might at first be awakened, is too apt to flag. And it will be scarcely possible for the Writers always to avoid personal Debates, or tedious Repetitions. Men are sometimes liable to mistake each other's Meanings, sometimes, it is to be feared, glad to misrepresent them. A due Regard to his Character will incline an honest Man to vindicate it: And a Spirit of Perverseness will influence others to defend whatever they have once maintained, tho' the Defense should even make them inconsistent with themselves. Many, who set out with Modesty and a Submission to the World, in the Course of a Dispute often grow angry and positive.

THESE Reflections discouraged me at first from troubling the World any more on the Subject of Demoniacks. And even after its Importance had made me resolve to write again, I intended no more, than to give a short View of the State of the Debate, to shew how far the Review had mistaken, or left, the general Question, without entering into any particular Vindication of the Reply. However, this I have been by degrees drawn into. I have attempted to answer every thing which has been objected to me. And the only Difficulty I found here was, that as the Review proposed to consider the Works of several other Gentlemen, as well as my own, he has blended us together in such an artificial Confusion, that it was not always easy for me to take my own part, without seeming to encroach on those of my Fellow-Labourers.

ONE thing more I beg leave to premise. For the sake of Brevity, I have frequently referred to the former Tracts which have passed on this Subject, and which I could wish that the Reader would, as he goes along, take the Trouble to consult. Tho' without doing this he may easily enough understand the Reasoning.



A

Short State of the Controversy
about the Meaning of the
Demoniacks in the New Tes-
tament, &c.

THE Controversy about the *Meaning of the Demoniacs in the New Testament* has now fallen into many hands. Several Gentlemen have engaged in the Vindication of the *literal* Sense. And a *Review* of the whole has lately been published by one, who styles himself a *Lover of TRUTH*. Such Titles are become *stale Artifices*; and the World have thus been too often imposed upon, any longer to trust them, or to expect the more from them. In this *Review* I cannot think my self greatly concerned. But, since some of my Friends, to whose Judgment I shall always submit my own, think it necessary to take off some *false Colours* which appear in it, and since this is what I cannot desire any of the other Gentlemen engaged to do for me; I hope the World will favour me with their Attention to the following Tract, which I promise them shall be as *short* as possible.

THE Author of the *Review* always speaks of the *Enquirer* in the *third Person*, and once he compliments him with the Characters of ^a *learned and in-*

genious ; which, however due, no Man of Modesty can be thought to give himself. I must therefore look upon him as a *different* Person, who was willing to shew his Regard in this manner. But, if I may have leave to speak my Sentiments, the *Enquirer* is more obliged to his *Intentions*, than to his *Performance*. *Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus, &c.* A great part of this is a *Repetition* of what is much better said in the *Enquiry*. And as to the rest, the Defense is carried on, not only on *new* Principles, but sometimes even on such Suppositions as are *contrary* to those made in the former Treatises.

THAT this may be more plain to the Reader, it may not be improper to lay before him a *short View* of the State of the Controversy, so far as I am concerned in it.

THE *first Enquiry* set out with shewing “ the general Notion of *Demons* among the ancient *Greeks* :” He asserted this to be *the Souls of departed Men* ; and this he thought “ *universally* allowed by *Jews* and *Christians*, as well as *Heathens* ^b.” Here the *Essay* first differed from him. I had observed, that this Sense could never be accommodated to the *Evangelical History* : I knew, that the Word had been used in a *different* Sense by Christian Writers ever since that History was wrote ; I therefore could “ not think the general Notion of *Demons* among the ancient *Greeks* to the present Purpose of settling the Meaning of the *Demoniacks* in the *New Testament* ^c.” The *Essay* all along proceeded on the Supposition, that, whatever the *Heathen Demons* were, the *Scripture Demons* were *fallen Angels*. And the Reason, why this Supposition was not then proved at large, was, because it was the general Opinion of the most learned Criticks, ancient and modern, whom I had

^b *Enquiry*, p. 2, 4, &c. ^c *Essay*, p. 7.

cited and referred to^d. Such Consent is not to be opposed rashly and without Necessity. And therefore I had reason to expect, that if the *Enquirer* continued to lay any Stress on the Notion of the Heathens, he would have quite confuted *that general Opinion*, and shewn, that the *Scripture Meaning* of the Word MUST have been the same with the other.

BUT what had we of this sort in the *Farther Enquiry*? Not a Syllable. Nothing but peremptory Assertions. This was evidently setting up his own Authority in Opposition to that of all other Criticks, and not *reasoning*, but *dictating* to the World. This I complained of in my *Reply*^e. I endeavoured to shew the Unreasonableness of fetching the Sense of the Word in *Scripture* from *Heathen* Authors; and shewed, that even Mr. *Mede* himself agreed with the other learned Men in this Point^f.

Now how does the Author of the *Review* act? Why, he very fairly *deserts* the *Enquirer*. With regard to the great Point, which so much wanted Proof, and on which so much depended, he is *absolutely silent*^g. Neither Reasons nor Authorities have

^d *Essay*, p. 8.

^e *Reply*, p. 2, 3.

^f *Ibid.* p. 4.

^g In the 20th and 21st Pages of the *Review* we have indeed these Words. “ It is one thing to punish Injustice; it is another to be immoral, and promote and inspire Fraud and Wickedness. *This* was never imputed to *Demons* anciently; the *other* was: AND THEREFORE to understand a *Greek Book*, where the Word *Demon* occurs often without any Definition of it, it MUST be necessary to know what was the Notion of that Word in *Greek*, before and at the Time when such Book was wrote.” This I cite as the only Passage which has so much as the Air of Reasoning. From the *illative* Particle THEREFORE, one would think it a Conclusion from what went before. But it is a *Conclusion* without any *Premisses* to support it. If the *Heathens* understood *Demon*, as this Gentleman represents them, this can't prove it to be *necessary* to consult them in order to know the Sense of *Scripture*. And tho' the sacred Writers have no where given a formal Definition of the Word *Demon*, yet they have *sufficiently* guarded against Misconstructions, by as-

have the least Weight. He goes on heaping upon us *fresh* Testimonies from *Heathen Authors*, as if their *Importance*, in order to a right understanding of the *Scriptures*, were undeniable. Surely this Method, to give it the *softest* Name, is *impertinent*; nor is it possible for any Controversy to be thus decided.

THE Reader sees, that I had no need to concern my self about the Heathen Authorities, and that the Cause I defended was secure enough, without producing any, till the Principle above-mentioned could be proved. But notwithstanding this, I went *farther*, and in order to manifest the *Falsehood* of it, and at the same time to throw some Light in upon the Subject, I endeavoured to shew some *different* Senses in which the Heathens used the Word *Demon*, and their great Perplexities and Inconsistencies on this Subject: I observed, that the *Enquirer* had himself departed from the general Assertion he had before made ^g, and that his Account of the *Heathen Demonology* is both partial and unjust ^h: And I labour'd to confute the whole Scheme at once, by shewing, that even the *Heathens* used the Word *Demons* in an *ill Sense*, and that very probably they sometimes understood by them *wicked* and *noxious* Beings, *superior* to Men ⁱ. This last is the main Particular which the *Review* concerns itself about: And his Replies to my Reasoning on it, tho', were they all allowed, the general Cause would not be affected,

signing to these such Actions as could never be applied to *departed Souls*, or Men *naturally diseased*. I must have leave to say, that the Parts of the Gospels which gave Rise to this Dispute, till a much clearer and better Account be given of them, are sufficient Instances of this. And as to the "Notion of the "Word" among the *Jews* "at the Time when" these "Books "were wrote," it will scarce be denied to be on the side of the Letter.

^g Reply, p. 5. ^h Ibid. p. 6—17. ⁱ Ibid. p. 17—28.

shall be distinctly consider'd, and, I hope, clearly refuted.

IN the *Farther Enquiry*^k it is propos'd " to examine both the Old and New Testament, to see the Notion of *Δαιμόνιον* in them, and whether they are not to be interpreted consistent with the Notion [of the Heathens, before] at large explained." Here also I followed him, and by a distinct View of *most* of the Texts in the *Old Testament*, and of *all* from the *New*, I endeavour'd to expose the Idleness of the Attempt, and to vindicate the common Interpretation of the Word^l. Here then I might, if ever, have expected some Answer. And yet, I know not how it has happened, even in this Case the *Review* in a manner leaves his Friend the *Enquirer*. We are indeed told, " that *powerful* and *mischievous Devils*^m are no where to be met with in the *Old Testament*." But not an Answer is vouchsafed to *any one thing* which I offer'd in considering the several Texts therein; and these Considerations, if they stand good, evidently prove that Point. And as to the *New Testament*, there are, I think, only *four Texts*, my Defense of which is taken any Notice of. And, tho' there are in the *Review* some other Objections, which I had either answered or obviated beforeⁿ; yet, as these are urged in Opposition to some of the other Gentlemen engag'd with me, I shall leave it to them to consider them, if they think proper,

^k *Farther Enquiry*, p. 25. ^l *Reply*, p. 29, &c. ^m *Rev.* p. 8.

ⁿ An Instance of this we have, *Rev.* p. 44, 45. where the Objections about, *This kind can come forth by nothing but by Prayer and Fasting*, are again served up to us in a more confused manner: and no notice taken of the Answers which were given in the *Essay*, p. 51——57. Thus again, what we have *Rev.* p. 41, 42. was obviated in the *Reply*, 91, 92, 93. the particular Reasoning of which remains unanswered. And so in many other Places.

and confine my self to speak to those Points, on which I am expressly refer'd to.

FROM this short and general View of the State of our Debate, it is easy to see how far the *Review* is from being a full Defense of the *Enquiries*, or a sufficient Answer to the *Essay* and *Reply*. Let us however consider what he *has* said, and this first with regard to the *Heathen* Writers, and secondly with regard to the *Holy Scriptures*.

IT is, it seems, a *certain Principle*, an *Axiom* or *Postulatum* to be admitted *without any Proof*, that the *Scripture Demons* are the same with those acknowledged by the *Heathens*. Unreasonable as this may appear, let us oblige the Author, and for once allow it. But then, if the *Heathens* ever used the Word in a *very ill Sense*, for *wicked* and *noxious* Beings of a *superior Order* to Men, then the *Scripture Demons* may still be *such* Beings. For supposing, that *sacred Writers* are to be interpreted according to the *profane Writers*, yet certainly they might use this Word in *any Sense*, in which *these* used it. One Point then which the *Reply*° undertook to prove, and which was intended as no other than an Argument *ad Hominem*, was, that among other Senses of the Word, *that above-mentioned* was one. In order to this I observed, that the Author of the *Farther Enquiry* had himself owned, that “ the *Chaldeans* “ supposed two Principles, a *good Demon* and an “ *evil Demon*. The former’s Name was *Zeus* and “ *Oromasdes* ; the latter was called *Ades* and *Ari-* “ *manius* ^p.” And from hence I thought it clear, that the Gentleman allow’d “ *an evil Demon*, which “ can’t be pretended to have been the Soul of a “ departed Man.” And this I confirmed by another Passage in *Plutarch* of the same Import.—Let us now attend the *Review*. “ As if (*says he*) a first

“ Principle, One, the Cause of Evil, had any thing
 “ to do with *evil Demons*, malignant Beings, that
 “ are the Subjects of the present Debate ⁹.” And
 can this Gentleman then think, that the *Cause of Evil*
 was supposed to be any other than a *malignant Being*?
 Was he not the *most malignant, mischievous, malevolent*
Being? And was he not expressly called
Demon?

BUT I imagine that this Writer expected, that
 Instances should be produced where the Word is
 used in the *Plural Number of such Beings* ^r.—Now
 first, this is a Subtlety unknown to *both the Enquiries*.
 The *Farther Enquiry* is so far from laying any
 Stress on the Difference of Number, that the *Re-*
viewer himself blames it for supposing “ *Ocellus Lu-*
 “ *canus* to speak of *evil Demons*, such as were *de-*
 “ *tested* by the *Gods*, and *Demons*, and *Men*, and
 “ *Families*, and *States* ^s.” Here then the *Reviewer*
 plainly deserts the Principles of his Friend— And I
 will add, 2. *very absurdly*. For if the Word *De-*
mon was used by the ancient Heathens for *an evil*
Being, no Reason can possibly be assigned why *De-*
mons may not signify *evil, malignant Beings*. The
Gospels, even when they speak of *Possessions*, very
 frequently speak of *a Demon* ^t. According then to
 the Principles of the *Review*, in *all such at least*,
 the Word being used in the *Singular Number*
 may have no relation to *a departed Soul*, but to
a Cause of Evil.—But did the Heathens acknow-
 ledge any *evil Demons*, in the Sense of *Devils*? I
 answer, That supposing they did not, can we con-

⁹ *Review*, p. 10.

^r See *Review*, p. 8.

[†] See *Reply*, p. 19, 20. *Review* p. 21. And it may be added,
 that all the *Farther Enquiry* insisted upon was, that “ the Sacred
 “ Scriptures are to be constantly interpreted agreeable to the
 “ Heathen Notion of the Word *Demon*.” p. 25, not *Demons* in
 the *Plural*.

^t *Luk.* iv. 33. *Mark* vii. 26. *Matth.* xvii. 18. and so fre-
 quently in other Places.

clude that the *Scriptures* know no such? It is ridiculous enough to fetch the Sense of all *Scripture* Words from Heathen Writers: But it would be much more so, to imagine that Revelation contains no clearer Notices of the Spiritual World, than the Heathens were acquainted with.—Might not then the Case be as follows? The ancient Heathens are owned to have used the Word *Demon* for the *Author* or *Cause of Evil*: The inspired Writers, knowing the *fallen Angels* to be *very evil Beings*, and *Authors* and *Causes of Evil*, thought proper to apply to these the same Word, only changing, as it was necessary to change, the *Number*.—— 3. But the chief Difficulty with the Author of the *Review* seems to be, that “*Arimanius*, one of the *Chaldean* first Principles” was “esteemed by them an *original* and “*independent Cause*,” and therefore “is a Case quite “foreign to the Purpose: For the Dispute is not “concerning *original* or *first Causes*, but *inferior*, “*dependent Beings*, or *Demons*.” I fear this will only make the matter worse. For whatever *Arimanius* was, he is called a *Demon*. If therefore *Scripture* must be interpreted according to the *Heathen* Notions, why may not a *Demon* in the *Gospel* signify an *original* and *independent Cause*?—Which will scarce be asserted.——But to give a more direct Solution of the Difficulty——That *Demon* is here used for a *very evil Being*, is certain—That it was put for the *Devil*, as *Arimanius* was believed to be^w, I think extremely probable. Nor is it any
Objection,

^w Pag. 8.

^w Tho’ the Gentleman, I have to deal with, so exceedingly despises Authorities, yet for the sake of others, with whom that of the learned Dr. *Prideaux* may have some Weight, I can’t forbear adding, that he styled *the Cause of all Evil*, *Arimanius*, *the Devil*. And he goes on, “Concerning these two “Gods” [the good and the evil one] “there was this Difference of Opinion among” the *Magians*, “that whereas some “held both of them to have been from all Eternity, there were

Objection, that they thought him an *original* and *independent Cause*. Tradition might convey down the general Existence of this *curfed Spirit*; and yet might become very obscure, perplexed, and mistaken with regard to his particular Nature or to his Creation.—4. With respect to the Passage in *Zaleucus*, which the *Review* says “ may seem to be “ most to” my “ Point,” I am much mistaken, if it does not *fully come up* to it. I had translated it, *Should any one be tempted to Injustice by a wicked Demon*——*he ought to beg the Gods to assist him in driving him away*. The first Exception to this, is, ^x that “ *Zaleucus was a Pythagorean*——and is not “ therefore speaking concerning a *wicked Demon*, “ but *the wicked Demon*, the Origin and Cause of “ all Evil.” But there is no Pretence for this. The Words are *Δαίμον κακός*, without any Article, which surely will admit of either rendering. And however they are rendered, we have here a “ *malevolent Being promoting Wickedness or Misery* “ amongst Men^y.” In the next place, I am charged with *misrepresenting* the Passage. It seems, I read *αὐτὸν* for *αὐτῶν*, and accordingly translated it *HIM*, instead of *IT*. And I should be glad to know, what Advantage I could possibly reap from this *Misrepresentation*. Let the Passage stand as in the *Review*, it is exactly the same to my Argument. But the Reader I fear will want an Apology, not for my being guilty of *such an Error*, but for my troubling him with Answers to *such Trifles*——Lastly, tho’ I own, when I wrote the

“ were others that contended, that the good God only was “ eternal, and that the other was created.” *Connect.* Part I. Book III. Vol. I. pag. 252, 253. Edit. 10th. And why the *Scriptures* may not be understood according to the Sentiments of *these*, as well as any other Heathens, I know not. I wish the Reader would consult p. 305.

^x *Review*, p. 11.

^y *Ibid.* p. 10.

Reply, I did not dream of that Distinction between *the Demon* and *Demons*, which this Gentleman builds so much upon; and tho' I thought it sufficient to produce Instances, where the Word is used in an *ill Sense* in *either Number*; yet it happened luckily, that without designing it, I have sufficiently obviated this Pretence, and shewed, that the Heathens did understand *Δαίμονες* and *Δαιμόνια* of *evil Beings*. The Reader may see a Passage from *Plutarch* plain and full beyond all Exception^z. But no Notice is taken of this, I suppose, because *Plutarch* lived *after CHRIST*. This is another Art of the *Review*, which frequently helps him out of Distresses. And it may seem inhuman to deprive him of it. But the *Truth*, of which he is a professed *Lover*, requires me to do this, and will therefore, I hope, procure me his Pardon.

Now, first, this is not vindicating the *Enquiry*, but prosecuting a quite different Scheme. In this we find all Authors quoted promiscuously^a; the Sense of *Christians* and *Jews*, as well as *Heathens*, was attempted to be shewn: And in his Preface the Author intimated his Hopes of being able to explain even the *Apologists* so, as to reconcile them to his Notion.—Indeed he afterwards seemed to be sensible, that this Design was impracticable, and that the Ground he stood upon could not be defended. Accordingly, the *Farther Enquiry*, instead of explaining the *Fathers*, *abuses* them. “The *Fathers* INVENTED a new Scheme of Demonology^b;” tho' *when*, or *where*, or by *which* of them it was *invented*, we are not told. And instead of vindicating his general Assertion, he denies it to have been *in his Intention* to say, what he had *actu-*

^z *Reply*, p. 23. ^a *Ocellus* “who was three Generations older than *Plato*,” was owned to “speak of *evil Demons*.” *Farther Enquiry*, p. 19. ^b *Ibid.* p. 72.

ally said. This however must be imputed to *mere Distress*. And tho' *Christian* Writers were all suspected, yet still we had no Reason to think, that the *Heathens* might not be called in as *good Witnesses*. *Hierocles*, tho' excepted against in the *Review*, as *not early enough*^c, was admitted as a Voucher in the *Farther Enquiry*^d. So was *Plutarch*^e.

BUT the Author of the *Review* is more nice. No Testimony will be allowed by him, but what is *truly Heathen* and *truly Ancient*. He confines us to the Times *before the Coming of Christ*, and will not accept of *even an Heathen* Authority afterwards; for fear, I suppose, that *Plutarch*, &c, should have been concerned with the *Primitive Christians*, and had some hand in *inventing the new Scheme of Demonology*. Or, if they were too honest to do this, lest they should have receiv'd some Tincture from this *new Scheme*, been in a manner infected with the Notions of *Christians*, and, in Compliance to these, believed the Beings, which they *still continued* to worship, to be *Devils*.

ANOTHER Author which I cited is *Julius Pollux*, against whom there lyes the same Exception; for he "f lived one hundred Years *after* Christ;" but, I will add, was never suspected to be a *Christian*.—However, the *Review* has more to say to this Citation, and interprets it in a different manner. I had render'd *ἀλιήμοι* *wicked* or *pernicious*, knowing that the Word is capable of *both* Senses, and seeing nothing in the place to exclude *either*. This Gentleman, without any Reason that I can guess, but because it makes against his Hypothesis, will not have it to mean *wicked*. The next Word is *ἀλιηρωδεις*, which he translates *destructive*, and which may also signify, as almost any *Lexicon* will inform us, *curst*, *execrable*. The other two Appellations of *these*

^c *Rev.* p. 71. ^d *Farth. Enq.* p. 7, 8. ^e *Ibid.* p. 5. ^f *Rev.* p. 10.

Demons are *προσρόπαιοι, παλαμναῖοι*, which in the *Review* are thus paraphrased, “ To whom we “ ought to apply our selves, in order to get them “ to avert Mischief, the Punishers of those who “ are guilty of Blood.” My Objection to the former part of this Interpretation is, that it makes these *Demons* much the same as those which *Pollux* had before distinguished from them, by the Epithets *ἄπομομπαῖοι, ἄποτρόπαιοι, λύσιοι*. And as to the latter part, though *παλαμναῖοι* may have the Meaning which the Gentleman assigns it, yet he cannot be ignorant, that its *original* Sense rather relates to *Guilt*, than to *Punishment*, and that it denotes any *wicked, pernicious, murdering* Being. I shall therefore take leave to give another Translation of this difficult Passage, by which it will appear, that every Word in it is applicable to what the *Review* thinks the Heathens had no Notion of, “ Devils, immoral, malignant Beings.” Of *Demons*——others, which confirm Curses, are called *wicked, destructive, execrable, who are instrumental in bringing Evils on Men, and plaguing, punishing, or murdering them* ^ε.

As to what is said in *p. 12, 13*, of the *Review*, tho’ it is in that Part which relates to me, I do not think my self concerned, having not made use of the Citations there pretended to be explain’d ^h. But *p. 14*. we meet with a Sentence or two, which I can’t forbear animadverting upon. “ The Rule “ among the Ancients was not to impute Evil to “ evil Demons or Devils, of which they knew no-

^ε Ὅι δὲ κυρῆτες, ἀλιήριοι, ἀλιηρώδεις, προσρόπαιοι, παλαμναῖοι. The Latin Translation is, *Qui autem inferunt, exitiales, pestilentes, malitiosi, & homicidæ*. For the sake of Shortness, I must refer the Reader to any large Lexicon for Instances of these Words being used in the Sense in which I have understood them.

^h I would not be understood, as if I thought the Citations not to the Purpose. That from *Pindar* is certainly so. But the Defense of it belongs properly to another hand.

“ thing, but to the Justice of the Gods; and they made
 “ no scruple to say, as *Euripides* makes *Iphigenia*,
 “ *I can't think any of the Demons to be evil*—They
 “ did not suppose malicious, malevolent, immoral
 “ Beings, to be the Authors of Evil or Wicked-
 “ nefs in Man: Nor were the Executors of just
 “ Punishment upon Sinners, such as *Tisiphone*, or
 “ the Furies, deemed *Devils* or malevolent Be-
 “ ings.”—The Reader will, I hope, pardon the
 Length of this Extract, on account of the great Cu-
 riousness of it——Which certainly deserves some
 particular Remarks. And, first, we see here ano-
 ther Instance of the *Review's* varying from the *En-
 quiries*. The Author of this last Piece is so far from
 being attached to Systems, that he makes no Scru-
 ple frequently to leave even that Scheme, which he
 undertook to defend. For, at the very Entrance of
 the first *Enquiry*, we are told, that “ other Writers,”
 and *Proclus* and *Eusebius* are quoted without the
 least Censure or Dislike, “ have made *Demons* the
 “ Dispensers of *evil* Things, as well as good; the
 “ Plagues and *Terrors* of Mankind, and the Au-
 “ thors of much Evil to themⁱ.” Again, it is
 there confessed, that the *old Latins* “ imagined
 “ the *Larvæ* to be mischievous and wicked Spi-
 “ rits^k.” And the *ordinary Notion* concerning
 these is given us from *Apuleius*, which, I observ'd
 in the *Essay*, corresponds much with the *Scripture*
 Account of *fallen Angels*^l. That “ on account of
 “ their ill Deserts in Life, they were punished as it
 “ were by a sort of Banishment, by their having
 “ no good Place of Abode, but always rambling
 “ about, *vain Terrors* to good Men, but to evil
 “ Men *noxious*^m.” The Truth of this Opinion I
 am not now concerned to prove. It is sufficient to

ⁱ *Enquiry*, p. 3.
quiry, p. 18.

^k *Ibid.* p. 16.

^l *Essay*, p. 18.

^m *En-*

my present Argument, that the Author of the *Enquiry* owns it to have been the *ordinary Notion*. And yet the Author of the *Review* asserts, that the Ancients “ did not suppose malicious, malevolent, “ immoral Beings to be the Authors of Evil and “ Wickedness in Manⁿ.” I must leave it to these two great Men to settle the Point between them, it being a Task far above my Capacity to reconcile them together.

2. BUT can any thing be stronger than the Testimony of *Euripides*? And shall we imagine *wicked Demons*, when he so expressly makes *Iphigenia* declare, that she *could not think any of them to be such*?—Now it happens unluckily, that the *Farther Enquiry*, in order to account for those Words of St. *James*, *the Demons believe and tremble*, and not dreaming of that pretty Exposition which the *Review* has produced from a Line of *Orpheus*°, owns, that *Demons* “ signifies likewise in Heathen “ Writers the *evil Souls of departed Men*”^p. It is plain then, that *Iphigenia*, if she actually said so, was, according to the *Enquirer*, mistaken. And that she was so, will farther appear from a Passage in *Plutarch*, which I beg leave to set down at large. It is taken from his Life of *Dion*, near the Beginning of it, where he had been comparing *Dion* and *Brutus*, and had particularly taken Notice, that both of them had had some Warnings of their End. Tho’ our Gentleman^q seems to doubt, “ if there “ be sufficient Evidence for the Truth of ” one of these “ Stories,” yet *Plutarch* relates them without the least Diffidence. Afterwards he indeed owns, that in his Time there were some who laughed at all such Accounts, and rejected them in general. But he adds, that “ if *Dion* and *Brutus*, who were

ⁿ *Review*, p. 14. ° *Review*, p. 26. ^p *Farth. Enquiry*, p. 58.
^q *Review*, p. 15.

“ such grave Philosophers, and so little liable to
 “ be conquered by any Passion, were so affected by
 “ this Appearance, that they told it to others; I
 “ know not, but we may be compelled to receive
 “ that VERY ANCIENT OPINION, absurd as it
 “ may seem, that there are *wicked and malevolent*
 “ *Demons, who envy good Men, and by their Prac-*
 “ *tices raise Disturbances and Fears, weakening and*
 “ *undermining their Virtue. And this, lest by conti-*
 “ *nuing stedfast and harmless in what is good, these*
 “ *should after Death obtain a better State than them-*
 “ *selves*.” We see, that this is set down as a
 VERY ANCIENT OPINION. I need not add a
 Word to shew, how contrary it is to the Assertion
 of our Author. And the only Question is, which
 of the two deserves most Credit, and had the best
 Opportunity of knowing the Sentiments of the an-
 cient Heathens? *Plutarch*, we see in this very Pas-
 sage, was far from being any Bigot. And, as he
 lived early in the second Century, the Words τῶν
 πάντων παλαιῶν will carry us up much higher than the
 Beginning of *Christianity*.

Ἦ δὲ Δίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ, ἄνδρες ἐμβριθεῖς καὶ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ πρὸς
 εὐδὴν ἀπροσφαλεῖς εὐδὴν ἐυάλωτοι πάθῃ, ἕτως ὑπὸ φάσματι διελεύθη-
 σαν, ὥστε καὶ φράσαι πρὸς ἑτέρους, ἐκ οἷδα μὴ τῶν ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ
 τὸν ἀτοπῶτατον ἀναγκαζοῦμεν προσδέχεσθαι λόγον, ὡς τὰ φαῦλα δαι-
 μόνια καὶ βάσκανα, προσφθονεῖν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, καὶ ταῖς
 πράξεσιν ἀνισάμενα, ταραχὰς καὶ φόβος ἐπάγει, σεῖοντα καὶ σφάλλουσα
 τῷ ἀρετῇ. Ὡς μὴ διαμυίναντες ἀπτῶτες ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀκέραιοι,
 βελτίον ἐκείνων μοίρας μετὰ τῷ τελευτῇ τύχασιν. PLUTARCH.
 in DION.

N. B. I have translated τὸν ἀτοπῶτατον, *absurd as it may seem*,
 and believe that *Plutarch* called it so in relation to their Senti-
 ments, whom he had just before mentioned. For if he had
 himself thought the Opinion *most absurd*, how was it possible
 for him to have once doubted, whether it should be received or
 not? Could the bare Authority of *Brutus* and *Dion* make a real
 Absurdity credible? But however this be, *absurd* or not, it is
 declared to be a *very ancient Opinion*, which is sufficient to the
 present Purpose of the Quotation.

3. STILL the Line from *Euripides* stares us in the Face. And I must own, that I could hardly think, that so elegant a Writer would differ in this respect from so many others, as have mentioned *evil Demons*. This gave me a Curiosity to consult the Passage itself. And the Consequence of doing so was only an Increase of my Surprise, not that *Euripides* should say so strange a Thing, but that any Man of Sense should produce him to vouch what he never intended nor thought of. The Words indeed, as detached from what went before, appear strong on the Side of the *Review*. But let us but take in the Occasion on which they were spoken, and the Manner in which they are introduced, and nothing can well be farther from his Purpose. *Iphigenia* is here represented as complaining of *Diana* on account of the *human Sacrifices* which were offered to her. The Words, which the Poet puts into her Mouth on this Occasion, are extremely beautiful; nor shall I fear the Displeasure of the Reader, for giving them at large even in a Prose Translation^s.

“ I can’t but condemn the Counsels of this God-
 “ des; should any Mortal but touch a dead Body,
 “ or a Woman in her Uncleanness, she forbids
 “ him to come to her Altars, as being defiled.
 “ And yet she herself is pleased with human Sacri-

^s Τὰ τῆς Θεᾶς ἤ μέμφομαι σοφίσματα,

ἥ τις, βροτῶν μὲν ἢν τις ἀψηλαί φόνε,

ἢ ἢ λοχείας, ἢ νεκρῶ δίγη χειροῖ,

βαμῶν ἀπέργει, μουσαρὸν ὡς ἠγυμένη.

Ἄυτη ἢ δυσίαις ἠδέλαι βροτοκτότοις.

Οὐκ ἔδ’ ὅπως ἔτεκεν ἄν ἢ Διὸς δάμαρ

λητῶ τοσαύτω ἀμαθίαν. ἐγὼ μὲν εἶν

τὰ ταυιάλα Θεοῖσιν ἐσιάματα

Ἄπισα κρίνω, παιδὸς ἠσθῆναι βορᾶ.

Τὴς γὰρ ἐνθά ἢ αὐτὴς ἔντας ἀνθρωποκτόνας

Ἐἰς τὸ Θεὸν τὸ φαῦλον ἀναφέρειν δοκῶ.

Ἐοδῆνα γὰρ οἶμαι δαιμόνων εἶναι κακόν.

EURIP. *Iphig. in Taur.* v. 380, &c.

“ fices.

“ fices. Surely this Ignorance, or Inconsistency,
 “ could not proceed from *Latona* the Wife of
 “ *Jupiter*. For my part, I look upon the Story
 “ of *Tantalus’s* feasting the Gods, as incredible; or
 “ that there could be any Delight in eating his Son:
 “ And I imagine, that Men, who are here them-
 “ selves guilty of Murder, first charged the Divinity
 “ with this Wickedness. For, in my Opinion, none of
 “ the Gods are ever wicked,” i. e. cruel. We see now,
 from the whole Passage, that by *Demons Euripides*
 could mean nothing but *Gods*; and that the Word
 can’t relate to *Demons*, in the Sense of the *Enquiries*
 and *Review*, i. e. to *departed Souls*, unless it be as-
 ferted, that the Heathens knew none of these to be
 wicked; or at least, that they knew *no Gods but*
departed Souls, which is equally false and absurd.

4. WITH respect to *Tisiphone* and the *Furies*;
 this Gentleman is, I believe, as much mistaken.
 They might sometimes minister to the Justice of
 the Gods, and execute just Punishment on Sinners.
 But this is no sort of Proof, that they were not
malevolent Beings. Very *immoral* Persons may be
 instrumental in bringing about very *wise* and *good*
 Ends of Providence. And this is certain, that
 those Beings are by Authors represented in but an
 unfavourable Light. Thus *Suidas* interprets *Ἐρυνός,*
καλαχθόνι & *δαίμων κακοποιός*, an *infernal, maleficent*
Demon. And, to mention no more, what does the
 Author of the *Review* think of the Character of *A-*
lecto, as drawn by *Virgil*? Was she barely an “ Exe-
 “ cutor of just Punishment on Sinners?” Was not
 she a *malevolent Being*? Hear the Poet’s own Words,

————— *cui tristia bella,*
Iræque, insidiæque, & crimina noxia cordi.
Odit & ipse pater Pluton—————

And again, thus *Juno* speaks to her:

Tu potes unanimes armare in prælia fratres;
Atque odiis versare domos—————

————— *tibi nomina mille,*

Mille nocendi artes—————

And again it is said of her,

Vipeream inspirans animam—————¹.

And what more could have been said of the *Old Serpent* himself, it may be hard to imagine.

I HAVE but one Word more to say with regard to the *ancient Heathens*. I had taken Notice of an unaccountable Mistake in the *Farther Enquiry*, in quoting *Ocellus Lucanus*. The *Review* also condemns it, and then adds, p. 21. “ *Ocellus* had no “ such Notions [as *evil Demons* ;] *κακοδαίμονες* “ therefore should have been translated *unhappy*, “ and the Paragraph be changed, so as to shew “ *Ocellus* to be *with* the *Enquirer*, and not an an- “ cient Testimony *against* him.” I might justly return the Gentleman’s Sneer, *En acumen!* For we have here one of the most extraordinary Pieces of Reasoning I ever saw. *Ocellus* is speaking of quite a different Point, and is not *against* the *Enquirer*, *Ergo*, he is *with* him. Because *Horace* says not a Syllable of *evil Demons* in his first Ode, therefore he believed no such. This is a Way which will soon procure the *Reviewer* Authorities enough, if the absolute *Silence* of any Author, let him be speaking on what Subject he will, be allowed to be such. I must own, that the Gentleman intimates, that some *Change* should be made in the *Paragraph*. What *Change* he means indeed I can’t say : But I am sure it must be a *very extraordinary* one, which will make *Ocellus* speak his Sense. For he must excuse me, if I remind him of what I mentioned in the *Reply*, p. 19. that this Author is so far from thinking *Demons* to be *departed Souls*, that, in the short Work we have left of his, he more than once intimates his Notion of them to have been that of *Beings of a middle Nature, between Gods and Men*. But that he ever distinguishes these into *good* and

¹ *Virg. Æn. 7. 327, &c.*

evil,

evil, I confess I do not remember. And suppose he does not, this can be no Proof that he did not believe *both* Kinds.

I REALLY imagined, that I had quite done with the Objections relating to *Heathen* Authorities. But in *p. 23*, I find the *Review* has by the way a Reflection on me, and endeavours to set a Sentence of mine in Opposition to the *Christian Apologists*, whose Credit I had before vindicated, and, for aught appears yet, unanswerably. This Gentleman says, “ the Author of the REPLY seems to imagine, that *Jupiter, Mercury, &c. had not been Men* at all, but were *imaginary* Beings. If this be a contested Point by the Author of the REPLY, I only desire him to confute the *Christian Apologists*; and particularly *Tertullian’s* Apology, *Ch. 10, 11. Arnobius, &c.* Now here I must first complain of a Misrepresentation. A Sentiment is ascribed to me, which, I think, cannot be drawn from my Words. I had observed the infamous Characters of many of the *Heathen Deities*, and then added, “ This is the general Account of them; and if we set it aside, it will not be easy to evince, that *they had been Men* at all, that they were not *imaginary* Beings.” Now is this *seeming to imagine*, that *Jupiter, Mercury, &c.* [under which &c. all the rest of the *Heathen Gods* may be concluded] were never Men? Or wherein do I contradict the *Apologists*? *Tertullian*, I am sure, says much the same. “ None of your Gods can you prove free from Crime or Vice, unless you deny them to have been Men.” So far then I am clear. But

perhaps

“ *Reply*, *p. 8.* † The whole Sentence being curious, I shall give it the Reader. “ *Volo igitur merita recensere, an ejusmodi sint, ut illos in cœlum extulerint, & non potius in imum tartarum merferint, quem carcerem pœnarum infernarum, cum vultis, affirmatis. Illuc enim abstrudi solent impii quique in parentes, & in sorores incesti, & maritarum adulteri, & virginum raptores, & puerorum contaminatores, & qui sæviunt, & qui occidunt, & qui furantur, & qui decipiunt, & quicunque*

perhaps what I said in the 7th Page might give this Gentleman room to suspect those above to have been my Sentiments. It was there observed, as “ most probable, that the *Dii majorum gentium* were “ originally the *Sun, Planets, and Elements, &c.* “ —and that *Jupiter* might signify the *Air* or “ *Heaven, Apollo the Sun, Vulcan Fire, &c.*” But neither is this Account absolutely inconsistent with the *Apologists*, who can’t be proved in this matter to have declared *their own* Sentiments. There is no Occasion to suppose they did so. It was sufficient for their Argument, that the Opinion that *Saturn* and *Jupiter* had been Men, *was allowed by the Heathens themselves.* And accordingly *Tertullian* seems to press it as *such* an Argument: *Illos homines fuisse non possitis negare,* are his Words immediately following.—But I need not have recourse to this Answer. That *Varro* reckon’d up 300 *Jupiters* every School-boy knows. And we may safely allow him, who was Son of *Saturn*, to have been a Man, without any Prejudice to that Account above given^w.—Besides, it would be a sufficient Defense for me to say, that it is one thing to contradict the *Apologists* in Matters of *Opinion*, and another

“ *similes sunt alicujus dei vestri, quem neminem integrum à crimine “ aut vitio probare poteritis, nisi hominem negaveritis, &c.*” *TER-*
TULL. Apol. c. II. *N. B.* Nay, I am not conscious of having said any thing on this Point more than the *Enquirer* himself had said. These are his own Words: “ If it can be proved, that “ many of the Heathen *Deities*—were nothing but mere *imaginary* Beings, who never did in fact exist at all.” —*First Enq. p. 12.* Whoever will consult the Passage, will find, that this Writer *more than seems to imagine this.*

^w I find in the *Farth. Enquiry*, p. 29. an Instance which well enough explains this. *Diogenes Laertius* is quoted to shew the Sentiments of the *Egyptians*, “ that the *Sun* and *Moon* were *Gods*, “ and that the former was called *Osiris*, the latter *Isis*—but” (adds this Writer) “ it is well known, that *Isis* and *Osiris*— “ were great Men deified—.” See also p. 16. And also *Shuckford’s Connection*, Vol. II. p. 225, 298. and Vol. III. p. 57. where he tells us, that the Ancients used to call their Kings and famous Men by the Names of the *Luminaries, Elements, &c.* which were their *Gods.*

ther to oppose their direct Testimony in Matters of *Fact*. With regard to the former, such especially as do not relate to their own Religion, they might mistake. With regard to the latter, such especially as occurred to them frequently, I don't see how their Witness can be refused, if they had common Sense and common Honesty.

II. THERE remains now nothing relating to *Heathen* Authorities for me to consider. We must therefore proceed to view what has been said with regard to the *Holy Scriptures*. And here, as I observed before, the *Review* gives me but little Trouble. He objects only to my Explications of four Texts, but one of which relates directly to the *Gospel Possessions*; and I can see no manner of Difficulty in vindicating these. The first is *Rev. ix. 20*. On this Text I had declared, that I had “no Skill” in expounding these Parts of the *Revelations*,^z and therefore “had nothing to do but to look into” some of the most learned Commentators.^z For this the Gentleman is pleased to ridicule me; “An excellent Method (says he) of finding out the Meaning of a Word!” And truly, in such a Case, I do not know a better. The Meaning of *δαμόνια* here must, I apprehend, be found out by considering the Context, and the Subjects treated of. In these Prophetical Parts of this Book I am not ashamed to own my Ignorance: And why I might not give the Sense of *Grotius*, *Hammond*, &c. as well as the *Farther Enquiry* that of *Mr. Mede*, I can't imagine.—But I am charged with misrepresenting *Grotius*—I am willing to be tried by the *Reviewer's* own Translation. On these Words of *St. John*, that *they should not worship Devils* [*δαμόνια*] and *Idols of Gold and Silver*, *Grotius* says, “The People of Jerusalem were all in a mystical Sense Idolaters; they served Money, Jewels, &c.” Now it is asked, “Allowing all this, does *δαμόνια* signify

^z *Reply*, d. 50.

^z *Rev.* p. 31.

“ signify *Money*?” I answer, that this was what *Gratius* imagined the Word to refer to, or else he has given no Sense of it at all.

IN the same Page I am called in question for having given the Reader the Remarks of *Dr. Hammond*, *Erasmus*, and *St. Jerom* on *1 Tim. iv. 1.* “ See here, says the *Review*, the true Art of confounding all things! As if the opposing a Name were the Confutation of an Opinion!” And yet it is very extraordinary, that on this very Text the Name of the excellent and judicious *Mr. Mede* was opposed^a, which I believe the Gentleman thought at least a *Confirmation* of his own Opinion. And therefore, because I would not seem to oppose myself to *Mr. Mede*, as well as because his Interpretation was represented as “ brought even to a Demonstration,” I thought it proper, nor can I yet see any Harm in it, to set before the Reader another Interpretation of Authors of as great Name, and two of them of greater Antiquity than *Mr. Mede*. Indeed, were there any *Demonstration*, I entirely agree that it would be absurd to mention any *Authorities* against it. But all are not *Demonstrations* which are called so.

THE *Review* goes on, “ How did *Jerom* know, that all *Heresy* was framed by the Art of *Demons*? Or how did *Erasmus* know, that *Devils* brought in their false Doctrines in the Manner he says?” What has warmed the Gentleman, I can’t tell. But, like a Man in some Degree of Passion, he seems to fall foul on all he meets. Now, methinks, it was very pardonable in Men, who understood *Demons* of *Devils*, to ascribe *Heresies* to them. But “ could not *Men* frame *Heresies* by their own natural Powers?” Not, I hope, by a right Use of their natural Powers.——“ Might they not do it by Mistakes?” They are not surely obliged to persist in, and to spread, their Mistakes.

takes. *Errare possum*, &c. “What Evidence is there, “that Heresies were owing to *Devils*?” This very Text, I humbly presume; unless our Interpretation of it can be shewn to be false or absurd. Besides, St. Paul numbers *Heresies* among the *Works of the Flesh*, Gal. v. 20. St. Peter calls them *damnable*, 2 Ep. ii. 1. And St. John assures us, that *he that committeth Sin, any Sin, is of the Devil*, 1 Ep. iii. 8.——

“May not the Wickedness, the Pride, the Errors “of Men be the Sources of false Doctrines?” And may not such Wickedness, Pride, and Errors proceed from their hearkening to the evil Suggestions and Delusions of *Satan*? —“Yes, but the “Apostle says, *seducing Spirits*, as if *evil Spirits* were “the great Seducers of Men.” Such they have always been thought, and such, I apprehend, they were allowed to be by the *Enquirer* himself, “*Moral Evils* they may desire to do^b.” I must therefore refer this Gentleman to his Friend for an Answer, who I hope will tell him, that to *seduce Men* is a *moral Evil*^c. “But what if *Spirits* be here “taken for Doctrines themselves——or Seducers?” There is no Necessity so to *take* them. And farther, the Word *Devils*, which follows, can’t be so taken. —In a Word, there is nothing forced in the Interpretation which I am vindicating. The Phraseology of *Scripture* sufficiently justifies it. As, the *Doctrine of GOD OUR SAVIOUR*^d is an Expression used by St. Paul to denote the *Doctrine which He*

^b *Farther Enquiry*, p. 79.

^c I observe that the *Review*, pag. 26, 27. argues largely against the Notion of any Seductions by *evil Spirits*. All which Reasoning will hold equally strong against the Temptations and Delusions of *Satan*, which the *Scriptures* have in so many Places mentioned. See *Eph.* ii. 2. *2 Cor.* iv. 4. *Matt.* xiii. 19, 39. iv. 1, &c. *Eph.* vi. 11, 12. *1 Pet.* v. 8, 9. *2 Cor.* xi. 3. *1 Thess.* iii. 5. *2 Cor.* ii. 11. *Jam.* iv. 7. *2 Tim.* ii. 26. *Rev.* xii. 9. and many others. I only refer to these Passages, because the part of the *Review*, which occasions my mentioning them, is not applied to me.

^d *Tit.* ii. 10.

taught; so there is no Reason why we should not understand the same Apostle's Expression, *Doctrines of Devils*, in a like Sense, *viz.* that these, who are properly *seducing Spirits*, were the Authors and Suggesters of those unjust Prohibitions of *Marriage* and *Meats*, which are expressly mentioned as the *Doctrines* taught.

I HAVE particularly considered these several Questions of the *Review*, because at the Close of them he talks of the "Arts made use of to refute the *Enquiry*, without *Reason*, or Pretence of it." The Reader is now to judge of the *Justness*, as well as *Decency* of this Reflection.

THE *Reply* laboured to shew^f, that *Acts* xvii. 18. could not be accommodated to the *Enquirer's* Purpose, not only because St. *Luke* was not speaking his own Sense, not only because the *Resurrection* here mentioned does not *certainly* mean that of the LORD JESUS, but also because a *Man raised to Life again, and consisting both of Soul and Body*, was very different from a *departed Soul*. The two first of these Reasons stand unanswered. To the last something is urged, the Purport of which I am not sure that I understand. However, I will lay it before the Reader. "When the first Christians asserted *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, &c. to have been Men, and after Death to have been made Gods, was the Point about their being alive *both Soul and Body*? When *Hesiod* says, that when a certain Generation of Men died, they became Demons——Did it make a question, whether they had *Bodies*, or not?" If there be any thing in these Words in Answer to what I had urged, this must, I think, be intended by them; that the *Heathen Demons* were supposed to consist both of *Soul and Body*. But neither will this Account for our SAVIOUR's being called by the *Epicureans*

cureans and *Stoicks* a *Demon*, because of *his Resurrection*, unless these Philosophers also imagined, that their own *Demons* had *risen* from the *Grave*, and appeared on *Earth*, in *their proper Bodies*. And will the *Reviewer* assert this? Whence then all those *Prejudices* which the *Heathens* entertained against the *Possibility* of a *Resurrection*?—— Besides, it is a flat *Contradiction* to *both* the *Enquiries*, to suppose that the *Heathen Demons* were *embodied*. In *those* they are called *the Souls of departed Men*, frequently *Ghosts*^h, and once, one would think with a *View* to exclude that *Supposition*, *the GHOSTS of DEAD Men, the very GHOSTS of Men UNBODIED*. Nay, in another placeⁱ we have this *Account* of the *Heathen Notions*, “ They thought “ —either that *they* [*Souls*] continued as long as “ the *Body* could be preserv’d, SEPARATE FROM “ ALL BODY; and when that was destroyed, that “ then they animated other *Bodies* :” [in which *Case* sure they were *no Demons*] “ or that they “ went into *aerial* or *etherial* *Mansions* for certain “ Years.” Accordingly *Hesiod’s Demons* were ἠερα ἐσάμβροι, *clothed with Air*. And the *Ancients* imagined them to be *invisible Beings*, &c.^k I had then very good *Reason* to think, that if *δαίμόνιον* in *Acts* xvii. 18. be applied to our *LORD*, as *raised again*, we have here a *new Sense* of the *Word*.

THAT some *Actions* and *Vices* are by the *Poets* ascribed to *Jupiter*, &c. which suppose their having *human Bodies*, is indeed true: But then it is as true, that the same *Poets* give other *Descriptions* of them, which effectually destroy such a *Supposition*. To reconcile them with themselves is an impossible *Task*: And on this very *Account* I think them the most unfit *Guides* to the understanding of the *Scriptures*.

MY *Way* of accounting for the *Difficulty* which the *Enquirer* laid so much *Stress* upon, that the *Legion* was spoken of, and to, as *an unclean Spirit*,

^h *Far. Enq.* p. 18, 20, 23, 24. ⁱ *Ib.* p. 66. ^k *First Enq.* p. 11.

remains to be vindicated. On this I observed, that
 “ the *Evangelists* sometimes speak of the *whole Body*
 “ of *them collectively* in the Singular Number, and
 “ sometimes *distinctly* in the Plural.” And for an
 Instance of similar Expression, I referred to and
 cited *Deut. xii. 1*^l. The Substance of the Gentle-
 man’s Answer to this is, that tho’ a *Nation* may be
 spoke to in the Singular Number, yet *Spirits* can-
 not; that it “ is impossible in any Language, to
 “ make the same Word signify an Individual and
 “ a Collection of Individuals of the same Species ;”
 and that “ allowing this, this would not account
 “ for the Expression, *Thou unclean Spirit*, when
 “ *unclean Spirits* were present ^m.” Here this Gentle-
 man must be reminded once more, that the
Evangelists actually in their own Names use this
 Language; that the Difficulty therefore is pointed
 directly to *them*; and that whether my Solution of
 it be allowed, or not, nothing can be plainer than
 this, that the Scheme of the *Enquirer* will no way
 clear it. For can we imagine, that the *Evangelists*
 would *themselves* use the Language of Madmen?
 And yet, that according to the Scheme of the *En-*
quirer they did so, he has been told already ⁿ, nor
 has he yet attempted to disprove it.

BUT I am far from being out of Hope of vin-
 dicating my own Way of answering the Difficulty.
 And I think, any Body or Number of Beings may
 be properly described as one such Being, provided
 nothing is said of this one, but what is equally ap-
 plicable to all. The Words *a Jew* signify as much
 an *Individual*, as the Words *a Man*, or, *an unclean*
Spirit. And yet when St. Paul said, *Behold, thou*
art called a Jew^o, it will not be thought that he
 addressed himself to any one particular Person;
 nor is there any Difficulty in conceiving, that the
 Expression includes a *Collection of Individuals*. A

^l *Reply*, p. 71. ^m *Review*, p. 56. ⁿ *Vid. Essay*, p. 60, 65.

^o *Rom. ii. 17.*

Few then, though no *Noun of Number*, is here the same as *ye Jews*. And thus a *Legion of Devils* may without any Absurdity be represented as an *unclean Spirit*, if what is predicated of one does equally relate to all. Why may not “a *Spirit* signify a collective *Body of Spirits*,” as well as a *Few* signify a collective *Body of Jews*?——I shall only trouble the Reader with one Instance more, where the Change of Number is very observable. This is in *Genesis* xix. 15. The ANGELS *hastned* Lot—— *And it came to pass when THEY had brought them forth abroad, that HE said—— And Lot said unto THEM, Oh, not so, MY LORD, &c.*^p

BEFORE I conclude, it may be proper to observe, that by the *Reflection* which the *Review*^q complains of, it was not my Intention to represent the *Enquirer* as a *Deist*, or one who concurred with *Woolston* in his wicked Design. That he laid a great Stress on a trifling Difficulty, which this Blasphemer had raised, is certain. He expressly declared against the Solutions which learned Men had given, tho’ these were really as plain and strong as could be given in any case. In a Word, they were not so much the Explications of learned Men, as the Explications of the *Evangelists* themselves, who, when compared together, set their own Meaning past all Doubt. To reject therefore these, seemed to me to be *so far* “joining the Cry of the Infidels,” reviving their Objections, and serving their Cause. This Gentleman I suppose imagin’d, that his own Scheme would effectually answer the Difficulty. I shall not at present dispute this. Yet surely it would have better become a Christian to have offered this Answer, *without crying down* those which had been before given and approved. But to do this in Terms, in order to introduce a novel Scheme, clogged with

^p *Grotius* on 1 *Mac.* xiii. 51. ἐχθρὸς μίας, has this Remark, *Enallage numeri*. Præsidarios enim illos arcis intelligit, qui Israeli plurimum nocuerant. Here a Number is represented as one Enemy.

^q *Review*, p. 64.

many and great Difficulties, which had remain'd unanswer'd, was indeed making this Scheme *necessary*, but, I fear, at the Expence of the *Christian Cause*, I must again repeat it, that I do not believe our Author design'd any Injury to this. But I may add, in the excellent Words of a Prelate of our own Church, that "when Doctrines, whatever the Intention of propagating them be, appear inconsistent either with the Whole, or any Part of our Religion, it is no Uncharitableness, but our Duty, to lay open the Falsehood and the Danger of them."

I now once more take leave of this Subject, having found this good Effect from the Pains I have taken, the being thoroughly persuaded my self of the Truth of the *literal Sense*. The *Review* has not attempted to shew the Pertinency of the Heathen Authorities, has not vindicated the Interpretations of the *Enquirer*, nor offered any new sufficient Answers to the chief Difficulties which lye against his Scheme. If this Gentleman, or any other, will reconsider this Matter, will reconcile all the Inconsistencies of *Pagan Writers* when they speak of *Demons*, will prove that the *Scriptures* MUST be understood according to *their Sense*, will give us some good Reason why the *Fathers* may not be called in as good Interpreters of the *Scripture Meaning* of the Word, will shew us which of them it was that first *invented the new Scheme of Demonology*, will fairly vindicate the *Enquirer's* Interpretation of the Passages in the LXX, where *δαίμονιον* is mentioned, and MOST ESPECIALLY those in the *Gospels*, where *Possessions* are related; whoever, I say, will modestly endeavour to do all this, may deserve for such an extraordinary Attempt Attention and Regard. But it can be to no purpose to go on heaping up disputed Authorities, and saying over and over things which have already had their Answers. For every serious Man knows, that a weak Argument can gain no new Strength from its being even ten thousand times repeated.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

DEMONIACS

IN THE

G O S P E L S.

*Thomas
Newton*



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TO THE

R E A D E R.

THE following Dissertation is one of many, which in due time may see the light. It was thought proper to single this from the rest, and to print it at this time and in this manner, some things having lately been published contrary to the doctrine herein contained, and contrary (as it is conceived) to the truth of the gospel. The Author is too far advanced in life, and has too much other business upon his hands, to engage in any controversy about it. It must stand or fall by its own merit: If right, it will want no vindication; if wrong, it deserves none.

A D I S-

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

DEMONIACS.

IN reading the gospels, I make no doubt, it hath happened to many others as well as to myself, that they have been struck with the accounts of the *demoniacs* or persons possessed with devils, and have wondered within themselves what kind of beings these demons, and what sort of disorders these possessions could be. We do not read of so many cases of this kind either before or after this period, neither do we certainly know of any such instances at present: And why should they abound so much more at this time than at any other, and yet the Jews speak not of them as any matter of

surprise or novelty, but as things not unusual among them? They express much wonder at our Saviour's manner of curing these disorders, but none at the disorders themselves, as if they were not unaccustomed to them. These questions have been much agitated among learned men, who generally are divided in two contrary opinions, the one that these possessions were real operations of devils, the other that they were nothing more than natural causes and effects, and were such distempers as are incidental to men, but only with different names. Now the better to judge and determine in which scale the truth preponderates, we must hold the balance with an even hand, incline neither to the one side nor to the other, but weigh and examine things with deliberation and by degrees.

I. Our first inquiry will naturally be What kind of beings these *demons* were, and consequently whether the word is rightly translated *devils*. In one of the dissertations on the prophecies, explaining that text of the *doctrins of demons* or *devils*, it was shown

from

(r) Plutarch. Dion in initio. των πανω παλαιων. κ. τ. λ.
p. 958.

from Plato and the best authorities, that demons, according to the theology of the Gentiles, were middle powers between the sovran Gods and mortal men; that these demons were regarded as mediators and agents between the Gods and men; that of these demons there were accounted two kinds; that one kind of demons were the souls of men deified or canonized after death; that the other kind of demons were such as had never been the souls of men, nor ever dwelt in mortal bodies; that these latter demons may be paralleled with angels, as the former may with canonized saints; and as we Christians believe that there are good and evil angels, so did the Gentiles that there were good and evil demons. According to Plutarch (1) ‘ it was a very
 ‘ ancient opinion, that there are certain
 ‘ wicked and malignant demons, who envy
 ‘ good men, obstruct their actions, induce
 ‘ troubles and terrors, to hinder them in
 ‘ the pursuit of virtue, lest after death they
 ‘ should be partakers of greater happiness
 ‘ than they enjoy.’

p. 958. Tom. 1. Edit. Paris. 1624. See Dissertation XXIII. on the Prophecies.

In the management of this controversy, as indeed in most other controversies, the arguments have been pushed too far on both sides. On one side it has been affirmed that *demons* were nothing more than the souls of deceased men, and never before the coming of Christ signified devils or malicious beings, malevolent, hurtful to mankind, delighting in promoting wickedness. On the other side it has been asserted, that the word *demon* doth not signify a departed soul either in the Classics or in the Scriptures. But both parties, as I apprehend, are greatly mistaken. For there are other demons besides the souls of deceased men, noxious evil demons, and so called before our Saviour's time; and there are instances of the word *demon* signifying a departed soul both in the Classics and in the Scriptures, though perhaps oftener in the former than in the latter. In the dissertation above mentioned it hath been proved from Hesiod Plato and other authorities, that good men after death become demons

(2) Δαιμονας δε εστας νοει ψυχικας, και ηρωας τας κεχωρισμενας ψυχας των ανθρωπων· αβλαβες μιν τας αβλαβας, κακιες δε τας φαντασας.
 Apud Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis. p. 25. Δαιμονιας
 υπαρχειν

demons, good beings, guardians of mortal men, and authors of good to mankind; and wicked men after death, by parity of reason, must become other demons, evil beings, tempters of mortal men, and authors of evil to mankind. That there were wicked and malignant demons, obstructing and envying the virtue and happiness of men, was, according to Plutarch in the fore-cited passage, a very ancient opinion, τῶν παυυ παλαιῶν; and consequently an opinion that prevailed before our Saviour's time. Thales, one of the first and best of the Greek philosophers, distinguisheth between demons and heroes, (2) affirming demons to be spiritual substances, and heroes to be the souls of men separated from bodies, some good and some bad. In Homer, Pindar, Ocellus Lucanus and others, philosophers as well as poets, mention is often made of the hateful and evil demon, and of evil demons, κακοδαιμονες; and the like properties and actions are ascribed to them, which we commonly attribute to evil angels. The very

ὑπαρχειν σοσιας ψυχικας, ειναι δε και ηρωας τας κεχωρισμενας ψυχας των σωματων. Plut. de Placit. Philosoph. Lib. 1. Cap. 8. p. 882. Edit. Paris. 1624.

etymology of the word in some measure evinces what kind of beings they were accounted. For the most probable derivation of it is from a word signifying *learned, knowing, skilful* &c; δαιμονες quasi δαημονες says (3) Plato, as if they were beings of superior knowlege. (4) Proclus on Hesiod, and the Scholiast on Homer say that they are called *demons* as knowing all things, or as being the dispensers and distributors of good and evil things to men, the word δαιω signifying to *divide* as well as to *learn*. Eusebius proposes another derivation, and says (5) that they are fitly called demons from δειμαίνειν, filling men with fears and terrors. Here then, without multiplying more quotations, are sufficient evidences from the Classics, that the word *demon* doth sometimes signify a departed soul, and that there are other demons besides departed souls, of a superior nature, some good and beneficial, others evil and hurtful to mankind, and so named before the coming of Christ.

(3) Plat. in Cratylo. p. 398. Edit. Serrani. Vol. 1.

(4) Proclus in Hesiod. Παρα το δαναι τα'παντα, η μεριζειν τα αγαθα και κακα τοις ανθρωποις. In Iliad. I. 222. Δαιμονας καλει τες θεες, ηλοι δαημονας: εμπειροι γαρ και ιδριες παιλων αυλοι εισιν, η οτε διαληται εισι και διοικηται των ανθρωπων.

But the right notion of demons is to be drawn, not from the Classics, but from the Scriptures, which are the source and standard of all true demonology as well as of all true theology. Now in the Scriptures it must be admitted that the word *demons* most usually signifies *devils*: but in the foresaid dissertation some instances are produced to the contrary, to show that the worshipping of *demons* is the worshipping of the *dead*, chiefly out of St. Paul, who being the most learned of all the apostles, and speaking and writing to the Greeks, might express himself in accommodation to their notions. I would not repeat what has been said elsewhere; but these instances excepted, the signification of the word is so clear in other places, that there can be no doubt of its being rightly translated *devils*. The text of St. James (II. 19.) “The demons believe and tremble” cannot with propriety be applied to any other beings, nor well admit any other translation than “The devils believe and tremble.”

(5) Ου παρὰ το δαιμονας ιναι—αλλα παρὰ το δειματειν, οτι εστι φοβεισθαι και εκφοβειν, δαιμονας τινας προσφωως ονομαζεσθαι. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 4. Cap. 5. p. 142. Edit. Vigeri.

In the gospels; wherein is the most frequent mention of demoniacs, the same that are named *demons* are named also *spirits*, and *unclean spirits*, and *evil and wicked spirits*. So St. Matthew (XII. 43; 45.) and St. Luke (XI. 24, 26.) “ When the unclean
 “ spirit is gone out of a man,—he taketh
 “ to him seven other spirits more wicked
 “ than himself.” There was in the syna-
 gogue, “ a man with an unclean spirit,”
 saith St. Mark (I. 23, &c.) “ which had a
 “ spirit of an unclean demon,” saith St.
 Luke; (IV. 33, &c.) “ And when the un-
 “ clean spirit had torn him, he came out
 “ of him,” saith St. Mark; “ And when
 “ the demon had thrown him in the midst,
 “ he came out of him,” saith St. Luke:
 and in both the whole is concluded with
 this just reflection of all the spectators;
 “ What thing is this? What a word is
 “ this? for with authority and power he
 “ commandeth the unclean spirits, and they
 “ do obey him.” When our Saviour called
 his twelve disciples, as St. Matthew relates
 it, (X. 1.) “ he gave them power over un-
 “ clean spirits, and to heal all manner of
 “ sickness

“ sickness and all manner of disease ;” the same thing is thus expressed by St. Luke, (IX. 1.) “ he gave them power and authority over all demons, and to cure diseases.”

What in St. Mark is *unclean spirits*, (III. 11.)

“ And unclean spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him, and cried saying,

“ Thou art the Son of God,” in St. Luke

is *demons*, (IV. 41.) “ And demons also

“ came out of many, crying out and saying

“ Thou art the Christ, the Son of God,”

What in St. Matthew (XVII. 18.) is a *demon*,

in St. Mark (IX. 25.) is a *foul spirit*, and

dumb and deaf spirit; and in the parallel

place of St. Luke (IX. 42.) is termed both

a *demon* and *unclean spirit*. St. Luke in the

same breath as it were speaketh of *evil spirits*

and *demons* as being the same, (VIII. 2.)

“ And certain women, which had been

“ healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary

“ called Magdalene, out of whom went

“ seven demons.” St. Matthew in like

manner, (VIII. 16.) “ When the even was

“ come, they brought unto him many that

“ were possessed with demons, and he cast

“ out the spirits with his word.” In the

story of the Syro-phenician woman's daughter (Mark IX. 25, 26.) what is denominated *an unclean spirit*, is called immediately afterwards *a demon*; " A certain woman, whose
 " youngest daughter had an unclean spirit,
 " heard of him, and came and fell at his
 " feet, (The woman was a Greek, a Syro-
 " phenician by nation) and she besought
 " him that he would cast forth the demon
 " out of her daughter." Other instances might be collected, but these are sufficient to show that *demons* and *spirits*, and *foul and unclean spirits*, and *evil and wicked spirits* are synonymous terms, and are used promiscuously to denote the same beings. It farther appears too, that *demons* are beings of the same kind, of the same nature as *Satan* and *Beelzebub*, *the prince or chief of the demons*. For by our Saviour's argumentation, when he was accused of casting out demons by *Beelzebub* the prince or chief of the demons, (Matt. XII. 22—32. Mark III. 22—30. Luke XI. 14—26.) it is plain to demonstration, that casting out *demons* is casting out *Satan*, that casting out demons by *Beelzebub* is opposed to casting out demons
 by

by *the Spirit of God*, that casting out demons by *Beelzebub* is the same as casting out demons by *Satan*, that *Satan's* casting out *demons* is casting out *himself*, that *Satan* and *Beelzebub* are the same, that the *demons*, and *Satan* and *Beelzebub* the *prince* or *chief* of the *demons* are beings of the same nature, and differ only in order and degree. When the Seventy returned to our Saviour, (Luke X. 17, 18.) “ saying, Lord even the demons “ are subject unto us through thy name ;” he considered the fall of *demons* as the fall of *Satan*, as another fall of angels, “ I beheld “ Satan as lightning fall from heaven.” St. Peter speaketh of the demoniacs under the name and notion of “ oppressed with the “ devil,” ὑπο τῆ διαβολῆς, when he told Cornelius the Centurion, (Acts X. 38.) “ how “ God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the “ Holy Ghost and with power, who went “ about doing good, and healing all that “ were oppressed of the devil, for God was “ with him.” He mentions this as one of the greatest exertions of divine goodness and power. It is evident then, that these *wicked and unclean spirits*, these *demons* and the *prince*

or *chief of the demons* are not the souls of men or women deceased, but are really and truly *the devil and his angels*: and consequently that the word *demons* is justly and properly translated *devils*, especially throughout the gospels.

II. Having seen what kind of beings these demons are, let us now inquire what sorts of distempers were usually attributed to their influence and operation. Saul's disorder is expressly ascribed to this cause. (1 Sam. XVI. 14.) "The Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him." Josephus too in his relation of this case often mentions the demon or demons as agitating and disturbing him. His case appears plainly to have been of the atribilarious or melancholy kind; and according to (6) Rambam, the Jews call every kind of melancholy an evil spirit.

Melancholy and madness are nearly allied, and this disorder also was supposed to proceed from possession by an evil spirit.

(6) See Lightfoot. Hebrew Exercitations on Luke XIII. II. Vol. 2. p. 442.

The Jews said of our Saviour, (John X. 20.) "He hath a devil, and is mad," considering the former as the cause, and the latter as the effect. Several actions of the demoniacs show evidently that they were also madmen; the same symptoms are discoverable in both. Take for example (Mark V. 1, &c. Luke VIII. 26, &c.) "the man who
 "ware no cloaths, neither abode in any
 "house, but had his dwelling among the
 "tombs, and no man could bind him, no
 "not with chains: because that he had
 "been often bound with fetters and chains,
 "and the chains had been plucked asunder
 "by him, and the fetters broken in pieces,
 "neither could any man tame him; and
 "always night and day he was in the
 "mountains and in the tombs, crying and
 "cutting himself with stones." Here are all the strongest marks of the fiercest and most raging frenzy; but when the devils were departed out of him, we find him
 "sitting at the feet of Jesus, cloathed and
 "in his right mind," as St. Mark and St. Luke both relate it. The expulsion of
 the

the evil spirits was likewise the cure of his madness.

Epilepsy is another disease which, as well as madness, was imputed to the agency of evil spirits. We have a most remarkable case of this kind in the gospels, (Matt. XVII. 14—21. Mark IX. 17—29. Luke IX. 38—42.) where all the symptoms are described as particularly and as exactly as they could be by a skilful physician. St. Matthew describes him thus, “ He is lunatic and fore vexed, for oft-times he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water.” He is called *a lunatic*, as his fits might be better or worse according to the course and changes of the moon, which as physicians observe is not unusual in this distemper. St. Luke thus represents him, “ Lo, a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out, and it teareth him, that he foameth again, and bruising him, hardly departeth from him.” St. Mark is more copious, “ Wheresoever the spirit taketh him, he teareth him, and he foameth, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away. This came unto him of a child, and oft-
“ times

“ times it hath cast him into the fire, and
 “ into the waters, to destroy him.” When
 he was brought unto our Saviour, “ strait-
 “ way the spirit tare him, and he fell on
 “ the ground, and wallowed foaming.” A
 patient truly to be pitied, and hard to be
 cured: but upon Jesus saying unto the
 spirit, “ I charge thee come out of him,
 “ and enter no more into him, the spirit
 “ cried, and rent him fore, and came out
 “ of him; and he was as one dead, inso-
 “ much that many said He is dead; but
 “ Jesus took him by the hand, and lifted
 “ him up, and he arose.” The malady
 was occasioned by the inhabitation of an
 evil spirit, and the ejection of that spirit
 was the remedy. The cause ceasing, the
 effect ceased too.

Other disorders were ascribed to demons
 or evil spirits besides the fore-mentioned of
 melancholy and madness and epilepsy.
 Job's disease, which seemeth to have been
 cuticular, of the leprous and ulcerous kind
 to a very great degree, is said to have been
 inflicted by Satan through the permission of
 God. (Job II. 7.) “ So went Satan forth
 “ from

“ from the presence of the Lord, and smote
 “ Job with sore boils from the sole of his
 “ foot unto his crown.” Satan is also repre-
 sented as the cause and author of the crook-
 ed woman’s infirmity in the gospel. (Luke
 XIII. 11, &c.) “ And behold, there was
 “ a woman which had a spirit of infirmity
 “ eighteen years, and was bowed together,
 “ and could in no wise lift up herself. And
 “ when Jesus saw her, he called her to him,
 “ and said unto her, Woman, thou art
 “ loosed from thine infirmity : And he laid
 “ his hands on her ; and immediately she
 “ was made straight, and glorified God.” *A*
spirit of infirmity may be thought an ambi-
 guous indeterminate expression, but the
 meaning of it is limited and ascertained,
 when this *spirit* is explained immediately
 afterwards to be *Satan* (“ whom Satan hath
 “ bound, lo, these eighteen years”) ὁ Σατανᾶς
 with the article, the great enemy and ad-
 versary of mankind. There are also de-
 moniacs in the gospel, who yet discover not
 the least tokens or signs of madness. They
 were blind and dumb, but the blindness and
 dumbness are attributed to the possession of
 evil

evil spirits, and the recovery to their ejection. (Matt. IX. 32, 33.) “ As they
 “ went out, behold, they brought unto
 “ him a dumb man possessed with a demon :
 “ And when the demon was cast out, the
 “ dumb spake ; and the multitudes marvel-
 “ ed, saying, It was never so seen in Israel.”
 (Matt. XII. 21.) “ Then was brought
 “ unto him one possessed with a demon,
 “ blind and dumb ; and he healed him, in-
 “ somuch that the blind and dumb both
 “ spake and saw.”

But not all such disorders did the Jews ascribe to demons or evil spirits, but those only which were beside the common course of nature, and attended with extraordinary symptoms. Madness itself is sometimes spoken of by its usual name, without being assigned to any supernatural cause. Solomon mentions (Prov. XXVI. 18.) “ a mad
 “ man who casteth firebrands arrows and
 “ death.” Of St. Paul it is said (Acts XXVI. 24.) that “ he was beside himself,
 “ much learning had made him mad.” Our Saviour’s relations said of him also (Mark III. 21, 22.) “ He is beside himself ;”

but they did not say, as the scribes did at the same time, "He hath Beelzebub;" the former putting a favorable, the latter a most malicious construction upon his actions. So just and true is the observation of Grotius and of our Lightfoot. Grotius (7) explains the word *demoniacs* to signify not common madmen, but such as were seized and agitated by the forcible violence of unclean spirits. Lightfoot (8) remarks, that it was usual with the Jews to attribute to evil spirits some of the more grievous diseases, especially those, wherein either the body was convulsed and distorted, or the mind was disturbed and agitated by frenzy.

Neither were the Jews singular in this belief; other ancient nations entertained similar opinions. Dr. Hyde hath fully evinced it with regard to the Chaldæans and
Per-

(7) δαίμονιζουετες, non quovis modo insanientes, sed impurorum spirituum vi majore correptos atque agitados. Grot. in Matt. IV. 24.

(8) Lightfoot. Hebrew Exercitations on Matt. XVII. 15. Vol. 2. p. 211.

(9) Medica Sacra in Dr. Stack's translation. Cap. 9. At non Judæis tantum, sed et aliis etiam gentibus, in usu fuit insanos pro dæmoniis habere. Hinc apud Herodotum (Lib. 6. Cap. 84.) rex Cleomenes dicitur non ab ullo dæmonio ad insaniam redactus, sed consuetudine cum Scythis ebriosus fuisse,

Persians in his learned history of the religion of the ancient Persians. The Greeks, and Romans called insàne persons δαιμονιοληπτοι, νυμφοληπτοι, *Lymphatici*, *Larvati*, *Cerriti*, *Bacchantes* and the like; as if the demons, or the nymphs, or the Larvæ, or Ceres, or Bacchus were the authors of their calamities, tho' what notions they had framed of these different beings we cannot tell, very imperfect ones we may be certain. The epilepsy as well as madness was called *morbis sacer a sacred disease*, as if it were caused by some divine power. As Dr. Mead (9) in treating of the demoniacs observes, “ this custom of taking madmen for
 “ demoniacs was not so peculiar to the
 “ Jews, but that it prevailed in other na-
 “ tions also. Hence in Hérodotus king
 “ Cleomenes is said to be driven into mad-

fuisse, et inde furiosus. Cuiusque δαιμονιαν idem significet ac δαιμονιον εχειν, hoc verbo pro *furere* utitur Xenophon. (Memorabil. Lib. 1.) Quin et Aristophanes de eodem morbo gravius urgente vocem κακοδαιμονιαν usurpat, et deterrimum insanix gradum non *μανιαν*, sed *κακοδαιμονιαν* esse pronunciat. (Vide Plutum, Act. 2. Scen. 3. ver. 38. et Act. 2. Scen. 5. ver. 15.) Hinc etiam, ut notat Aretæus, *sacer* apud illos dictus est hic morbus, *quoniam dæmon aliquis in hominem ingressus putabatur.* (δια της δοξης δαιμονιο ες τον ανθρωπον εισουθ.)
 De causis morbi diurn. Lib. 1. Cap. 4.)

“ nefs, not by any demon, but by a habit
 “ of drunkennefs, which he had contracted
 “ among the Scythians, whereby he be-
 “ came frantic. And whereas δαιμονιαν fig-
 “ nifies the fame thing as δαιμονιον εχειν,
 “ Xenophon uses this word for *furere*, to
 “ be raging mad or furious. Moreover
 “ Aristophanes, intending to exprefs a high
 “ degree of the fame difeafe, employs the
 “ word κακοδαιμονιαν, and calls the highest
 “ degree of madnefs, not *μανιαν*, but *κακο-*
 “ *δαιμονιαν*. Hence alfo, as Aretæus ob-
 “ ferves, this difeafe was called *morbus*
 “ *facræ*, or the facred difeafe, *because it was*
 “ *imagined that fome demon had entered into*
 “ *the man.*” The Heathens therefore as
 well as the Jews attributed thefe diforders
 to demons, the Jews by demons under-
 ftanding evil fpirits or devils, the Heathens
 fome beings, they knew not what, fuperior
 to mortal men. In fhort, certain difeafes,
 which the ancients afcribed to fupernatural
 caufes, many of the moderns affect to con-
 fider as natural effects.

III. The great queftion therefore is, and
 the moft difficult to be refolved, whether
 the

the modern or ancient opinion is more agreeable to truth and reason, whether these kinds of diseases were any ways owing to evil spirits, or may be deduced altogether from natural causes. One would not willingly encourage superstition, *δεισιδαιμονιαν* as the word is in Greek, the dread of demons, and fearing where no fear is; but at the same time one would as carefully avoid the other extreme of scepticism and infidelity, doubting of every thing, and believing nothing but what may be seen, and proved even to demonstration. It betrays great weakness as well as great laziness in men to be too remiss in investigating the causes of things, and what they cannot readily comprehend and easily explain, without seeking farther to refer immediately to some superior being as the cause and author; but on the other hand it argues as great vanity and presumption to pretend to know all causes, and to reduce all effects to their first principles, as if nothing was above their level and comprehension. Some causes may perhaps lie within the sphere of our knowledge; but many more, I am afraid, are far above
and

and beyond our utmost reach and compass. The effects are seen and felt and observed by all men, but the causes lie deeper and more remote, and cannot often be traced up like a river to the spring-head.

All causes may not improperly be reduced to two kinds, material and spiritual. Now the philosophy of the present times inclines, as I conceive, to attribute too much to the former and too little to the latter. But matter is a dull dead lifeless thing, is always passive and (strictly speaking) never active, cannot of itself put itself into motion, or lay itself at rest, and much less can it be the proper and efficient cause of any thing. Men may talk of the powers of matter, but it hath really no power, except what the philosophers term the *vis inertię*, the power of inertness, the power of doing nothing of itself. There is not a single phænomenon in the material world, there is not a single motion or affection of matter, that can be accounted for any more than attraction and gravity itself, without having recourse to some spiritual agent. Most of the causes and effects which we are acquainted with are but

for many different modifications of matter, but all these different modifications are effected not by matter itself but by spirit. Matter at best can be regarded only as a secondary, and not as a primary cause; the first mover must be of a higher class and order of beings. It appears then that in the material world itself the first the principal agent is spirit; and what then must it be in the world of spirits?

It is certain, there are many more spiritual beings in the world, than men commonly are aware of, or generally conceive. We see all the parts of nature full of life in the visible world around us, and we may with reason therefore conclude the case to be the same in the invisible world above us. The earth, the sea, the air, and not only all the greater but all the lesser portions of them, as far as we can perceive, are abundantly stocked with inhabitants; many of them come under our inspection, by the help of glasses we discover more: but who can tell what numbers escape our observation, which no eye no glasses can reach? There are many kinds of beings plainly inferior to
man

man; but there must be many more superior to him. The scale of beings cannot stop at such an imperfect creature as man, but must rise higher and higher towards perfection, the space and interval above us being infinitely greater than that beneath us. We can hardly enumerate the different sorts and species of creatures upon earth; and much less can we frame any adequate conception of the different degrees and orders of spirits in the heavens, whose variety is infinite, and being spirits they are not immediate objects of sense, nor visible to human eyes. Milton delivered the sentiment of all antiquity as well as his own, when he said

Millions of spiritual creatures walk the
earth

Unseen, both when we wake, and when
we sleep.

Two of the greatest and wisest of the ancient philosophers, Thales and Pythagoras (1),
affirm

(1) Τον κοσμον δαιμονων πληρη. Thales apud Diog. Laert. p. 18. ειναι δε πασα τον αερα ψυχων εμπλεον. Pythag. ibid. p. 587. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1514.

(2) Ὑπο τελων πεμπεσθαι ανθρωποις της τε ονειρας, και τα σημεια νοσηε και ιγρειας. Pyth. ibid.

affirm that the world and air are full of demons and souls. The scripture in like manner represents the air as the habitation of demons ; and the devil is therefore stiled (Eph. II. 2.) “ the prince of the power of “ the air,” and his angels are denominated (Eph. VI. 12.) “ spiritual wickedness,” or as it is in the margin, “ wicked spirits in “ high places.”

So many demons and spirits, hovering and wandering about in the air, must by their natural abilities have the power of doing much hurt to the souls and bodies of men, unless restrained by the good providence of God. He, we may be confident, will not suffer one part of his creation to break loose upon another ; but he may upon occasion make use of some of his creatures as instruments of the punishment of others. Pythagoras speaking of demons in the place above-mentioned (2) says, that ‘ by these dreams ‘ are sent to men, and the prognostics of ‘ health and sickness.’ Tertullian likewise (3) asserts,

(3) Corporibus quidem et valetudines infligunt et aliquos casus acerbos, animæ vero repentinos et extraordinarios per vim excessus. Suppetit illis ad utramque substantiam hominis

asserts, that ‘ they inflict grievous diseases
 ‘ on the body, and excite sudden and vio-
 ‘ lent commotions in the soul ; for by the
 ‘ subtlety and fineness of their nature they
 ‘ have access to either substance of man.
 ‘ They can do much by their spiritual
 ‘ powers, so that being invisible and im-
 ‘ perceptible to sense they appear rather in
 ‘ effect than in their act.’ Lactantius de-
 scribes their operations much after the same
 manner (4), that ‘ being spirits not to be
 ‘ seen or felt they insinuate themselves into
 ‘ the bodies of men, and secretly working
 ‘ within vitiate their health, excite diseases,
 ‘ terrify their minds with dreams,’ and the
 like. Cyprian ascribes the like effects to
 them (5), ‘ they disturb life, disquiet
 ‘ sleep, and creeping secretly into the bodies
 ‘ of men terrify their minds, distort their
 ‘ limbs, destroy their health, and provoke
 ‘ diseases.’ More testimonies might be cited
 to

minis adeundam subtilitas et tenuitas sua. Multum spiritalibus viribus licet ut invisibiles et insensibiles in affectu potius quam in actu suo appareant. Tertul. Apol. cap. 22. p. 21. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675.

(4) Qui quoniam sunt spiritus tenues et incomprehensibiles, insinuant se corporibus hominum, et occulte in visceribus

to this purpose; and indeed they who deny all power and influence of angels demons and spirits over the bodies and souls of men, contradict the general belief of mankind as well as the whole tenor of revelation. If the existence of such beings is admitted, their power cannot be denied; the one is so plain a consequence from the other.

But though possibly they may have the power of doing these things, yet what reason is there to think, or how doth it appear, that they ever exercised it? It was, I suppose, the great difficulty of discovering the causes and applying the remedies to certain diseases, which induced men to look higher, and to regard them as the productions of evil spirits. They were for referring them to such causes, because they were incapable of discerning other causes, and could not any other ways account for such effects. If indeed things can be sufficiently explained

ceribus operati valetudinem vitiant, morbos citant, somnii, animos terrent &c. Lactant. Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

(5) *Vitam turbant, somnos inquietant, irrepentes etiam in corporibus occulte mentes terrent, membra distorquent, valetudinem frangunt, morbos lacesunt. Cypr. de Idol. Vanit. p. 10. Edit. Felli. Oxon.*

upon natural principles, we should not have recourse to supernatural. If we can by any means untie the knot ourselves, we should not bring in a demon to cut it. But are then the causes of melancholy, of madness, of epilepsy and the like so well known and understood, that we can point them out in each particular case, and mark the distinction between them? We may know the symptoms the concomitants and effects, we may in some measure be able to administer remedies; but who can fully explain the spring and source of these distempers, generally incurable by all the skill and art of man; what it is that produces this crisis of the blood and humors, or how it is that this crisis of the blood and humors excites such horrid convulsions in the body, such extravagant fancies in the mind? Madness in particular seemeth almost as inexplicable as dreaming. In a former dissertation I attempted to show the extreme difficulty, if not utter impossibility, of accounting for the phænomenon of dreaming, by the principles of mere matter and motion, without recurring to the agency of some spirit: and

may

may not madness be considered as waking dreams, and dreams as sleeping madness? Very little indeed it is that we can discover of the true cause and origin of things. We know that such and such things are, but we know not how they are, or what is their real essence and constitution. Those events which we call natural are such as fall out according to the common course of nature; but we are as little able to account for the common and ordinary, as for the singular and extraordinary productions of nature. (Eccles. XI. 5.) “As thou knowest not what
 “is the way of the spirit, nor how the
 “bones do grow in the womb of her that is
 “with child, even so thou knowest not the
 “works of God who maketh all.” Since then our knowledge is so very deficient, and we can so seldom say *This* is the cause, we cannot always be certain *That* is not the cause. We cannot give any clear and rational explication of the malignity and incurableness of certain diseases, and how then can we be confident that they are no ways owing to the operation of evil spirits? May not the same effect proceed from different causes;

A DISSERTATION

causes; and what is usually produced in the ordinary course of nature, may it not be sometimes effected by the interposition of an extraordinary power? Such an interposition indeed we should not admit merely upon supposition, nor because we think it possible, conclude it therefore to be probable. We should have some better warrant and authority, and what better warrant and authority can we desire than a divine revelation? Things may be or may not be wrought by evil spirits, for what we can tell; but surely we may with reason believe them to be wrought by evil spirits, when they appear to be so from the things themselves transcending all human powers, and moreover when they are affirmed to be so by express testimonies of holy writ.

Dr. Mead, who was for attributing as much to material, and as little to spiritual causes, as a less reasonable man could do, in his *Medica Sacra* thus freely delivers his sentiments on this head; (6) “ I am not
“ ignorant that the Jews, by a manner of
“ expression familiar among them, are

(6) *Medica Sacra*, cap. 3. in Dr. Stack's translation.

“ wont to ascribe diseases of this kind to
 “ the power of evil angels as ministers of
 “ God; and that even at this day some
 “ very learned men may defend the same
 “ notion. But for my part, if I may be
 “ allowed to declare my thoughts with free-
 “ dom, I cannot think it right to have re-
 “ course to the divine wrath for diseases,
 “ which can be proved to have natural
 “ causes; unless it be expressly declared,
 “ that they were sent down directly from
 “ heaven. For, if they fall on us in punish-
 “ ment of our sins, the intention of the
 “ supreme lawgiver would be frustrated,
 “ unless a sure rule was given, whereby
 “ his vengeance might be distinguished
 “ from common events; in as much as the
 “ innocent may be equal sharers in such
 “ calamities with the guilty. Moreover it
 “ seems reasonable to believe, that evils in-
 “ flicted by the omnipotent judge must be
 “ either incurable, or curable by himself
 “ alone; that the connection of his power
 “ with his equity may the more brightly
 “ shine forth. By such a criterion are mi-
 “ raculous works distinguished from the
 “ operations

“operations of nature.” And is not this precisely the case of the demoniacs and others in the scripture? They are expressly declared to have been actuated and afflicted by evil spirits; their cases are sufficiently distinguished from common events, and were either incurable or curable only by a divine power.

IV. Let us then take a nearer view of the demoniacs in the gospels, and see whether they do not come within this description. Those who maintain that these possessions were nothing more than natural diseases, have not gained any honor or credit by the company they keep: for as Dr. Hutchinson, the learned editor of some part of Xenophon's works, observes in a (7) sermon upon this subject, “ Pomponatius, Vaninus, “ Hobbs, Spinoza, and Bekker especially, “ have all patronised the same opinion,” all of them profane and atheistical writers. A very different man is produced as a favorer likewise of this opinion, Mr. Mede, and Dr. Mead glories (as well he might) in his

(7) The usual interpretation of *δαίμονες* and *δαίμονια* in the New Testament asserted in a Sermon before the university of Oxford, p. 30. 1738.

relation to him, one of the most learned judicious and able of all our divines, whose single authority would weigh more with me than that of many other others, being among the first of my capital and favorite authors. His sixth discourse is cited for this purpose: but his notions, as I conceive, have been very much misunderstood, or very much misrepresented. For though he might allow demoniacs to be the same as madmen and lunatics, yet he looked upon this madness as caused by evil spirits; and not only so, but moreover believed that persons might be so possessed and actuated at this time. He says (8) indeed, that “ these demoniacs were no other than such
 “ as we call madmen and lunatics, at least
 “ that we comprehend them under those
 “ names, and that therefore” (observe what follows) “ they both *still* are, and in *all*
 “ *times* and *places* have been much more
 “ frequent than we imagin.” Again he says, “ Such as these, I say, the Jews be-
 “ lieved (*and so may we*) to be troubled

(8) Mede's Works, Disc. VI. p. 29 & 30. and 636.
 Edit. 1672.

“ with evil spirits, as it is said of Saul’s
 “ melancholy that *an evil spirit from the*
 “ *Lord troubled him.*” He says afterwards,
 “ If those were not such as we now a-days
 “ conceive of no otherwise than as mad-
 “ men, surely the world must be supposed
 “ to be very well rid of devils over it hath
 “ been; *which for my part I believe not.*”

And in another part of his works he asserts the word *demons*, in the gospels especially, to signify *devils*. “ The use of the
 “ word *demon* in the worst sense, or directly
 “ for a *devil*, will be almost confined to the
 “ gospels, where the subject spoken of be-
 “ ing *men vexed with evil spirits could admit*
 “ *no other sense nor use.*” It is evident then that Mr. Mede was so far from falling short in belief, that he carried it farther than the generality of Christian Divines do. But I would not therefore affirm that all madmen are demoniacs, any more than I would, that all demoniacs are madmen. The symptoms and effects of melancholy, of madness, of epilepsy and the like, whether in the natural way as it is called, or by demoniacal possession, may be so much alike, so
 much

much the same, that we may not be able clearly to distinguish and point out which is the proper cause: but we may determine with some kind of certainty, when the possession is strongly marked by some circumstances more than natural, and the truth and reality of it are farther confirmed to us by the most creditable authors, whom we have all the reason in the world to believe to be divinely inspired.

Of Saul's disease we should not have known the real cause, if the sacred historian had not informed us that it was *an evil spirit*, and that in such a manner that it cannot be mistaken. For when Saul was anointed king (1 Sam. X. 9, 10.) "the Spirit of God came upon him, and gave him another heart." But when by his sins he had forfeited God's favor, it is said (1 Sam. XVI. 14.) that "the Spirit of the Lord departed from him, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him." We see the one is plainly opposed to the other; the one is a name or quality only no more than the other; the one is a fictitious being no more than the other; both are real agents, *the*

evil spirit as well as *the Spirit of the Lord*. But it is asked, What connection is there between musical instruments, and devils or evil spirits? How can sounds and symphonies have the power of removing or chasing away an evil spirit? For by David's playing upon the harp (ver. 23.) "Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him." But when the distemper is much the same, whether occasioned by demoniacal or by natural means, why may not music have the power of relieving and refreshing men in the one case as well as in the other? Why may not music have the power of affecting a spirit as well as matter, of diverting and changing the thoughts of the mind as well as the humors of the body? It should seem that the spirit must be first affected; for if the mind be wholly inattentive, or otherwise engaged and employed, the most heavenly music is as nothing, and can produce no kind of effect upon the body.

The true state of the demoniacs is seen more fully in the gospels. Our blessed Saviour and his disciples all along speak of them

them as persons really possessed, and that in so plain a manner as cannot easily be mistaken. St. Luke, who was himself a physician, and consequently knew how to distinguish natural diseases from others, maketh use of the same language, and his stile and manner of writing are much commended by the most learned of the same profession. (9) Dr. Mead says of him, that as a physician he well understood the force and meaning of words; and Dr. Freind for the same reason observes that “his language is more simple, and more correct, as well as more physical,” than that of the other evangelists: And yet he is as full and copious, as exact and particular in his account of the demoniacs, as any of them. It is true indeed, when an inveterate disease is cured instantly by a word’s speaking, the cure must certainly be miraculous, and owing to the interposition of a divine power, whatever may have been the cause of the disease, whether it arose from natural

(6) Mead. *Medic. Sacr.* Cap. 15. p. 107. Freind’s *Hist. of Physic*, Vol. I. p. 224.

means, or proceeded from the influence of evil spirits : but of the two it should seem a more difficult and arduous province, more great and godlike to dispossess evil spirits, than to cure common diseases. A distinction too is made between *the curing of diseases* and *the casting out of devils*, as if they were different kinds of operations, and the one much harder to be performed than the other. In St. Matthew's gospel we read, (VIII. 16.) that “ when the even was come, they
 “ brought unto him many that were possess-
 “ ed with devils ; and he cast out the spirits
 “ with his word, and healed all that were
 “ sick.” In the parallel place of St. Mark we read, (I. 32, 34.) that “ at even, when
 “ the sun did set, they brought unto him
 “ all that were diseased, and them that were
 “ possessed with devils ; and he healed many
 “ that were sick of divers diseases, and cast
 “ out many devils.” Here is as manifest a distinction made between *healing* and *casting out* as between *diseases* and *devils* : but the distinction is marked still more strongly in the parallel place of St. Luke, (IV. 40, 41.)
 “ Now when the sun was setting, all they
 “ that

“ that had any sick with divers diseases,
 “ brought them unto him ; and he laid his
 “ hands on every one of them, and healed
 “ them ; And devils also came out of many,
 “ crying out and saying, Thou art Christ
 “ the Son of God.” Would any physician
 or correct writer have expressed himself after
 this manner, if nothing more had been in-
 tended than the healing of common diseases ?
 Common diseases, such as the leprosy and
 palsy and the like, are said to be *cleansed*
 and *healed*, but are never said to be *cast out*,
 and to *come out crying and saying* any thing.
 When our Saviour had called unto him his
 twelve disciples, (Matt. X. 1, 8.) “ he gave
 “ unto them power against unclean spirits
 “ to cast them out, and to heal all manner
 “ of sickness and all manner of diseases :”
 and among his other directions he gave them
 the following, “ Heal the sick, cleanse the
 “ lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils.”
 “ He ordained twelve,” saith St. Mark (III.
 14, 15.) “ that they should be with him,
 “ and that he might send them forth to
 “ preach, and to have power to heal sick-
 “ nesses, and to cast out devils :” and it is
 said

faid afterwards (VI. 13.) that “ they cast out
 “ many devils, and anointed with oil many
 “ that were sick, and healed them.” When
 our Saviour had sent forth his seventy dis-
 ciples to heal the sick, and to preach the
 kingdom of God, (Luke X. 17.) “ they
 “ returned again with joy, saying, Lord,
 “ even the devils are subject unto us through
 “ thy name ;” as if this was the highest in-
 stance of power, and far beyond what they
 could have expected. In his last commission
 to his disciples our Saviour still preserves the
 same distinction, (Mark XVI. 17, 18.) “ In
 “ my name shall they cast out devils,—they
 “ shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall
 “ recover.”

But it is pretended, that in this manner
 of speaking our Saviour complied only with
 the customary language of his country, it
 being no part of his commission, nor the
 design of the sacred writers, to correct mis-
 takes in physic, any more than in astronomy
 or any other science. But the cases are vastly
 different. This or that system of astronomy,
 whether true or false, whether the Coperni-
 can or Ptolemaic or any other, hath no kind
 of

of influence upon Christian faith and practice. Whether the sun or earth be at rest, it maketh no difference to us, we have still the same race to run, the same goal to reach, and the same prize set before us of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. But mistaken notions of demons or devils may much affect our religious and moral character, may fill our minds with vain terrors and superstitions, debase and corrupt our morals as well as our understandings, and prove the source of infinite calamity and misery here and hereafter. A more plausible argument may be drawn from the story of the blind man in St. John's gospel, (IX. 1, 2, 3.) "As Jesus
 " passed by, he saw a man, which was
 " blind from his birth: And his disciples
 " asked him saying, Master, who did sin,
 " this man or his parents, that he was born
 " blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this
 " man sinned, nor his parents; but that
 " the works of God should be made mani-
 " fest in him." We see, the disciples had a notion, as many of the Jews then had, of a state of existence prior to this life; and our Saviour seemeth to allow it, at least

doth not refute and rectify it : but as we have no remembrance, no consciousness of our former existence, it is all one to us whether there be such a state or not ; it is a matter merely of speculation, and no way relates to practice : and some ingenious Christian divines as well as some learned Heathen philosophers have entertained the same opinion, I will not say truly, but yet very innocently, and without any prejudice to religion. Whereas we can neither with innocence nor with safety attribute powers to devils which they have not, nor take from them what they really have : and it is not easy to say which of the two may expose us to greater evils and dangers. (1 John III. 8.)

“ For this purpose the Son of God was
 “ manifested, that he might destroy the
 “ works of the devil :” but it is enlarging and adding to the works of the devil, if he never had such a power, to ascribe to him the power of influencing and possessing the souls and bodies of men. Next in power and goodness to the casting of real devils out of the bodies, would have been the destroying and rooting of this false notion
 out

out of the minds of men. If it had been impossible to overcome the prejudices of the people, yet our Saviour might, either by himself or by the Holy Ghost afterwards, have disclosed the truth to his disciples. His goodness would hardly have suffered them to remain in so pernicious an error.

But our Saviour was so far from reproving or correcting this notion, that he hath confirmed and established it beyond all reasonable contradiction: He was so far from giving other instructions to his disciples, that he hath said and done more than enough to convince them of the reality of these possessions. When he had called his twelve disciples, (Matt. X. i.) “ he gave
 “ them power against unclean spirits to
 “ cast them out,” and he gave it besides in commission to them (ver. 8.) “ to cast out
 “ devils:” and would he have given such a power and such a commission, if there had been no devils to cast out, and the whole had been a vain imagination? When he had sent forth the seventy disciples, and they (Luke X. 17.) “ returned again with joy,
 “ saying, Lord even the devils are subject

“ unto us through thy name,” he was so far from repressing their joy, that he rather encouraged it, and fixed it upon its proper foundation. (ver. 18, 19; 20.) “ I beheld
 “ Satan as lightning fall from heaven. Be-
 “ hold, I give unto you power to tread on
 “ serpents and scorpions, and over all the
 “ power of the enemy; and nothing shall
 “ by any means hurt you. Notwithstand-
 “ ing in this rejoice not, that the spirits are
 “ subject unto you; but rather rejoice, be-
 “ cause your names are written in heaven.”

But what is the sense or meaning of all this phraseology, if nothing more was performed than some cures of epilepsy and madness? How can the healing of the falling sickness be said to be *the fall of Satan* from his power and dominion? How can the curing of bodily diseases be said to be *the subjection of the spirits*, and a victory and triumph over all the power of the enemy? Our Saviour often commands the unclean spirits to come out of a man: “ Hold thy peace, (Luke IV. 35.) “ and come out of him:” but where is the reason or propriety of this command, if there were no spirits to come
 out,

out, and only some distemper to be cured? When the Jews charged our Saviour “with having a devil,” (John VIII. 48.) he denies the charge indeed, and disproves it: but upon this supposition the shorter and better answer would have been, that there was no such possession, there was no such thing as *having a devil*. In like manner, when the pharisees accused him (Matt. XII. 24.) of “casting out devils by the prince of the devils;” the proper reply would have been to have denied the principle instead of refuting it, and directly to have told the truth, if it had been the truth, that the devil was not in the least concerned one way or other: but he admits the truth of his casting out devils, and only exposes the unreasonableness and absurdity of imputing it to the prince of the devils. And would he have employed so many arguments upon a subject that had not the least foundation in truth or the nature of things? Would he have attempted to prove the truth of his divine mission from a false chimæra, from a thing that was not? Would he have argued upon the reality of his casting out devils, if

it

it had been only a vulgar notion, an idle dream, a wild fancy, and no reality in it; or have pretended, that he “cast out devils
 “ by the Spirit of God,” and that therefore “the kingdom of God was come?” The devil that was cast out might have reasoned in this manner; but not He, who is emphatically stiled (John XIV. 6.) “the
 “ way, and the truth, and the life.”

Besides, if the demoniacs were mere madmen and lunatics, how came they to be so much better and so much earlier acquainted with our Lord’s true character and office, than the generality of the people, or even the disciples themselves? His fame indeed went abroad, but his real state and condition were little known and understood, while we find the demoniacs publicly proclaiming him to be “the Christ, the Holy
 “ One of God, the Son of the most High
 “ God.” He had but newly entered on his ministry, when according to St. Mark (I. 23, 24.) “there was in the synagogue
 “ a man with an unclean spirit; and he
 “ cried out, saying, Let us alone; what
 “ have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of
 “ Nazareth?

“ Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us?
 “ I know thee who thou art, the Holy
 “ One of God:” and according to St. Luke
 (IV. 41.) “ devils also came out of many,
 “ crying out and saying, Thou art Christ,
 “ the Son of God.” It was some time
 after this that our Saviour asked his disci-
 ples, (Matt. XVI. 13, 14.) “ Whom do
 “ men say that I, the son of man, am?
 “ And they said, Some say that thou art
 “ John the baptist; some, Elias; and
 “ others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets.”
 We see, that they regarded him as no more
 than a prophet; they did not generally con-
 ceive him to be the Messiah; the demoniacs
 had fuller and juster notions of the sacred-
 ness of his person, and of the dignity of his
 character. Afterwards, when he asked his
 disciples (ver. 15, 16, 17.) “ But whom say
 “ ye that I am? Simon Peter answered and
 “ said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the
 “ living God. And Jesus answered and
 “ said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon
 “ Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not
 “ revealed it unto thee, but my Father
 “ which is in heaven.” It was impossible
 therefore

therefore for mere madmen to have attained to this extraordinary degree of knowlege, but the discovery might easily have been made by beings of so much superior capacities and intellects as the fallen angels. If the thing had been generally known, it would have been to little purpose for our Lord to have charged the demoniacs to “ hold their “ peace:” but he imposed silence upon them, for the same reason that he enjoined secrecy to his disciples, lest the publication of the truth should provoke the rage and malice of his enemies to put a period to his life, before his hour was come, before he had finished the due course of his ministry. The disciples might have published it with a good design for the glory of their master, but the devils would most probably have published it maliciously, and with intent to hasten on his destruction.

In this controversy we find two cases of madness and epilepsy particularly insisted on, in order to prove that these possessions were usually the one or the other: and it is not denied, that there are demoniacs who may labor under epilepsy and madness; but then,

then, I say, they are not mere epilepsy and madness; they are something more than natural diseases; there are effects which plainly point out and refer to some superior cause, as we shall be more fully convinced by taking the two cases into consideration.

While our Saviour was with Peter, James and John upon the mountain, which was the scene of his transfiguration, a certain man brought his young son to the disciples that they should cure him, and they could not. His case by the description of it was plainly epileptic, but it was something more than a common epilepsy, as is evident from several circumstances. All the three evangelists (Matt. XVII. Mark IX. Luke IX.) expressly ascribe it to “ a devil, an unclean spirit, a dumb and deaf spirit;” and a distinction is made between the actions of the spirit as the agent, and of the demoniac as the patient. In St. Mark’s account (ver. 18.) “ wheresoever he (the spirit) taketh him, he teareth him; and he (the demoniac) foameth, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away.” St. Luke distinguisheth in like manner (ver. 39.) “ And lo, a spirit taketh him;”

“ him, and he suddenly crieth out; and it
 “ teareth him that he foameth again, and
 “ bruising him, hardly departeth from him.”
 He had long labored under this disease, for
 it had grown up with him from his child-
 hood: and in such cases the physicians
 agree, that it is very difficult, if not im-
 possible to be cured. Yet Jesus wrought
 the cure; and the miraculoufness of the
 cure may obtain the greater credit to the
 miraculoufness of the means, by which the
 cure was wrought. “ Jesus rebuked the
 “ devil,” saith St. Matthew, (ver. 18.)
 “ and he departed out of him, and the
 “ child was cured from that very hour.”
 Here are two distinct events, which are not
 to be confounded together, the dispossessing
 of the evil spirit, and the cure of the young
 man in consequence of it. St. Mark also
 represents Jesus (ver. 25.) as “ rebuking
 “ the foul spirit, and saying unto him,
 “ Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge
 “ thee, come out of him, and enter no
 “ more into him.” A false and fallacious
 manner of expression, and altogether un-
 worthy of our Lord, if there were really no
 spirit

spirit to come out or enter in again, and only a bodily disease to be cured. The cure too is altogether unlike the cure of a natural disease. (ver. 26, 27.) “ And the spirit
 “ cried, and rent him fore, and came out
 “ of him; and he was as one dead, inso-
 “ much that many said, He is dead. But
 “ Jesus took him by the hand, and lifted
 “ him up; and he arose.” A natural disease doth not leave a patient with such sudden force and violence; but an evil spirit might give as it were a parting blow, the last effort of his malignity. “ And they
 “ were all amazed,” saith St. Luke, (ver. 43.) “ at the mighty power of God :” but the power of God appears much mightier in the dispossessing of an evil spirit and the curing of an epilepsy at the same time, than in the curing of an epilepsy alone. When the disciples afterwards asked our Lord in private, (Matt. XVII. 19, 20, 21.) “ Why
 “ could not we cast him out ?” He replied, “ Because of your unbelief ;” if ye had faith, ye should remove mountains, and nothing should be impossible unto you. “ How-
 “ beit this kind goeth not out but by prayer

“ and fasting.” The physician who proposed (1) instead of *εν προσευχη και νησεια* by *prayer and fasting* to read *εν προσεχει νησεια* by *constant fasting*, proposed it only as the play of a sportive fancy, was not in earnest, and could not really approve it himself. For constant fasting never yet cured any one, nor ever can of an inveterate epilepsy ; it will sooner put an end to the man, than to his distemper. *Prayer and fasting* are often joined together in scripture, as mutual helps, and requisites in any arduous undertaking, fasting making prayer more pure and intense more fervent and effectual ; and without doubt they are the proper means to strengthen and increase our faith, and absolutely necessary to procure any miraculous gifts and graces. Our Saviour promiseth his disciples in another place, (Matt. XXI. 21, 22.) “ If ye have faith
 “ and doubt not, ye shall say unto this
 “ mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou
 “ cast into the sea, it shall be done : And
 “ all things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer,

(1) Dr. Sykes's Inquiry into the meaning of Demoniacs,

“believing, ye shall receive.” St. James mentions it, as one of the miraculous gifts in his time, and as an encouragement to pray over the sick, (V. 15.) “that the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.” These then are the conditions without which no miraculous powers were obtained, and much more were they necessary to the performance of such an extraordinary miracle as this.

The case of the madman or madmen is still stronger, and more inexplicable upon the principles of mere disease, mere madness. According to St. Matthew (VIII. 28.) there were *two* of them; Mark (V. 2.) and Luke (VIII. 27.) mention only *one*, one being perhaps more frantic and outrageous than the other; but this difference maketh little difference in the case. It is said of him (Mark, ver. 3, 4.) that “he had his dwelling among the tombs, and no man could bind him, no not with chains: Because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces; neither could any man tame

“tame him.” Here was manifestly an exertion of strength far above all the natural powers of man. His plucking asunder and breaking in pieces the fetters and chains was something very extraordinary; but if he had done it once, they might have secured him with stronger chains; but he did it *often*; *neither could any man tame him*. He must be more than a mere madman, who was so wholly unconquerable; especially if (2) Dr. Mead’s observation be true, that “there is
 “the less necessity for torments and stripes,
 “because all madmen are of such a cowardly
 “disposition; that even the most frantic
 “and mischievous, after being *once* or *twice*
 “tied, surrender at discretion, and thence
 “forward refrain from committing any
 “outrage through fear of punishment.”
 “When he saw Jesus afar off,” (Mark, ver. 6.) “he ran and worshipped him.”
 But how came a madman, who had been *of a long time* in that condition, who *wore no clothes, neither abode in any house, but always*

(2) Mead. Medic. Sacr. Tormenta vero et plagæ ideo minus sunt necessaria, quod animi tam pusilli, et imbelles sunt omnes insani; ut etiam acerrime furentes, semel aut iterum vincti, quasi victi se dedant, et in posterum meticulo-

lofi

ways night and day was in the mountains and in the tombs; and was exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way; how came such a man in such a situation and condition to have any knowlege of the person and character of Jesus, who had but lately entered upon his ministry; and from so ferocious creature become all of a sudden so gentle and tractable as to fall down and worship him? Upon Jesus commanding the unclean spirit to come out of the man, the man, or rather the demon speaking through the man,—for according to (3) Plato, the demoniacs do not speak their own language or dialect, but that of the demon who has entered into them—cried out, (ver. 6.)

“ What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou
 “ Son of the most High God? I adjure
 “ thee by God that thou torment me not :”

or as St. Matthew expresseth it, (ver. 29.)

“ What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou
 “ Son of God? art thou come hither to

lofi ab injuriis inferendis desistant. Cap: 9. p. 80. with Stack's translation.

(3) Plato apud Clem. Alex. την αυτων ου φθεγγουσι φωνη ουδε διαλεκτου, αλλα την των υπεισιοντων δαιμονων. Strom. I. p. 338. Edit. Par. p. 405. Edit. Potter.

“ torment us before the time ?” And (Luke; ver. 30.) “ they besought him that he would
 “ not command them to go out into the
 “ deep,” the abyfs or bottomless pit. These sayings might be dictated by evil spirits, but otherwise could not proceed out of the mouth of madmen. Spoken of the former, they are very intelligible, having plainly some reference to their future state and punishment: but they are in no shape applicable to the latter, and neither could such things, which were then but little known, enter into the ideas of madmen, who generally in their wildest flights have yet some sense and meaning. It farther appears that several evil spirits had taken possession of this man: For St. Luke introduceth the story by saying, (ver. 27.) he “ had devils long time ;” and upon his being asked What was his name, he answered “ Legion, for we are
 “ many,” as it is in St. Mark; or as it is in St. Luke, (ver. 30.) “ because many
 “ devils were entered into him,” which reason is assigned not by the man, but by the evangelist. A certain number is put for an uncertain, as when it is said (Luke VIII. 2.)
 that

that out of Mary Magdalen, “ went seven
 “ devils,” and (Matt. XII. 45.) the unclean
 spirit “ taketh with him seven other spirits”
 more wicked than himself. It is certain
 then, that a man may be possessed by a
 number of demons; and the Heathens also
 had something of the same notion, for we
 find the phrase of (4) *larvarum plena*, full
 of *larvæ*, full of spectres or goblins: but
 whoever heard of *many* madnesses, of *seven*
 madnesses, or a *legion* of madnesses? It is
 natural for evil spirits to delight in mischief,
 and accordingly they “ besought Jesus much”
 (Mark, ver. 10.) “ that he would not send
 “ them away out of the country,” but that he
 would give them leave to pass into a herd of
 swine that was feeding nigh unto the moun-
 tains. For good reasons without doubt
 (some of which we may discern) he per-
 mitted them; and they went out of the man,
 and entered into the swine, and the whole
 herd, to the number of “ about two thou-
 “ sand, ran violently down a steep place
 “ into the sea, and perished in the waters.”

(4) Nam hæc quidem ædipol *larvarum plena est*. Plaut.
 Amphit. Act. 2. Sc. 2. ver. 145.

These things were a full demonstration of the great power as well as malice of these wicked spirits: but if there was nothing more than madness in the case, how could personal actions and speeches be attributed to it? how could Jesus hold discourse with a mere frenzy? how could a disease wish to stay in the country, and do farther mischief? answer questions, make use of intreaties, leave the body wherein it was and yet have a distinct being, enter into the whole herd of swine, and force animals, which are the most difficult to be driven, down a steep place into the sea. If these were the sayings and actions of devils, the whole narration is rational and consistent; but understood of a frenzy only, the story is false and frivolous: no sensible writers, and much less could inspired writers have written in this manner; and Woolston himself could hardly have exposed the sacred text to stronger ridicule.

If the question should be asked, How it came to pass, that these demoniacal cases abounded so much more at the commencement of the Christian æra, than at any other

other

other period before or since; it may be fairly answered, that if these cases had been peculiar to the time of our Saviour, yet that would have been no good argument against the truth of the facts. For there are certain distempers, which have been epidemic in one age, and yet unknown in any other. The sweating (5) sickness, for example, was never heard of before the fifteenth century in any age or nation; and after returning now and then, for the space of some years, has ever since entirely disappeared, and possibly may never return any more. But we read of some demoniacs, among the Gentiles as well as among the Jews, before our Saviour's time, and of many more afterwards; and if we hear more of them at that time particularly, the reason may be, because the existence and operations of evil spirits began then to be better known and understood; they were then living who had the gift of *discerning of spirits*; they were indued with such powers, as served to discover and expose the malig-

(5) See Freind's Hist. of Physic, Vol. II. p. 332.

nity of these wicked beings ; they who could administer the cure, and perfect the recovery, must be best acquainted with the nature and cause of the disease ; and their accounts are the only facts of this kind, which can absolutely be depended upon as genuin and true. There have been many pretended demoniacs, and many pretended exorcists ; persons who have been instructed to counterfeit the most horrid gesticulations and distortions of body, as if they were seized and agitated by devils, and others who by the use of holy water and the muttering of certain prayers have restored and set them at liberty. But counterfeits are generally formed upon truths ; and there may have been some real possessions in former times, there may be such at this present time ; but we have not the faculty that I speak of, *discerning of spirits*, we cannot cast them out, and consequently cannot pronounce with certainty what are demoniacal possessions, and what are not. If there be no such possessions now in the world, this may be reckoned among the many other excellencies and advantages of the

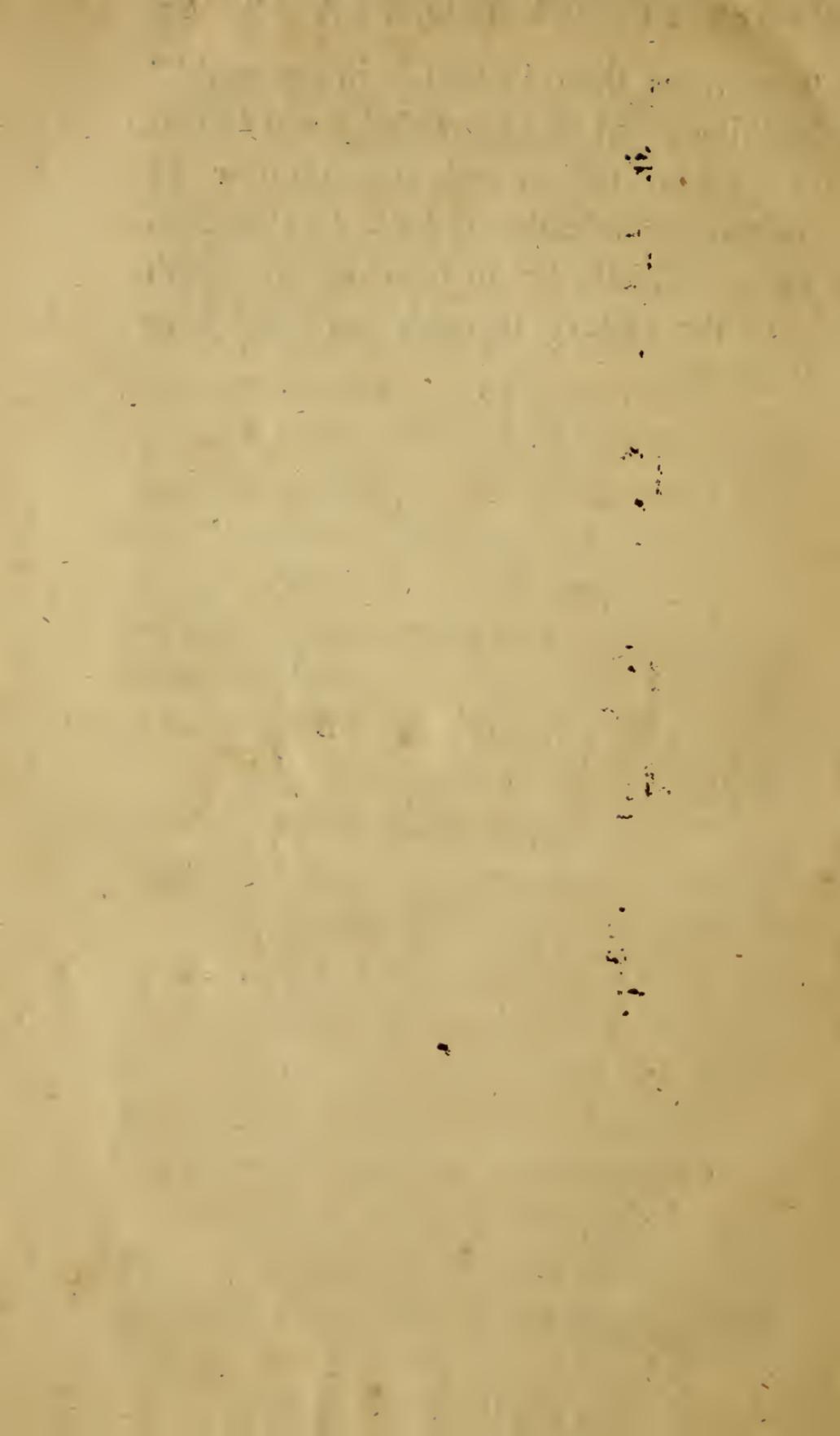
the

the Christian religion, that it hath so curb-
 ed and restrained the powers of evil spirits.
 They had indeed at the time of our Savi-
 our's appearance a particular reason for ex-
 erting their power and malice in opposition
 to the first erection and establishment of the
 kingdom of God; and they might be per-
 mitted to exert them to the utmost, in or-
 der more effectually to display the superior
 power and goodness of *him whom God sent
 into the world*, to render their defeat more
 conspicuous, and to gain the greater credit
 to him and his disciples. No sooner had
 Jesus entered upon his ministry, and cast
 out an unclean spirit in the synagogue at
 Capernaum, than the people (Matt. I. 27.)
 " were all amazed, infomuch that they
 " questioned among themselves, saying,
 " What thing is this? what new doctrin is
 " this? for with authority commandeth he
 " even the unclean spirits, and they do
 " obey him." Afterwards when he had
 healed a dumb man, possessed with a devil,
 (Matt. IX. 33.) " the multitudes marveled
 " saying, It was never so seen in Israel."
 Another time (Matt. XII. 22, 23.) there
 " was

“ was brought unto him one possessed with
 “ a devil, blind and dumb; and he healed
 “ him, infomuch that the blind and dumb
 “ both spake and saw: And all the people
 “ were amazed and said, Is not this the son
 “ of David?” None of his miracles were a
 stronger and more illustrious proof of his
 divine mission; none of them were a more
 immediate conquest of Satan, or tended
 more to the subversion of his kingdom:
 and ascribing this casting out of devils to
 the power of the devils, was “ the sin never
 “ to be forgiven, the blasphemy against the
 “ Holy Ghost.” (1 John III. 8.) “ For
 “ this purpose the Son of God was mani-
 “ fested that he might destroy the works of
 “ the devil:” and this manifestation could
 not be made more signal and glorious than
 by thus visibly and publicly casting out
 devils. His casting them out of the bodies
 was a proper type and emblem of his ex-
 pelling them also from the souls of men: it
 was (as I may apply the words) an outward
 and visible sign of an inward and spiritual
 grace. Nothing could more experiment-
 ally convince us, that “ greater is He that
 “ is,

“ is in us than he that is in the world.”
Nothing could be a surer pledge and earnest
of his final victory and triumph over all
the powers of death and hell. (1 Cor. XV.
57.) “ Thanks be to God which giveth
“ us the victory through our Lord Jesus
“ Christ.”

F I N I S.



REMARKS

UPON A

PAMPHLET,

INTITLED,

*A REVIEW of the Controversy
about the Meaning of De-
moniacs, &c.*

WHEREIN

The SERMON,

Which asserteth the usual interpretation, &c.
is vindicated from every exception of the
REVIEWER,

BY

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, D. D.

Of Hart-Hall in Oxford,

and PREBENDARY of *Chichester.*

LONDON,

Printed for W. INNYS and R. MANBY at the
West End of St. Paul's. MDCCLXXXIX.

REMARKS

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P R E F A C E.

IN these Remarks the author of the Review is patiently follow'd thro' every sentence of his work, which relateth to the Sermon. And, shou'd there sometimes appear a jejuneness in the progress, the considerate reader will be pleas'd to impute the fault to the nature of the Review. The Remarks descend to a minute examination of it, (not because it deserv'd such attention, but) lest the author might fancy, that the unanswer'd parts were really unanswerable. And, even whilst the weakness of certain writers is expos'd, they will be reveng'd, in some measure, on each adversary, by infusing into his compositions a tincture of their own futility.

But, the excellencies of our author's performance must not be dissembled. The judgment, then, which is display'd in the conduct of it, is confessed abundantly sufficient to surprize; and the urbanity, wherewith it is season'd, equally qualify'th it to divert. Thro'out the whole are diffus'd undoubted evidences of a singular love of truth: and, in discussing the references, the author hath uniformly

maintain'd a considerable figure, by prudently substituting a part for the whole.

The author seemeth to lay much stress on the authority of Mr. Mede — Is he, on other occasions, usually dispos'd to pay deference to authority? And, can he be ignorant, that the authority of many, equal at least, if not superior, to Mr. Mede, in learning and judgment, might be produc'd against his opinion?

Several famous men, 'tis true, besides the learned Mr. Mede, have advanc'd the same opinion. And, about the close of the Sermon, it is say'd — “ If he (the author of the Enquiry, &c.) did not know, that Pomponatius, Vaninus, Hobbs, Spinoza and Bekker especially, had all patronis'd the same opinion; he may, perhaps, when he cometh to this knowledg, congratulate himself upon the lucky coincidence of his own thoughts with the thoughts of men, distinguish'd by singular penetration. If he was not a stranger to their concurrence, their characters might have justify'd a suspicion, at least, of the doct̄in, and occasion'd a more accurate inquiry into the foundation of it, before it was espous'd and publickly reviv'd.”

With this reflexion the Reviewer is incens'd: and immediately recurring (agreeably to the suggestions of nature, in cases of distress) to his chief instrument of defence, he cryeth out — “ † It was impertinent to talk in that manner in a Pulpit — ” It still seemeth very per-

† Review, p. 64.

inent to point out the persons, who join'd this with their other abuses of holy Scripture; and, from violating it's language, made an easy transition to the elusion of it's authority. The young are hereby taught the fatal restlessness of error, and the danger of assenting to such comments, in regard to one point, as tend to spread ambiguity thro'out the whole sacred Text.

We are not, indeed, assur'd that, in any future inquiries, the same violent method of interpretation will be apply'd to the great mysteries of our faith. Yet, how well our Author is prepar'd to use it, at least, in perverting some important instructions, that occur in holy Scripture¹, may be easily collected from his harangue² against the persuasion, that "poor Men (so pitifully doth he talk) may be artfully seduc'd from the Ways of Virtue and Religion by invisible, spiritual Enemies."

Shou'd any readers be hereupon dispos'd to ask — To what purpose, then, have St. Paul, St. James and St. Peter deliver'd the directions, which are extant in the places referr'd to? — our author can furnish them with an easy solution, in his way, by acquainting them, that tho' διάβολος, in a certain book, is vulgarly suppos'd to denote an evil, spiritual, deluding, powerful Being; yet, in other good writings, (to him well known) the word can

¹ See Eph. iv. 27. vi. 11. James iv. 7. 1 Pet. v. 8.

² Review, p. 26, 27.

only signify, in the utmost extent of it's power, a sly, gloomy, intriguing, malicious accuser of his brethren. Thus will it plainly enough appear, that those apostles may be fairly understood only to have given cautions against dark, designing fellows, — such as, in their times, infested the Christian church; and such, as it is thought not to be intirely free from, in the present.

Our author (in the common strain of anti-scripturists) ¹ talks of “ridiculous notions, blended with the true religion”; or such, as may provoke ² “high ridicule.” This same tremendous argument — “high ridicule” — was in great vogue amongst some antient unbelievers: and the exquisite subtlety, which it sheweth, in conjunction with its astonishing strength, must be suppos'd to have recommended it to the use of their judicious successors, in the laudable work of torturing and deriding the Scriptures. Nevertheless, each reviver of this old device may be contented with an old admonition (which the Reviewer is left to find, without a reference) *Επίχαε —* *παρείε τὸν προπελῆ γέλωτα.*

But, our author seemeth to give kind notice ³, that dangerous attacks may be expected from unbelievers, “who have Eyes (as he sagaciously observeth) to see our Weakness, “and Hands ready to expose us.” How weak

¹ Review, p. 4.

² A sort of cant-phrase in the Enquiry and Review.

³ Review, p. 4.

he and his friends are, and how liable to be expos'd, it became him to consider, before he undertook the office of a Reviewer. But, cou'd he prevail with the infidels (whose dreadful, well-known eyes and hands seem to have made a deep impression upon him) to imploy their eyes in reading proper books, they can never, consistently with any degree of modesty, imploy their hands in committing to paper such crude, profane reveries, as they have been long accustomed to obtrude upon the publick. How they are encourag'd to repeat their abuses of the press, it may be difficult to say; unless the irreligious tenor of their productions may, amongst their acquaintance, be thought sufficient attonement for their dulness; and give them an air of significancy, whilst it ingageth some to read, and some moreover to refute them — such to read them with delight, as contemn Revelation — and such to refute them, as regard that contempt with just concern.

In the course of the Remarks, the Inquirer and the Reviewer have been consider'd, as the same individual. Shou'd there be a mistake herein, and shou'd each be to the other only another learned and ingenious self, the mistake will be acknowledg'd, whenever the one shall think fit to step out of the crowd of Philaleths, and the other favour us with more clear discoveries of himself, than can be collected from the numerous, ambiguous marks of his extraordinary merit.

ERRATA.

P. 25. l. 10. for ἄλλων γ. ἄλλοι.

30. l. 23. after *Men*, add, *more unworthy of Christians*.

REMARKS

UPON A

PAMPHLET,

INTIT'L'D,

*A REVIEW of the Controversy
about the Meaning of De-
moniacs, &c.*

THE examination of the Sermon, which asserteth the *usual interpretation*, &c. is thus introduc'd —
“ The difference betwixt Mr. *Hutchinson*
“ and the *Enquirer* would soon be at an
“ End, had he produc'd Authorities an-
“ tienter than the New Testament for the Use
“ of the Word *δαίμων* in the Sense he under-
“ stands it.” Here the author discovereth a

▪ Review, p. 16.

B

symptom,

symptom, that may seem hopeful enough, at the first view. But it, alas! (like the language, which his demoniacs will sometimes utter) taketh a sudden and unpromising change. For, thus he immediately proceeds—

“ But with all the Pomp of References that his Margins are stuff’d with, there is not so much as one that is as antient as the New Testament, that is to his purpose.”[†] Who wou’d not be pleas’d even with the severity of a sentence, that is pronounc’d with such decency and elegance? Yet, what expostulations might have been expected from this delicate writer, had those offensive margins appear’d without references?

It cannot be suppos’d, indeed, that the method of directing the reader to authorities, which I have chosen to use, shou’d be approv’d by any modern dealers in antisciptural cavils. These are generally contented with repeating such citations, as they find already made; and, if they produce the name only of an author, their intimate acquaintance with him must, in compliance with their modest expectations, be acknowledged. Writers, less adventurous, will not refuse the Public even the lower instances of their diligence. And, in treating subjects, where authorities are requir’d, those may seem to consult their own reputation, as well as their reader’s convenience, most successfully, who draw off the sentiments of the authors cited, with fidelity;

† Review, *ibid.*

represent them digested and connected, with propriety and perspicuity; and then refer, with accuracy, to the places, wherein they occur. Recourse to the several originals is hereby facilitated; suspicions of unfair practice prevented; or, at least, the more curious reader is enabled, without loss of time, to remove the suspicions, which he may have conceiv'd.

This digression may, perhaps, be wonder'd at— It is chiefly made for the sake of the *Reviewer*; that he may hereafter learn to distinguish between pomp and propriety.

II.

What? shall our *judg of pertinence and good writing* acknowledge the propriety of references, “not so much as one of which is to the purpose? The thing requir'd (for thus he goes on) is to produce an instance of the word *δαίμονες* signifying malevolent, maleficent Beings, delighting or delighted in promoting wickedness amongst men.”¹

Here the author begins to display his dexterity. In the Sermon², *δαίμονες* are, indeed, called Beings “delighting, or *seeming*, at least, delighted, in the indulgence, &c.” Our author's omission of the qualifying term cannot be look'd upon as a fault of the press. It is omitted a second time, in this same page; and also in pages 19, 27, 36, 38 of the *Review*. If he *cou'd not* distinguish between real

¹ Review, p. 16.

² p. 10.

and seeming delight, his *discernment* must be admir'd; if he *wou'd not*, his *sincerity*.

III.

To the description of *δαίμονες* abovemention'd he immediately subjoineth this piece of instruction — *viz.* “ For this sense of *δαίμονες* “ are cited *Plutarch, Porphyry, Jamblicus*”; and then politely adds — “ all good writers, “ but too modern by much for the thing to “ be prov'd.”¹ His own experience and conviction, undoubtedly, drew this courtesy from him; and the peculiar beauties of his style afford incontestable proof of his acquaintance with good writers. Well: but “ *they* “ (*Plutarch, &c.* as above) *are too modern by* “ *much for the thing to be prov'd.*” A general assertion, you find, is the author's happy instrument of refuting, what he is unwilling to admit. But, before the testimony of those, and of other writers, (mention'd also in the Sermon) who flourish'd after the promulgation of the Gospel, be resigned to his arbitrary exception against it, the reader is intreated to hear the following pleas in behalf of its validity — The author of the *Review* is (it cannot, surely, be too much to be presum'd) so well acquainted with those “ good “ writers,” as to know, that they were heathens. He pretends not to deny, that *they* us'd the words *δαίμων* and *δαίμονιον*, in the sense, which is maintain'd in the Sermon. “ 'Tis not deny'd, say'th he², that *after the*

¹ *Review*, p. 16.

² *Review*, *ibid.*

“ New Testament Times, that Word (*δαίμων*)
 “ was us’d in an ill Sense; and the modern
 “ *Platonists*, and Others, are full of such a
 “ Notion.” Whence, then, can he imagin
 they deriv’d this use of the word? Certain-
 ly, he will not say, (tho’ hard it is to deter-
 min, what he will not say) from the preach-
 ers of the Gospel — *Lucian*, *Porphry*, *Julian*
 and *Libanius* were the eminent free-think-
 ers of their times; and claim’d, without
 doubt, the title of *fair and rational inqui-*
rrers, even during their vehement opposition
 to the Gospel. To the credentials, that had
 been produc’d in proof of its divine original,
 they were not strangers. ¹ *Julian* expressly
 attributeth to our Savior the miraculous fact
 of disposseſſing evil spirits; and *Lucian* sup-
 poſeth that the same fact was commonly ac-
 knowledged. ² Our Savior had alledged it
 as an argument of His divine mission. To
 His disciples He had ³ promis’d ability to work
 the same miracle, in His name: and many
 of His messengers ⁴ reported to Him, that
 “ even the devils were subject to them, thro’
 “ His name.” Instances of miraculous power,
 thus exercis’d, were not given in a corner:
 nor are they incidentally or ambiguously re-
 corded by the Evangelists; but propos’d as
 evidences of a divine commission, and ex-
 press’d in terms, which (according to the re-
 ceiv’d rules of grammar and criticism) im-

¹ See Serm. p. I. ² *Matt.* xii. 28. and elsewhere. ³ *Mark*
xvi. 17. and elsewhere. ⁴ *Luke* x. 17.

port, that the persons, in whose favour that power was exerted, had been possess'd by real, impure, spiritual Beings. When great stress, then, was also, in succeeding ages of Christianity, lay'd on the same fact, and frequent appeals made to it, in support of the Christian cause; is it credible, that enemies so watchful, sagacious and virulent, as *Lucian*, *Porphyry*, *Libanius* and *Julian* were, would have fail'd to ridicule and expose such appeals, had they been capable of supposing, that any degree of fiction took place in the report of the fact appeal'd to, and that it was founded only upon, and adapted to, a mistaken persuasion of the vulgar? Is it not much more credible, that they wou'd have triumph'd in the detection of the error, and urg'd the detected collusion of Christians in their pretences to *this* miracle, as an argument to deprectate the *rest*; which were reported, by the same authors, to have been wrought in confirmation of the same doctrine? From this defeat of Christians (had such a defeat been possible) might have been collected a plausible occasion, at least, of suggesting, that the Evangelical relation of *other* miracles, was not to be interpreted according to the usual acceptation of words, but to be regarded only as an artful accommodation of language to the groundless notions of the unthinking and illiterate. The *abilities* of the authors abovemention'd were, unquestionably, equal to the *discernment* of an imposture of this kind: nor can it be doubted,

doubted, that their *enmity* to Christianity wou'd have been sufficient incentive to reproach (had there been room to reproach) the preachers of that religion, with deluding their hearers, by appeals to pretended facts; and with abusing their credulity, by a design'd misapplication of words.

It may now, 'tis hoped, be safely concluded, that the testimony of the authors (even of *Jamblichus* too, tho' not distinguish'd by any direct cavils against Christianity) referr'd to in the Sermon, standeth in full force, and sufficiency to bear the stress, which is there lay'd upon it. The author of the *Review*, indeed, hath, in effect, confess'd it subversive of his scheme; and, therefor, thought fit to interpose an exception to it. Yet, had those very authors afforded *no* testimony, favorable to the usual acceptation of the words discuss'd, 'tis not improbable that the *Reviewer* (for, the *perverse* and the *paradox* generally prevail together) wou'd have call'd for *their* authority, with a degree of earnestness, equal to the contempt, with which he now regards it. Probable, at least, it is, that if they had *favour'd* his cause, tho' in a much lower degree, than that, wherein they oppose it, he wou'd not only have applauded them, as "good writers", but as good *witnesses* too, in the present debate.

IV.

His next sentence, in the same page, appeareth thus — "But when the word (*δαίμων*)
" was

“ was never us’d for malevolent Beings, ’till
 “ such a Time at least; and then we find it us’d
 “ often in a certain Book, and no Intimation
 “ is given of its signifying in that Book *male-*
 “ *volent Beings, delighting in promoting Wick-*
 “ *edness*; what Necessity is there in that Book
 “ so to understand it ?”

Here is a strange mixture of error and confusion; which must, perhaps, be imputed to the Panic, into which that horrid “ pomp of “ references” had thrown him. In support of the description of *δαίμονες*, in the ^r Sermon, several Pagan authors are cited; by whose united testimony it is, in every part, supported. “ But, say’th the *Reviewer*, “ when the “ Word was never us’d for malevolent Beings, “ ’till such a Time at least; and then we find “ it often us’d in a certain Book, &c.” What time? — the New Testament Time, that he talks of above? — And, will he not, then, allow that, in *that* time, a more full discovery of the spiritual world was made, than in any period antecedent to it? A more clear account of the Beings, call’d *δαίμονες* or *δαιμόνια*, may justly be esteem’d a beneficial part of the discovery; seeing, their malignity, power and subtlety being made known, proper caution against their attempts is thereupon excited, and mankind more effectually induc’d to regard the creatures with abhorrence, which had some time usurp’d the honour of adoration, due only to the Creator. Nor shou’d it be any

matter of wonder, if they were more frequently spoken of in that time, wherein their nature and works were exposed to light; and a divine power display'd in the repression of their malicious rage.

But, what is this *certain* book, of which he talks again and again, in the same sentence? His language seems to intimate some obscure, contemptible composition, which this judg of "good writing" disdains to name.

V.

But, he thus proceeds — "Yes, but *Plato* is produc'd as making the most pernicious Delusions the favourite Employment of *δαίμονες* ¹."

This report, surely, was not form'd, to support the title, which he assumes, and to realize his pretences to the *love of truth!* The passage of the Sermon, which the *Reviewer* representeth, in his way, is this — "When the same authors (authors refer'd to in the Sermon) make the most pernicious delusions the favourite employment of *δαίμονες*: when they, ² &c." Yet, *Plato* alone is named by the *Reviewer*, as if no other had been mention'd with him.

This piece of ingenuity is immediately follow'd by a most apposite and rigorous interrogatory — "Do's *Plato* ever say so, *directly* and in *Terms?*" In order to answer him,

¹ Review, p. 16, 17.

² P. 11.

in some measure, according to his wisdom, let me be permitted to ask — Do I appeal to *Plato*, as saying so, *directly and in terms*? or, have I lay'd a stress on *Plato's single* authority? The *Reviewer* may here give occasion to suspect, that he was serious, and directed by the simplicity of his heart, when he talk'd of “margins stuff'd with the pomp of references;” and that, during his disturbance at the appearance, he fancy'd them design'd only for ostentation, amusement, or terror to elegant men, unaccustom'd to such hideous sights. An intelligent reader may be inclin'd to think them intended for another use, and suited to the subject under consideration. Of the Beings describ'd in the Sermon, the several authors, quoted in confirmation of the description, had only imperfect notices. It was necessary, then, to *collect* their sentiments, that all might jointly supply the light, which no one cou'd *separately* supply.

Before we leave that acute question of the *Reviewer*, may it not be properly inquir'd, why the testimony of *Plato* is call'd for *directly and in Terms*? Will not this cautious writer subscribe his assent to any proposition, the truth of which is not declar'd *directly and in Terms*? What refinements might be expected from him, should he undertake to comment upon any important article of religion, receiv'd in our church?

VI. But,

VI.

But, he go'th on immediately to this observation, in the Sermon ¹, — “ When they (the
 “ philosophers there spoken of) pronounce
 “ them (*δαίμονες*) the inventors and encouragers
 “ of such practices, as are most injurious both
 “ to individuals and to communities of men;
 “ they must, by necessary consequence from
 “ their own reasoning — be presum'd to look
 “ upon *δαίμονες*, as extremely evil.”

The Reviewer, in his transcript of this passage, hath quaintly distinguish'd — *presum'd* — by Italic characters. Cou'd the authors, there pointed out, have furnish'd him with any colour of argument, in defence of his own tenet; their sense wou'd, undoubtedly, have receiv'd a better air from his pen; and a *demonstration*, in his behalf, been rais'd out of such materials, as he will not, at present, allow sufficient to support even a *presumption* against him.

VII.

He asks again, ² “ Where do's *Plato* pronounce Demons to be the Inventors and
 “ Incouragers of pernicious Delusions?” And then he adds — “ Mr. *H.* refers to *Plato* in
 “ *Plutarch*, T. 2. p. ³ 36. Idem in *Phædro*,
 “ p. 240. Confer. idem de Rep. l. 2. p. 364.
 “ and 378 — 381 — 2. But in all these Places

¹ p. 11. ² P. 17. ³ not there, but p. 361.

“ there is not one Word about Demons encouraging pernicious Delusions.” How is this *prov'd*? Why, as usual — it is *affirm'd*. And, were the most peremptory conclusions the most pertinent too, who wou'd venture to gainsay him? But, his hardiess having already been expos'd, the justness of his present decision may reasonably be suspected; at least, 'til all the places referr'd to, be duly consider'd and compar'd. In the first, *Plato* (according to ¹ *Plutarch's* citation) forms a direct opposition between the characters of Θεοὶ and δαίμονες; to the former attributing what is *favorable or benign and singularly excellent*; to the latter, the *contrary*. *Plato*, then, herein justifieth some part of the description of δαίμονες, in the Sermon. And, had the *Reviewer* thought fit to have taken proper notice of *Xenocrates's* opinion, which *Plutarch* immediately subjoineth to that of *Plato*, the scholar might have given him a clearer idea of the master's sentiments, and supply'd some other distinguishing features, which belong to the Beings there spoken of. The expediency of paying attention to what was added, in *Plutarch*, to *Plato's* words, is plainly suggested in the very next sentence of the Sermon, which beginneth thus — “ and “ *Plutarch* supposeth, that several inquisitive “ heathens (whom he citeth as consentient “ with *Plato* herein) were justly led ², &c.”

¹ — Θεοὶς τὰ δεξιά καὶ πρεσβυτέραις, τὰ δ' ἀντίφωνα τέτων δαίμοσιν ἐποδιδώσι.

² P. 11.

The *Reviewer* might hence have learn'd to acknowledge, that I have not appeal'd to *Plato* immediately, in the first reference, but to *Plutarch's* representation of his thoughts. And, ¹ *Plutarch* having produc'd him as agreeing with several other philosophers in the notion of *Φῶλοι δαίμονες*, it might not have misbecame a *Reviewer*, to have consider'd, in this part of his *Review*, what those other philosophers had also say'd upon the Subject. In *Plutarch*, their accounts were properly plac'd together; and, thro' the assemblage, improve the light and strength of each other. But, our author having judg'd it more convenient for him to postpone the evidences of *Empedocles* and *Xenocrates*, I shall follow him in his own way, and proceed to

VIII.

The next reference, made immediately to *Plato*, in *Phædro*, p. 240. The words of the place declare a variety of evils, with most of which an immediate or present pleasure had been intermingled by some *δαίμων* ². The pleasure intermix'd hath the appearance of an allurements to those evils. The author, therefore, of it (some *δαίμων*) may justly be call'd the inventor or encourager, at least, of a pernicious delusion; if, thro' his proposal of a present pleasure, men might be induc'd to in-

¹ As cited in the Sermon, p 11.

² Εστὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα κακά· ἀλλὰ τις ἕμιξος δαίμων τοῖς πλείστοις ἐν τῷ παραπτώτικῳ ἡδονῶν.

volve themselves in guilt. According to the use which † *Clemens Alexandrinus* hath made of this passage of *Plato*, (and this philosopher might be, perhaps, as well understood by that Father, as by the *Reviewer*) the δαίμων, therein spoken of, was either ὁ Θελλεμόνιος διάβολος, or some immediate vassal and agent of that ἀρχων τῶν δαιμόνων.

IX.

The next references to *Plato* are thus propos'd — “ Confer. idem de *Repub.* l. 2. p. 364. “ & p. 378 — 381 — 2. 2” Here the *Reviewer* should have attended to the *manner*, in which these references are made. *Plato* is not therein cited, as offering *direct*, *indubitable* evidence, in regard to the present subject of debate; but, a *collation* of him with the other authors, referr'd to at the same time, is recommended to the reader. And, with what pertinence this office was recommended, a brief survey of the passages will evince.

In the first, which occurreth l. 2. de *Rep.* p. 364. the ἀγύρῃ and μάντις are charg'd with attempting to delude, not only some few individuals, but whole states, into a persuasion, that they were inabl'd by the Θεοί, (whose aid they pretended to ingage, by ἐπωδαί, θυσίαι, ἐπαγωγαί τινες) to clear men from the dangerous consequences of any wrongs, whereof

† *Strom.* l. 5. p. 701, & seq. *Edit.* Oxon.

‡ *Serm.* p. 11. —

they had been guilty. That the φαῦλοι or πονηροὶ δαίμονες might encourage their votaries, to make an attempt of this pernicious nature, ¹ *Porphyrus* and ² *Jamblichus* will authorise us to maintain. And those Beings, as the ³ former also observeth, βέλων) εἶναι θεοί, — and according to the latter — ὑποκρίνον) τῆν τῶν θεῶν παρρησίαν. It may still, then, seem probable, that by θεοί, in this passage of *Plato*, δαίμονες are to be understood; especially seeing this use of θεοί is say'd by *Proclus* (no incompetent judg of *Plato's* language) to obtain in many places of that author.

X.

In the next passage, extant p. 378, are mention'd the extreme injustice, unnatural cruelty, and discord amongst the θεοί, continu'd either by insidious practices or by open violence. The imputation, indeed, of such enormities to the θεοί is there condemn'd; as capable of producing ill impressions on the minds of the young especially, and propagating wrong notions of the Beings, commonly distinguish'd by that name. But, supposing δαίμονες to be here intended by it, the transactions will be, in some degree, suitable (as those were, which the former passage records) to such agents; and the narration found to contain some footsteps of truth. Nor is this supposition groundless. *Plutarch*, having mention'd facts, which

¹ de abst. l. 2. sect. 41 & seq.

² de myst. Sect. iv. c. 7.

³ loco cit.

resemble these, ¹ say'th that they were more properly attributed to δαίμονες, than either to θεοί, or to ἄνθρωποι: and citeth *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Xenocrates*, and *Chrysippus*, as concurring in the same opinion. The opinion seemeth to have been founded upon a just persuasion, that, in the facts, to which it relateth, were imply'd such guilt and suffering, as cou'd not be ascribed to θεοί: and such power, as belongeth not to human nature. *Plato*, then, having (according to *Plutarch*) attributed the like facts to δαίμονες, may, not improbably, be thought to have intended the same Beings, in this passage; where he mentions the stories, concerning the various dissensions and wars of θεοί, and pronounceth them improperly apply'd to the Beings, which θεοί was suppos'd to denote.

XI.

In pages 381 — 2 of *Plato*, it is inquir'd, whether the θεοί may, in some cases, be esteem'd ἐξασπατώντες ἢ γοητεύοντες? And, in the answer, (viz. Ι Σ Ω Σ) it is imply'd, that the acts, specify'd in the inquiry, had been, or might, without absurdity, be attributed to them. But the answer implyeth not only, what is not absurd, but also what is strictly true, provided δαίμονες be here likewise comprehended in the term θεοί. By those (according to *Porphry* ²) ἡ πᾶσα γοητεία ἐκτελείται

¹ T. 2. p. 360.

² de abst. l. 2. sect. 41, 42. compare *Jamblich*. & *Liban*. as cited in Sermon. p. 11.

πλήρεις γὰρ πάσης φαντασίας ἔσται, ἢ ἀπαλήσασ-
 ικανοὶ Διὰ τὴν τερατολογίαν — τὸ γὰρ ψεῦδος τέτοις
 οἰκεῖον. But the ¹ Reviewer observes, that
 “*Plato* condemns *Homer*, and other Poets,
 “ for such figments, and adds, Πάντη ἄρα
 “ ἀψευδὲς τὸ δαιμόνιον τε καὶ τὸ θεῖον.” Elated
 with this sentence, he proceeds, after a short
 intermission, to ask, “ Is it not a very strong
 “ argument to prove that *Plato* thought *De-*
 “ *mons* Encouragers of *Frauds* and *Delusions*,
 “ that he expressly says, *The nature of Gods*
 “ and *Demons* is altogether free from *Delu-*
 “ *sions* ? ”

The sentence, Πάντη ἄρα, &c. seemeth to
 be a conclusion, design'd to rectify mistakes,
 in the preceding debate. And, as no express
 mention had before been made of δαίμονες,
 or the δαιμόνιον γένος, it appeareth, that they
 were rightly suppos'd to be comprehended in
 the term θεοὶ, during the course of the dis-
 pute; seeing they make part of the subject, in
 the conclusion. Well: but is not the con-
 clusion directly contrary to the notion of δαί-
 μονες, maintain'd in the Sermon? No: in the
 Sermon it is prov'd, that δαίμονες representeth
 good, as well as evil spirits: of the former
 this conclusion is to be understood; whil'st
 the latter are, 'tis probable, meant by θεοὶ,
 where it is intimated, that ἐξαπάτη and γοη-
 τεία were not thought inconsistent with their
 nature.

XII.

But, after Πάντη ἀρα ἀψυδῆς, &c. in the *Review*, the next sentence we read is this, — “ Mr. H. was so far conscious of this, that “ he has put this Note immediately after the “ References before mention’d, viz. “ Where “ indeed, HE (*Plato*) useth the Word θεοί; “ yet δαίμονες, ’tis PROBABLE, are to be un- “ derstood by it:” Why so? FOR, thus *Proclus* says, “ that *Plato*, in many places, calls “ Demons, Gods: Ergo, in this Place.” Thus can the *Reviewer* rally or reason, you see, with equal felicity. Conscious of this — what? — “ that in all these places, (as he is pleas’d to “ say) there is not one Word about Demons “ encouraging pernicious Delusions?” Such a consciousness might, ’tis true, result from the perusal of those places, by a person of our *Reviewer*’s skill and penetration. In me, who pretend not to the like abilities, they produc’d a different persuasion. And, not the note only, whereof the *Reviewer* speaks, but each reference may shew, that I was conscious of what I had read, and of what I wrote: conscious, that I had not attempted to abuse my reader, ² by diverting his attention from clear to contestable evidence, — that I had not made an indiscriminate claim to *Plato*’s suffrage; but only in one instance ap-

¹ P. 17. See Serm. p. 11.

² See *Review*, p. 16, 17. compar’d with Remark V.

appeal'd immediately to him; in *another*, upon *Plutarch's* report; and, in regard to all the other references, wherein his name occurs, suggested the expediency of *comparing* the tenor of his language with that of *Plutarch*, of *Porphyry*, of *Jamblichus* and of *Libanius*; all cited at the same time, with the same design. I was also conscious, that these authors did not only place the tenet, in support of which they are quoted, above all danger of just exception; but that they might likewise, upon comparison with the three last passages of *Plato*, afford some ground of probability, that these, or some of these, *Proclus* had in view, when he observ'd, that *Plato*, in many places, apply'd to *δαίμονες* the appellation of *Deoi*. To one conscious of these several points, it was needless, as well as unbecoming and absurd, first to form conjectural premises, and then press an illative particle to introduce a peremptory conclusion.

XIII.

From *Plato* the author of the *Review* ¹ advanceth to *Empedocles*; and asketh, “How does it hence appear (from *Empedocles's* verses, I suppose) that *Demons* were conceiv'd by *Empedocles* to be *malevolent Beings delighting or delighted* (thus is he pleas'd with repeating his own Absurdity) *in promoting wickedness?* He imagin'd, in-

¹ Review, p. 19. and again p. 37.

“ deed, that if *Demons* were guilty of any
 “ crimes, they were punish’d by strange re-
 “ volutions ’till they were purify’d; and then
 “ they were restor’d to their own natural Re-
 “ gion and Order. But what is this to ma-
 “ levoleat, maleficent Beings, promoting Mi-
 “ sery among men?” And — “ what is all
 “ this to evil Demons or Devils wand’ring
 “ thro’ the Air, about Sea and Land, and
 “ striving with Assiduity and Fierceness to
 “ delude Men into Ruin, and actually making
 “ some of the Species their Prey?

Here the *Reviewer* wou’d insinuate, (ac-
 cording to his usual ingenuity) that the de-
 scription of *δαίμονες*, in the Sermon; was
 founded on *Empedocles’s* authority alone: and
 then his accumulated, severe demands prove,
 (as clearly as any reasonable man can expect
 him to prove) that the description can receive
 no confirmation from the verses of that phi-
 losopher. Yet, concerning their import
Plutarch seemeth to have entertain’d a diffe-
 rent opinion. In one of the pages, wherein
 he hath preserv’d them, an express distincti-
 on, between *χρηστοὶ* and *Φαῦλοι δαίμονες*, had
 been premis’d. And, after *Plato’s*, *Xeno-
 crates’s* and *Hesiod’s* accounts of those Be-
 ings, it is added, *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἢ καὶ δίκας Φησὶ
 διδόναι τὰς δαίμονας ὧν ἐξαμάρισσι καὶ πλημμελή-
 σωσι* —

Αἰθέριον μὲν γὰρ σφε μὲν, &c. as in the Sermon¹? Here they are represented as rejected with detestation, in all parts of the visible world; and regarded as the objects of universal horror. And, will not this representation contribute, in some degree, to evince their *malevolence* and *maleficence*? Ill-fated Beings, surely, if every where treated with extreme abhorrence; whilst free from the guilt of all *πλημμελήματα*, which might argue their malignity towards man, or insolence towards the Deity! But, the *Reviewer* (led by his exuberant benevolence to perpetual solicitude about their welfare and credit)² tells you from *Plutarch*, that “when Demons
 “*finn’d*, they underwent severe Punishments,
 “toss’d from the Air to the Sea, from Sea to
 “Earth, from Earth to the Sun, from the Sun
 “to the Air, till being thus punish’d and
 “purify’d, they again obtain their natural
 “Region and Order.” It is readily allow’d, that a mistaken notion, concerning the duration of their punishment and final allotment, might easily be entertain’d by Pagan philosophers. But, besides the words, wherein the opinion, about their restoration to their natural order, is express’d, those also, which immediately follow in *Plutarch*, might have deserv’d the consideration of the *Reviewer*. Thus *Plutarch* then proceeds³ — Τῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀδελφὰ λέγεσθαι φασὶ περὶ Τυφῶν, ὡς δευὰ μὲν

¹ P. 12, and about the close of this remark.

² Review, p. 37. and before, in p. 19.

³ P. 361.

ὑπὸ φθόνῳ ἢ δυσμερείᾳς εἰργάσατο· ἢ πάντα
 πρῶτα τὰράξας, ἐπέπλησε κακῶν γῆν ὅμῃ τε
 πᾶσαν ἢ θάλασσαν, εἶτα δίκην ἔδωκεν. — i. e. It
 is say'd, that there are relations concerning
 Typhon, which bear a very near resemblance
 to these and the like (viz. what had been just
 before produc'd, in the verses of *Empedocles*)
 importing, that he, thro' envy and malignity,
 committed horrible crimes; and that, having
 caus'd a general perturbation, he at the same
 time fill'd both the whole earth and sea with
 calamities, and afterwards was punish'd.
 Shou'd the *Reviewer* be here tempted (as he
 is accusom'd) shrewdly to inquire, “ How
 “ does it hence appear, that Demons were
 “ conceiv'd by *Empedocles* to be malevolent,
 “ maleficent Beings, delighting in promoting
 “ wickedness, or in promoting Misery among
 “ Men? — ” I must take leave to answer,
 that, in *Plutarch's* opinion; it doth hence
 appear, that *Empedocles's* description import-
 eth such a notion of them; seing he say'th,
 in the passage already cited, that between this
 description, and the relations concerning *Ty-*
phon, there is a very near resemblance. Well:
 but what are the reports about *Typhon* to the
 purpose? must harmless δαίμονες be traduc'd,
 because that monster hath met with his de-
 served character? Here I must again take
 leave to interpose the judgment of *Plutarch*,
 in order to ward off the expostulations of
 the *Reviewer*; and to produce his words¹ —

¹ Referr'd to in Remark X.

Βέλτιον — οἱ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Τυφῶνα — ἰσορρομία
 μήτε θεῶν παθήματα μήτε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ δαι-
 μόνων μεγάλων, εἶναι νομίζοντες, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων
 καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ξενοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος, ἐπό-
 μωροι τὰς πάσαις θεολόγας, ἔρωμενες ἑρως μὴ ἀν-
 θρώπων γεγονέναι λέγουσι, κ. τ. λ. ² i. e. *The*
opinion of those deserveth preference, who,
thinking that the things, recorded of Typhon,
imply such passions and incidents, as agree not
either to gods or men, but to great demons,
as Plato, and Pythagoras, and Xenocrates, and
Chrysippus thought, assenting to antient di-
vines, say that they (demons) are more power-
ful than men, &c.

What the things were, which the accounts
 of *Typhon* contain'd, page the 22^d will shew;
 and, at the same time, so far confirm what
 is said of δαίμονες in the Sermon, as to leave
 nothing more to be supply'd, than what may
 be easily collected from other authors, quoted
 in the same place.

Before we leave the verses of *Empedocles*,
 it may be observ'd, that the *Reviewer* affects

² *Plutarch*, T. 2. p. 360. where these words immediately
 follow — καὶ πολλῇ τῇ δυνάμει τῆ φύσιν ὑπερφέρουσιν ἡμῶν, τὴ
 δέον ὅτι ἀμιγές, εἰδὲ ἀκραίον ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς φύσιν
 καὶ σώματος αἰσθησὶ ἐν σωμειληκῶς, ἡδονῶν δεχομένῶν καὶ πόνου καὶ
 ἴσα ταύτας ἐξελθόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς πάθη, τὰς μὲν μάκροισι,
 τὰς δὲ ἤτιον ἐπιταραχίη. These are here added for the sake of
 proposing a reformation of them. Instead then, of — αἰσθησὶ
 ἐν σω — it might be better to read — αἰσθησὶ ἐν σιν — In-
 stead of — δεχομένῶν — to read — δεχομένη. — Instead of —
 ἐπιταραχίη — to read — ἐπιταραχίην. The *Reviewer*, perhaps,
 may find the passage cited by an antient Christian writer, and
 then pretend, that he thence produc'd the true reading of it.

to cite them (not from *Plutarch*, p. 361. where they first occur, but) from *Plutarch*, p. 830. And, proving that he now had pretty well conquer'd the fastitium or fright, which a "pomp of references" had formerly rais'd, he grow'th familiar with them; and bravely thus presenteth the reader with the following lines †.

Αἰθέριον μὲν γὰρ σφε μὲν⊗ πόνῳνδε διώκει.
 Πόνῳ⊗ δ' ἐς χθονὸς ἕδρας ἀπέπῳσε· γαῖα δ' ἐς
 αὐγὰς
 Ἡελίς ἀκάμῳν⊗· ὁ δ' αἰθέρ⊗ ἔμβαλε δῖναις
 Ἀλλ⊗ δ' ἐξ ἄλλῃς δέχεται συγέσσι δὲ πῳάλλῃς.

and adds, "Thus *Plutarch* gives us these "Lines in his Treatise *De vitando ære alieno*, p. 830." Dó's he so? Alas! these same references have drawn a sort of vengeance upon our author; and, in aggravation of it, have made his own "eyes and hands" the instruments of exposing the rashness of his pretences to familiarity with them. In the 830th and 831st pages of *Plutarch*, the lines above cited, appear exactly thus —

Αἰθέριον μὲν γὰρ σφε μὲν⊗ πόνῳνδε διώκει.
 Πόνῳ⊗ ῃ χθονὸς ἕδρας ἀπέπῳσε· γαῖα δ' ἐς
 αὐγὰς
 Ἡελίς ἀκάμῳν⊗, ὁ δ' αἰθέρ⊗ ἔμβαλε δῖναις.

Thus ends p. 830. and then immediately, in p. 831. follow, ἄλλον δ' ἐξ ἄλλῃς δέχεται πικι-

† Review, p. 37.

της ἢ κ. τ. λ. in *Plutarch's* plain prose. About false stops and false accents I propose no question. But, why did he tell his reader, “ Thus (or as he hath exhibited them) *Plutarch* gives us these Lines in his Treatise ” &c. whereas, in *Plutarch* we read — ΠόνηⓄ ἢ χθονὸς ἔδρας ἀνέπλυσε — in the *Reviewer's* copy — ΠόνηⓄ δ' ἐς χθονὸς ἔδρας ἀπέπλυσε — in *Plutarch* — αἰθέρⓄ ἔμβαλε δίναις — is follow'd by — ἄλλων δ' ἐξ ἄλλας δεχεῖται τοικιῆς ἢ κ. τ. λ. in the *Reviewer's* copy — by

ἌλλⓄ δ' ἐξ ἄλλας δεχεῖται συγέεσι ἢ πάντες.

If it can, after all, be suppos'd, that he really transcrib'd those verses from p. 830 of *Plutarch*; yet, might it still seem strange, (cou'd' any thing be strange, in the conduct of such a writer) that the clause, which immediately precedeth them, shou'd be pass'd by, without the notice of a *Reviewer*. Therein are mention'd οἱ θεήλατοι ἢ ἔρανοπελεῖς ἐκείνοι & Ἐμπεδοκλέους δαίμονες. The epithets are remarkable; and might have reminded our author of passages in a *certain* book, relating to certain Beings, vulgarly call'd fall'n angels. Amongst these must the δαίμονες and δαιμόνια of the New Testament be left, in defiance of all his attempts to rescue them. And, whether he will acknowledg it or not, the characters of *malevolence* and *maleficence* stand fix'd indelibly upon the Beings so call'd, in profane as well as sacred authors.

XIV.

Xenocrates is the only witness, whose evidence remaineth undefended. And the passage, in which it is express'd, is thus produc'd by the *Reviewer* — ἡ δυστρόπος καὶ Κυθρωπὰς, αἱ χαίρῃσι τοῖσιν, (viz. writes the *Reviewer*) ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδας καὶ τῶν ἐορτῶν ὅσαι πληγὰς τινὰς, ἢ κοπέτας, ἢ νησείας, ἢ δυσφημίας, ἢ αἰαχρολογίαν ἔχουσιν) καὶ τυγχάνουσαι πρὸς ἕθεν ἄλλο χεῖρον τρέπον). The reader will be easily led, by this admirable grammatical structure of the words, to suspect, that the *Reviewer* must here have meddled with language, of which he had only a slender knowledg. In *Plutarch* ² we read thus — Ο ἢ Ξενοκράτης καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς ἀποφράδας καὶ τῶν ἐορτῶν ἴσαι πληγὰς τινὰς, ἢ κοπέτας, ἢ νησείας, ἢ δυσφημίας, ἢ αἰαχρολογίαν ἔχουσιν, ἕτε θεῶν τιμαῖς ἕτε δαιμόνων οἶεται προσήκειν χρῆσθαι· ἀλλὰ εἶναι φύσεις ἐν τῷ πειέχοντι μεγάλας μὲν καὶ ἰσχυράς, δυστρόπος ἢ καὶ Κυθρωπὰς, αἱ χαίρῃσι τοῖς τοῖσιν, καὶ τυγχάνουσαι πρὸς ἕθεν ἄλλο χεῖρον τρέπον). Herein are recounted several hurtful, infamous practices, which *Xenocrates* judg'd to be unsuitable methods of honouring either the deities or good demons; and also declar'd to be the delight of those vast, powerful, malign and gloomy Beings, (call'd above φαῦλοι δαίμονες) which inhabit the air. But, the *Reviewer* thus gently representeth the sense of the place —

¹ Review, p. 36.

² De H. & Os. p. 361.

“¹ *Xenocrates* indeed talk’d of *gloomy, morose*
 “ Demons that rejoice in such days, in which
 “ Men smote their Breasts, mourned, and
 “ fasted; and if they *have but these*, they
 “ turn to *nothing worse*.” — *have but these* —
 what must become, then, of *δυσφημίαι* and
αιχρολογία? why were *they* suppress’d in the
Reviewer’s account? The phrases — *have*
but these — and — *nothing worse* — he hath
 distinguish’d by Italics; as if he thought his
 demons thereby sufficiently vindicated. But,
 what *worse* wou’d the *Reviewer* have? Is
 there not sufficient *moral malignity* (as he
 calls it) here pointed out, when the tenor of
 the whole passage is consider’d, and compar’d
 with another of the same purport, in *Plu-*
*tarch*², referr’d to likewise in the Sermon? Surely,
 even the *Reviewer* must, upon se-
 cond thoughts, be inclin’d to acknowledg,
 that a delight in receiving such tokens of ve-
 neration from deluded mortals, as consisted in
 wounding their bodies, in sinister and ob-
 scene expressions, may argue a disposition di-
 rectly contrary to (permit me thus far to imi-
 tate, for the sake of opposing, him) *moral*
benignity. He seemeth conscious, it must be
 own’d, that this single testimony is intirely

¹ Review, p. 36, 37.

² De def. orac. p. 417. εορτὰς ἢ καὶ θυσίας, ὡσπερ ἡμέρας ἀπο-
 φράδας καὶ σκυθρωπάς, ἐν αἷς ἄμορφ. γυμν. καὶ ἀλαστομοί, νηστείαι τε
 καὶ κοπετοί, πολλαχῆ ἢ πάλιν ἀιχρολογίαι παρὰ ἱεροῖς, ματίαι τε
 ἀλλὰ δεινόμεραι εἰψαύχουσι σὺν κλίμα, θεῶν μὲν ἠδενὶ, δαυμίνων
 ἢ φαύλων ἀπτροπῆς ἕκαστα φήσαμι ἂν τελῶν μελίχια καὶ ὠδυ-
 μύθια· κ. τ. λ.

sufficient to expose all his cavils: and say'th, (in despair, as it were, of bringing off his clients) "Take this Hypothesis — take this, "I say, and still, I ask, what Evidence have "you for *morally malignant* Beings among "the antients?" Then he immediately and happily thus answereth himself, "*Xenocrates*, "who was himself a dark, gloomy Fellow." Such is the consequence of fixing a bad character on our author's "*good demons, departed souls, vanities, nothings*;" — the true *English*, in that noble *Thesaurus*, whereby he is govern'd, for *δαίμονες* or *δαιμόνια*! *Xenocrates* was, unquestionably, a sorry, impertinent fellow — For, who, except such a fellow, wou'd have talk'd in that manner against those Beings, before he knew, what pleas wou'd be offer'd in their behalf, by their strenuous patrons in succeeding ages? And, a *dark* fellow too he was, — 'tis plain enough — his language was *Greek*. Besides, *Laertius* seems to be call'd upon to prove, that he deserv'd an ill-name. For, thus ends the *Review, Erratum*, p. 37. for *συνθροπῶς*, *Laertius* read *συνθροπῶς*, vid. *Laertius*. Our author must here be advis'd to consider what was say'd above¹, concerning references to authors. Exactness in making them may be reasonably expected from all writers; and, from those of his own class, is indispensably requir'd, in order to lessen, in some degree,

¹ Remark 1.

the drudgery of pursuing them. He had in view, it may be suppos'd, *Laert.* l. 4. segm. 6. where *Xenocrates* is call'd *Σεμνὸς καὶ Σκυθρωπός*. What *conclusions* the *Reviewer* will allow to be drawn from the *countenance*, it may not be easy to say. Yet, the gravity and austerity, which appear'd in *Xenocrates*, can hardly be thought sufficient to invalidate his authority; especially, when the excellent character, by which he is distinguish'd in *Laertius* ¹, and other authors, (cited by the commentators) shall have been duly consider'd.

XV.

The authorities cited in the Sermon, in support of the usual interpretation of *δαίμων* and *δαιμόνιον*, may be now thought abundantly vindicated from the cavils and general negatives of the *Reviewer*. Yet still must not the reader be deny'd the diversion of beholding our author triumph, as it were, in his own defeat. No sooner had *Xenocrates* been dismiss'd, than he thus courageously proceedeth ²— “ But what *Evidence* is there for even
 “ such a Notion? — (as that philosopher en-
 “ tertain'd of *δαίμονες*, I suppose, he means)
 “ In the first Place, the whole Hypothesis is
 “ mere Fiction. In the second Place, there
 “ was no Notion of such *malevolent* Beings as
 “ delighted in *promoting wickedness*. And
 “ thirdly, not a word of their possessing Men,

¹ Loco cit. & segm. seq.

² Review p. 38.

“and inflicting Misery upon them, or wandring thro’ the Air, and Earth and Sea, for any such Purpose.”

See, with what matchless prowess do’s he surmount all difficulties, and lay his opponents prostrate, at every step he takes! what wonderful execution may be done with a stile, directed by “eyes and hands”, like his? And, who will dare to resist any arguments of this formidable tenor? For my part, I was inclin’d to be thankful to him, for suspending his notice of me, whil’st all his other adversaries feel the heavy effects of his ability, thro’ a course of many pages — which they, perhaps, may be tempted to call one tedious parenthesis.

But, ’tis vain to expect any lasting security, from the assaults of so resolute an enemy. In the 64th page he returns to take a parting stroke: and, sensible wherein his main strength lyeth, he very rhetorically pronounceth his adversaries guilty of making “such reflexions as are unworthy of Men, and most unworthy of Preachers of the Gospel.” How doth he *prove* his charge? with much ease — he boldly *pronounceth* it. But, hath he not confirm’d it by adding, that the “Gospel teacheth a Charity, that *thinketh no Evil, and hopeth all things.*” A flagrant violation of that charity, undoubtedly, which the Gospel injoineth, to expose the attempts, that are made to pervert it’s language, and subject it to the capricious humour of every enemy

enemy to its purity! But, thus antiscripturists, not contented with invading historical parts of the sacred volume, seem resolv'd to extend their violence even to the divine rules of practice, by crude, perverse applications.

Mr. *Twells's* Answer to the *Enquirer*, &c. and the *Essay* in vindication of the literal sense &c. (which I have read with pleasure) seem no otherwise obnoxious to the *Reviewer's* calumny, than as they contain confutations of his tenet. Of the reflexion, in the Sermon, wherewith he is offended, enough hath been say'd in the Preface. His rage is now kindl'd: and, as it's bounds may not be easily fix'd, forbearance, in this case, becometh charity to him. I wou'd only, therefor, improve the charity, with an expression of hope, that (shou'd his *hands* be again imploy'd upon the subject) he may be able to shew the conquest of his transports, by publishing, instead of a *second Review* of the like tenor, a retractation of the *first*.

F I N I S.

DATE DUE

