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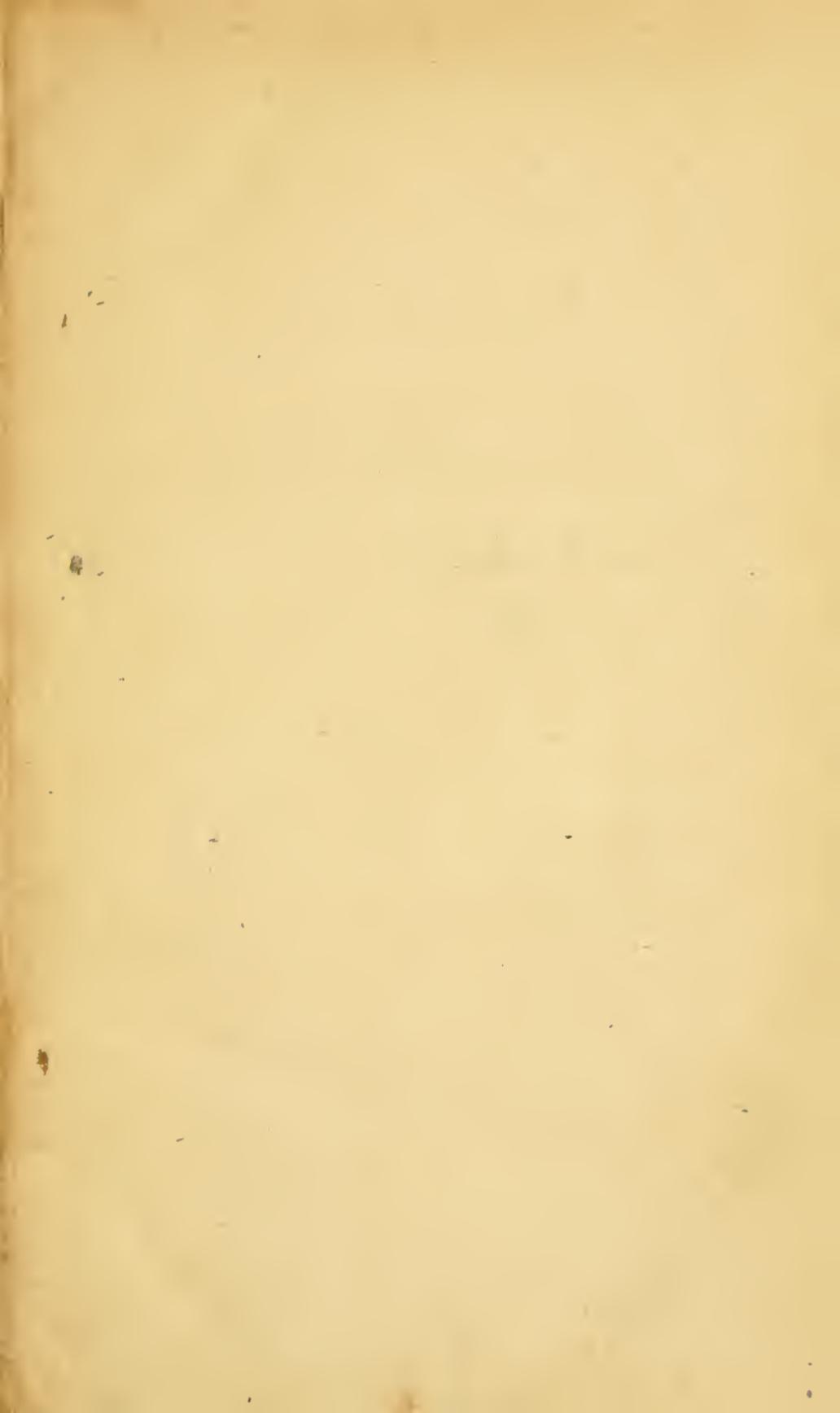
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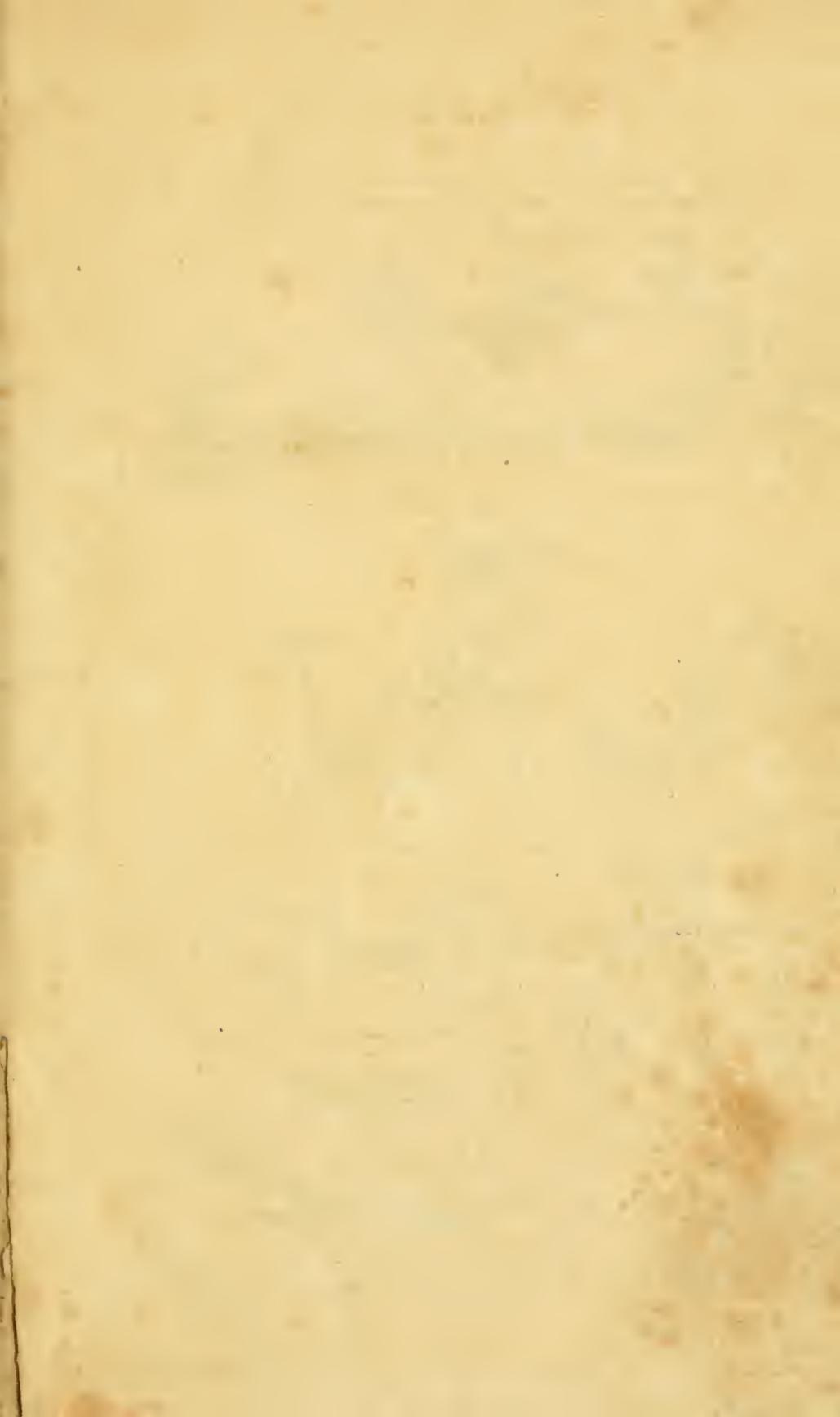
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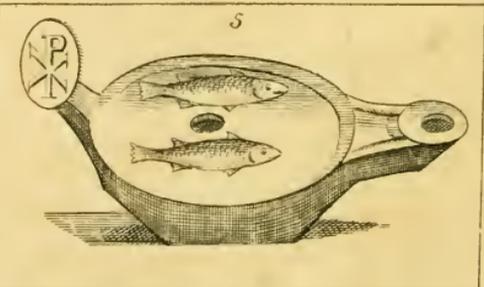
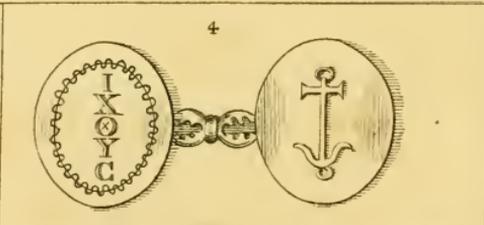


ESSAYS,

&c.

WARRINGTON :
PRINTED BY J. CROWTHER, BRIDGE-STREET





ESSAYS

ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

AND

Antiquity.

BY THE

✓
REV. JAMES TOWNLEY, D. D.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN.

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THE following Essays were most of them originally written for different periodical publications, in which they appeared, and obtained some degree of public approbation. On collecting them for re-publication the author has endeavoured to improve them, and in some instances entirely re-written them. He has also added some others on topics which he considered interesting.

In presenting this volume to the Public, the writer has again to claim that candour and indulgence with which he has been so generously favoured on former occasions. Occupied, almost incessantly, in ministerial duties, he can only gain fragments of time for literary pursuits, and has consequently but little opportunity to polish his sentences,

or present the result of his researches in laboured and elegant language. His aim has been to communicate information with conciseness and perspicuity; and if he have succeeded, he is confident the unadorned style in which it is conveyed will not prevent the meed of approbation.

The last Essay is upon a subject to which the writer is desirous of directing the attention of students in Ecclesiastical History, as one of considerable importance to missionary and ministerial exertions, but which has never been adequately investigated. If the views there suggested be correct, every extension of the Christian cause must be permanent in its influence, and serve to hasten the desirable period of universal righteousness, when "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the LORD as the waters cover the sea."

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ESSAYS, &c.

I.

ON THE ANCIENT ZABII, OR ANTE-MOSAIC IDOLATERS.

THE ZABII, or ZABIANS, were a sect of Idolaters who flourished in the early ages of the world, considerable in their numbers, and extensive in their influence. MAIMONIDES, whom SCALIGER designates as “the most learned and acute of all the Jewish writers,” assures us in his celebrated *Moreh Nebochim*, or “Instructor of those who are Perplexed,” that a very principal object in the ceremonial institutions of MOSES, was, the eradication of their idolatrous principles and practices; and has supported his position by an excellent exposition of the grounds and reasons of the Mosaic Laws. The learned SPENCER, in his work *De Legibus Hebræorum*, has adopted

a similar principle; and in the same treatise maintains, with considerable learning, the more disputable opinion, that many of the rites and ceremonies enjoined by the Jewish Legislator were derived from the rites practised by the Egyptians, and other heathen nations. This latter conjecture, first noticed by MAIMONIDES, subsequently defended by SIR JOHN MARSHAM in his *Chronicon*, and by SPENCER in his before-mentioned treatise, and countenanced by Bishop WARBURTON in his *Divine Legation*, has been ably combated by WITSIUS in his *Ægyptiaca*, a work replete with solid and extensive erudition, and by DR. WOODWARD in his valuable *Discourse on the Wisdom of the Ancient Egyptians*.

When the Zabian Idolators are thus regarded as connected with the Mosaic Institutions, they become a serious and interesting subject of inquiry; and every attempt to collect the scattered rays of information concerning them, and to converge them to a point, will probably be received with candour. We shall, therefore, offer some remarks on their NAME, their ORIGIN, and the COUNTRY they inhabit, their OPINIONS, their IDOLATROUS and SUPERSTITIOUS PRACTICES, and their PRESENT DESCENDANTS.

I. NAME.—The denomination of *Zabii*, given to these Idolators, appears to have been derived from the Hebrew צבא, *Tzaba*, a host; with reference to the צבא השמים, or Host of Heaven, which they worshipped; though others have derived it from the Arabic *Tsaba*, to apostatise,

to turn from one religion to another; or from צב"ב, or the Arabic *Tsabin*, Chaldeans or inhabitants of the East. (Vide POCOCCI *Specimen. Hist. Arab.* p. 139; SPENCER, *De Legibus Heb.* lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 1; HYDE, *Veterum Persarum Hist.* c. 3, p. 84; CASTELLI *Lex. Hept.* sub voc. צבא, et צבה.)

II. ORIGIN AND COUNTRY.—LACTANTIUS, in his book *De Origine Erroris*, considers HAM, the son of NOAH, as the first seceder from the true religion after the Flood; and supposes Egypt, which was peopled by his descendants, to have been the country in which Zabaism, or the worship of the Stars, first prevailed: “At ille (sc. Cham) profugus, in ejus terræ parte consedit, quæ nunc Arabia nominatur: eaque terra de nomine suo Chanaan dicta est; et posterî ejus Chananæi. Hæc fuit prima gens, quæ Deum ignoravit; quoniam princeps ejus et conditor cultum Dei à patre non accepit, maledictus ab eo: itaque ignorantiam divinitatis minoribus suis reliquit. Ab hac gente proximi quique populi, multitudine increscente, fluxerunt. — Sed omnium primi, qui Ægyptum occupaverunt, cœlestia suspicere, atque adorare cœperunt.” “But he (HAM) fled, and settled in that part of the earth which is now called Arabia, on which account this country was called Canaan, and his descendants Canaanites. This was the earliest nation ignorant of God, its founder and chief not having received the true worship (*cultum*) of God from his father, by whom he had been

cursed. From the increase of this people originated the surrounding nations.—But they who inhabited Egypt were the first of all others to observe the heavenly bodies, and to worship them.”—(LACTANTI *Opera*, lib. ii. p. 103, Edit. Cantab. 1685.)—It is worthy of remark, that one of the grandsons of HAM was named SEBA, from whom it is probable Arabia Felix was formerly called SABÆA. The predatory excursions of the Sabeans are also noticed by the Author of the book of JOB. (i. 15.)

That the worship of the Heavenly Bodies prevailed in the East, at a very early period, is certain from the words of JOB, who thus exculpates himself from the charge of idolatry: “If I beheld the Sun when it shined, or the Moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand; this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge: for I should have denied the God that is above.” (Job xxxi. 26—28.)—MAIMONIDES, (in *Moreh Nebochim*, P. 3, c. 29,) expressly affirms that ABRAHAM was educated in the faith of the Zabii, “ABRAHAM Patrem nostrum educatum esse in fide Zabæorum.” He maintains the same opinion also in his book *De Idololatria*, § 6. “In Ur Chaldæorum submersus erat inter fatuos idololatrias. Pater autem, ac mater ejus, omnisque populus, idola colebant, et ille una cum iis.” “In Ur of the Chaldees he had been surrounded by silly idolaters. His father and mother, and all the people, worshipped

idols, and he with them." It would appear, therefore, that the idolatrous opinions of the Zabii originated with the posterity of HAM, at a very early period after the Flood, in Egypt or Chaldea; but spread so rapidly and extensively, that in a very short time nearly the whole of the descendants of NOAH were infected with their pestiferous sentiments and practices: "Quæ Gens (sc. *Zabaistæ*) totum Terrarum orbem impleverat." "This people (*i. e.* the Zabii) had filled the whole world." (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.*)

III. OPINIONS.

1. Their first and principal adoration was directed to the Host of Heaven, or the Stars. "Statuerunt, Nullum esse DEUM præter Stellas;" are the words of MAIMONIDES, who adds, "expressè dicunt Stellas Divinas, (vel, *Deos minorum Gentium*) et Solem esse DEUM MAGNUM. Ita dicunt quoque reliquos quinque Planetas esse Deos, sed duo Luminaria esse Majores. Invenies quoque, illos clarè dicere, Solem regere Mundum superiorem et inferiorem." "They expressly say that the Stars are divinities, or inferior deities, and that the Sun is the GREAT GOD. That the other five planets are gods, but that the two luminaries, the Sun and the Moon, are gods of a superior order. It will also be found, that they clearly assert, that the Sun governs the higher and lower world." (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 29.)

2. They were *Ignicolæ*, or Worshipers of Fire. The city of *Ur*, in Chaldea, seems to have

had its name from the inhabitants being devoted to the worship of fire. (Vide VOSSII *Not. in Maimon. De Idololat.* § 8, and MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL *in Genes. Quæst. XL.*)—MAIMONIDES also calls them “*Cultores Ignis*,” worshippers of fire—*Mor. Neb. P. 3. c. 37.*—(See likewise SELDEN, *De Diis Syris*, Syntag. II. c. 8, p. 321; and MAIMON. *Mor. Neb. P. 3, c. 30.*)

3. They dedicated images to the Sun and the other Celestial Orbs, supposing that, by a formal consecration of them to those luminaries, a divine virtue was infused into them, by which they acquired the faculty of understanding, and the power of conferring prophecy and other gifts upon their worshippers. These images were formed of various metals, according to the particular Star to which any of them was dedicated. They also regarded certain trees as being appropriated to particular Stars, and, when idolatrously dedicated, as being possessed of very singular virtues. “*Porro, secundum sententias illas Zabiorum crexerunt Stellis Imagines, et Soli quidem Imagines aureas, Lunæ verò argenteas, atque ita Metalla et Climata Terræ inter Stellas partiti sunt.*——*Deinde Sacella ædificaverunt, Imaginesque in illis collocârunt, arbitantes vires Stellarum influere in illas Imagines, easque Intelligendi virtutem habere, Hominibus Prophetiæ donum largiri, ac denique, quæ ipsis utilia ac salutaria sunt, indicare. Ita dicunt de Arboribus quæ sunt ex portione Stellarum illarum : cùm Arbor quædam Stellæ alicui*

dedicatur, nomini ejus plantatur, et hoc vel illo pacto colitur, quod virtutes spirituales Stellæ in Arborem illam infundantur, ita ut secundùm modum Prophetiæ cum Hominibus, ut prophetent, loquatur, et in Somnis etiam illos alloquatur.” “Moreover, according to these opinions of the Zabii, they erected images to the Stars; to the Sun, statues of gold; and to the Moon, images of silver; and, in like manner, they assigned the various metals and the climates of the earth to the different Stars. Afterwards they built small temples, and placed images in them, supposing the virtues of the Stars to be imparted to the images, which thereby acquired the faculty of intelligence, and power to confer the gift of prophecy on men, and to discover things salutary and useful. They say also of the trees which belong to these Stars, that when a tree is dedicated to any Star, planted in its name, and worshipped in this or that particular mode, that the spiritual virtues of the Star are infused into the tree, so that it speaks prophetically with men, that they may prophesy, and also converses with them in dreams.” (Maimon. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 29.)

4. From these opinions sprang the adoption of Astrology by them, in all its varied forms. “Quòd si perlegeris omnes illos Libros, quorum mentionem apud te feci, patebit quòd Astrologia vel Magia fuerit opus Zabiorum, Casdæorum et Chaldæorum; frequentior tamen inter Ægyptios et Cananæos.” “When you have read all those

books of which I have spoken, it will be manifest, that astrology or magic was practised by the Zabii, Chasdæi, and Chaldeans, and still more frequently by the Egyptians and Canaanites." (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 37.—SELDEN, *De Diis Syris*, Syntag. I. c. 2, P. 103; *Lugd. Bat.* 1629.)

5. They maintained the doctrine of the Eternity of the World. "Ideò omnes Zabaistæ crediderunt Antiquitatem Mundi, quia Cœli juxta illos sunt DEUS." "All the Zabii believe in the eternity of the world; for, according to them, the Heavens are GOD." (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3. c. 29.) The Zabian authors relate, that ABRAHAM was banished out of Chaldea, for opposing their sentiments, after having forsaken idolatry; and in particular, for asserting, that there was another Creator besides the Sun. (Vide MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 29, et *De Idololat.* c. 1, § 6, 7, 8; HYDE, *Vet. Pers. Relig. Hist.* c. 2, pp. 68, 72, Oxon. 1760; MENASSEH BEN-ISRAEL, *Conciliator*, in *Genes.* Quest. XL; and STANLEY'S *Hist. of Philosophy*, P. 18, p. 797.)

6. Holding the eternity of the world, they easily became Pre-Adamites, affirming that ADAM was not the first man. They also fabled concerning him, that he was the Apostle of the Moon, and the author of several works on husbandry. Of NOAH, they taught, that he was an husbandman, and was imprisoned for dissenting from their opinions. They add, that SETH was another of those who forsook the worship of the Moon. "Insuper existimârunt, *Adamum*

primum fuisse virum ex viro et fœmina, sicut reliqui homines, progenitum. Sed tamen magnis laudibus ipsum exexerunt: dixerunt illum fuisse Apostolum Lunæ, vocâsse Homines ad cultum Lunæ, et Libros composuisse de Cultura Terræ. Sic de NOAH dicunt Zabaistæ, quod fuerit Agricola, neque ipsi cultus Imaginum placuerit. Inde invenies, omnes Zabios vituperare Noam, et dicere, quòd nullas coluerit Imagines. Item, quod in iudicium vocatus, carcerique inclusus fuerit, eò quòd DEUM Opt. Max. coluerit; et alia. SCETHUM existemant discessisse à sententiâ patris sui Adami in cultu Lunæ.”

“They were, moreover, of opinion, that the first ADAM was a man, born of parents like other men. Nevertheless, they greatly praised and extolled him, and said, that he was the Apostle of the Moon, had taught men to worship that luminary, and had composed books on agriculture. The Zabii also affirmed, that NOAH was a husbandman, and was displeased with the worship of images. Hence you will find, that all the Zabii blame him, and say, that he would not worship images; and also, that being called into judgment, he was imprisoned for worshipping the MOST HIGH GOD. They likewise hold, that SETH dissented from the opinions of his father, with respect to the worship of the MOON.”—(MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 29.)

7. They held agriculture in the highest estimation, regarding it as intimately connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies. On

this account, it was deemed criminal, by the major part of them, to slay or feed upon cattle. “Causa, propter quam Idololatræ magnificiunt Boves et Armenta, est, quòd magnam utilitatem præbent in Agricultura: ita ut dixerint, Non esse permissum illa mactare, quia magnæ virtutes et commoda ex illis ad Homines redeant ab Astris propter Agriculturam.” “The reason why the Idolaters so highly value oxen and large cattle, is because of the great use they are of in agriculture; insomuch that they say, they are forbidden to slay them, since, through them, men derive great benefits and advantages from the Stars, by way of agriculture.” (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 30.) Goats were also reputed to be sacred animals, because the Demons whom they worshipped were said to appear in the woods and deserts in the forms of goats, or satyrs. “Ad hunc modum ex Zabiis quidam fuerunt, qui dæmones colebant, et existimabant, quòd formam HIRCORUM hæbeant; unde etiam dæmones SEIRIM, h. e. Hircos appellabant.”——“Ex erroribus enim illis antiquis fuit et hoc, quòd dæmones in desertis habitent, loquantur et appareant, in urbibus verò et locis habitatis nequaquam conspiciantur.” “Some of the Zabii worshipped Demons, and believed that they had the form of goats, whence they called Demons *Seirim*, that is goats.” “From these errors arose the opinion, maintained both anciently and at present, that Demons dwell, and appear and converse in desert places, but are never seen in cities or places

that are inhabited." (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 46.)—Vide SELDEN, *De Diis Syris*, Proleg. c. 3, p. 38.)

IV. IDOLATROUS AND SUPERSTITIOUS PRACTICES.

1. Some were *dangerous*, as the sacrifices of Lions, Tigers, and other wild beasts. "Offerebant Leones, ursos, Tygros, aliasque feras bestias." (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 46.)

2. Certain of their rites were *cruel*, as the passing of their children through the fire;—branding themselves also with fire;—and, if credit may be attached to the relation of MAHUMED BEN ISAAC, slaying and eating a new-born infant annually in the fifth month. "Ita notum est in genere ex natura hominum, quòd nihil æquè timeant et horreant, ac facultatum et liberorum suorum amissionem. Ideò publicârunt et sparserunt cultores ignis, omnes ejus liberos morturos, qui filium aut filiam suam per ignem non traduxerit. Proinde nullum dubium est, quin unusquisque magnâ diligentîâ properârit ad faciendum illud, tum ob magnam erga liberos suos clementiam, et timorem de illis amittendis, &c." "It is well known that nothing is more feared and dreaded by mankind than the loss of their faculties and of their children. The worshippers of Fire, therefore, publicly declared and circulated, that all the children would die belonging to those persons who did not cause their sons and daughters to pass through the fire." (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3. c. 37.)—STANLEY (*Hist. of Philosophy*, P. 19, c. 1.) quotes a MS. of MAHUMED BEN

ISAAC, as cited by HOTTINGER, which thus speaks of Zabian worship: "In the fifth month, which, as the Syrians, they call *Ab*, they press new wine to their gods, and give it several names: this they do the first eight days. They likewise kill a new-born infant to their gods, which they beat all to pieces; then they take the flesh, and mix it with rye-meal, saffron, ears of corn, mace, and little cakes like figs; they bake this in a new oven, and give it to the people of the congregation of SAMMAEL," (by which name the Talmudists understand the Devil,) "all the year long; no woman eats of this, nor servant, nor son of a bond-woman, nor man that is possessed or mad."

3. Some of their practices were *loathsome* and *disgustful*; such as eating blood, believing it to be the food of Demons; &c. "Hi mactantes bestiam aliquam, sanguinem ejus accipiebant, et in vase vel fossula aliqua colligebant, carnem verò mactatam circa illum sanguinem in circulo sedentes comedebant; imaginantes sibi, in hoc opere, ipsis carnem comedentibus, dæmones illum sanguinem comedere, et hunc ipsorum esse cibum, hocque medio amicitiam, fraternitatem et familiaritatem inter ipsos contrahi, quia omnes in unâ mensâ edunt, et uno consessu accumbunt: prætereà opinabuntur, dæmones in somnio sibi comparere, futura indicare, plurimumque prodesse." "They slew a beast and caught the blood, which they poured into a vessel, or small hole in the ground, and then sitting in a circle round the blood, ate the flesh, imagining that,

by this action, the Demons drank the blood as their food, whilst they themselves were eating the flesh, and that friendship, fraternity and familiarity, were thereby contracted with them, because they had eaten at the same table, and reclined on the same seat; besides which they also believed, that Demons appeared to them in their sleep, revealing and discovering many things." (MAIMON, *Mor. Neb.* P. 3. c. 46.)

4. Others were *frivolous* and *tedious*; as, offering bats and mice to the Sun; various and frequent ablutions, lustrations, &c. &c. "SOLI (DEO SUO MAJORI) obtulerint septem vespertiones, septem mures, et septem reptilia alia, cum certis quibusdam rebus." "Labores magnas habuerunt Zabæi circa pollutiones." "To the Sun (their greatest God) they offered seven bats, seven mice, and seven other reptiles, with certain other things:—"The Zabii have many oppressive ceremonies respecting pollutions." (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 29, 37, 47.)

5. Some of them were *obscene* and *bestly*, as the rites practised on engrafting a tree, or to obtain rain. (MAIMON. *Mor. Neb.* P. 3, c. 37.)

6. Many of the rites were *magical*. These MAIMONIDES divides into three kinds. "*Prima species est illorum, quæ versatur circa plantas, animalia, et metalla. Secunda consistit in circumscriptione et determinatione temporis, quò opera illa sunt facienda. Tertia consistit in gestibus et actionibus humanis, ut saltatione, manuum complosione, clamore, risu, cubatione vel pronâ*

expansione super terram, rei alicujus combustione, fumi accensione, quorundum verborum denique, sive intelligibilium, sive non intelligibilium prolatione.——Sunt autem quædam, quæ non nisi his universis perficiuntur.” “The *first* is that which respects plants, animals and metals. The *second* consists in the limitation and determination of the times in which certain works ought to be performed. The *third* consists in human gestures and actions, as leaping, clapping the hands, shouting, laughing, lying down, or stretching at full length upon the ground, burning particular things, raising a smoke, and lastly repeating certain intelligible or unintelligible words. Some things cannot be completed, without the use of all these rites.” (*Mor. Neb.* P. 3, 37.)

V. PRESENT DESCENDANTS.—It is generally acknowledged that some traces of Zabianism are still to be found both among the HINDOOS and CHINESE in the East, and the MEXICANS and other nations in the South.—See the elegant Dissertations on “*Indian Antiquities*,” by the REV. T. MAURICE, vols. ii. and iii., and the learned work of DR. LELAND on the “*Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation*,” vol. i. part 1, ch. 3. But those who may be considered as the most direct descendants from these ancient idolaters are the GUEBRES or PARSEES of Persia, and the SABIANS of Arabia.

The GUEBRES, or PARSEES, who inhabit Persia, and are scattered through various parts of Hin-

dostan are the acknowledged worshippers of Fire, or the Supreme Deity under that symbol. “Quòd Persæ olim fuerint *Sabaitæ* seu *Sabii*, fidem facit IBN PHACREDDIN ANGJOU Persa in libro *Pharhangh Gjihanghiri* de Persis SHEMI proneptibus loquens in Proœmio suo, *Illorum religio tunc fuit Sabaismus: at tandem facti sunt magi, et œdificarunt œdes ignium.* “Et in eundem sensum auctor libri *Mu'gjizat Pharsi*, p. 224, de Parsarum seris nepotibus refert, *Persæ antiquo tempore erant de religione Sabaitarum stellas colentes, usque ad tempus Gushtasp filii Lohrasp.* Tunc enim eorum religionem reformavit *Zoroastres.*” “That the Persians were formerly Sabians or Zabii, is rendered probable by *Ibn Phacreddin Angjou*, a Persian, who, in his book *Pharhangh Gjihanghiri*, treating of the Persians descended from SHEM, says in the Preface, *Their religion, at that time, was Zabianism; but at length they became Magi, and built fire-temples.* And the author of the book *Mu'gjizat Pharsi*, adopts the same opinion: *In ancient times, the Persians were of the Zabian religion, worshipping the Stars, until the time of GUSH-TASP, son of LOHRASP.* For then ZOROASTER reformed their religion.” (HYDE, *Vet. Pers. Relig. Hist.* c. 3, pp. 4, 85.)

The modern SABIANS, who inhabit the country round about Mount Libanus, believe the unity of GOD, but “pay an adoration to the Stars or the angels and intelligences which they suppose

reside in them, and govern the world under the Supreme Deity." They are obliged to pray three times a day, and they fast three times a year. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them; and abstain from beans, garlick, and some other pulse and vegetables. "They greatly respect the Temple of Mecca and the Pyramids of Egypt, fancying these last to be the sepulchres of SETH, and of ENOCH and SABI, his two sons, whom they look on as the first propagators of their religion. At these structures, they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense." Their principal pilgrimage, however, is to Haran, the supposed birth-place of ABRAHAM. Such is the account of this sect, given by SALE, D'HERBELOT, and HYDE. (Vide SALE's *Koran*, Prelim. Disc. sect. 1; D'HERBELOT, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 714, Edit. Maestrecht, 1776; HYDE, *Vet. Pers. Relig. Hist.* c. 5.)

The MENDAI JEHAÏ or MENDAI IJAHI, sometimes called the *Christians of St. JOHN*, are usually considered as Sabians; but from some of their practices, as baptism, &c., we are inclined to consider them as a distinct sect, who have been confounded with the *Sabians*, from the equivocal use of the Arabic term *Tsaba*, sometimes applied to those who adored the Host of Heaven, and sometimes used as a general term for all those who dissent from the doctrines of MOHAMMED. Future and intelligent travellers must, however, decide the point. (Vide FABRICII

Lux Evangelii, c. 5, p. 119; c. 37, p. 636; and MOSHEIM'S *Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians*, &c., translated by R. S. VIDAL, vol. i. p. 78, note.)

A curious account of an Idol, supposed to be a Zabian one, is given in a letter from W. BODANI, Esq., to MAURICE JOHNSON, Esq., preserved in NICHOLS'S *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*: vol. iii. 567, 568. Lond. 1818. 8vo.; from which the following extract is presented to the reader:—

“ Dear Sir,

“ Tower of London,

“ September 15, 1733.

“ I have sent you a draft of an Idol, sent by a gentleman at Venice, to his friend, an apothecary, in Princes-street, Stockmarket. The Venetian had it from Egypt, by way of Turkey. It is of the exact size of the draft, and carved in alabaster, but now grown of a reddish brown colour. The two drawings are the two sides of one statue, back to back, and have but one pair of legs and arms to both. The Venetians esteem it to be a Dio Adamo, or God Adam, saying, that the Jews have a tradition, that ADAM when first created was thus with EVE at his back; but that GOD, finding that not a proper position for a man and his wife, cut them asunder.¹

(1) STEHELIN, in his work on the *Traditions of the Jews*, observes that, in *Berachoth*, a Talmud-Treatise, it is said, “ that GOD formed ADAM with a double visage.” The pas-

Whatever the Jews' opinion of ADAM may be, I do not esteem this to be their Dio Adamo. Others call it a Janus, but I think with little reason. The characters are very fair and exact in the draft. I have shown these inscriptions to several linguists, who are at a loss to read them; some say they are the antient Persian, others the antient Chaldaic; but from the great affinity with the Arabic, I esteem them to be that antient character, though I am not versed in that language any more than by sight. SIR HANS SLOANE esteems them to be an Egyptian Abraxas.² If I may be allowed a conjecture

sage runs thus: "RABBI JEREMY, SON OF ELJESER, says, GOD created the First Man with two faces; as we read, *Thou hast fashioned me behind and before.*" (Ps. CXXXIX. 5.) Which words RABBI SOLOMON explains thus: "He made him with two faces, one before and the other behind; and cut him in two parts; and out of one part he made EVE." In a treatise entitled *Eruvin*, we read, that ADAM "had a double face, from the words, *Thou hast fashioned me behind and before.*" On these words, SOLOMON writes thus: "He divided him into two parts; for on the one side he was a Male, and on the other a Female." In *Bereschith rabba*, in the eighth *Parasha*, we read these words: "RABBI SAMUEL, SON OF NACHMANS, said, "In the same hour wherein GOD created Man, he made him with two faces, and sawing him asunder, made the back part to each of them, one on this side, the other on that."---J. P. STEHELIN'S *Rabbinical Literature: or the Traditions of the Jews, &c.* Vol. I. pp. 15, 16. Lond. 1748, 8vo. Ed.

(2) The term *Abraxas*, applied to the Supreme Lord or Governor of the Heavens, by BASILIDES, an Alexandrian philosopher and metaphysical theorist of the second century,

this may perhaps be an Idol adored by the *Zabii*, mentioned by SPENCER, in his book, "*De Legibus Hebræorum*," lib. ii. whom he thinks with SCALIGER to be a sect of Chaldeans, Egyptians, Nabatæi, Chananæi, Syri, &c., and whose superstition had infected most of the Eastern nations, and quotes from SHARESTAN,³ "*Zabii coeli exercitum et sydera colebant, tanquam numina, mentibusque divinis animata;*"⁴ and in another place he says, "*Chaldæorum veterum religio circa Solem, lunam, Sydera, Tellurem, forsân et eorum Symbola, versabatur.*"⁵ Now this

was also given to certain gems, on which were engraved various figures of Egyptian invention, intended to serve as amulets or charms. See MOSHEIM's *Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians*, &c. translated by R. S. VIDAL, Esq., Vol. II. pp. 225---232. note (q.) Lond. 1813, 8vo. A curious and elaborate account of the gems called *Abraxas*, accompanied with plates, is given in MONTFAUCON's *Antiquity Explained*, translated by D. HUMPHREYS, Vol. II. p. 2. B. 3. Lond. 1721, fol. Ed.

(3) SPENCER certainly quotes from SHARESTAN, an Arabian author, a passage respecting the derivation of the name appropriated to the idolaters, of whom he is speaking; but the words given here are SPENCER'S OWN. The learned reader who wishes to pursue the subject and see more at large the opinions of the Arabian writers, will do well to consult POCOCKE'S *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, and especially the very learned *Notæ* which are appended. Ed.

(4) "The *Zabii* worshipped the Host of Heaven and the Stars, as Deities animated with Divine minds."

(5) "The objects of the religious worship of the ancient Chaldeans were the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Earth, and perhaps the symbols of these things."

Idol has on its breast the representation of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which are doubtless placed there by religious superstition. The same SPENCER, lib. ii. c. 4. *De Lege Paschatis*, “Superest jam, ut præcipuâ pensi mei defungar parte, et Leges eas singulatim exequar, quas DEUS, ad seculi superstitionem coercendam, et Zabiorum ceremonias abolendas dedit.”⁶ And sect. 1, of the same chapter, “Hoc itaque remedio usus est DEUS, ne superstitionis ejusdem scabies Israelitas ureret; Agnum illum masculum quem Ægyptii inter numina sua præcipua coluerunt, solenniter mactari, et ædium postes agni sanguine aspergi jussit: nam inde faciliè cognascerent Israelitæ, arieti nihil inesse divinitatis, et, animal illud contumeliosè tractando, se non minùs ab Ægypti superstitione quàm servitute recessuros, indicarent.”⁷ This Idol being thus cloathed with the lamb’s skin confirms me some-

(6) “It now remains for me to fulfil the principal part of my task, and to go over, one by one, the laws which God established to repress the superstition of the age, and to abolish the ceremonies of the Zabii.”

(7) “To save the Israelites from the contagion of that superstition, God employed the following remedy: He ordered that the male lamb, which the Egyptians worshipped as one of their principal deities, should be solemnly sacrificed, and that the doors of the temple should be sprinkled with its blood, because the Jews would thence easily perceive that the ram had nothing in it of a Divine nature; and by treating the animal so roughly they would show their determination to be free from the superstition of Egypt as well as from its servitude.”

thing more in this conjecture, unless it may be objected as improper to represent about this Idol the flayed skin of a beast held by the devotees in such professed veneration.

“ W. BOGDANI.”

The learned BRUCKER, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, has attempted to prove that the Zabii were of more modern date than is usually ascribed to them; and supposes them to have appeared only a short time before the birth of MOHAMMED, and their system of opinions to have been an heterogeneous mass, compounded of Judaism, Magianism, and Christianity. His arguments, however, are formed from considering the remains of this people and their superstitions at too recent a period of their existence, to allow them force, in opposition to the united testimony of the Arabian writers, who uniformly contend for their early Chaldaic origin, however they may differ in minor points relative to their opinions or practices. Nor can we agree with him that we ought to discard the Arabian authors, because the Greek and Roman writers are silent respecting the ancient Zabii, since this mode of reasoning would equally apply to many other statements of indubitable authority, and might partially be applied to Christianity itself; whilst on the contrary the strange relations of HERODOTUS respecting the Arabians, in B. III. of his *History* are sufficient to show, that even the Greek Historians may mislead. On the

whole, therefore, we conclude that the ZABII were among the most early idolaters; that many of the Mosaic precepts were designed to counteract their influence; and that although the Arab impostor MOHAMMED endeavoured to reclaim his countrymen from their idolatries by introducing a system contrived to gain the sensual and ambitious of all parties, a few adhered to their former superstitions, who gradually seceding from some opinions and practices and adopting others from their Heathen, Christian, and Mohammedan neighbours, gave rise to the modern Zabians, by whatever name they are designated, and occasioned them to differ almost totally from the ancient Zabii against whom certain parts of the Mosaic Ritual were directed. (ENFIELD'S *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I. B. I. chap. 6. BERGIER, *Dictionnaire de Theologie*, Tom. VII. art. SABAISME.)

II.

ON THE ONOLATRIA, OR WORSHIP OF THE ASS ;

(Calumniously ascribed to the Jews and Primitive Christians).

THE celebrated Latin historian, TACITUS, in lib. v. of his History, after attempting to account for the exodus of the Jews out of Egypt, and their deliverance from perishing by thirst in the desert, by following a company of wild asses, adds, “*Effigiem animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitinique depulerant, penetrali sacravere.*” “They therefore consecrated the image of the beast, by whose guidance they had been delivered from perplexity and thirst.”

The calumnious report which he thus adopted, he himself does not appear to have believed, for in the same book, he affirms, “*Ægyptii pleraque animalia effigiesque compositas venerantur Judæi mente solâ, unumque numen intelligunt. Igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sunt.*” “The Egyptians worship almost all kinds of animals, and images formed by art. The Jews adore but one God, without any visible resem-

blance. They therefore have no images either in their cities or temples." Wherefore then did he retail an unfounded calumny? Doubtless to depreciate a people, whom he, and his nation hated on account of the peculiar and exclusive nature of their religion. Nor was he singular in this aspersion, for APION, before him, had urged it against them;¹ and had asserted that when ANTIOCHUS prophaned and plundered the temple he found in it the image of an ass's head, made of *gold*, of very great value. DIODORUS SICULUS² relates a similar story, but says it was a *stone* statue which was found in the temple, and represented a man, with a long beard, riding upon an ass, who was supposed to be MOSES. DAMOCRITUS³ also charges the Jews, not only with the worship of the golden ass's head, but with offering to it human sacrifices; for, says he, every seventh year the Jews seize some stranger, whom they tear in pieces, and offer as a sacrifice to the ass's head:—and PLUTARCH⁴ gravely supports the belief of the asinine worship by observing, that as the Jews worshipped an ass that showed them the way to a fountain of water when they were ready to perish with

(1) Joseph. contra Apion.

(2) Lib. xxxiv. Eclog. I. p. 901.---See Turner's *Calumnies upon the Primitive Christians accounted for*. Chap. iv. p. 106. Lond. 1727. 8vo.

(3) Suid. Lex. sub voc. Ἰουδαίος.

(4) Sympos. 4. cap. 5.

thirst in the wilderness, so they worship a hog, as being the inventor of ploughing and sowing.

To discover the origin of these odious charges is difficult, as is sufficiently evidenced by the diversity of opinions among the learned. **TER-TULLIAN** mentions an infamous gladiator, who exhibited a picture with this inscription "ONOCCHOETES, the God of the Christians," representing a monster, with the ears of an ass, a hoof on one foot, a book in another, and clothed with a gown, a circumstance, which some have conjectured affords a plausible account of the origin of the calumny urged against the Christians. Others are of opinion that, the first occasion for this vile reflection upon the Christian worship was given by the Gnostic heretics, some of whom worshipped a fictitious angel or demon, under the form of an ass. The heretics called *Ophiani*, from worshipping a Serpent, had their seven heavens, according to the Gnostic scheme, over which they supposed so many angels or intelligences presided, and that in the seventh, *Onoel*, or *Thartharaoth* presided, under the similitude of an ass; but other heretics called the governor of the seventh heaven *Sabaoth*, to which some of them attributed the likeness of an ass, and others that of a hog; and some represented certain of these governors as having the *head of an Ass*.⁵

(5) Origen contra Celsum, l. vi. pp. 295—297; Reeves's

LE FEVRE⁶ conjectures that the schismatic temple erected in the province of Heliopolis, in Egypt, being called Ὀνιοῦ ναός (*Oniou naos*) and Ὀνισίον (*Onision*;) the surrounding Pagans invented the fable, that the ass ὄνος (*Onos*), was worshipped there. RELAND⁷ contends, that the vase which contained the manna laid up in the ark, was of the kind termed ὄνους (*Onous*), and that from the similarity of this word to ὄνος (*Onos*), arose the belief of the Asinine worship of the Jews. The author of the work *Laus Asinis* believes that Οὐρανός (*Ouranos*) was sometimes abbreviated and written Οὔνος (*Ounos*), and that the heathens, either from ignorance or malice, read it, ὄνος (*Onos*). THYSIUS⁹ supposes that as the ass was appropriated to BACCHUS, and the Pagans maintained, from the institution of the Feast of Tabernacles, &c. that the Jews were worshippers of the drunken god; the report might be circulated that they worshipped the ass itself. DILHERRUS¹⁰ supposes that the calumny arose from the misunderstanding of Genesis xxxiv. 24; where the words אֶת הַיָּמִים may be rendered

Apologies, Vol. i. p. 239; Turner's Calumnies upon the Primitive Christians, pp. 97—99. Lond. 1727. 8vo.

(6) Jurieu Hist. des Dogmes, P. 4. Chap. 4.

(7) Saurin, Discours Historiques, &c. Tom. 2; Disc. 1, p. 150, 8vo.

(8) Bochart. Hieroz. Lib. ii, Cap. 18, T. 1.

(9) A. Thysii Exercitationes Miscellanæ, apud Crenii Fascic. T. 4. Exercit. 9.

(10) Dilherri Farrago, apud Crenii Fascic. T. 8. Cap. 13.

accordingly as they are differently pointed, either *Mules*, or *Waters*. JURIEU¹¹ thinks that the most probable opinion is, that the Pagans mistook one of the faces of the Cherubim, particularly that of the ox, for that of an ass: whilst the modest and profoundly learned BOCHART¹² is of opinion that the report arose from the frequent use, in the Hebrew Scriptures, of the words פִּי יְהוָה (*Pi Jehovah*), which, when pronounced *Pi Jao*, are in sound similar to the Coptic ΠΙΕΩ *an ass*; and that on this circumstance APION founded the calumny.

Among so many discordant, but well defended opinions, it is not easy to decide which ought to be preferred. Instead of adopting any one to the exclusion of the rest, I would rather suppose that the report was raised and gained strength by the combined influence of most or all of these causes; to which may be added *another* from the language of the Prophetic Scriptures. I particularly allude to the memorable prophecy of ZECHARIAH, chap. ix. ver. 9: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee; he is just, and having salvation, lowly and riding upon *an ass*, and upon a *colt the foal of an ass*." This prophecy was one which the Jews regarded with peculiar attention, referring it to the Messiah, and frequently

(11) Jurieu Hist. des Dogmes, P. 4, ch. iv. p. 748.

(12) Bochart. Hieroz. Lib. ii. cap. 18, Tom. 1.

dwelling upon the circumstance of his riding upon *an ass*, as a proof of his humility. We therefore find the Talmudists endeavouring to reconcile, what they considered as a discordancy in their Scriptures; for in *Sanhed*, cap. xi. fol. 98, it is said,¹³ “Rabbi JOSUEM filius LEVI objecit, scriptum est de Messiâ: Dan. cap. vii. ver. 13. ‘Et ecce cum nubibus cœli, sicut filius hominis venit.’ At Zachar. cap. ix. ver. 9, de eodem scriptum est, ‘Pauper et insidens asino.’ *Resp.* Si Israelitæ digni sunt, veniet cum nubibus cœli; si non sunt digni, veniet pauper, et asino insidens.”—“RABBI JOSHUA SON OF LEVI objects, that it is written concerning the Messiah: Dan. vii. 13.—‘Behold one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven.’—But in Zachariah, ix. 9, it is written, of the same person, ‘Poor and riding upon an ass.’—*Ans.* If the Israelites be worthy, he will come ‘with the clouds of heaven;’ but if they be not worthy, he will come ‘poor and riding upon an ass.’”—The Rabbins have also fabled,¹⁴ that *the ass* upon which the Messiah will ride, will be one with *a thousand excellencies*, and the same upon which ABRAHAM and the Prophets formerly rode: From this frequent writing and speaking of the ass, the heathens were probably confirmed

(13) Bochart. Hieroz. Lib. ii. cap. 27.

(14) Buxtorf Lex Talmud. sub. voce אָסוּר. Relandi Dissert. Miscell.—Pars Altera. Dissert. ix. p. 288, sub voce אָסוּר.

in the foolish supposition, that the stupid animal was worshipped by the Jews.

It is also worthy of notice, as a curious fact, that although the Egyptians reproached the Jews with worshipping the ass, they themselves were in the same condemnation, for the ass was the symbol of *Typhon*, or the Evil Principle deified, and in celebrating their religious rites in the months *Payni* and *Phaophi*, which answer to our June and October, they baked cakes, on which the image of an ass bound was represented. SCALIGER (*Emend. Tempor*) even pretends, that פַּעַנָּה, the name given by PHAROAH to JOSEPH, was no other, than that of the month *Payni*, when the symbol of the ass was offered up as a sacrifice; and SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND, thinks it not unlikely, that in order to humiliate the Hebrews during their servitude in Egypt, and to pervert their minds from the true religion, the Egyptians compelled them to observe these idolatrous practices.¹⁵ If these conjectures be admitted, they afford a plausible reason for supposing that among the Jews who were liberated from Egyptian bondage, there were some who retained an attachment to these rites, and occasionally practised them; and from whom others learned them, and gave occasion, in times of general defection, to the belief that the ass was an object of idolatrous devotion.

(15) Classical Journal, No. VII. Sep. 1811, p. 69.

When Christianity began to be preached, the slander raised at first against the Jews was readily transferred to the Christians by the opponents of the Gospel, who not unfrequently regarded the Jews and Christians as one body. GRONOVIOUS¹⁶ indeed, conceives that this calumny as urged against the Christians might originate in having their houses ornamented with paintings of CHRIST'S entry into Jerusalem;* and LORD HAILES affirms,¹⁷ that we are "indebted to CELSUS for the discovery of the origin of a tale, at which TERTULLIAN could only guess, and which was unknown to MINUCIUS." I confess, however, I see nothing in the paintings of CHRIST'S entry into Jerusalem, or in the fanciful scheme of CELSUS, of Seven Celestial Intelligences, worshipped by the Christians, of which the seventh bore the countenance of an ass, that can justify the belief of either of them being the cause of the detestable accusation against the followers of CHRIST. But it is well known that the Christians and Jews were often confounded with each other by their pagan adversaries.

(16) Minuc. Felix. cum, not. var. Davisii, p. 56, n. 7.

* The ancient Christians not only ornamented their houses with paintings of CHRIST'S triumphal entry into Jerusalem, but frequently caused it to be sculptured on their most magnificent Sarcophagi. ARINGHIUS, (in his *Roma Subterranea*, Tom. I. pp. 295, 620. Rome, 1681, fol.) has given plates of these representations.

(17) Dalrymple's Octavius, p. 143, note.

SUETONIUS,¹⁸ when speaking of the reign of CLAUDIUS, says, “Judæos impulsore *Chresto* assiduè tumultuantes Româ expulit.”—“He expelled the Jews from Rome, because they became riotous through the instigations of *Chrestus*.” *Chrestus* being thus spelt for *Christus*, from the Greeks sometimes spelling the word with a diphthong¹⁹ Χρῆιστος: agreeably to the words of LACTANTIUS,²⁰ “Quidam *Christum*, immutatâ literâ, soliti sunt dicere *Chrestum*.”—“Some persons by changing a letter are accustomed to say *Chrest* instead of CHRIST.” DIO also, in the life of DOMITIAN, speaking of ACILIUS GLABRIO, a man of Consular dignity, says he was accused of Atheism, and put to death for turning to the *Jewish* religion; which as BARONIUS observes, (An. 94, n. 1,) must mean the Christian religion, for which he was a martyr.²¹ SPARTIAN also informs us, (in Caracal. c. 1,) that CARACALLA’S play-fellow was of the *Jewish* religion; though it is certain he was a Christian, since TERTULLIAN (ad. Scapul. c. 4,) assures us that CARACALLA was nursed by a Christian, “Lacte Christiano educatus.”²² The Jews and Christians being

(18) Sueton, Claud. c. 25.

(19) Aug. de Civit. Dei.

(20) Lactant. De vera Sapientia, c. 7.—et Hottingeri Eccles. Hist. T. I. c. 1. § 3, p. 37.

(21) Bingham’s Antiquities of the Christian Church, Vol. I. § 10, p. 11, 8vo.

(22) Bingham’s Antiquities of the Christian Church, p. 12.

thus considered by their enemies, as professors of the same religion, nothing less could be expected than that what was urged to depreciate the one would be equally urged to injure the other, and both be exposed to the same calumnies and misrepresentations.

III.

ON THE CHARACTER OF MARY MAGDALENE.

VARIOUS have been the opinions formed respecting the woman mentioned in Luke vii. 37, 38; of whom the Evangelist says, "Behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that JESUS sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment, and stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment." The best founded opinion seems to be that she was the same as MARY MAGDALENE, out of whom our blessed LORD cast "seven devils." Luke viii. 2. The establishment, or disproof of this identity, I leave to those critics who have treated professedly upon the subject.*

* See CALMET's Dissertation "*sur les trois Maries*," in his "*Commentaire Litterale, &c.*," or in his "*Dissertations qui peuvent servir de Prolegomenes*," &c., T. iii. p. 437. DR. A. CLARKE's Commentary on Matt. xxvi. 7. &c. &c.

But since it has been supposed, by a most illogical train of reasoning, that because MARY MAGDALENE had suffered from being possessed by *seven demons*, that she must have been a notorious prostitute, and that similar depravity is intended to be marked by the term *sinner*, a few remarks will be offered,—

I On the origin of the obloquy cast upon the character of MARY MAGDALENE. And, II. On the application of the term "*sinner*," to the woman mentioned by LUKE.

I. That the opinion entertained of the vicious conduct of MARY MAGDALENE originated with the Jews, is at least highly probable. Urged by their hatred to Christianity, they have, at different periods adopted a practice similar to that of VOLTAIRE in *Le Taureau Blanc*, and other infidel publications, in which attempts are made to render the Sacred Volume the object of contempt and ridicule, by associating ludicrous and profane representations with the facts recorded in the Holy Scriptures. Of this procedure by the Jews, there needs no other proof than that afforded by the "תולדות ישו" *Toldoth Yeshu*," in which many of the facts related by the Evangelists, are associated with the most obscene and detestable falsehoods, as may be seen on a slight inspection of the work, published with a Latin translation and a learned refutation, in WAGENSEIL's *Tela Ignea Satanae*; or an abridged

view of it given by the REV. J. KINGHORN, of Norwich, in a sermon, intitled, *The Miracles of JESUS not performed by the Power of the SHEM-HAMPHORASH*, preached at the Jews' Chapel, London, in 1811.

In the instance under consideration, the prevalent opinion is probable derived from a Talmudical figment, in which the *equivoque* of the word מגדלא, (*Magdala*) forms the ground-work of the tale. I quote the translation of DR. LIGHTFOOT. (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 270.) "There are some who find a fly in their cup, and take it out, and will not drink: such was PAPUS BEN JUDAS, who locked the door upon his wife, and went out." Where the Glossers say thus: "PAPUS BEN JUDAS was the husband מרימ מגדלא נשיא (*Miriam Magdala nashia*) of MARY, the plaiter of women's hair; and when he went out of his house into the street he locked his door upon his wife, that she might not speak with any body; which, indeed, he ought not to have done; and hence sprang a difference between them, and she brok out into adulteries."—See ALPHESIUS on *Gittim*.

She is also said to have been the mother of BEN SATDA, who was "hanged on the passover-eve." On which DR. L. remarks, "As they contumeliously reflect upon the LORD JESUS, under the name of BEN SATDA, so there is a shrewd suspicion that under the name of מגדלא מרימ (*Mary Magdala*), they also cast reproach upon MARY MAGDALENE;" מגדלא (*Magdala*),

signifying both a town on the lake of Genesareth, and a plaiter or curler of hair.

II. As to the term "*sinner*" made use of by ST. LUKE, there can be no hesitation in acknowledging that the Greek word *αμαρτωλος* (*amartolos*;) the term adopted by the Evangelist, generally means a sinner, in the common acceptation of the word, though without marking any extraordinary turpitude, so as to justify the opinion entertained of this woman's former depravity and prostitution. The same word is also sometimes used both in the *New Testament* and in the *Septuagint* or Greek Version of the *Old Testament*, to signify a *Gentile* or *Heathen*, as is allowed by the learned lexicographer SCHLEUSNER, who, notwithstanding his leaning to the common opinion, gives the following as his definition of *Αμαρτωλος*: *Paganus, gentilis, idolorum cultor*,—"A Pagan, a Gentile, a Worshipper of *Idols*." And in proof of this definition refers to Exodus, xxxii. 31, 35, and 1 Kings, xiv. 16; where acts of idolatry are emphatically distinguished by the term *חטאת*, (*chattaah*) or *sin*;—to Matt. xxvi. 45; *ο υιος ανθρωπου παραδιδεται εις χειρας των αμαρτωλων*, "the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of *sinner*s;" compared with the parallel passage, Luke xviii. 32; *παραδοθησεται τοις εθνεσιν*,—"he shall be delivered unto the *Gentiles*;"—Luke vi. 32, 33, compared with Matt. v. 47;—also Mark xiv. 41; Luke xxiv. 7;—and Galatians ii. 15; where *οι εξ*

εθνων αμαρτωλοι,—“sinners of the Gentiles,” are opposed τοις φυσει Ιουδαιοις,—to “Jews by nature: thus also 1 Samuel xv. 18, ח'נמך, “the sinners,” explained by adding “the Amalekites,” who were idolaters.

The prejudices of the Jews in behalf of their own nation are well known. Regarding themselves as the exclusive favourites of **JEHOVAH**, they considered all others as “unclean,” treated them with contempt, and pronounced them “sinners,” and their touch “defiling.” In the vocabulary of the Jew, “heathen” and “sinner” were synonymous terms; and hence it is more than probable that the woman who anointed our **LORD**'s feet had been a *heathen*, and not a *prostitute*, and that it was her former heathenism which occasioned the reasoning of **SIMON**:—“This man, if he were a Prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman this is that *toucheth* him, for she is a *sinner*.” v. 39. This opinion is confirmed by remarking that her conduct is more clearly elucidated by an appeal to Gentile, than to Jewish customs. The most classical and interesting illustration of this narrative that I have met with, is in a scarce and valuable French work, *Explications de plusieurs textes difficiles de l'Écriture; par le R. P. Dom. * * * Religieux Benedictin de la Congregation de Saint Maur. Paris, 1730. 4to.* with plates. The following extract will, at least, be deemed curious, even by those who do not accord with the writer in his views of the term **Αμαρτωλος**, “sinner.”

After endeavouring to establish, by various proofs, and with a considerable display of learned research, that “the word *Αλαβαστρον* (*alabastron*) made use of by the Sacred Writer, was not intended to express the material of which the vessel was made, which contained the odoriferous unguent, but simply the vessel itself abstractedly considered,” he proceeds to observe that, “the most that can be said of this vessel as remarkable is, that it probably was one of those which the gayer females were curious and eager to possess, and by way of distinction bore the name of *Paphian Alabasters*.¹

“The effusion of the perfume on the feet of our DIVINE REDEEMER is a trait in the character of this woman marking a noble and generous disposition. It was an excess of magnificence never displayed but at great feasts, and then only at the dessert or close of the festivity, as we learn not merely from the passage of the Gospel we are explaining, but from many other authors,² particularly the description of the feast of Trimalcion, by PETRONIUS.³ “Towards the conclusion of the repast,” says he, “young slaves, with unheard of luxury, brought odoriferous unguents in a silver dish, and with them perfumed the feet of those who were reclined at table.

(1) Anthol. lib. i. c. 10. epig. 2.

(2) Vide Athenae. lib. xiii. et alibi. Plaut. mil. glor. act. iii. sc. 2. v. 11.

(3) Petron. c. 7.

“RHODIGINUS had not attended to this passage when he asserted without foundation, that perfumes were never used for guests, except at the dessert.⁴ It is certain, that in this he was mistaken, as he was also in supposing that there were various kinds of essences for the feet different from those made use of to perfume the other parts of the body. ATHENAEUS⁵ enters into a long detail on this subject, and mentions particularly those of *Baccharis* and *Megallius*, the *Oil of Egypt*, and the *Essence of Marjoram*, with others, which it would be tedious to enumerate.

“The generous female of whom we are speaking would, doubtless, procure the most exquisite and precious, for no motives could be more noble or more pious than those from which she acted. To discover these we need only to remark the solicitude with which she wiped the feet of JESUS CHRIST with the hairs of her head.

“Her *first* view was to manifest that JESUS CHRIST was the only object of her love. In fact, we find that the ancients accounted it one of the most illustrious proofs of affection to wipe away the tears of those whom they most tenderly loved, with the hair of her head. APULEIUS remarks this of CUPID, with reference to PSYCHE.⁶ TRIMALCION brought up many beautiful slaves,

(4) Lib. xxvii. c. 24. p. 1049, et. seq.

(5) Ubi supra.

(6) Metam. lib. iv. p. 152, edit. Delph.

who nourished their hair expressly for the purpose of wiping his hands with it.⁷ A freed-man of the same TRIMALCION, when sounding his own praise, boasts, in PETRONIUS, of having purchased the liberty of the wife who had been given to him whilst a slave, that no one might have the honour of wiping his hands upon her hair.⁸ Finally, in ARISTOPHANES, CLEON raised to the government of Athens, is represented, in endeavouring to preserve his post, which others were vigorously endeavouring to obtain, by condescending to the meanest flattery, in assuring the Athenians, that when they blew their nose they might wipe their hands⁹ on the hair of his head,¹⁰ and he would willingly suffer it.

“The *second* object of this female “sinner” was publicly to acknowledge the Divinity of the SAVIOUR, and obtain mercy from him. In proof of this truth, we allege the constant and invariable custom, practised by the women in times of public calamity of running to the temples with dishevelled locks, and sweeping them with their hair. Thus the Roman ladies to stay the plague which was devastating the city of Rome, remained prostrate in the temples, and

(7) Petron. c. 27, sub. fin.

(8) Idem. c. lvii, p. 284, edit. Burman.

(8) Neither translators nor scholiasts appear to have understood this passage.

(10) Aristoph. equit. p. 343.

swept them with their hair.¹¹ And in a similar manner also PSYCHE to touch the heart of CERES who was incensed against her, falls weeping at the feet of the goddess, and sweeps her footsteps as she treads.¹² The men are often influenced by women, and it is observable, that on many critical occasions they had no other resource to render their gods propitious, than by sweeping the temples with their hair and beard.¹³ This crowd of examples and authorities invincibly establishes, we conceive, the motives here attributed to the “woman who was a sinner.”

If it be objected, that ST. JOHN, ch. xi. 2, says of MARY, the sister of LAZARUS, “It was that MARY which anointed the LORD with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair;” and that the application of the term *αμαρτωλος* (*sinner*), as signifying a “Gentile or Heathen,” must therefore be altogether irrelevant; it is replied, that similarity of action does not necessarily imply identity of person, and that a comparison of Luke vii. 36—50, with John xii. 1—9, will be sufficient to convince the attentive reader, that there must have been two distinct occasions on which the feet of our LORD were anointed, on the former of them by the woman

(11) Livi Dec. 1. lib. iii.

(12) Apul. Metam. lib. vi. p. 174, et lib. xi. p. 189, edit. Delph. Vide Ovid Trist. l. i. eleg. 3.

(13.) Sil. Italic. lib. xii. Vide Barth. Statii. Theb. ix. v. 375.

termed *a sinner*; on the latter by the sister of LAZARUS. Besides, if the term “sinner” as an epithet denoting atrocious criminality were applied to MARY of Bethany, it would ill accord with her general character, or with the friendship shown to LAZARUS and his sisters by our LORD and his disciples, and the sympathy manifested by many of the Jews to MARTHA and MARY, on the death of their brother, John xi. 31.

On the whole, therefore, I conclude, that it is probable that the woman mentioned by ST. LUKE, and called in the English translation “*a sinner*” had formerly been *a heathen*, but whether subsequently a proselyte to Judaism or not, is uncertain; and that having been brought to the knowledge of Christian truths, and having found mercy from the REDEEMER, she pressed into SIMON’S house, and gave the strongest proofs of her gratitude and veneration, by anointing the SAVIOUR’S feet, bedewing them with her tears, and wiping them with the hairs of her head:—that by a wilful and malicious misrepresentation, the Jews confounded MARY MAGDALENE with MARY the mother of JESUS, and represented her as an infamous character:—and that from the blasphemous calumny of the Jews, a stigma of infamy has been affixed to the name of MARY MAGDALENE, and caused her to be regarded in the false light of a penitent prostitute.

IV.

ON THE ANCIENT CHRISTIAN VIGILLE.

THE early Christian VIGILS were variously denominated; by the Latins they were called *Vigilia*, *Pervigilia*, and *Pernoctationes*, and by the Greeks Παννοκιδες, (*Pannuchides*,) terms implying nocturnal watchings, or religious services performed during the night. Thus CHRYSOSTOM, (*Hom. 4, de verbis Esaïæ*) says, "Go into the church, and there see the poor continuing from midnight to the break of day:—go and see the holy pernoctations (Παννοκιδας,) joining night and day together:—behold the people of CHRIST, fearing neither by night nor by day the tyranny of sleep, or the necessities of poverty;" and again, (*Hom. 59, in Martyres*) "Ye have turned the night into day by keeping your holy stations all the night."¹

(1) See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Vol. V. B. 13, ch. ix. pp. 282, 284. Lond. 1719, 8vo.

They originated in times of persecution. For Christianity being opposed by both Jews and Pagans, the Christians were obliged to perform their devotions in the most retired and secret manner, in order to avoid discovery and interruption, or imprisonment and death. They generally assembled *in the night* for religious purposes, and frequently chose the Catacombs,* or Cemeteries of the Christians, as the places of meeting most secluded from public observation; hence their enemies designated them as “*Latebrosa et lucifugax natio*,—a people lurking in caverns and shunning the light.”² In more recent times similar persecutions have produced similar precautions. In 1468, an edict was issued against the United Brethren in Bohemia, by which they were declared outlaws,

* “The *Catacombs* are the ancient cemeteries of the Christians. They are dug on all sides of the city (of Rome,) in a very regular manner, and the bodies of the dead are arranged in them, in separate caverns, on each hand, the caverns being shut up with brick or mortar. Those near Naples and Nola are spacious, and cut in stony ground. The Roman Catacombs are narrow and dark, and, except those of St. Sebastian and St. Agnes, too low for strangers to visit with any satisfaction, or for persons to walk in, without often crawling with great difficulty; and the ground (which is too soft a mould to support large caverns like those of Naples,) is in many places fallen in. These caverns about Rome are so numerous, and of such extent, (each shooting into several branches,) that they may be called a city under ground.”
 BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. X. p. 304, note.

(2) Minuc. Felicit' Octavian, c. 8.

and an injunction laid upon the states of each district to seize and punish them at pleasure. Their bishop was imprisoned till the death of the king: and the “surviving brethren saw themselves,” says their historian, “under the necessity of keeping close, retreating into the thickest woods, and (to escape being detected even then) of hiding by day in the holes and clefts of the rocks. To prevent their being discovered by the smoke, they made no fire, but by night, at which they read their bibles, and prayed. When it had snowed hard, and they were forced to go out through the deep snow in quest of their support, they went one behind the other, and the last dragged a *branch* after him in order to fill up and hide the track. From these caves and pits they got afterwards the name of *Jannici*, or *Grubenheimer*, (in German,) that is, persons who dwelt in caves.”³

The Nocturnal Assemblies for Divine worship thus commenced during persecution, were continued in times of peace, but restricted chiefly to the nights preceding the LORD’S day, or the principal festivals, particularly Easter and Christmas, though afterwards extended to the eves of the days on which they commemorated the deaths of the Martyrs.

The Vigil, or Watch-night, was generally

(3) Cranz History of the Brethren, P. II. p. 30. Lond. 1780. 8vo.

preceded by fasting; and the night itself spent in reading the Scriptures, in religious discourses and prayer, and in singing Psalms. BASIL, in one of his Epistles, (*Ep. 63, ad Neocæsari.*) has given a description of the celebration of the *Vigiliæ*, in defence of the practices of his own church against some who charged it with innovation. "The customs," says he, "which now prevail among us, are consonant and agreeable to all the churches of God. For with us the people rising early whilst it is night, come to the House of Prayer, and there with much labour, and affliction, and contrition, and tears, make confession of their sins to God. When this is done, they rise from prayers, and dispose themselves to psalmody: sometimes dividing themselves into two parts, they answer one another in singing. After this they again permit one alone to begin the psalm, and the rest join at the close of every verse; and thus with this variety of psalmody they carry on the night, intermingling prayers with their psalms. At last when the day begins to break forth, they all in common, as with one mouth and heart, offer up to God the Psalm of Confession,* every one making the words of this Psalm to be the expression of his own repentance."⁴

* Psalm LI. was called by the ancient Christians the *Psalm of Confession*.

(4) Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Vol. V. B. 13. Ch. X. sect. xiii. p. 334. See also Eusel. *Eccles.*

The Churches were on these occasions sometimes brilliantly lighted, and the concourse of persons who attended was unusually great. PRUDENTIUS, a Christian Poet of the fourth century, describing the martyrdom of ST. LAURENCE, introduces the heathen judge, telling him, "that he had heard how they sacrificed in silver, and had the wax lights set in gold for the use of their night assemblies."⁵ EUSEBIUS states, that after CONSTANTINE the Great had obtained the Empire, he not only countenanced the practice, but also attended the devotions :—"Every day," says he, "at stated hours, he shut himself up within the inmost rooms of his Imperial Palace, where he conversed alone with God ; and falling upon his knees, made his request in humble supplication, that he might obtain those things of which he stood in need. But on the days of the salutary festival, he raised the vigour of his religious exercises and meditations, and with his utmost strength of body and mind performed the office of a prelate or pontiff ; and with cheerfulness and diligence, he himself led on all persons to the celebration of the feast. The Sacred Vigil he turned into the brightness of the day, pillars of wax of a vast height being lighted up all over the city by those persons to whom the

Hist. lib. ii. c. 17 : and Bergier, Dict. de Theologie. Tom. vii. art. Vigile.

(5) Bingham, *ut sup.*

affair was given in charge. Torches likewise were kindled, which enlightened all placés, so that this mystic Vigil was rendered brighter than the most glorious day. As soon as the day-light appeared, in imitation of our SAVIOUR'S beneficence,* he reached out a bountiful hand to all nations, provinces, and people, and bestowed on all persons the richest sorts of gifts." The remarks of VALESIIUS on this celebration of the Vigil by CONSTANTINE, still further illustrate the subject. His words are, "The Christians in the Vigil of the Feast of Easter lighted a great number of wax tapers, which having been done by them within the church only, CONSTANTINE gave orders that without the church also tapers should every where be lighted, in honour of so great a festival : and whereas lights were usually kindled in the night in great cities, CONSTANTINE would have far more and larger torches lighted up on that night, to the end that he might induce the minds of the heathen to a veneration of the Christian Religion. Thus GREGORY NAZIANZEN says, (*Orat. 2 de Pascha*) that then the lights were usually kindled both in private and public, so that by reason of the multitude of

* This passage refers particularly to the alms which CONSTANTINE used to bestow annually at Easter, in memory of the benefits conferred upon mankind at that period by JESUS CHRIST ; a custom practised by the ancient Christians in general.

lights, lighted up by persons of all ages and degrees, the night was rendered transcendantly bright.”⁶

SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, another early ecclesiastical historian, relates an occurrence during the reign of the Emperor ARCADIUS, which illustrates the mode of celebrating the *Vigilie* at that period, and strongly marks the hatred which subsisted between the Arians and the orthodox Christians. The Arians not being allowed to have Churches within the walls of Constantinople, assembled under the piazzas in the city; and sang hymns during the whole of the night, and then withdrew, singing as they went to their meeting-places without the gates. CHRYSOSTOM, the Archbishop, fearing lest the more ignorant among the people should be enticed from the church by this practice, appointed persons of his communion to engage in similar services; and to add to the pomp and splendor of the nocturnal psalmody; invented silver crosses on which wax-tapers were carried. The expense of these was borne by the Empress, who also appointed BRISON, one of her eunuchs, as the instructor of the singers. This conduct so enraged the Arians, who were exceedingly numerous, that seizing an opportunity during the celebration of these Vigils to make a violent attack upon the adherents to the orthodox faith,

(6) Euseb, Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. c. 17 : et Vales *in loco*.

an engagement ensued, in which the eunuch, BRISON, was wounded, and some on both sides slain. The Emperor in consequence of this affray, forbad the Arians to sing their hymns any more in the same public manner through the streets.⁷

The *Vigiliæ* were attended by persons of all ages, and both sexes. JEROM, writing to LÆTA, a Roman lady, respecting the education of her daughter, advises her to bring her up in a regular attendance on the nocturnal devotions, in company with herself, but not to suffer her to quit her side. And CHRYSOSTOM commends widows and virgins for frequenting the church, night and day, and singing psalms in these assemblies.⁸

Private Vigiliæ, or spending considerable part of the night by individuals in devotional exercises in the churches, were also frequent in the early ages of Christianity, especially on occasions of distress and difficulty. ALEXANDER, bishop of Constantinople, in the fourth century, alarmed by the exertions of the Arians, and dreading the prevalence of their doctrines, "made God his refuge," says the historian, "and having shut himself up alone in the church called *Irene*, went to the altar, and there falling on the

(7) Socrates, Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 8.

(8) Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, Vol. V. B. 13. c. 9, 10. pp. 293—333.

ground under the holy table, poured forth his prayers, with tears. This he continued to do for many nights and days together. Moreover, he asked of God, and received; for his petition was this, that if ARIUS's opinion were true, he might not see the day appointed for the discussion of it, but if the faith which he himself professed were true, that ARIUS (as the author of all these mischiefs,) might suffer condign punishment for his impiety." This appeal we are assured was speedily followed by the sudden and awful death of ARIUS.⁹

THEODORET, in like manner, relates of THEODOSIUS, the Emperor, that previous to his engaging in battle with EUGENIUS the tyrant, he spent the whole night in an oratory which happened to be in the place where he had pitched his camp.¹⁰ Our own great ÆLFRED also used to rise secretly before day, and hastening to the church, prostrate himself before God in prayer: and CHRYSOSTOM says, (Com. in Ps. cxxxiii,) "Men ought to come to the sanctuary in the night, and pour out their prayers there."¹²

About the close of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, VIGILANTIUS, a priest of Barcelona, opposed the celebration of the *Vigiliæ*,

(9) Socrates, Eccles. Hist. lib. i. c. 37, 38.

(10) Bingham, Vol. III. pt. ii. b. 3, ch. x, p. 286.

(11) Spelman's Life of Ælfred the Great. b. iii. p. 207. Oxford. 1709. 8vo

(12) Bingham, Vol. V. p. 333.

as being the cause of irregular and immoral actions. JEROM replied to him with his accustomed severity, and vindicated the practice by adducing, 1. The words of the Psalmist:—“At midnight will I rise to give thanks unto THEE because of thy righteous judgements:” Ps. cxix. 62. 2. The example of JESUS, who “continued all night in prayer to GOD:” Luke vi. 12. 3. The reproof of CHRIST to his disciples, when finding them asleep, he said, “What, could ye not watch with me one hour?” Luke xxvi. 40. 4. The conduct of the Apostles and first believers, “many” of whom “were gathered together praying” on the night of PETER’S miraculous deliverance from prison, Acts xii. 12: and of PAUL and SILAS, who “at midnight, prayed and sang praises unto GOD.” Acts xvi. 25. 5. The example and exhortations of ST. PAUL, who approved himself as the Minister of CHRIST “in watchings, in fastings,” 2 Cor. vi. 5; xi. 27; and frequently exhorted the Christians to “watchfulness.” And, on the subject of the disorders arising from the *Vigilie*, JEROM further remarked, that every institution might be abused, and therefore what was excellent in itself ought not on that account to be abandoned.¹³ Other Christian fathers have also spoken in commendatory terms of these Vigils, and defended them. AMBROSE, (*Serm.* 19, *Ps.* cxviii. 147,) referring to the

(13) Bergier, Tom. 8. art. *Vigile*.

example of the REDEEMER, observes, "The LORD JESUS continued all night in prayer, not that he wanted the help of prayer, but to set thee an example to copy after. He continued all night in prayer for thee, that thou mightest learn after what manner to pray for thyself."

LANCTANTIUS speaking of the awful events immediately preceding the final judgement, says, "This is the night, which from the advent of our God and KING, is celebrated by us in the *Per-vigil* or night-watch." CHRYSOSTOM compares these nocturnal devotions to the incessant anthems of the angelic choirs:—"By these continued and perfect night stations, you imitate" says he, "the stations of the angelic choir, whilst you offer up psalmody and hymnody without ceasing to your CREATOR. O the wonderful gifts of CHRIST! The armies of angels sing glory to God above, and on earth men keeping their choral stations in the church, sing the same doxology after their example. The Cherubim above cry aloud, "Holy, Holy, Holy," in the trisagion* hymn; and the congregation of men on earth below send up the same, and so a common general assembly is made of the inhabitants of heaven and earth together. Their thanksgiving is one and the same, their exultation the same, their choral station the very

* So called from the word "Holy" being thrice repeated.

same." JEROM likewise, beside the reasons advanced in favor of the *Vigiliæ*, in answer to VIGILANTIUS, has interpreted the term "Watcher" in Dan. iv. 13, as "signifying the angels who always watch, and are ready to obey the commands of God;" and adds, "whence we also, by our frequent pernoctations or night-watches, imitate the office of angels."¹⁴

Superstition gradually pervading the Christian church, extended the keeping of Vigils to *religious services for the dead*, and to *military orders*. In 1241, by a charter of fraternity, betwixt the monks of St. Martins-in-the-fields and the religious of the monastery of Fare or Fars, the monks were enjoined to give immediate notice of the death of any of the fraternity, that the Nocturnal Offices or Vigils might be performed, and Mass celebrated in the morning; and in 1306, when the PRINCE OF WALES, (afterwards EDWARD II.) received the order of a Knight of the Bath,* he kept his Vigils all night, with the other candidates, in the Church of Westminster, by order of his father, agreeably to ordinances prescribed for that order, which described, that "after the Esquire had been in the bath, and habited in the dress of a hermit, he should be led into the

(14) Bingham, Vol. V. B. 13. ch. ix, pp. 290, 293, 294, Lactantius, De Vita Beata, lib. vii. 19. Cantab.

* This ancient Military Order appears to have derived its name from the knights being obliged to go into a *Bath* before they were suffered to hold their Vigils.

chapel, and spend the night in prayer to **JESUS CHRIST**, and the **VIRGIN MARY**, for grace to receive this high temporal honour to their glory and praise, and that of the church and order of chivalry.”¹⁵

A similar principle connected the history of the *Lake-Wake*, or watching with the dead, and that of the *Country Wakes* with the *Vigiliæ*. The term *Lake-wake* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *lic*, or *lice*, a corpse, and *wæcce*, a wake. It is used in this sense by **CHAUCER** in his “*Knight’s Tale* :”—

“The Liche-wake was yhold all that night long :”

And in the Canons of the old Councils, it is said, “Psalms are wont to be sung, not only when the corpse is conducted to church, but that the ancients watched on the night before the burial, and spent the Vigil in singing psalms. In 1343, **JOHN DE STRATFORD**, archbishop of Canterbury, in conjunction with the bishop of his diocese, published certain “*Constitutions*,” in the tenth of which it is said, “It is a devout custom of the faithful to observe night-watches, in behalf of the dead before their burial; and to do it sometimes in private houses, to the intent that the faithful there meeting together and watching might devoutly intercede for them with **GOD** ;”

(15) Du Cange, Glossar, sub. voc. *Vigiliæ et Miles*.

according to the sentiments entertained by the superstitious of that period.

The *Country Wakes* originated in the celebration of anniversary festivals, in honour of the patron-saints of parochial churches. BORLASE, in his *Account of Cornwall*, tells us, that, "The parish feasts instituted in commemoration of the dedication of parochial churches were highly esteemed among the primitive Christians, and originally kept on the Saint's day, to whose memory the church was dedicated. On the eve of this day prayers were said, and hymns were sung all night in the church, and from these watchings the festivals were styled *Wakes*; which name still continues in many parts of England, though the Vigils have been long abolished." From Vigils being kept on the night before the principal festivals, the day preceding the festival gradually obtained the name of the *Vigil of the Feast*, as of Christmas, &c.; and was also frequently called the *Eve*. The religious services of those days were also denominated the *Vigils* of the respective festivals. An old manuscript legend of ST. JOHN the BAPTIST, quoted in DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire*, gives the following account of the origin of these terms:—"Ye shall understand and know how the *Ecyns* were first found in old time. In the beginning of holi Church, it was so that the pepul cam to the Chirche with candellys brennyng, and wold *wake* and coome with light toward to the Chirche in their devociions; and after they fell to lecherie and songs, daunces,

harping, piping, and also to glotony and sinne, and so turned the Holinesse to Cursydoesse: wherefore holy Faders ordeined the pepul to leve that *waking* in Englishe, and it is called *Ecyn*, for at *Ecyn* they were wont to come to Chirche." Some have also supposed that these ancient Wakes gave rise to our present *Fairs*, for great numbers of persons attending at those times, hawkers and pedlars were induced to bring their petty wares for sale, till at length the larger dealers or merchants came and set up stalls and booths in the church yards, from which they were afterwards removed on account of the riots and disturbances which too frequently occurred. In Archbishop THORSEBY'S "Constitutions," in 1363, is the following injunction:—"We firmly forbid any one to keep a market in the churches, the porches, and cemeteries thereunto belonging, or other holy places of our diocese, on the LORD'S day, or other festivals, or to presume to traffic or hold any secular pleas therein." A similar "Constitution" had been published before, in 1268, at a Council held in London, by OTHABON, the Pope's Legate.¹⁶

The suppression of irregularity and disorder in the celebration of the *Vigiliæ*, and the prevention of those evils which appeared occasionally to

(16) Brand's Observations on Popular Antiquities, Ch. II. pp. 22, 29; and Append. p. 399. Lond. 1810. 8vo. Johnson's Canons, &c. Vol. II. A. 1343, 1363, 1368. Lond. 1790. 8vo.

result from them, was repeatedly attempted by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, sometimes by prudential injunctions, and at others by the severest denunciation against those who should prostitute these religious institutions to purposes of immorality and vice. About the year 300, the Council of ELIBERIS or ELVIRA, in Spain, "forbad women to keep Vigils in cemeteries, because that under pretence of prayer, wickedness was often secretly committed:" and in 578, the Council of Auxerre prohibited the Vigils from being held any where, but in the churches." A Synod held at Worcester in 1240, forbad all watchings for the dead, except for purposes of devotion, and classed those among the profane and ungodly who assembled on those occasions with any other design. In the "Constitutions" of Archbishop THORSEBY, issued at York, in 1363, improper conduct during the Vigils of the saints is threatened with suspension and excommunication. Similar canons will be found in the Constitutions of CARDINAL MENDOZA, and in the Council of Toledo in Spain, in the sixteenth century.¹⁷ But every effort to banish the improprieties connected with the *Vigiliæ*, especially whilst connected with prayer for the dead, and worship of the saints,

(17) Bingham, Vol. VII. B. 16, ch. xi. p. 497; Bergier Dict. de Theologie, Tom. viii. art. *Vigile*; Johnson's Canons, A. MCCCLXIII; Du Cange, Glossar. sub. voc. *Pervigilia et Vigilia*.

proved so fruitless that the Roman Catholics restrained them almost wholly to monastic and clerical performance, and the Protestant churches at the reformation almost entirely relinquished them, merely retaining the term *Vigil* as applicable to the days preceding certain festivals.

In the Greek Church they are still retained, but are practised with fewer superstitions than they were formerly in the Romish Churches. SMITH in his *Account of the Greek Churches*, says, "The Priests and Deacons, and other devout persons, observe the *Vigils* preceding the great festivals, spending the whole night in prayer, and reading the history of the Gospel, or the proper lessons for the solemnity, without any interruption; taking their turns, and relieving one another when tired, and so keeping up the *Ἱεροδιακονία*, (*Hierodiakonia*) or sacred ministrations;" and adds, respecting *Easter Eve*, in particular, "At three of the clock, in the afternoon, when their vespers begin, the devout people flock to church. Some continue there all night, and carry with them bread, dates, and figs, and the like, to make use of upon any occasion of any fainting fit. Toward break of day they sing the hymn which begins, "*Glory in the highest.*" After which the Patriarch begins that excellent hymn, the quire immediately follow: Χριστός ἠνέστη. (κ. τ. λ.) "*CHRIST is risen from the dead, having by his death trampled upon death, and given life to those who*

were in their graves :” which they repeat twelve times together.”¹⁸

The only Protestant denomination of Christians, who regularly celebrate the *Vigilie* among them, so far as we know, are the *Wesleyan Methodists*, by whom they are called *Watch-Nights*. They are chiefly held on the last night of the year. The services are commenced by a sermon delivered by one of their ministers ; after which, prayers and exhortations, and singing of hymns are continued till midnight, when the congregation is dismissed after a prayer suited to the lapse of the old and the commencement of the new year. Watch-Nights similarly conducted, but concluded at an earlier hour are also held once in every quarter of a year, in most of their larger societies. The institution of them, among the *Methodists*, appears to have been rather accidental than intentional. The venerable Founder of this society relates their commencement in the following terms in his *Plain Account of the Methodists* : “ About this time” (i. e. of the formation of his Societies) “ I was informed,” says he, “ that several persons in Kingswood frequently met together at the School, and (when they could spare the time) spent the greater part of the night in prayer, and praise, and thanksgiving. Some advised me to put an end to this ; but upon weighing the thing

(18) Smith's Account of the Greck Church, pp. 27, 41. Lond. 1680. 8vo.

thoroughly, and comparing it with the practice of the ancient Christians, I could see no cause to forbid it: rather I believed it might be made of more general use. So I sent them word, I designed to watch with them, on the Friday nearest the full moon, that we might have light thither and back again. I gave public notice of this the Sunday before, and withal, that I intended to preach; desiring they, and they only, would meet there who could do it without prejudice to their business or families. On Friday, abundance of people came. I began preaching between eight and nine, and we continued till a little beyond the noon of night, singing, praying, and praising God.

“This we have continued to do once a month* ever since, in Bristol, London, and Newcastle, as well as Kingswood; and exceedingly great are the blessings we have found therein. It has generally been an extremely solemn season; when the word of God sunk deep into the hearts, even of those who till then knew him not. If it be said, “This was only owing to the novelty of the thing, (the circumstance which still draws such multitudes together at those seasons) or perhaps to the awful silence of the night,” I am not careful to answer in this matter. Be it so: however, the impression then made on many souls has never since been effaced.

* The Watch Nights were at first kept monthly; but afterwards less frequently.---Ed.

Now, allowing that GOD did make use either of the novelty, or any other indifferent circumstance, in order to bring sinners to repentance, yet they are brought; and herein let us rejoice together.

“Now, may I not put the case farther yet? If I can probably conjecture, that either by the novelty of this ancient custom, or by any other indifferent circumstance, it is in my power to “save a soul from death, and hide a multitude of sins,” am I clear before GOD if I do not? If I do not snatch that brand out of the burning?”

In his *Journals*, he adds respecting the first celebration of them in London: “Friday, April 9, 1742, we had the first watch night in London.” * * * “We have often found a peculiar blessing at these seasons. There is generally a deep awe upon the congregation, perhaps in some measure owing to the silence of the night; particularly in singing the hymn with which we commonly conclude:—

• ‘Hearken to the solemn voice!
The awful midnight cry!
Waiting souls, rejoice, rejoice,
And feel the Bridegroom nigh.’”¹⁹

(19) Wesley's Works, Vol. II. p. 140; Vol. VI. p. 289.
Lond. 1809, 1810.

V.

ON THE SORTES SANCTORUM OF THE ANCIENT
CHRISTIANS.

THE SORTES SANCTORUM, or SORTES SACRÆ, LOTS OF THE SAINTS, or SACRED LOTS, were a species of divination practised in the earlier ages of Christianity, and consisted in casually opening the *Sacred Scriptures*, and from the words which first presented themselves, deducing the future *lot* of the inquirer. They were evidently derived from the *Sortes Homericæ*, and *Sortes Virgilianæ** of the Pagans, but accommodated to their own circumstances by the Christians, who being “mingled among the heathen, learned their works. Ps. cvi. 35.

Complete copies of the Old and New Testaments being rarely met with, prior to the inven-

* The *Sortes Homericæ*, and *Sortes Virgilianæ*, or *Homeric* and *Virgilian Lots* were so called from the poems of HOMER and VIRGIL being used as the means of divining the fate of the consulter; the first verse which struck the eye on opening the volume being considered as oracular.

tion of printing, the PSALMS, or the PROPHETS, or the FOUR GOSPELS, were the parts of Holy Writ principally made use of, in these divinatory consultations, which were sometimes accompanied with various ceremonies, and conducted with great solemnity, especially on public occasions. Thus the Emperor HERACLIUS, in the war against the Persians, being at a loss whether to advance, or to retreat, commanded a public fast for three days, which being terminated, he applied to the Gospels, and opened upon a text which he regarded as an oracular intimation to winter in Albania. GREGORY OF TOURS also relates, that MEROVAEUS, being desirous of obtaining the kingdom of Chilperic his father, consulted a female fortune-teller, who promised him the possession of the royal estates; but, to prevent deception, and to try the truth of her prognostications, he caused the PSALTER, the BOOK OF KINGS, and the FOUR GOSPELS, to be laid upon the shrine of St. Martin, and after fasting and solemn prayer, opened upon passages which not only destroyed his former hopes, but seemed to predict the unfortunate events which afterwards befel him.

The President HENAULT, in his *Chronological Abridgment of the History of France*, A. D. 506, says, "This abuse was introduced by the super-

(1) Gataker, *Of the Nature and Use of Lots*, ch. x, p. 343, 2d Ed. Lond. 1627.

stitution of the people, and afterwards gained ground by the ignorance of the bishops, since there were prayers at that time read in the churches for this very purpose. This appears evident from PITHOU'S Collection of Canons, containing some formulæ under the title of *The Lot of the Apostles*, which M. PITHOU, the elder, found at the end of the canons of the Apostles, in the Abbey of Marmoustier."

AUGUSTIN, in an epistle to JANUARIUS, expresses his disapprobation of the *Sortes Sanctorum*, yet acknowledges that he prefers the use of them to other modes of divination frequently practised. "Although it is desirable," says he, "that persons should divine by Lots taken from the pages of the Gospels, rather than run to consult demons, nevertheless I am displeased even with that practice, since it diverts the Oracles of God, which speak of another life, to secular affairs, and the vanity of this world."²

GREGORY, bishop of Tours, in the sixth century, adopted the practice, and sanctioned it by his own example. In his *History of the French*, l. v. c. 49, he relates the following anecdote of himself:—"LEUDASTUS, Count of Tours, who sought to ruin me in the esteem of the queen FREDEGONDA, being come to Tours with evil intentions towards me, I was alarmed at the

(2) Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, Vol. vii. B. 16. C. 5. p. 279; Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, T. xix. p. 292.

danger which threatened me, and therefore retired considerably depressed into my oratory. I there took up the book of *Psalms*, to see whether on opening the volume, I should meet with any thing from which I might derive consolation, which I did exceedingly from this verse which accidentally presented itself: ‘He led them safely, so that they feared not: but the sea overwhelmed their enemies.’” Ps. lxxviii. 53. “In fact,” adds he, “LEUDASTUS dared not to undertake any thing against me.” The Count set out from Tours the same day, and the vessel in which he sailed being wrecked, he only escaped being drowned by his skill in swimming.³

Sometimes the persons who were desirous of prying into futurity, or ascertaining the will of GOD under peculiar circumstances, entered the churches, after solemn preparation, during the celebration of divine service, and regarded the first sentence they heard as the decision of heaven. The before-mentioned prelate notices an interesting occurrence in the life of CONSORTIA, daughter of EUCHERIUS, who died bishop of Lyons in 529, illustrative of a somewhat similar method of obtaining an oracular decision in difficult cases. CONSORTIA having chosen a religious life, determined to take the veil, but

(3) *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions: Recherches Historiques sur les Sorts appeles, Sortes Sanctorum*, par M. l'Abbe du Resnel. Tom. xix. p. 292. Paris, 1753. 4to.

being addressed by a young man of rank and influence, who was desirous of marrying her, found herself placed in a critical situation, knowing that if she refused the offer of marriage she should incur the displeasure of his friends, and create a violent opposition to herself and family. In this dilemma she requested to be allowed seven days to consider of the proposal. These she spent in fasting and prayer. When the time she had fixed had elapsed, the young man, accompanied by the most illustrious matrons of the country, came to receive her answer. "I cannot either accept or refuse you as my husband," said she to him, "all is in the hands of God; but, if you are willing, we will go to the church and have mass said, and afterwards we will lay the Gospels on the altar, and after having offered a prayer together, we will open the book and learn the will of God from the passage which first presents itself to us." The proposition appearing reasonable was accepted, and the preliminary ceremonies being performed, CONSORTIA opened the volume and read, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." Matt. x. 37. Penetrated with joy, she told the young man, she could not be his spouse, but must go and dedicate herself to God, according to her former resolution.⁴

In the year 507, CLOVIS, King of the Franks

(4) *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*: T. xix.
p. 295.

marching from Paris against the Goths, consulted the shrine of St. Martin, as he passed through the diocese of Tours, and was instructed to remark the words of the Psalm, which should happen to be chaunted at the precise moment of entering the church. The words expressed the valour and victory of the champions of heaven, which being applied by CLOVIS to himself and his army, were regarded as prognosticating the victory which he afterwards obtained.⁵ Another sovereign of France, LOUIS XI. called also ST. LOUIS, whose virtues and superstitions have received their full meed of praise from his panegyrists, is said on one occasion to have granted pardon to a criminal, but to have revoked the pardon on reading these words in the Psalter: "Blessed are they that keep judgment, and he that doeth righteousness at all times." Ps. cvi. 3.⁶ The Greek emperor, ANDRONICUS the elder, notwithstanding his other defects, acted more becoming the spirit of the Gospel, when, instead of condemning his nephew the despot CONSTANTINE, who had been seized and imprisoned on an accusation of conspiracy, he forgave him on finding it written in the Psalms, "When the ALMIGHTY scattered kings in it, it was white as snow in Salmon."⁷

(5) Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. VI. ch. xxxviii. p. 333. Lond. 1807. 8vo.

(6) Bergier, *Dict. Theologique*, T. vii.—*Sorts des Saints*.

(7) *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, T. xix. p. 296.

The *Sortes Sanctorum* were also made use of to decide the *election of bishops*, especially in doubtful cases arising from the opposition in the suffrages given by the clergy and people. They were also subsequently adopted in the choice of *Abbots*, and the reception of *Canons*. In these elections, *scrolls*, or *billets*, with the names of the candidates written upon them, were placed upon the altar, and after the performance of certain ceremonies, a child, or other impartial person drew one of them, and the candidate thus chosen was raised to the office for which he was proposed, if, on opening the Scriptures, the passage which first occurred appeared favourable to the election. This practice, we are told by the ABBE DU RESNEL, was continued in the cathedral of Boulogne, and at Ypres and St. Omer, with some slight variations, so late as the year 1744, notwithstanding several attempts to suppress it.⁸

These superstitious practices, although so generally prevalent, received the severest censures of ecclesiastical authority. The Council of Vannes held in the year 465, after stating that the Catholic Religion had sustained injury by some, both of the clergy and laity, practising augury, and professing divination by the *Sortes Sanctorum*, or a casual inspection of the Scrip-

(8) *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, T, xix p. 303.—See also the “*Illustrations of Biblical Literature*,” Vol. I. pp. 115—118, by the Author of the present Volume; and Bergier, “*Dict. Theologique*, art. *Sorts de Saints*.”

tures, decreed, that "Whatever clergyman or layman should be detected in consulting them, or teaching the practice of them, should be excommunicated."⁹ This censure was repeated at the Council of Agde, in 506. In the year 511, the same modes of divination were forbidden by the Council of Orleans; and in 578, the Council of Auxerre, decreed, that "None should have recourse to sorcerers or augury, or consult diviners by magical characters, (*caragios*, †) or lots, whether those called *Sortes Sanctorum*, or such as were made of wood or bread, but that every one, whatever he did, should do all in the

(9) Labbei S. S. Concilia, T. iv. p. 1057.

† *Caracus*, *Carajus*, *Caragius*, or *Charagius*, was a term applied to those who performed their divinations by means of magical *Characters*, or figures, from which the word is derived, as are also the monastic terms *Charaxare*, or *Caraxare*, to write. The magical figures themselves were also denominated *Characteres*. Vide Du Cange, Glossar. sub. voc. *Caracus*, & *Characteres Magici*. T. ii.—Venet. 1737. fol. Spelmanni Glossar. sub. voc. *Charaxare*.

It is probable that the old English term *Charact* or *Characte*, which seems to have meant charms in the form of inscriptions, is derived from the same source. Thus Dugdale's *Orig. Jurid.* p. 81.—

"That he use ne hide ne charme, ne charecte."

So Gower, *De Confessione Amantis*, B. i.

....."With his Carrecte would him enchaunt."

(See Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, revised by Henry Ellis, F. R. S. Sec. S. A. &c. Vol. II. p. 613. Lond. 1813. 4to.

name of the LORD.”¹⁰ The fourth Council of Toledo, held in 633, forbade “the consulting of lots by clergymen under pain of excommunication;” and a capitulary of CHARLEMAGNE, framed in 789, and since inserted in the Romish Penitential, strongly inhibits “divination by the Psalms or Gospels, or by any other means.”¹¹

Amongst the Ecclesiastical laws of CANUTE, framed in 1018, is the following:—“We strictly forbid all heathenism, or that men worship idols, or heathen gods, the sun, the moon, the fire, or the rivers, fountains, or stones, or any kind of trees; or to practise witchcraft, or to contrive any private murder, either by lots,* or firebrands, or to do any thing by such like jugglings.” Canons also of a similar nature received the sanction of Archbishop LANFRANC, in 1075, and of Archbishop CORBOYL, in 1126, in the Councils convened by them respectively in London.¹²

Other canons against Sortilege and Divination of various kinds will be found to have been published during successive ages, beside those which have been noted; but although they served occasionally to check the bias in favour of superstitious and unlawful attempts to pry into futurity,

(10) Labbei S. S. Concilia, T. v. p. 9; & Bergier, *ut sup.*

(11) *Ibid.* T. vii p. 989.

* This was what was properly called *Sorcery*, in Latin *Sortilegium*.

(12) Wilkin's, *Concil. Mag. Brit.* Vol. I. pp. 306, 363, 408; Johnson's *Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws*, &c. A. 1018, 1075, 1126.

they never proved wholly successful, so that, through every age, and even to the present enlightened period, the desire after forbidden knowledge has more or less prevailed.

The following curious occurrence in the life of our King CHARLES I., has been related as a singular instance of the use of the *Sortes Virgilianæ* by that monarch. The King being at Oxford, went, accompanied by Lord Viscount FALKLAND, to see the public library, where they were shown, among other books, a Virgil, finely printed and exquisitely bound. Lord FALKLAND, to divert the King, proposed that he should make a trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*. The King opening the book, the passage which presented itself, proved to be part of DIDO's imprecation against ÆNEAS:

“ At bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
Finibus extorris, &c. ”

ÆN. L. iv. l. 615, &c.

“ Yet let a race untamed, and haughty foes,
His peaceful entrance with dire arms oppose ;
Oppress'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men discourag'd, and himself expell'd ;
Let him for succour sue from place to place,
Torn from his subjects and his son's embrace :
First let him see his friends in battle slain,
And their untimely fate lament in vain ;
And when, at length, the cruel war shall cease,
On hard conditions may he buy his peace.
Nor let him then enjoy supreme command, }
But fall untimely by some hostile hand, }
And lie unbury'd on the barren sand.”

DRYDEN,

The ill-fated CHARLES seeming concerned at this accident, LORD FALKLAND proposed to try his own fortune, hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thus divert the King's thoughts from any impression the other might make upon him : but the place he opened upon was still more suited to his destiny, being the following expressions of EVANDER upon the untimely death of his son PALLAS :

“ Non hæc, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti :
Cautius ut saevo velles te credere Marti,
Haud ignarus eram,” &c.

ÆN. xi. l. 152, &c.

“ O PALLAS ! thou hast failed thy plighted word !
To fight with caution, not to tempt the sword,
I warn'd thee, but in vain ; for well I knew
What perils youthful ardour would pursue :
That boiling blood would carry thee too far ;
Young as thou wert in dangers, raw to war !
O curst essay of arms, disastrous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come !
Hard elements of inauspicious war,
Vain vows to heaven, and unavailing care ! ”

DRYDEN.

LORD FALKLAND was slain in the battle of Newbury, in 1644, and the unfortunate CHARLES was beheaded in 1649.*

* AUBRY in a manuscript treatise on the “Remains of Gentilism,” relates this story differently. He says, “In

The learned Secretary of the Antiquarian Society, in his greatly enlarged and improved edition of BRAND'S "*Observations on Popular Antiquities*," has displayed considerable research on the subjects of omens and divinations, and observes that GAULE, in his "*Mag-astromancer posed and puzzled*," enumerates no fewer than *fifty-three* different kinds of divination. "*Divinations differ*," he remarks, "from *omens* in this, that the Omen is an indication of something that is to come to pass, as it were by accident, without his seeking for it: whereas Divination is the obtaining the knowledge of something future, by some endeavour of his own, or by means which he designedly makes use of for that end." In the curious instances which he has given of persons employing the *Sortes Sanctorum*, or Divination by the Bible, some of which, must be acknowledged to discover more of sincere,

December, 1648, King CHARLES, I., being in great trouble, and prisoner at Carisbrooke, or to be brought to London to his tryal, CHARLES, Prince of Wales, being then in Paris, and in profound sorrow for his father, MR. ABRAHAM COWLEY went to wayte on him. His Highnesse asked him whether he would play at cards, to divert his sad thoughts. MR. COWLEY replied, he did not care to play at cards; but if his Highness pleased they would use *Sortes Virgilianæ*: (Mr. C. always had a Virgil in his pocket:) the Prince liked the proposal, and pricked a pin in the fourth Book of the *Ænied*. The Prince understood not Latin well, and desired MR. COWLEY to translate the verses; which he did admirably well."—(See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by H. Ellis, F. R. S. &c. Vol. ii. pp. 625—627.)

though perhaps mistaken piety, than of wanton presumption. The two following are of this kind. "It appears, (says he) from Lord BERKELEY'S '*Historical Applications*,' 8vo. Lond. 1670, p. 90, that the good Earl being sick, and under some dejection of spirit, had recourse to the then prevailing superstition. His words are; 'I being sick, and under some dejection of spirit, opening my Bible, to see what place I could first light upon which might administer comfort to me, casually I fixed upon the sixth of Hosea; the three first verses are these;—'Come, and let us return unto the LORD: for he hath torn, and he will heal us: he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he receive us: in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight. Then shall we know, if we follow on to know the LORD: his going forth is prepared as the morning; and he shall come unto us as the rain, as the latter and former rain unto the earth.' I am willing to decline superstition upon all occasions, yet think myself obliged to make this use of such a providential place of Scripture; first, by hearty repenting me of my sins past: secondly, by sincere reformation for the time to come." Again, "In '*Mount Tabor*,' pp. 199, 200, we read: As I was to passe through the roome where my little grandchilde was set by her grandmother, to read her morning's chapter, the 9th of Matthew's Gospell, just as I came in she was uttering these words in the second verse: 'JESUS said to the sicke of

the palsie, Sonne, be of good comfort, thy sinnes are forgiven thee!—which words sorting so fitly with my case, whose left side is taken with that kind of disease, I stood at a stand at the uttering of them, and could not but conceive some joy and comfort in those blessed words, though by the childe's reading, as if the LORD by her had spoken them to mysele, a paralytick and a sinner, as that sicke man was.———'”¹³

But whatever opinion may be formed of such acts as the preceding, every one, who seriously reflects upon the subject, must condemn those irreverent and low modes of divination or fortune-telling by the Bible, which in opposition to its condemnation of all such arts, have been practised, and in some instances, still are practised by those who profess to venerate its holy and sublime doctrines. In the “*Dialogue of Dives and Pauper*,” printed by RICHARD PYNSON, 1493, fol. among superstitious practices then in use, we find the following censured:—“Or use any charmes in gadering of herbes, or hangyng of scrowes (*scrolls*) aboute man or woman, or childe, or beest, for any sicknesse, with any Scripture, or figures and Carectes,* but if it be Pater Nos-

(13) Brand's Observations on Popular Antiquities, by Ellis, pp. 627, 628.

* “*Carectes*.” See p. 70, preceding; to which we may add, that Lodge, in his “*Incarnate Devils*,” 4to. Lond. 1596, speaking of Curiosity, says; “If you long to know this Slave, you shall never take him without a *Book of Characters* in his bosome. Bring him but a table of lead with Crosses,

ter, Ave, or the Crede, or holy words of the Gospel, or of Holy Wryt, for devocion nat for Curioustie, and only with the Tokene of the Holy Crosse." And in the "*Defensative against the Poyson of supposed Prophecies*," 4to. Lond. 1583, we read: "One of the Reysters which served under the Frenche Admirall, at the Siege of Poictiers, was founde after he was dead, to have about his necke a purse of Taffata, and within the same a piece of parchment full of characters in Hebrew; beside many cyrcles, semicircles, tryangles, &c., with sundrie shorte cuttes and shreddings of the Psalmes, 'DEUS misereatur nostri, et benedicat nobis:—*God be merciful unto us and bless us.*' Ps. lxxvii. 1. 'Angelis suis mandavit de te, ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis:—*He shall give his angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways.*' Ps. xci. 11. 'Super Apisdem et Basiliscum ambulabis:—*Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder.*' Ps. xci. 13. As if the prophecies which properly belong to CHRISTE might be wrested to the safeguard and defence of every private man."

In another old work, having as its title, "*The Burnynge of St. Paule's Church in London*, 1561, and the 4th day of June, by Lyghtnynge, at three of the clocke, at after noone, &c.," Svo. Lond. 1563, the writer exclaims, "What

(and ADONAI, or ELOHIM, [LORD, or GOD] written in it) he thinks it will heal the Ague."—Brand's Observations, by H. Ellis, Vol. II. p. 614.

wicked blindenes is than, to thinke that wearing prayers written in rolles about with theym, as S. John's Gospell, the length of our Lord, the measure of our Lady, or other like, thei shall die no suddain death, not be hanged, or if he be hanged he shall not die. There is to manye suche, though ye laugh and beleve it not, and not hard to shewe them with a wet finger." The author then observes, that our devotion ought to "stand in depe sighes and groninges, with a full consideration of our miserable state and Goddes majesty, in the hearte and not in ynke or paper: not in *hangyng written scrolles about the necke*, but lamentyng unfeignedly our synnes from the hart." ¹⁴

Another species of Bibliomancy to which the *Sortes Sanctorum* may have given rise, is that by the *Bible and Key*. REGINALD SCOT, in his *Discovery*, p. 286, tell us, that "Popish priests, as the Chaldeans used the divination by sive and sheers for the detection of theft, do practice with a Psalter and Key fastened upon Psalm xlix. * to discover a theif; and when the names of the suspected persons are orderly put into the pipe of the Key, at the reading of these words of

(14) Brand's Observations, Vol II. p. 214.

* The Psalm which contains the passage here cited is in Psalm XLIX of the Latin Vulgate, and also of the Douay translation, from which I have given the passage; but in the English Protestant versions it is the Lth., the Romanists placing the ninth and tenth Psalms together as one.

the Psalm, "If thou didst see a theefe thou didst run with him," the book will wagge and fall out of the fingers of them that hold it, and he whose name remaineth in the Key must be the thief." In the "*Athenian Oracle*," Vol. I. p. 425, this mode of divination is described somewhat differently: "A Bible, having a Key fastened in the middle, and being held between two forefingers of two persons, will turn round after some words are said, as if one desires to find out a Thief, a certain verse taken out of a psalm is to be repeated, and those who are suspected, nominated, and if they are guilty, the Book and Key will turn, else not."¹⁵*

(15) See Brand's Observations, Vol. II. p. 641.

* This mode of discovering theft, &c. is still practised in some parts of England, as appears from the following note with which the writer has been favoured by an intelligent friend.

"Dear Sir,

"The case of Bibliomancy which I mentioned to you as having come under my notice, several times, in the city of Norwich, is as follows: If a person have lost any thing, and wishes to try the *Bible and Key*, a good sized Key is placed in the Bible, on the sixth verse of the eighth chapter of SOLOMON'S SONG, beginning, "Set me as a seal upon thine heart, &c."—The Bible being then tied tightly round with a cord, the handle of the Key standing out;—and the bow being placed lengthwise on the fore-fingers, the person on whose fingers it is balanced is to think of the person whom he suspects, whilst he repeats the sixth and seventh verses of the chapter on which the key is fixed, when, if he be

Bibliomancy, or divination by the Bible, was also practised among the Jews, among whom the *Bath-Kol* (בַּת-קוֹל) was not very dissimilar to the *Sortes Sanctorum* of the Christians. The mode of practising it was by appealing to the first words accidentally heard from any one speaking or reading. The following is an instance taken from the Talmud. Rabbi JOCHANAN and Rabbi SIMEON BEN LACHISH desiring to see the face of Rabbi SAMUEL, a Babylonish doctor, "Let us follow," said they, "the hearing of the Bath-Kol." Travelling, therefore, near a school, they heard the voice of a boy reading these words out of the First Book of SAMUEL, "And SAMUEL died." They observed this, and inferred from hence that their friend SAMUEL was dead; and so they found it, for SAMUEL, of Babylon, was then dead." ¹⁶

A species of divination, similar to the *Sortes Virgilianæ* or *Sortes Sanctorum*, is in use among the Mohammedans in the East. Sir WILLIAM JONES in his *Traite sur la Poesie Orientale*, speaking of his selections from the Odes of the

right in his suspicion, the key will turn off his fingers, but if not, it will remain still. I have seen it turn off the fingers, even when not held by a person interested in the issue."

"I am, &c. .

"J. C."

(16) Basnage's History of the Jews, B. iii. p. 165, fol, Lewis's Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic. Vol. I. p. 198.

celebrated HAFIZ, observes, “Comme il etoit difficile, &c.”—“As it was difficult to know which to choose from the excellent collection of the Odes of HAFIZ, I have taken them by chance, in imitation of the Orientals, who in order to decide on the least as well as the most important occasions, open a book casually, and consider what first presents itself to the eye as the decision of the lot. We may judge of the confidence placed by them in this kind of divination, by remarking, that in the History of NADIR SHAH, two instances are related, in which this Prince determined upon two famous sieges, by two verses of this same poet.¹⁷

In a word, it is astonishing how the simple use of the Lot in cases of extraordinary difficulty, has been ramified by an absurd superstition and impious curiosity into almost innumerable species of divination, extending their influence to all ranks and professions of men, whether barbarous or civilized, Pagan or Christian, and subjecting the mind to the decisions of men of artful and designing character, from the Roman auger to the meanest soothsayer, and from the moon-struck astrologer to the Gypsey fortune-teller. For the Pagans, indeed, it might be offered as apology, that, “sitting in darkness and the valley of the shadow of death,” they eagerly listened to every pretender

(17) Works, Vol. V. p. 463.

to knowledge who daringly boasted of being able to throw a ray of light athwart the gloom in which they were involved; but Christians favoured with the light of revelation, have no such apology to offer, since the word of God is given to be "as a lamp unto their feet, and a light unto their path," to point out the way of duty with infallible precision, and by exhibiting the eternal recompenses of obedience, to encourage the humble believer to perseverance "in well doing."

VI.

ON THE ANCIENT CHRISTIAN AGAPÆ.

THE AGAPÆ (*Love-Feasts, or Feasts of Charity*) of the primitive Christians, were frugal and friendly repasts, provided at the expense of the richer members of the church, and affording the rich and poor opportunity of eating together at the same table. They are noticed by ST. JUDE, who severely censures some who behaved improperly on such occasions: "These," says he, "are spots in your Feasts of Charity," (Αγαπαίς) Epist. v. 12; and in allusion to similar characters, ST. PETER, (2 Epist. ch. ii. v. 13,) remarks, "Spots they are and blemishes, sporting themselves with their own deceivings, (απαταις,) while they feast with you;" where it is probable the term *απαταις*, "deceivings," ought to be *αγαπαίς* "Love-Feasts," or "Feasts of Charity," a correction supported by the Alexandrian and Vatican MSS., two of the oldest extant, by several of the early versions, and by the Fathers.

The *object* of their institution was the promotion of fraternal affection and charity.

CHRYSOSTOM (*Hom.* 21,) says, “From this law and custom,” (i. e. of the first Christians having all things in common) “arose another admirable custom in the churches: for when all the faithful met together, and heard the sermon and prayers, and received the communion, they did not immediately return home upon the breaking up of the assembly, but the rich and wealthy brought meat and food from their own houses, and called the poor, and made a common table, a common dinner, a common banquet in the Church; and so from this fellowship in eating, and the reverence of the place, they were all strictly united in charity one with another, and much pleasure and profit arose thence to them all; for the poor were comforted, and the rich reaped the fruits of their benevolence, both from those whom they fed, and from GOD.”—AUGUSTIN, (*contra Faustum. Manich.* 1. xx. c. xx.) observes, “We do not borrow our Love-Feasts from the sacrifices of the Gentiles, but to observe the sacrifice of mercy, of which GOD has said, ‘I will have mercy and not sacrifice;’ for our Love-Feasts feed the poor with fruits or flesh.”—THEOPHYLACT also remarks, “The rich brought the food, and invited and fed the poor.”¹

A notable testimony has been offered to the general charity of the ancient Christians, and to

(1) See Hallett's Notes on Several Texts of Scripture, Vol. III. p. 251.

their benevolence at their Love-Feasts, or Feasts of Charity, by JULIAN, the Apostate, who thus writes to ARSACIUS, a Gentile pontiff, to excite the priests of the gods to liberality: “That *Hellenism** does not yet succeed as we wish is owing to its professors. The gifts of the gods are indeed great and splendid, and far superior to all our hopes, to all our wishes. For, not long ago no one dared to hope for such and so great a change in so short a time. But why should we be satisfied with this, and not rather attend to the means by which this *impiety* (so he terms Christianity) has increased, namely, *humanity to strangers, care in burying the dead, and pretended sanctity of life*? All these, I think, should be really practised by us. * * * Erect hospitals in every city, that strangers may partake our benevolence; and not only those of our religion, but if they are indigent, others also. * * * For when none of the Jews beg, and the *impious Galileans* (Christians) relieve both *their* poor and *ours*, it is shameful that ours should be destitute of our assistance.”² In another discourse, addressed likewise to a pontiff, JULIAN thus endeavours to excite the priests of the gods to liberality:—“The *impious Galileans* having

* *Hellenism* is Heathenism, or Gentilism: and Heathens are called *Hellenes*, and *Hellenists* by our Ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, especially in their History of Julian's reign.

(2) Epistles of Julian. Ep, XLIX.

observed that our priests neglected the poor, set about relieving them: and as they who design to kidnap children, in order to sell them, allure them by giving them cakes, so these have thrown the true worshippers into *atheism*,* by first winning them over with *charity, hospitality,* and the services of tables,† for they have many names for these kinds of works, which they practise in abundance.”³

The most circumstantial account of the *manner* in which the ancient *Agapæ* were celebrated, is given by TERTULLIAN, in his “*Apology*,” written in the second century: “Our Supper,” says he, “which you accuse of luxury, shews its reason in its very name, for it is called *Αγαπή (Agape)*, that is, *Love*. Whatever charge we are at, it is gain to be at expense upon the account of piety.

* Christianity was accounted Atheism by the Heathens, because it forbad the worship of their gods, and maintained the unity and spirituality of the Godhead.

† In Julian’s Greek, the words are, *Αγαπης και υποδοχης και διακονιας τραπεζων*. By the first of these *Αγαπης (Agapes)*, I apprehend Julian means the *Agapæ*, or Love-Feasts. By the second *Υποδοχης (Ypodoches)* he means, that hospitable reception, which the first preachers of the Gospel met with from their converts. Luke xix. 6; Acts xvii. 7. By the third expression *Διακονιας τραπεζων (Diakonias trapezon)* is undoubtedly meant, the daily administration, or relief of the poor, mentioned in Acts vi. 2. — (See Salisbury’s Notes on “Bullett’s History of the establishment of Christianity,” p. 282.)

(5) Fragment of a Discourse of Julian, in Bullett’s Hist. p. 87.

For we therewith relieve and refresh the poor. There is nothing vile or immodest committed in it. For we do not sit down before we have first offered up prayer to God. We eat only to satisfy hunger, and drink only so much as becomes modest persons. We fill ourselves in such a manner, as that we remember still that we are to worship God by night. We discourse as in the presence of God, knowing that he hears us. Then, after water to wash our hands, and lights brought in, every one is moved to sing some hymn to God, either out of Scripture, or, as he is able, of his own composing, and by this we judge whether he has observed the rules of temperance in drinking. Prayer again concludes our feast; and thence we depart, not to fight and quarrel; not to run about and abuse all we meet; not to give up ourselves to lascivious pastime; but to pursue the same care of modesty and chastity, as men that have fed at a supper of philosophy and discipline, rather than a corporeal feast.”⁴ IGNATIUS, in his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna, in the first century, affords us the additional information, “That it was not lawful to baptize, or celebrate the Love-Feasts, without the bishop, or minister.” (Epist. ad. Smyrna, §. 7.) LUCIAN, the Epicurean, has also a passage which seems to refer to the *Agapæ*.

(4) Apolog. c. 39, quoted in Bingham's Antiquities, &c., Vol. VI. p. 846.

He tells us, that when PEREGRINUS, a Christian, was in prison, "You might have seen, early in the morning, old women, some widows, and orphans, waiting at the prison. Their presidents bribed the guards, and lodged in the prison with him. Afterward (i. e. in the evening) *various suppers*, (i. e. suppers consisting of various dishes, and various kinds of meat, brought thither by various persons of the company) were brought in, and they held their sacred conversations (*ἱεροὶ λόγοι*), or their sacred discourses were delivered."⁵ PLINY likewise in his celebrated Epistle to TRAJAN, mentions the "*Cibus promiscuus et innoxius*,"—"Common and harmless meal" of the Christians, which they ate together after the celebration of the EUCHARIST.

The *Agapæ* were at first celebrated indifferently in churches or in private houses. It is said of the Apostles, (Acts ii. 46,) that "they continued daily with one accord in the temple, and *breaking bread from house to house*, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart:"—a passage which has generally been applied to the celebration of the *Agapæ*. Compare also 1 Cor. xi. 20 and 22, with xvi. 19, and Philem. v. 2. DILHERRUS, however, supposes that the Eucharist and *Agapæ* were celebrated together in the churches, until disorders creeping in, ST. PAUL forbad them to be celebrated at the same time,

(5) Hallett's Notes on Several Texts. Vol. III. p. 245.

and restricted the Agapæ to private houses.⁶ But if this were actually the case, neither the removal of the *Agapæ* from the churches, nor the separation of them from the LORD'S Supper continued long : but it may be doubted whether DILHERRUS be correct, and whether the Apostle's words (1 Cor. xi. 20 and 22) were intended to convey any thing more than a severe condemnation of the conduct of certain disorderly persons who had associated themselves with the Corinthian believers.

The celebration of the Eucharist, or LORD'S Supper, frequently accompanied the *Agapæ* for several centuries, and at an early period of the Christian æra almost invariably. Sometimes the Agapæ preceded the Eucharist, as seems intimated in the language of ST. PAUL to the Corinthians already cited, probably in imitation of the conduct of our LORD, who instituted the ordinance of the Eucharist after eating the passover with his disciples. At other times the Eucharist preceded the *Agapæ*, that all occasion of scandal might be prevented in the reception of the LORD'S Supper, and the minds of the communicants be prepared for enjoying the social repast with cheerfulness and sobriety.⁷

AGAPÆ or *Feasts of Charity*, were also cele-

(6) Dilherri Farrago, apud Crenii Fascic. 8vo. p. 44.

(7) Bergier, Dict. Theologique, art. *Agapes*. Vol. I. p. 67.

brated at the *Marriages* of the Christians, at their *Funerals*, and in commemoration of the *Martyrs*; and were sometimes held in the houses of the more wealthy; at others, in the churches; and in times of persecution, like all other public Christian assemblies, in the subterranean cemeteries or burial-places.⁸ ARINGHIUS, in his laborious work, entitled, "*Roma Subterranea*," has given several representations of the celebration of these Agapæ, from various Sarcophagi and other monumental sculptures discovered at Rome. From these, it appears that the *Triclinia* or *Tables*, made use of on these occasions were of different forms, some of them being square, others lunar or semicircular, and others in the form of the Greek *sigma*.—At one of the latter form, five persons appear reclining, whilst a youth is carrying to them a cup which he bears in his hands. Over the heads of two of the guests are inscriptions intended to express the words of the individuals respectively over which they are placed. On one we read, IRENE DA CALDA:—"Irene, give me some hot water:"* over the other

(8) Baron. Annal. An. 57, Tom. I. Antwerp. 1589. fol. Aringhii Roma Subterranea, T. II. pp. 600, 601, 688. Romæ. 1681. fol.

* *Hot Water* was accounted a luxury by the ancients, and houses were appropriated to the sale of it, denominated *Thermopolia*, similar to our coffee-houses or taverns. The estimation in which it was held as a beverage was such, that none but the lowest of the slaves would be debarred from it,

“AGAPE MISCE MI,”—“Agape, mix for me.”* Near the inside or concave part of the Triclinium, another small round table is placed, on which appear knives, cakes, a cup or goblet,

and even these indulged in it whenever they could escape the vigilance of their masters. Philo remarks that the Essenes on those days on which they did not allow themselves wine, permitted the aged to drink hot water, some of the others to take tepid or warm water, and obliged the rest of the community to drink cold water. We may judge of the pleasure which drinking hot water was supposed to afford, by the fact, that Caligula condemned to death the keeper of a *Thermopolium* at Rome, for having sold it as usual during a time of general mourning for the Emperor's sister Drusilla, when all places of public entertainment and pleasure had been closed by the imperial order.

On the other hand, *cold* water was so universally decried, that it was employed to designate a slanderer, who in all his conversation insinuates something disadvantageous to the character of another; a figure drawn from the practice of some of the venders of hot water, who sometimes mixed cold water with the hot, rendering it tepid or lukewarm. This contemptuous opinion entertained of *cold* water, beautifully heightens the force of the language of JESUS CHRIST, when he says, “Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a *cup of cold water only*, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.” Matt. x. 49. Intimating that the most trivial service done to the Christian for the sake of the Redeemer, shall neither be forgotten, nor unrewarded. (Du. Cange, Glossar. sub. voc. *Caldus*: Explications de plusieurs textes difficiles de l'Écriture, par. le. R. P. Dom. * * * pp 439, 440.—Paris, 1730. 4to. Aringhii Roma Subterranea, T. ii. p. 608.)

* The ancients frequently *mixed* wine and honey with their hot water, at feasts. (Explications, &c. *ut supra*)

and a dish with a small animal entire, apparently dressed for the supper.

Another *Triclinium* or *Table*, of which a representation is given by ARINGHIUS, (and which is accurately copied on a reduced scale in figure 1. of the plate prefixed to the present work,) is of a square form, covered with a table-cloth. Three persons, one of them a female, appear at the table; one of the men is relieving a pilgrim, to whom he holds out a bowl, probably containing some refreshment; the other man, who has the appearance of being old, is addressing a youth who is coming towards him, with a vessel in his hands; whilst the female who occupies the middle seat, is apparently employed in preparing food in a large (probably) earthen vessel.⁹

The *Agapæ*, in general, were considered as so conducive to Christian union and harmony, that the neglect of them was deemed deserving of censure, hence the Council of Gangra, in the fourth century decreed, that "If any one despised those who from faith made *Agapæ*, (or Love-Feasts,) and for the honour of the LORD invited the brethren to them, and would not accept the invitation, he should for his contempt be anathematized;"¹⁰ but, as is evident from this canon itself, the minds of men differing on the subject, and irregularities creeping in, it was

(9) Aringhii Roma Subterranea, T. ii. pp. 119, 123, 185.

(10) Justelli Codex Canonum · Concil. Gangrensis, Can. 69. Parisiis. 1610. 12mo.

judged prudent, in many places, to banish the *Agapæ* from the churches, and restrict them to private houses. The Council of Laodicea, held in 364, declared that "The *Agapæ* ought not to be celebrated in the LORD'S houses, or Churches; and that no one ought to eat, or prepare tables in the House of GOD;"¹¹ and the third Council of Carthage, about the close of the same century, enjoined, "That no bishops or clergymen should feast in the church, unless on a journey, in case of necessity, when they might take some refreshment there; and the people should be restrained from such feastings, as much as possible."¹² ST. AMBROSE abolished all feasting in the Church of Milan; and ST. AUGUSTIN opposed it with all the energy of his influence in the following century. In France it was condemned by the second Council of Orleans, in 541; and the Councils of Auferne and Trullo forbad it in the seventh century.

After the *Agapæ* were banished from the churches, they continued to be held in private houses for several centuries, as may be conjectured, at least, from the Summaries of the Canons, by PHOCIUS, in the ninth, and ARSENIUS in the thirteenth centuries. It is also probable that the Waldenses and Albigenses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, continued the celebration of them, in the vallies of Piedmont, since the

(11) Justelli. Codex Canonum : Concil. Laod. Can. 132.

(12) Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church.

same calumnies were vented against them, as against the Primitive Christians, and to which these institutions are supposed to have afforded countenance.*

The beneficence and charity exhibited by the Christians in their *Agapæ*, led to the adoption of the word as a general term for acts of benevolence to the poor, and the word *Agape* became equivalent to those of *Charity* and *Almsgiving*, and in a Sacramentary of GREGORY the Great is a *Prayer* to be used at the *Agape of the Poor*. For the same reason the term was sometimes used as a title of honour, similar to that of "Your Excellency," or "Your Honour."

VERSTEGAN, in a similar way derives the English titles "LORD and "LADY" from their ancient hospitality:—"I fynd," says he, "that our anceters used for *Lord*, the name of *Laford*, which, as it should seem, from some aspiration in the pronouncing, they wrote *Blaford*, and *Blafurd*. Afterward it grew to bee written *Louerd*, and, by receauing lyke abridgement, as other our ancient appellations have donne, it is in onesillable become *Lord*. Our anceters were wont to call bread by the name of *hlafe*. Now was it vsual, in long foregoing ages, that such as were endued with great welth and meanes above others, were chiefly

* Compare Allix's "Reflections on the Churches of Peidmont," Chap. XXVI,—with the Apologies of Minucius Felix, Tertullian, &c.

renowned (especially in these northern regions) for their haws-keeping, and good hospitallitie,—and therefore were they particularly honored with the name and tittle of **Blaford**, which is as much to say, as, *An afoorder of laf*, that is, *A bread-giuer*. **Lady** was anciently written **bleaf-dian**, or **leafdian** from whence it came to be **LAFDY** and lastly **Lady**. **Blaf** and **bleaf** signify one thing, which is **Bread**, dian is as much to say as *serue*, and so is **leafdian**. *A bread-seruer.*"¹³

Learned men have offered various conjectures on the *Origin* of the *Agapæ*. The MANICHEAN FAUSTUS accused the Christians of borrowing them from the sacrifices of the Pagans, but AUGUSTIN repelled the accusation with becoming indignation, "We do not turn their Sacrifices into *Agapæ* (or Love-Feasts) for our *Agapæ* feed the poor." CHRYSOSTOM¹⁴ and THEOPHYLACT¹⁵ appear to have dated the commencement of these feasts from the community of goods maintained by the first Christians. Later writers have thought the origin of them discoverable in the ΦΗΕΙΔΙΤΙΑ and ΣΥΣΣΙΤΙΑ of the Greeks, or the CHARISTIA of the Romans,¹⁶ but the two former were rather *political* than *religious* institutions; and the latter were restricted to rela-

(13) Restitution of decayed Intelligence, pp. 316—318.

(14) In 1 Cor. Homil. 27. initio.

(15) In 1 Cor. xi. 17.

(16) Suiceri Thesaurus, Tom. I. p. 25. Edit. Amstel. 1682. Fabricii Bibliog. Antiq. c. 10. § 9. et. c. 11. § 25.

tions as guests, and to the settling of differences as their object.¹⁷ LIGHTFOOT supposes, “those AGAPÆ were when strangers were hospitably entertained in each church, and that at the cost of the church; and, that this laudable custom was derived from the synagogues of the Jews, there being a certain hospital, either near or joyning to the synagogue, wherein travellers and pilgrims were received and entertained at the common cost of the synagogue.”¹⁸ He also thinks that GAIUS, (Rom. xvi. 13,) was governor of such an hospital.

But though these opinions have been learnedly and plausibly defended, I cannot but think it more rational to suppose that the *Agapæ* originated in the well known symbolical rites of friendship and affection, in use amongst the ancients, especially in the East.

R. ISAAC ABRABANEL, as quoted by CUDWORTH,¹⁹ says,

היה מנהג ביניהם שהאוכלים לחם על שלחן אחד יחשבו
לאחים נאמנים:

i. e. “It was an ancient custom amongst them, that they which did eat bread together upon the same table, should be accounted ever afterward as entire brethren.” JAMBlichus also has noticed

(17) Valerius Max. lib. 2. c. 1. § 8.

(18) Lightfoot's Works, Vol. II. p. 775. on 1 Cor. xi. 21.

(19) Cudworth on the “True Notion of the Lord's Supper,” Chap. vi. p. 81.

this symbolical rite as the mark of friendship.²⁰ CELSUS too, in his attempt to invalidate Christianity from the incredibility of the treachery of JUDAS, has proved the sacredness of this custom, as the pledge of attachment and affection.²¹ HOMER also has expressed the utmost detestation of the violator of this rite of inviolable friendship.

“ That lawless wretch, that man of brutal strength,
Deaf to Heaven’s voice, the social rite transgress’d.”

POPE’S Homer’s Odyssey. B. xxi.

From the sacred nature of the friendships confirmed by eating and drinking together, arose the form of marriage among the Romans termed CONFARREATIO, of which the Halicarnassian Dionysius has observed, that marriages thus contracted, implied indissoluble friendship, and could never be dissolved.²² A custom somewhat similar exists at present in the Greek Church. “ After the Epistle and Gospel, and several prayers are read, the new-married couple *drink out of the same cup*, which the priest had blest, in sign and token of love, agreement, and joy, and as a pledge of their mutual conversation, and of their right to one another’s estates and fortunes.”²³ It is probable that some such

(20) De Vita Pythag. p. 89. in Whitby on 1 Cor. x. 17.

(21) Origen cont. Cels. lib. ii. c. 3. p. 74. Edit. Cantab. 1677.

(22) Dion. Halic. l. ii. in Taylor’s Summary of Roman Law, p. 133.

(23) Smith’s Account of the Greek Church, p. 190. Lond. 1680. 8vo.

custom was the origin of the distribution of *Bride-cake* in England.

The celebrated D'HERBELOT, in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, has repeatedly noticed the strictness of those friendships which are formed in the East, by eating and drinking together. "The ceremony of presenting bread and salt is practised in the East, (he observes,) as a mark of friendship, alliance, and hospitality. The Arabs have a practice peculiar to themselves of presenting drink to those who distrust them, in order to convince them of their fidelity."²⁴ And, a noted modern traveller, speaking of the Druzes, says, "I have often seen the lowest peasants give the last morsel of bread they had in their houses, to the hungry traveller. When they have once contracted with their guest the sacred engagement of bread and salt, no subsequent event can make them violate it."²⁵

Christianity is the religion of benevolence, and its great author has frequently urged the cultivation of brotherly affection. "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another." "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." "This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you." Nothing, therefore, could be more congenial with the spirit of the religion they professed, than the frequent

(24) Voyez les noms *Gelaeddin, Harmozan, et Salaheddin.*

(25) Volney. Trav. Vol. II. p. 76.

celebration of the *Agapæ*, or feasts of charity, by the Primitive Christians, whose brotherly affection and charity were proverbial.

An interesting account of the celebration of the *Agapæ*, by the Hindoo-Syrian Christians on the coast of Malabar, has lately been afforded us by DR. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN: "At certain seasons, the *Agapæ*, or love-feasts, are celebrated, as in primitive times. On such occasions, they prepare delicious cakes, called *Appam*, made of bananas, honey, and rice-flour. The people assemble in the church-yard, and, arranging themselves in rows, each spreads before him a plaintain-leaf. When this is done, the clergyman, standing in the church-door, pronounces the benediction; and the overseers of the church, walking through between the rows, gives to each his portion." "It is certainly an affecting scene, and capable of elevating the heart, to behold six or seven thousand persons, of both sexes, and of all ages, assembled, and receiving together, with the utmost reverence and devotion, their *Appam*, the pledge of mutual union and love."²⁶

In modern times, the *Moravians* and *Methodists*, are the only Christians in the West, who, so far as we know, have adopted the primitive custom of celebrating *Agapæ* or Love-Feasts. The *Moravians*, in the "Constitution" laid before the Theological Order at Wirtemberg, in

(26) "Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India," p. 72, n.

the year 1733, says, "For the further stirring up the gift which is in us, sometimes we have *public*, sometimes *private* Love-Feasts, at which we take a moderate refreshment, with gladness and singleness of heart; and the voice of praise and thanksgiving." At these assemblies their usual refreshment is Tea; and the accounts of the success of their missionaries, in various parts of the world are then read; &c.

Love-Feasts are also enumerated by the *Methodists* among those social meetings which are peculiarly calculated to increase piety and zeal, mutual affection, and active liberality. They merely take bread and water, instead of a repast, and are thus guarded against the possibility of the corruptions of former ages. The time is spent in Christian discourse, principally in reference to their personal experience of the great and essential doctrines of the Gospel. A collection for the poor of the society is seldom or never omitted; and the assembly is always commenced and concluded with singing and prayer, under the direction of the minister who presides.

VII.

ON THE USE OF THE TERMS "ΙΧΘΥΣ" AND "PISCICULI" BY THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS.

THE terms ΙΧΘΥΣ (*Ichthus*), a *fish*, and PISCICULI, *fishes*, were, at an early period of the Christian æra, adopted as symbolical words, suited to the views and practices of the orthodox members of the primitive churches. By the former, the Greeks designated the SAVIOUR of the world; and by the latter, the Latins distinguished the persons who had received the ordinance of Baptism.

The term ΙΧΘΥΣ was formed from the initial letters of the Greek words *Ιησους Χριστος, Θεου Υιος, Σωτηρ*,—"JESUS CHRIST, the SON of GOD, our SAVIOUR," expressing the dignity and office of the REDEEMER, who in his person is the "SON of GOD," the "Brightness of his FATHER's glory, and the express image of his person;" and in his official character the "SAVIOUR of all men, specially of them that believe," having "made

reconciliation for iniquity, and brought in an everlasting righteousness."¹

AUGUSTIN in his celebrated work *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. xviii. c. xxiii, has preserved a curious Greek Acrostic, extracted from the Sibylline*

(1) Mamachii Orig. et Antiq. Christianarum, T. I. lib. i. c. i. § 6 pp. 55, 56. Romæ, 1749, 4to.

* The SIBYLS were certain women among the ancient Heathens, said to have been endued with a prophetic spirit, and to have delivered predictions, generally written on leaves, and in Greek verses, respecting the fate of kingdoms and states. The number of them is unknown; but the most general opinion is, that there were ten of them, the eldest of whom being named SIBYLLA, occasioned all of them to be called *Sibyls*. The most noted were the *Persian* and *Cumean*, thus designated from the places of their residence. Their oracles or predictions were held in the highest estimation by the Pagans, and collections of them being made, they were laid up in the Capitol at Rome, guarded with the greatest care, and only consulted on extraordinary occasions. When the Capitol was burnt during the troubles of Sylla, the Sibylline oracles laid up in it were burned with it. To repair the loss, commissioners were appointed to collect whatever verses could be found, that had been delivered by the Sibyls. The number of pretended oracles thus collected was so great, that Augustus, and after him Tiberius, caused them to be examined, and many of them to be destroyed. Among these oracular writings, were several which foretold the advent of the Messiah, and the greatness and glory of his kingdom, as is evident from the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, as well as from other heathen compositions.

A collect'on was also made in the second century of the Christian æra, of such of these Sibylline verses as could be procured, and divided into eight books, and since printed, for the first time in 1515, and frequently afterwards, with ample commentaries. Of the spuriousness of many of the

writings, in which the letters of the Greek words from whence the symbolical term *Ixθυς* has been formed, are the acrostical ones of the prophetic verses. An old English translation, retaining the antiquated orthography, is here presented to the reader, referring him for the Greek to the work itself.

In signe of Domes-day, the whole earth shall sweate :
 Euer to reigne, a King in heau'nly seate,
 Shall come to judge all flesh. The faithfull, and
 Unfaithfull too, before this GOD shall stand,
 Seeing him high with Saints, in Time's last end.

Corporeall shall hee sit; and thence, extend
 His doome on soules, The earth shall quite lie wast,
 Ruin'd o're-growne with thornes, and men shall cast
 Idolls away, and treasure. Searching fire
 Shall burne the ground, and thence it shall inquire,
 Through seas, and skie, and breake Hells blackest gates.

So shall free lights salute the blessed states
 Of Saints; the guilty lasting flames shall burne.
 No act so hid, but then to light shall turne ;
 Nor brest so close, but GOD shall open wide.
 Each where shall cries be heard, and noyse beside

Of gnashing teeth. The Sunne shalltfrom the skie
 Flie forth ; and starres no more mooue orderly.

Great Heauen shall be dissolv'd, the Moone depriu'd,
 Of all her light; places at height arriv'd
 Deprest; and vallies raised to their seate:

prodications, no doubt can be entertained, but as many of them were confidently appealed to by the early Christians in their disputes with the Heathens, it is probable, that some of them existed prior to the coming of CHRIST. (See Prideaux's *Connections*, Vol. IV. p. ii. b. ix. An. 13 ; and Bergier, *Dict. Theo.* T. vii. — sub voc. *Sibylles*.)

There shall be nought to mortalls, high or great.
 Hills shall lye leuell with the plaines; the sea
 Endure no hurthen; and the earth, as they,
 Shall perish cleft with lightning: every spring
 And river burne. The fatall Trumpe shall ring
 Vnto the world, from heauen, a dismall blast
 Including plagues to come for ill deedes past.
 Old Chaos, through the cleft masse, shall bee seene,
 Unto this Barre shall all earths' Kings conueene:
 Riuers of fire and Brimstone flowing from heau'n.

The Latin term *PISCICULI* was considered as symbolical of the 'inward and spiritual grace' of Regeneration, of which *Baptism* was 'the outward and visible sign,' and therefore was used for those Christians who had received the baptismal rite, and had experienced the grace 'signified.' TERTULLIAN, (*De Baptismo*, c. 1,) observes, that Christians 'swim in water as Fishes, after the example of their *Fish*, CHRIST JESUS; and can only be saved by continuing in the water;' and OPTATUS (*Cont. Parmen*, lib. iii,) says, that 'he is a *Fish* who has been with prayer immersed in water in Baptism;' and adds, that from the term *Piscis*, a fish, applied to the Christians, the baptismal fonts were called *Piscina*, *Fishpools*.²

Venerable BEDE, who lived in the eighth century, in his *Commentary on Job*, l. i. c. 12, applies the term *Pisces*, *fishes*, to Christians, but offers other reasons for adopting it:—"By fishes are

(2) Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Vol. I. ch. i. p. 3

to be understood,” says he, “those who immediately pass from the font of Baptism to the LORD;”—and in another place, (in *Luc.* l. 3, c. 11,) he remarks, “By *Piscis*, or a *fish*, is meant Faith in Him who is invisible, either because of the water of Baptism, or because fishes are caught in places out of sight.”³

EUCHERIUS, a Christian writer of the fifth century, presents a still different reason for this peculiar use of the word; for, “As fishes,” says he, “are not injured by the violence of winds or waves, so the Christian is preserved, in the exercise of faith, as it is said, ‘In the world ye shall have tribulation, but in me ye shall have peace.’”⁴

Several of the reasons here adduced for the use of these symbolical terms, must be allowed to be fanciful, though certainly agreeable to the practice of many ancient Christian writers, whose fondness for allegorical and figurative expositions, even of Scripture itself, characterized the writings of several of the most eminent commentators, as the voluminous and elaborate works of ORIGIN, and others, sufficiently demonstrate. A more plausible reason for the adoption of these symbolical terms, will be found in the figurative language of the Holy Scriptures, and the application of similar terms by our

(3) Aringhii Roma Subterranea, T. ii. l. 6. c. 38, pp. 619, 621.

(4) Ibid.

LORD. In the prophecy of EZEKIEL, the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit under the Gospel, and the success attendant upon the ministry of it, are compared to a mighty river, and the salutary effect of it upon the fishes of the sea. “It shall come to pass that every thing that liveth, which moveth, whithersoever the rivers shall come, shall live; and there shall be a very great multitude of fish, because these waters shall come thither: for they shall be healed; and every thing shall live whither the river cometh,” Ezek. xlvii. 9; and JESUS when he called SIMON, and ANDREW his brother, to follow him, said to them, “Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men,” Matt. iv. 19; in allusion to which, the papal documents are to this day said to be “given under the fisherman’s seal;” the Pope professing himself to be the successor of PETER in office and authority.

From the use of symbolical *terms*, the transition was easy to the adoption of symbolical *representations*, and it therefore soon became common for the Christians to have the letters of the word IXΘΥΣ, or the figures of Fishes, sculptured on their monuments for the dead, struck on their medals, engraved on their rings and seals, and even formed on the articles of domestic use.

ARINGHIUS, in his laborious work, entitled, *Roma Subterranea*, (in 2 vols. folio,) has given several representations of sepulchral sculptures, in which the *Fish* forms a prominent figure. One of these, accurately copied on a reduced

scale, will be found in the plate prefixed to this volume, fig. 2. It was taken from a marble sarcophagus, found in the Vatican at Rome, and represents JESUS CHRIST as the “ Good Shepherd,” with the lost sheep upon his shoulders ; on either hand appears a sheep looking up to him, apparently with affection and attention ; on the right is the figure of a fish ; and on the left an anchor, symbolical of hope : the whole forming an interesting group, and probably intended to intimate that JESUS CHRIST is the only SAVIOUR of mankind,—that he “ seeks and saves the lost,” that “ his sheep hear his voice and follow him,”—that in order to be a true Christian, a man must be “ born again of water and of the Spirit,”—and, that it is by becoming true Christians, that we obtain a “ sure and certain hope,” of Eternal life ; and hence Christians were sometimes called “ Piscis Filii,”—“ Sons of the Fish,” by the ancients.⁵

In some cases the word IXΘΥC was cut upon the Sarcophagi, or sepulchral urns, to distinguish the sepulchres of the Christians from those of the Pagans, especially in the public cemeteries, where their tombs were not sufficiently marked by any other distinction. On these occasions, the Greek letter N was usually placed after the word, as the abbreviation of Νικῶν, *he conquered*, to shew that it was intended as the symbol of

(5) Aringhii Rom. Subter. T. i. p. 320. Romæ, 1681, fol. Mamachii Orig. et. Antiq. Christianarum, *ut sup.*

JESUS CHRIST, who had “ led captivity captive,” “ abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel.”⁶

At other times, one of the letters of the word IXΘYC was placed at the commencement of each line of the monumental inscription, or epitaph, giving the appearance of an acrostical composition, where it was neither poetical nor acrostical, and where the Greek letters which were prefixed formed no part of the words inscribed. Instances of this are to be found both in the *Roma Subterranea* of Aringhius, and the *Originum et Antiquitatum Christianarum* of Mammachius, from some of which we derive decisive evidence of the ages of the persons interred, being frequently calculated not from the day of their natural birth, but of their baptism or public avowal of Christianity, some being mentioned as only a few days old at the time of their decease.⁷

The ancient Christians also exhibited similar symbols on their jewels, and domestic articles. Representations of some of these are engraved in the plate prefixed to this work. Fig. 3 is taken from an annular cameo in the Victorine Museum at Rome:⁸ in the centre, is an ornamented Anchor, indicating hope; on each side is the figure of a Fish, symbolical of Christians; over the anchor is the word IHCOYC,—JESUS, and

(6) Nummus Æreus Explicatus, Pars. ii. c. xvii. pp. 91, 92. Mammachii Orig. et Antiq. *ut sup.* Romæ, 1737, 4to.

(7) Nummus Æreus, *ut sup.*

(8) *Ibid.* Pars. ii. c. xix. p. 105.

underneath ΧΡΕΙCΤΟC,—CHRIST; the whole of which seems to be an enigmatical representation, intended to intimate, that through JESUS CHRIST as our only SAVIOUR, and by the experience of Regeneration, we may have Hope. Fig. 4 is from an engraved Opal, in the same collection:—on one side is engraved the term ΙΧΘΥC, a *Fish*, and on the reverse an Anchor; connecting again the idea of Hope with that of JESUS CHRIST, as the SAVIOUR of men.⁹ Fig. 5 is an ancient Lamp, copied from a representation given by ARINGHIUS:¹⁰ on the top or upper-side two fishes are moulded, or cut upon it;—and on the handle is this monogram of CHRIST



formed from the two first letters of the word ΧΡΙCΤΟC,—CHRISTOS.*

(9) Nummus Æreus, p. 92.

(10) Aringhii Roma Subterranea, T. ii. p. 620.

* This Monogram or abbreviation was in use prior to the Christian æra, and appears to have been adopted either to express the regal office from the Greek word *χρῖω* to anoint; or the disposition of the mind from *χρηστος* meek, gentle; or else to have been regarded as the symbol of peace, or used as the abbreviation of the names of certain Grecian prefects, as *Chrysanthus*, *Chrysodorus*, &c.

The early Christians transferred the monogram to the SAVIOUR, and held it in veneration as the abbreviation of his name, and expressive of his regal and mediatorial offices, as the “Anointed of the Father,” and “Head over all things to his church, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all.” Hence, it was placed in their churches, used as the signatures of their

The representation of a Fish was likewise made use of to ornament their more valuable manuscripts, and MONTFAUCON, in his *Palæographia*, has given the fac-simile of a Greek manuscript of certain of CHRYSOSTOM'S works, written about the ninth century, in which the figure of a Fish, is substituted for the first letter.¹⁰

bishops, impressed upon their coins, embossed upon their vessels, engraved upon their seals, exhibited on their standards, sculptured on their tombs, and at length, worn by the superstitious as an amulet or charm, to preserve them from injury.

This Monogram also, with the addition of the inscription EN ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, — BY THIS CONQUER, formed the famous *Labarum*, or royal standard of Constantine the Great; adopted, according to some writers, from an appearance of it in the heavens, by which the Emperor had been induced to embrace Christianity. The same Emperor appointed it the insignia of the military order of the *Labari*, instituted for the defence of the Christian religion; it was also assumed and borne on a white cross, by a similar order in Spain, instituted in 1217, or 1239, for the extirpation of heretics, and called *The Brethren of the Militia of St. Dominic*. In the early ages, the orthodox Christians placed the same monogram betwixt the Α Alpha, and Ω Omega, the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, in allusion to the words of JESUS CHRIST in Apocalypse, “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the ALMIGHTY;” (Rev. i. 8,) intending thereby to avow their belief of the Godhead of CHRIST, in opposition to the sentiments of their Arian antagonists. (Menkenius, *De Monogrammate*, Lipsic, 1696, 4to. *passim*.)

(10) Montfaucon, *Palaog. Graec. Lib. IV. c. ii. p. 272.*
fig. 1.

VIII.

ON THE CONGREGATION AND COLLEGE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE; OR CELEBRATED CATHOLIC MISSIONARY INSTITUTION.

THE Missions of the Roman Catholics have been numerous and extensive; and almost every part of the world has been visited by their missionaries at one period or another. Magnificent institutions, proportioned to the magnitude of the object to be attained, have been founded for the education of persons designed to propagate the Catholic faith to the ends of the earth; to which wealth and science have most liberally contributed their aid; whilst societies of zealous and self-denying men have been formed, for the express purpose of devoting themselves to the most arduous labours for the prosperity of the church, under the direction of the Pope. Of these societies and institutions, none have been more celebrated than the ORDER of JESUITS, and the CONGREGATION and COLLEGE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE,

The ORDER OF JESUITS, or SOCIETY OF JESUS, was instituted by IGNATIUS LOYOLA, a descendant of a noble family of Spain, and was approved by the *bull** of Pope PAUL III., in 1540. XAVIER, one of the first associates of the order, and the companion and friend of LOYOLA, has immortalized his name by his labours and sufferings in the East. The vows, taken by the members of the Society, bind them to go on whatever missions the Pope enjoins, and if it be his pleasure, at their own expense. The whole of the fraternity is placed under a General, whose orders are to be implicitly obeyed, and who is subject only to his Holiness. The occupations of the order, when not employed on missions, are chiefly of a literary or scientific nature. From their education and habits, the members have frequently been considered as peculiar suited to high political situations, and chosen as the confidants and counsellors of Catholic princes. By these means the influence of the order became so great, that at length several of the sovereigns of Europe resolved upon its destruction, and by their authority, obtained a bull for its dissolution, from POPE CLEMENT XIV., in 1773. It has, however,

* The term *bull* from the Latin *bullā* or *seal* is chiefly applied to the rescripts, edicts, or letters of the Pope. The *bull* properly speaking, signifies the *seal* appended to the letter or edict, which in the papal edicts is usually of lead, and when the letter is respecting a matter of justice, is hung by a hempen cord, but if of grace or favour, by a silken thread.

been re-established since by POPE PIUS VII., in 1814.¹ The principal foreign Missions undertaken by this order have been in the East and in South America. In these and other stations their success is said, by their historians, to have been unusually great, and tens of thousands are enumerated as proselytes to the Catholic faith. It is, however, to be lamented, that in too many instances there appears to have been an unwarrantable compromise of principle, and an almost total indifference to religious discipline.²

The *Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith* (*De Propaganda Fide*), forms one of the fifteen Congregations of Cardinals, instituted for direction and control of Catholic affairs, both temporal and spiritual, under the supreme government of the Pope, of which, the four principal are, 1. The Congregation of Rites, which regulates the ceremonies of the Church: 2. The Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, for the direction of the Episcopal dignitaries, and regular clergy: 3. The Congregation of the Holy Office or Inquisition, for the detection and prevention of heresy; and 4. The *Congregation de Propaganda Fide*.

It was established June 22, 1622, by Pope

(1) Butler's Lives of the Saints, Vol. VII. July 31: Memoirs of the Society of Jesus, *passim*. Liverpool, 1823.

(2) Memoirs of the Society of Jesus, *ut sup*. History of the Jesuits, Vol. I. pp. 312—315. Vol. II. pp. 107, 150. Lond. 1816. 8vo.

GREGORY XV., by the advice of Father NARNI, his Confessor, to take cognizance of all business relative to the propagation of the Catholic Religion, throughout the world; referring the most weighty matters to the decision of the Pontiff, but deciding in all other cases according to their judgment:—to superintend all Missions designed to preach and teach the Gospel, and the doctrines of the Church of Rome:—and to appoint and change the Ministers necessary for that purpose. The *Congregation* consisted of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary. The persons associated with the cardinals on the first appointment of the institution, were JOHN BAPTIST VIVES, Referendary and Domestic Prelate to URBAN VIII.; JOHN BAPTIST AGUCCHIUS, Secretary to the Pope, and Notary of the Apostolical See; DOMINIC A JESU MARIA, a monk of the order of Barefooted Carmelites, Professor and Vicar-General; and FRANCIS INGOLUS, who was chosen Secretary. The members of the Congregation were enjoined to meet thrice in each month, once in the presence of his Holiness, to lay their resolutions before him, and twice in the palace of the senior cardinal. GREGORY XV. assigned for their maintenance the emoluments arising from the *Anelli Cardinalitii*, gave them a palace, worth 10,000 crowns, and presented them with a capital of 15,000 crowns.³ Besides the

(3) Cherubini Magnum Bullarium, T. iii. pp. 421—424. Historie des Orders Monastiques, T. VIII. c. xii. pp. 77—81.

sums mentioned by URB. CERRI, HELYOT (*Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*) says, "that Cardinal GALLIO, who died in 1683, was one of the principal benefactors, and bequeathed considerable sums, to be employed according to the exigencies of the institution ;" and adds, that "the expences of the Seminary, for the support of Apostolic Missionaries, amounted annually (when he wrote) to nearly 50,000 Roman crowns."

GREGORY XV. dying in 1623, CARDINAL BARBERINI was elected to the papal dignity, and assumed the name of URBAN VIII. On his advancement to the pontifical chair, he vigorously promoted the interests of the institution commenced by his predecessor, chose many from the different religious orders to be employed as missionaries on foreign stations, conferred various privileges upon the Congregation, and greatly augmented the riches and possessions of the establishment. Other munificent and wealthy persons, stimulated by these examples, and by a conviction of the vast importance of this undertaking to the Catholic cause, granted or bequeathed property to a very great amount, to be applied to the purposes of the institution, including the Church

Paris, 1719. 4to; Bergier, *Dict. Theol.* T. ii. art. *Congregation*; T. v. art. *Missions Etrangeres*; Fabricii *Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, Cap. xxxiii. p. 566; Urban Cerri's *Account of the State of the Roman Catholick Religion, throughout the World*; translated by Sir. R. Steele; pp. 176, 177. Lond. 1724. 12mo. Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical Hist.*, by Dr. Mac-laine, Vol. V. pp. 1, 2.

and College, soon afterwards erected. URBAN CERRI, in his *State of the Roman Catholic Religion*, presented to INNOCENT XV., who died in 1689, has given the following notices of several of these benefactions; and of the expenditure of the establishment at that period.

	Crowns.
Cardinal St. Onufrio, or Onuphrius	207,000
Cardinal Cornaro	34,500
Cardinal de Galamina	57,400
Cardinal Capponi	8,000
Cardinal Giustiniani	12,500
Cardinal Ubaldini	40,000
Monsignor Vives	42,000
John Savanier	64,000

Beside smaller inheritances, legacies, alms, and certain sums from unknown persons, presented by DOMINIC A JESU MARIA, constituting in the whole a capital of about 615,000 crowns, in addition to 100,000 crowns, expended in erecting the Church and College, producing an annual income of about 24,000 crowns. "This income," says the same writer, speaking of the time when he presented his statement, "with some other revenues, arising from some few houses and rents, is collected by an officer, who has the title of *Agent*, and is obliged to carry it immediately into the *Monte della Pietà** from whence

* This is a kind of Bank established at Rome, for lending money on pledges, at a small interest, generally not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and originally designed as a check upon the usurious oppressions of Pawn-brokers. ED.

it cannot be fetched, without an order from the Congregation, subscribed by the Cardinal Prefect, the Secretary, and the Accomptant. There is a public office kept, wherein are carefully registered all the expences, and orders issued out by virtue of the decrees of the Congregation; so that no part of the money can be misapplied: and when the accounts are balanced, which is done every year, they are put into the hands of all the cardinals, and examined in a particular Congregation, called, *dello stato temporale*.”⁴

The necessity of instituting a College or Seminary, for the persons intended to be sent on foreign missions, was soon perceived by the more intelligent and active members of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, especially by JOHN BAPTIST VIVES,* of Valencia, in Spain, Referendary and Domestic Prelate of Pope URBAN VIII., and Resident at the court of Rome, from the Infanta ISABELLA, of Austria, Governess of the Netherlands, who nobly offered all his ample possessions, and beautiful palace, for the support and education of ten young men, of any nation, who might be deemed eligible by the pontiff. The advantages of such an establishment, was fore-

(4) Urban Cerri's State of the Roman Catholic Religion, pp. 176—179.

(*) He is thus called by Cherubini in *Bullar Roman*, T. iii. p. 422; but Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, calls him VIVES; and Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. V. p. 3, writes the name VILES, and blames Urb. Cerri for calling him VIVES.

seen by URBAN VIII., who applauded the zeal of VIRES, and accepted his munificent proposal. The project was, therefore, soon afterwards accomplished, by instituting the *Apostolic College or Seminary, for the Propagation of the Faith, (De Propaganda Fide)* and confirming the erection of it by a bull, dated August 1, 1627, on which account it is sometimes called *Urban's College*. The institution was taken under the immediate protection of the holy see, and the Pope granted it all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the German, English, and Greek Colleges, and by the general schools of Rome; and appointed three canons of the three patriarchal churches of St. Peter, St. John de Lateran, and St. Mary Major, for its government. In 1637, Cardinal ANTHONY BARBERINI, (called also Cardinal St. ONUPHRIUS,) Librarian of the Vatican and Grand Penitentiary, the brother of URBAN VIII., greatly augmented the revenues of the College, and founded twelve scholarships, with power to increase them to eighteen, for young scholars, between fifteen and twenty-one years of age, to be taught the Latin and Italian languages, being natives of the East, viz., Georgians, Persians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites, and Copts; to which were added Armenians, in case of a vacancy. In 1638, or 1639, the same Cardinal founded thirteen other scholarships, for seven Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, and six Hindoos, or Brahmins; the vacancies to be filled up with Armenians, preferring those from Russia or

Poland, and successively those from Constantinople, Tartary, Georgia, Armenia, or Persia. These two foundations were united to the College in 1641, and several regulations made relative to the age, time, and election of the candidates, and the administration of the whole transferred from the Canons of the patriarchal churches, to the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*. But, because it has always been difficult to obtain young men of the nations before-mentioned, the Congregation has frequently disposed of those places *pro tempore* in favour of others, with the consent of the house of the *Barberini*. The College is governed, with the superintendency of the Secretary, by a Rector, who is a secular priest. The Rector's accounts are brought every four months to the cardinal, called *Mensario*, whose business it is, not only to give him a receipt, but also to visit the College, and to see whether the students are well governed. The *Fathers of the Missions* are their spiritual directors; and come every day, gratuitously, to hear their confessions, and to make them perform several pious exercises. Able professors in the languages and sciences, divinity, philosophy, and other branches of learning, are supported by the institution, and the students are annually examined as to the improvement they have made in their studies. When the students have finished their education, they are employed either as missionaries, or as bishops, or vicars-apostolic, in foreign parts, according to the exi-

gency of the occasion, and the abilities of the persons educated.⁵

On the first erection of the College, the students were permitted to enter at pleasure into the orders of St. Anthony, or St. Basil; but, the permission was withdrawn by Pope ALEXANDER VII., and the following oath prescribed by him in 1660, to be taken by all the students on entering the College.

“ I. A B. son of C. D. of the diocese of C. having a perfect knowledge of the institutes of this seminary, or college, and of its laws and constitutions, embrace them according to the explanation given of them by the Superiors, submit myself to them, and promise to obey them. I also promise and swear, that whilst I remain in the college, and when I leave it, whether I have finished my studies, or have not finished them, I will enter into no religious order, society, or congregation, without the permission of the holy Apostolic See, or of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*; and that I will make no profession in any of them, without the same permission. Moreover, I promise and swear, that, whenever it shall please the Congregation I will embrace the ecclesiastical state; that I will receive holy orders; and even the priesthood. I also vow and swear, that whether I become a member of a religious order, or remain in the secular state, I will render an account to the Congregation, every year, if I remain in Europe, and every two years if I depart out of Europe, of my state and occupations, and of the place where I shall be. I, moreover, vow and swear, that, at the first order I receive from the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, I will return, without de-

(5) Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, *ut sup.* Urb. Cerri's Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion, p. 180. Fabricii Salutaris Lux Evang. *ut sup.*

lay, to my native country, where I will employ my cares and labours for the salvation of souls; which I will also do, if with the permission of the holy See, I enter into any religious society, or order, and make my profession therein. Finally, I vow and swear, that, I know the force of this oath, and its obligations, and that I will observe it according to the declarations made by the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, confirmed by Apostolic Brief, of July 20th, 1660. So help me God, and his holy Gospels."

This oath was enjoined, by the same Pope, to be taken by the students or scholars of all seminaries, or Apostolic Colleges, established by Catholics, throughout the world.⁶

In the palace of the Congregation there is a room of large dimensions, which is their Printing Office, furnished with characters in most languages, with able correctors and printers continually employed in works for the propagation of the Catholic religion. The Society is said to have printed in *forty-eight languages*, within the first fifty years of its institution.⁷ Among the works printed within this period were *Dictionarium Malaico-Latinum, et Latino-Malaicum*, or Malay Lexicon, by DAYID HÆX, 1631, 4to.; *Artem Grammaticam Linguae Japonicæ*, or Japanese Grammar, by DIDACUS COLLADUS, 1631, 4to.; *Grammaticam Arabicam*, or Arabic Grammar, by THOMAS OBICINUS, 1631, 8vo.; *Dictionarium Anameticum*, or Lexicon of the Anam language,

(6) Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, T. viii, P. vi. p 80.

(7) Yeates's Indian Church History, p. 204, *note*. Lond. 1818. 8vo.

spoken in Cochin-china and Tonkin, by ALEXANDER DE RHODES, 1651; *Prodromus Copticus*, or Introduction to the Coptic tongue, by ATHANASIVS KIRCHER, 1636; *Institutiones Linguae Arabicæ*, or Institutes of the Arabic language, by P. GUADAGNOLUS, 1642, fol.; *Grammatica Persica*, or Persian Grammar, by IGNATIUS A JESU, 1661, 4to.; *Georgianæ, seu Ibericæ, Turcicæ, atque Arabicæ Linguae Institutiones*, or Institutes of the Georgian, Turkish, and Arabic languages, by FRANCISCUS MARIA MAGGIUS, 1643, fol. Since the publication of these works, the *Propaganda* press has printed numerous Lexicons, Grammars, Catechisms, (chiefly BELLARMIN'S,) and similar compositions, in many Oriental and Western languages, particularly brief *Introductions* to the *Arabic, Armenian, Burman, Ethiopic*, in both the *Geez* and *Amharic* dialects, *Hindoostanee, Telinga, Tibetan, Persic, Syro-Chaldaic, and Hebrew*; *Grammars, Vocabularies, or Lexicons* of the *Arabic, Turkish, Armenian, Coptic, Curd, Sanscrit, Hebrew, Italian* and other languages. Other works considered necessary for the preservation and propagation of the Roman Catholic faith, are continually issued from the same press, and are distributed *gratis* to the bishops, missionaries, and others, that they may be dispersed all over the world. It must, nevertheless, be regretted, that "it does not fall within the province of the Congregation *de Propaganda* to give translations or editions of the Holy Scrip-

tures," and consequently, that in the course of about 200 years, they have only published at this press, *one* edition of the entire *Arabic Bible*, completed, after forty-six years spent in translating, revising, and printing, in 1671, in 3 vols. folio; and *one* edition of the *Four Gospels*, in Hebrew, by J. J. BAPTISTA, 1668, folio.* Several

(*) For this information I am indebted to a learned Italian correspondent, resident at Rome, through the medium of a reverend gentleman of high character, lately deceased.

A complete list of all the works, printed at the press of the *Propaganda*, from its establishment to the present time, is a *desideratum* in literature. Fabricius (*Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, c. xxxiii. p. 568,) refers to Dorotheus Ascianus sive Matthias Zimmermanus *De Montibus Pietatis Romanensibus*, Lipsiæ, 1670. 4to., for a catalogue of books, printed at the press, or at the expense of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, from its institution to the year 1639. This very rare work I have not been able to procure, but from the following analysis of it by the correspondent already mentioned, it appears to have been written in opposition to the Church of Rome. "It has been a little difficult," he observes, "but at last I have succeeded in finding the work *De Montibus Pietatis*. The title of it is as follows:—'Dorothei Asciani SS. Theol. Dr. Montes Pietatis Romanenses historice, canonice, theologice detecti. Premittitur justus Tractatus gerendarum Roman. Eccles. Subjungitur Biga Scriptorum Pontificiorum, Nicolai Baviam Augustiniani Montes Impietatis, &c. Opusculum omnium facultatum, et curiosioris literaturæ studiosis lectu-jucundum et utile, cum Indicibus necessariis. Lipsiæ. MDCLXX.' Though the title of the work suffices to give an idea of its contents, yet I give you a list of the various articles, into which it is divided:—these articles are called metaphorically *Nervi*. Nervus. 1mo. Presumptio Papalis. 2us. Cuniculi. 3ius. Violentia. 4us. Licentia. 5us. Congregationes fidei causa. 6us.

other works were ready for the press, when the troubles occasioned by the French Revolution prevented their being printed; the institution being reduced almost to a state of annihilation, and the whole of their printing matrices taken to Paris. These have since been restored, and the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* have resumed their functions.⁸

All the writings and letters that come to the Congregation *de Propoganda Fide*, and also copies of those which they write, and of their decrees and resolutions, are registered and carefully preserved; but such is the number and variety of them, that notwithstanding the indexes and repertories, and the diligence of the officers engaged in this department, it is not without the greatest difficulty, that the accounts of the old transactions can be obtained; a defect which has sometimes occasioned decrees to be passed directly opposed to former ones.⁹

The framing of Rules or Constitutions for several of the Seminaries or Colleges, founded for the education of young men, intended to be employed as missionaries, principally in their native countries, has at different times been committed to the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*; among

Superstiones. 7us. Sanctitas affectata. Sus. Opes et divitiæ. After this you will be able to form an idea of the work."

(8) Yeates's Indian Church History, *ut sup.*

(9) Urb. Cerri's Account of the Roman Catholic Religion, p. 182.

which, are enumerated, the *College of Fulda* in Germany, first established by Pope GREGORY XIII., and afterwards re-established by Pope URBAN VIII. for thirty students, to be employed in Germany, and the northern parts of Europe; the *College of Prague* in Bohemia, founded for forty students, by Pope GREGORY XIII.; the *Illyrian College* at Loretto, founded by URBAN VIII.; and the *College of Vienna*, instituted by URBAN VIII.; or rather renewed by him after it had fallen into decay.¹⁰

During the late troubles in France and Italy the operations of this Society were necessarily interrupted, but on the restoration of monarchy in France, and of tranquility in Italy, they have re-commenced their labours with considerable vigour, but without the exercise of that candour and desire for the circulation of the Sacred Scriptures, which, we conceive, should always characterize a church, founded on the basis of Divine Faith. Edicts or bulls, sanctioned by the late Pope PIUS VII. have, at different times, been issued and circulated in Ireland, the Austrian dominions, and the East, against the Methodists, Bible Societies, and several charitable institutions for the education of the poor.

A complete history of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, and of its missionary and literary exertions, though highly desirable, has

(10) Cherubini Mag. Bullar. T. IV. pp. 117, 119, 122, 123, 124, 126, 155, 156.

never yet been presented to the public. URBAN CERRI'S, and HELYOT'S accounts of it, being defective in both the literary and missionary history, besides having been written more than a century ago. Such a history we are encouraged to expect from the erudite pen of the *Abbate* CANCELLIERI, who, we are happy to learn, has prepared one for the press, in 3 vols., and has only been waiting for means and opportunity to print it.

The Institution next in importance to the *College de Propaganda Fide*, for the support and establishment of the Catholic Foreign Missions, is the *Seminary or College of Paris*, which is in strict union with the Congregation at Rome. It owes its origin to the exertions of Father ALEXANDER DE RHODES, a celebrated Catholic missionary, a Jesuit, and a native of Avignon, who had been deputed by the churches of Tonkin, Cochin-china, and China, to visit Europe, in 1653, in order to solicit the Pope to send out Bishops to those kingdoms, to strengthen the Catholic converts against the violence of persecution, and to confer priestly orders upon some of the most qualified among them, as the only way of establishing, maintaining, and propagating the Christian religion in those distant and pagan countries. The death of INNOCENT X., and other occurrences, prevented the accomplishment of the design till the assumption of the pontificate of ALEXANDER VII., who in 1658 deputed three bishops in quality of Vicars-Apos-

to lic, to govern the churches, in that distant part of the East. These bishops were selected from among those of the clergy, who had offered themselves for the mission ; viz. M. PALLU, consecrated Bishop of Heliopolis, by Cardinal ANTHONY BARBERINI, chief of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*; M. DE LA MOTHE LAMBERT, consecrated at Paris, under the title of Bishop of Berita ; and M. COTELENDI, consecrated at Aix-in Province, under the title of Bishop of Metellopolis.

The Bishop of Berita set out for the East, with two missionaries, in 1660 ; the Bishop of Metellopolis followed in 1661, with two others ; and the Bishop of Heliopolis, in 1662, accompanied by six other missionaries, who were followed by fourteen others. The principal design of the mission being to prepare and ordain native priests, they established, at different times, three Seminaries, one in Tonkin, another in Cochin-china, and a third in Siam. These are said to have proved so advantageous to the Catholic Religion, that in Tonkin alone, notwithstanding the persecution which raged there against them, they baptized in two years more than 20,000 persons, ordained nine native priests, and in a short time established five communities of unmarried females and widows, whose principal employments were to engage in constant and united prayer and humiliation before God, for the conversion of the infidels in the three Vicariats, especially in Tonkin ; to in-

struct young females, pagans, as well as Christians, in whatever was necessary to be known by persons of their own sex; to assist the female sick, whether believers or idolaters, that by this exercise of charity they might have opportunity to instruct them in the concerns of eternal salvation; and finally, to watch over infants, and if sick and in danger of dying before baptism, to inform the administrator or catechist, and in case of their absence to baptize them themselves.

But notwithstanding these successes, the French bishops, and their missionaries found so many difficulties to encounter, that they saw it necessary to have no more missionaries sent to them, but such as had given proof of their vocation to the work, by previous preparation. They therefore requested their correspondents in France, to procure the establishment of a Seminary for the special purpose of preparing those who should follow them, for the exercise of their functions in those kingdoms. This desire was fulfilled, and the foundation of the *College or Seminary for Foreign Missions* laid at Paris in 1663, principally by the active exertions of F. BERNARD DE SAINT THERESA, titular Bishop of Babylon; and since then greatly enlarged by the liberality of the King, and clergy, and nobility. In this institution great care is said to be taken to examine the character of all those who present themselves to be employed on these missions; and who, after being instructed in every thing necessary for such a ministry, are permitted to

exercise themselves in their holy calling, in different parts of France, that by these means they may be prepared for their important and arduous charge. The particular affairs of the Missions and Missionaries are managed by a well-ordered office in the College; but the spiritual concerns are under the direction of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*. The Missionaries from this institution are chiefly sent to the kingdoms of Siam, Tonkin, and Cochin-china.¹¹

In addition to these extensive establishments, the ABBE BERGIER enumerates *eighty* other Seminaries of inferior note, but founded for the same object in the different kingdoms of Europe; and adds, that in 1707, Pope CLEMENT XI. ordered the superiors of the principal religious orders to appoint a certain number of the members of their respective institutions, to prepare themselves for becoming missionaries, in case of need, in different parts of the world. To these injunctions many of them attended with the most laudable zeal, especially the Barefooted-Carmelites, and the Capuchins.¹²

Of the extent of the Roman Catholic Foreign Missions, and of the success which is supposed to have attended them, a general idea may be formed from the following statements of M. DE

(11) Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, T. VIII. P. vi. pp. 84, 86; Urb. Cerri's State of the Roman Catholic Religion, p. 93; Bergier Dict. Theologique, T. V. *Missions Etrangères*.

(12) Bergier, Dict. Theologique, T. V. *ut sup*.

PAGIS, and the author of the "*Memoirs of the Society of Jesus.*" The former, in his "*Voyages round the World,*" terminated in 1776, attests the success of the Franciscan missionaries in *America*, and the excellent conduct of their converts; and observes, that the Catholic religion has made considerable progress in *Syria*, at *Damascus*, and *South West* of the mountains, and extended to the Copts in *Egypt*:—"I myself have seen," says he, "the sufferings and labours of the missionaries in *Turkey*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*. In the kingdoms of *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Camboya*, *Cochinchina*, and even in *China*, the success of the missions is admirable. In *America* and *Asia*, Spain alone has made more Christians than it has subjects in Europe."¹³ The latter, in his "*Memoirs,*" states that in *Paraguay* in South America, "three hundred thousand Indian savages were reclaimed from barbarism and vice;" that "Father CLAVER spent forty-four years in procuring spiritual and temporal comfort for the negro-slaves at *Carthagena*, and in the adjoining country;" that "in 1715, the number of the (Catholic) Christians in *China*, amounted to three hundred thousand," that "they possessed 300 churches," and that "between the years 1581 and 1681, 126 European Jesuits were employed in the missions in China." The same writer further remarks, that "there is not a

(13) Bergier, Dict. Theol. *ut sup.*

missioner on the coasts of *Malabar*, *Travancore*, and of the *Fishery*, who has less than 3 or 4,000 Christians under his charge, and some have 10 or 12,000. In the *Pentados*, south of *Mariane*, there are 77,000 Christians under forty-one missionaries of the Society," (of Jesus or Jesuits;) "and at *Tonquin* there are 200,000."¹⁴ M. ANQUETIL DU PERRON, likewise in his "*Voyage to India*," reckons 200,000 Christians on the coast of *Malabar* alone, of which great numbers are Roman Catholics.¹⁵

There is, however, reason to believe that these accounts are exaggerated; and that many of the supposed converts were merely so in name, baptism being often administered to them without sufficient previous instruction. The ABBE J. A. DUBOIS, who spent thirty-two years as a Catholic missionary, and has lately published "*Letters on the State of Christianity in India*," (Lond. 1823, 8vo.) to prove the conversion of Hindoos to be impracticable, says, (pp. 63, 125,) that although he familiarly conversed with the Hindoo converts, and lived among them as their spiritual guide for twenty-five years, he would hardly dare to affirm that he had any where met a sincere and undisguised Christian; and even declares, "I have now under my religious control between 7,000 and 8,000 persons; and I should

(14) *Memoirs of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 10—12.

(15) *Bergier, ut sup.*

be very much perplexed indeed, were I, among so large a number, desired to point out *four* individuals capable of understanding the meaning of the Bible, and to whom the reading of the naked text of the Holy Scriptures would prove of the least utility." Other details, equally unfavourable to the Catholic missions, might easily be selected from the information furnished by writers of their own communion; but as the object of the present Essay, is merely to afford a historical sketch of the principal institutions for foreign missions belonging to the Church of Rome, and not to discuss the prudence of the measures which have been adopted, we shall quit the subject with observing, that whatever may be thought of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, or of the mode of proselyting practised in its missions, we cannot but admire the zeal, self-denial, and perseverance of many of the missionaries, who have devoted themselves to the propagation of its principles and discipline; and applaud the profound learning of the Professors of the *College de Propaganda*;—an institution whose members, when GUSTAVUS, King of Sweden visited Rome in the year 1783, presented him with an eulogium in verse, written in forty-six different languages; and from which the English Government was furnished with the Chinese interpreters, who accompanied Lord MACARTNEY in his embassy to Peking.

IX.

ON THE PROHIBITORY AND EXPURGATORY INDEXES OF THE ROMISH CHURCH.

THE Latin word INDEX, generally appropriated to a table of the most important particulars contained in any work, is used by the Church of Rome to designate the *Catalogues* or *Lists* of books prohibited by ecclesiastical authority, on account of the heretical opinions supposed to be contained in them, or maintained by the writers or editors of them, and compiled, latterly, by a congregation established at Rome, called the *Congregation of the Index*.

The *Catalogue* or *List of Books* absolutely prohibited is simply called the INDEX, or INDEX LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM,—INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS; but when the *List* or *Catalogue* is of books allowed to be read after correction or alteration, agreeably to the orders of the papal authorities, it is termed INDEX EXPURGATORIUS, or EXPURGATORY INDEX; and in the later Indexes, the words *donec corrigantur*,—until corrected,

are subjoined to certain works, to render a separate expurgatory Index unnecessary.¹

The propriety of discountenancing and even of suppressing by legal authority such works as are of a blasphemous or immoral nature, must be acknowledged by every well-wisher to mankind, whatever may be his views of the right of private judgement or of free discussion, since whatever would destroy moral influence must be destructive of social happiness. The chief danger to be apprehended from such restrictions, is the possibility of their preventing a general diffusion of truth, by a discretionary power to censure or condemn being committed to certain privileged bodies of men, or to individuals of rank and office, without the right of appeal or redress. Happily for Britain, the trial by jury serves as the palladium of her liberty, and equally guards society against the licentiousness of depravity and the tyranny of oppression; but the historical details of this Essay will prove incontrovertibly that other ages have not possessed, and other countries do not yet possess, equal privileges and protection.

Prior to the Christian æra, the suppression and destruction of works deemed inimical to the welfare of the state or contrary to the religion established by law, was frequently practised by

(1) Peignot. Dictionnaire des Livres condamnés au feu, T. i. p. 253, 254. Paris, 1816, 8vo.

different governments and persons exercising legislative authority. At Athens, the writings of the sceptical philosopher PROTAGORAS were prohibited, and all the copies of them that could be collected were burnt by the public crier. At Rome, the books of NUMA POMPILIUS, the celebrated Roman legislator and sovereign, which had been found in his grave, were condemned by the Senate to the flames, because they were contrary to the religion which he had introduced; and when ANTIUCHUS EPIPHANES profaned the temple, and put many of the Jews to the most cruel tortures and deaths, he seized the Jewish books and copies of the Law, and caused them to be burnt.²

On the promulgation of the Gospel, the Pagan emperors, and their representatives in different provinces of the Roman Empire, pursued similar measures by collecting and burning, or destroying in other ways the writings of the Christians, especially their transcripts of the Holy Scriptures. This practice unfortunately remained when the Emperors established Christianity as the religion of the state, and the works regarded as containing heterodox doctrines were strictly forbidden and frequently committed to the flames. In after ages, the same system was pursued not only by temporal, but also by ecclesiastical authorities.

(2) Beckmann's History of Inventions,--*Book-Censors*, Vol. III. pp. 100—104. Lond. 1797, 8vo.; Peignot, *Dict. des Livres condamnés au feu*, T. i. pp. 245—253; Maccab. Chap. I. v. 56.

Thus the writings of **ARIUS** were condemned and ordered to be burnt at the Council of Nice, held in 325; and **CONSTANTINE** threatened with the punishment of death those who should conceal them. In 431, the clergy assembled at the Council of Ephesus, requested the Emperor **THEODOSIUS II.** to forbid the works of **NESTORIUS** to be read, or heard, or retained, and to command them to be burnt; a desire with which the Emperor complied, notwithstanding the favour **NESTORIUS** had formerly enjoyed, and the zeal which he had displayed against the Arians. The writings of **EUTYCHES** shared the like fate at the Council of Chalcedon, in 451. In the fifth Council of Constantinople, among other works censured and prohibited were those of **SEVERUS**; and all who possessed them were strictly enjoined to burn them, and forbidden to copy them, under penalty of the transcriber being punished by the amputation of his hand; and in the sixth Council of Constantinople, called also the Council of Trullo, held in 680, 681, the books of **SERGIUS** the Patriarch of Constantinople, and those which contained his opinions, were subjected to a similar destruction. The second Council of Nice, in 787, ordered all works written against the worship of images, and all heretical works to be delivered up to the bishop of Constantinople; and decreed, that if any bishop, priest, or deacon, should be found to have concealed them, he should be degraded from his office; or if any layman or monk, he

should be excommunicated. Other Councils pursued similar measures for the suppression of heresy and error, but with various success, the irritation produced by violent opposition not unfrequently increasing the efforts of the persecuted party, and giving publicity to opinions which would otherwise have been but little known.³

About the same period the *Mohammedans* actuated by inhibitory and exclusive principles, destroyed the celebrated Library of Alexandria, and justified their conduct by reasons equally cogent. This library had been founded by PTOLOMY SOTER, about the year 290 before the Christian æra; and greatly augmented by PTOLOMY PHILADELPHUS, who is said to have left in it at his death 100,000 volumes, including, among others of inestimable value, the Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures, designated the *Septuagint*. The successors of PTOLOMY continued to extend the library, so that at length the Museum in the *Bruchion*, or original depository, and its supplemental collection in the *Serapeum*, consisted of 700,000 volumes. Dur-

(3) Wagenselii *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, Præfat. pp. 7—10. Altdorf. Noric. 1681, 4to.; Schelhornii *Amœnitates Literariæ*, T. vii. *Dissert. de Libris Combustis*, § 4. pp. 84---87; Cuyckii *Panegyricæ Orationes*, Panegyri. 3. *De Vitandis et e Repub. proscribendis libris perniciosis*, p. 107. Lovanii, 1596, 12mo.; Labbei *Sacro-sanctæ Concilia*, T. vii. p. 908. Paris, 1671, fol.; Beckmann, *ut sup.*; Peignot, *ut sup.*

ing the first Alexandrine war the library of the *Bruchion* was destroyed by accident; but the library in the *Serapeum* being preserved, it was so greatly enlarged by subsequent donations that it surpassed the former libraries both in the number and value of the books. At length it was utterly destroyed by the Saracens in the year 642, by the orders of the Caliph Omar, under the following circumstances. Alexandria being taken by the Mohammedans, their General, AMROU, formed an intimacy with a Christian philosopher of the name of JOHN, who from his laborious studies had obtained the surname of *Philoponus*. One day the philosopher, addressing the Arab chief, said to him, "You have visited all the public repositories of Alexandria, and sealed up every thing found in them. With respect to whatever may be useful to you I say nothing; but some things which will be of no service to you, may be suitable for us." AMROU enquired, "What is it you want?"—He answered, "The philosophical works contained in the royal library." "This is a request," replied AMROU, "on which I cannot decide. I dare not grant without first obtaining the consent of OMAR EBNO'LCHATTAB, the Commander of the Faithful." He therefore wrote to the Caliph, who returned for answer, "If the books about which thou hast written, contain what agrees with the Book of God, (or the Koran,) they are useless, the Book of God containing what is sufficient without them; but if they

include what is contrary to it, there can be no need of them; order them therefore to be burnt." In consequence of these orders, AMROU ordered the library to be distributed among the baths of the city, and of which there are said to have been 4,000; and such was the immense number of books destroyed, that they served for fuel for the baths for six months!⁴ Among them were probably different versions of the Holy Scriptures, ORIGEN'S Hexapla, Commentaries, &c.⁵

At another time, as many books as would have loaded 200 camels, were ordered to be thrown into the river at Damascus; and to this day the works of Christian writers are considered by the Mohammedans as profane.⁶

Christian princes, and the highest ecclesiastical

(4) Abul-Pharajii (Greg.) *Hist. Dynastiarum.* vers. Pocock. p. 114 Oxon 1663. 4to.; Pocockii *Specimen Hist. Arab.* p. 165. Oxon. 1650. 4to.; Horne's *Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*, Vol. I, pp. 6---11. Lond. 1814. 8vo.; Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. ix. p. 440, has attempted to disprove this account, chiefly from the silence of *Eutychius* and *Elmacin*, two Egyptian annalists; but as has been well observed, "The positive evidence of an historian of such unquestionable credit as Abulpharagius, cannot be set aside by an argument merely negative;" and his other references are foreign from the purpose. See Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, Vol. II. p. 227. note; Peignot *ut sup.* also says, that Gibbon's opinion has been completely refuted by M. Langles, in the *Magasin Encyclopedique*, An. 5. T. II, No. xi. p. 384.

(5) Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. ix. p. 442. note.

(6) Schelhornii *Amenitat. Litter.—De libris combustis*, T. vii. p. 91. note.

dignitaries not only countenanced, but frequently promoted similar inhibitory and destructive decrees. Thus in the ninth century, when the newly converted Bulgarians proposed a number of questions relative to their conduct, to Pope NICHOLAS I., he replied to *two* of them, that, “they should do no violence to the Pagans, but conduct themselves as became Christians;”—and as to the profane books which they had received from the Saracens, “they ought not to be retained, because *Evil Communications corrupt good manners*, (1 Cor. xv.) but rather be thrown into the fire, as pernicious and blasphemous writings.”⁷ In the year 1001, OLAUS, King of Sweden, assembled the nobles and chief persons of his kingdom to consult together on the best means of establishing Christianity more fully among his subjects, when it was decided that the Roman letters should be substituted for the Runic, which had hitherto been in use; and that all books relating to the idolatries which were practised should be consigned to the flames. By these decisions the greater part of the works which contained the history and antiquities of the nation were unfortunately destroyed.⁸

The commencement of the *Inquisition* in 1208, formed a new æra in the history of proscription and intolerance. The Albigenses in Narbonnese Gaul were the first victims of this dreadful tribunal, established for the detection and extirpation

(7) Labbei S. S. Concilia, T. vii. p. 548.

(8) Peignot, Dict. des livres condamnés au feu, T. i. p. 250.

of heresy. ARNAULD, Abbot of Citeaux, was the *first* Inquisitor, appointed by INNOCENT III. DOMINIC, the founder of the order of Dominicans, and several other monks were associated with him. A crusade was preached against the unfortunate Albigenses, and "millions of persons perished," says LORENTE, "amidst the most cruel tortures." The acts of the Council of Verona, held in 1184, by which the bishops of Lombardy were enjoined diligently to search for heretics, and deliver those who remained obstinate to the civil magistrate to receive corporal punishment, is considered by FLEURY (*Hist. Eccles.*) as the origin of the Inquisition. This formidable tribunal was adopted by the Count of Tholouse, in 1229; and confided to the Dominicans by Pope GREGORY IX., in 1233. INNOCENT IV. extended it to all *Italy*, except Naples. *Spain* was entirely subjected to it in 1481, under FERDINAND and ISABELLA. *Portugal* adopted it under King JOHN III., in 1556. Pope PAUL III. had formed the Congregation of the Inquisition at Rome in 1541, under the title of the *Congregation of the Holy Office*, composed of several cardinals, besides various officers, in which the Pope always presides. The Spaniards carried the Inquisition with them to *South America*; and the Portuguese established it at an early period in their dominions in *India*.⁹

(9.) Bergier, Dict. Theologique, T. iv. *Inquisition*;

This establishment of the Inquisition soon induced systematical endeavours to suppress and destroy all writings deemed heretical, or calculated to promote what the Papal hierarchy called *heresy*; among which were frequently classed *vernacular and other versions of the Holy Scriptures!* The inquisitorial Council of Tholouse, held under the auspices of this tribunal, in 1229, prohibited the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and as this was the first canon publicly forbidding the WORD OF GOD; it is here presented to the reader:—

“WE also forbid the laity to possess any of the books of the OLD OR NEW TESTAMENT; except, perhaps, some one out of devotion wishes to have the *Psalter* or *Breviary*, for the Divine offices, or the *Hours of the Blessed Virgin*. But we strictly forbid them having any of these books translated into the vulgar tongue.”¹⁰

The year following (1230,) Pope GREGORY IX. ordered the writings of the Jews, and especially the Talmudical volumes to be committed to the flames; in which he was imitated in 1244, by INNOCENT IV., who prohibited all Jewish books, and ordered them to be destroyed, and in particular specified the *Talmuds of Jerusalem* and

Llorente, Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, T. iv. ch. xlvii, p. 274.

(10) Labbei S. S. Concilia. T. II. p. i. p. 430. For other special prohibitions of the Scriptures, in various countries, see “Illustrations of Biblical Literature,” 3 vols. *passim*.

Babylon,* assigning as his reasons that they contained not only the most horrid blasphemies against JESUS CHRIST, but also many precepts and decisions contrary to the laws of nations.¹¹

In 1359, BARTHOLOMEW JANOVESIO having predicted the coming of Antichrist, he was arrested by order of the Inquisitor of Arragon, and all his writings ordered to be delivered up and burnt: and in 1434, HENRY of ARRAGON, marquis of Villena, being suspected of necromancy on account of his learning and acquirements, JOHN II. King of Castile, commanded his books to be sought for after his decease and burnt. This injunction was, however, but partially executed, as part of the library escaped the general destruction. Towards the close of the same century THOMAS DE TORQUEMADA, first Inquisitor General of Spain, displayed the most furious zeal against heretical writings and the maintainers of heretical

* The *Talmud* is a Commentary on the *Mishneh*. There are two principal *Talmuds*, one written by the Jews of *Jerusalem*, about A. D. 300, called the *Jerusalem Talmud*; and that by the Jews of *Babylon*, about A. D. 500, called the *Babylonish Talmud*.

The *Mishneh* or text upon which the *Talmuds* are written, is the *Oral Law* or *Traditions of the Elders* said by the Rabbins to have been delivered by GOD to MOSES as the Commentary or Interpretation of the *Written Law*, and by him delivered orally, or by word of mouth, to AARON and his sons, and by them to the Seventy Elders, constituting the Great Sanhedrim.

(11) Wagenselii *Tela Ignea Satanæ*. Præfat. p. 10.

opinions; for he not only ordered a considerable number of *Hebrew Bibles* to be burnt, in 1490, and more than 6,000 volumes afterwards at an *Auto-da-fe** at Salamanca; but during eighteen years of his inquisitorial ministry caused *ten thousand two hundred and twenty persons to perish in the flames*, besides many thousands who were condemned to infamy, or perpetual imprisonment and confiscation of goods, exclusive of those who having escaped or being dead were burnt in effigy.¹²

The violent character of TORQUEMADA lessens the surprize that is felt at his cruelties and proscriptions; but it is impossible to learn without astonishment that the enlightened Cardinal XIMENES, whose *Complutensian Polyglott Bible* has rendered his memory dear to every Biblical scholar, should so far have entered into the measures of the bigotted men as to collect 5,000 volumes belonging to the Mohammedan Moors and commit them to the flames, regardless of their exquisite illuminations, superb bindings, or valuable contents; by this means destroying in

* An *Auto-da-fe*, or *Act of Faith*, is said to be held, when on an appointed day, "obstinate heretics" are conducted in solemn procession to public execution, attended by the officers of the Inquisition, and those who have abjured heresy, &c.; and are burnt alive in the presence of the Sovereign, or the Supreme Judge.

(12) Llorente *Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, T. i. pp. 83, 92, 279, 230.

all probability the works of some of the most celebrated Arabic or Mohammedan writers. Nor was the conduct of the Emperor of Germany, MAXIMILIAN I. more tolerant, in issuing an edict in 1510, commanding all Hebrew books, except the BIBLE, to be burnt, as containing blasphemies and dangerous errors.¹³

The Invention of Printing about the middle of the 15th century caused the rapid multiplication of books, and induced a diligent attention in the Papal hierarchy to prevent, if possible, the circulation of any that might prove injurious to the interests of the Church of Rome. They were, therefore, soon afterwards subjected to examination, and printers, printing-offices, and publishers, placed under the inspection of official characters, appointed sometimes by the civil government, and at others by the Universities, or Ecclesiastical Dignitaries, or the Inquisitors. The first instances of books printed with *Imprimaturs*, or official permissions, are two printed at Cologne, and sanctioned by the University in 1479, (one of them a Bible,) and another at Heidelberg, in 1480, authorized by the Patriarch of Venice, &c. The oldest mandate that is known for appointing a *Book-Censor* is one issued by BERTHOLD, Archbishop of Mentz, in

(13) Peignot, Dict. des Livres condamnés au feu, T. i. pp. 250, 251; See also on the same subject, the *Dissertations* in Schelhorn's *Amenitates Literariae*, T. vii. pp. 75, 295 T. viii. pp. 338. 460; T. ix. pp. 651, 752.

the year 1486, forbidding persons to translate any books out of the Latin, Greek, or other languages into the Vulgar Tongue, or when translated, to sell or dispose of them unless admitted to be sold by certain doctors and masters of the University of Erfurt. In 1501, Pope ALEXANDER VI. published a bull prohibiting any books to be printed without the approbation of the Archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, Triers, and Magdeburg, or their vicars-general, or officials in spirituals in those respective provinces.¹⁴ The year following, FERDINAND and ISABELLA, Sovereigns of Spain, published a royal ordinance charging the Presidents of the Chancellaries of Valladolid and Ciudad-Real, and the Archbishops of Toledo, Seville, and Grenada, and the Bishops of Burgos, Salamanca, and Zamora, with every thing relative to the examination, censure, impression, importation, and sale of books.¹⁵ In the Council of Lateran, held under LEO X. in 1515, it was decreed, that no book should be printed at Rome, nor in other cities and dioceses, unless, if at Rome it had been examined by the Vicar of his Holiness and the Master of the Palace; or if elsewhere, by the Bishop of the diocese, or a doctor appointed by him, and had

(14) Beckmann's-History of Inventions, Vol. iii p. 99; 115, *Book-Censors*.

(15) Llorente. Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne T. i. p. 282.

received the signature, under pain of excommunication and burning of the books.¹⁶

The promulgation and progress of the doctrines of the Great Reformer, LUTHER, early in the sixteenth century, increased the determination of the powerful adherents to Popery to suppress and destroy all books tinctured with Lutheranism or maintaining any of the peculiar opinions of the reformed churches. The Pope, therefore, on the 21st of March, 1521, wrote to the Governors of the Provinces of Castile, recommending them to prevent the introduction of LUTHER'S writings into that kingdom; and Cardinal ADRIAN, in quality of Inquisitor-General, addressed an order on the 7th of April in the same year to the particular inquisitors, to seize all works of this kind that should be introduced; and repeated the order in 1523, and at the same time charged the prefect of Guipuscoa to furnish the officers of the Inquisition all the assistance necessary to carry it into execution. These orders were followed by successive injunctions from the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, in 1530 and 1531, and by Cardinal MANRIQUE in 1535, addressed to the inquisitors, urging them to examine the public libraries for works of Catholics corrupted by the Lutherans, by appending notes to them, or works published by the Reformers under false names, and all others written

(16) Dictionnaire Portatif des Conciles, p. 280. Paris, 1764, 8vo.; Beckmann's History of Inventions, Vol. iii. p. 115.

by them; and to add a special article to the annual edict of *Denunciations* obliging all Catholics to denounce to the Inquisition all persons who should read any of them, or keep them in their houses.¹⁷

The emperor CHARLES V. enjoined the University of Louvain, to form a *List* or *Catalogue* of books regarded as dangerous, and obtained in 1539 a bull from the Pope approving the measure. The doctors of Louvain having completed their labours, the INDEX was published in 1546, through all the states of Flanders, and six years after the same prince prohibited, *under pain of death*, the reading of the writings of LUTHER. A similar *List* or *Index* of interdicted works had been printed at Venice, three years before, in 1543; and another was published in Italy in 1549. In this latter year the Inquisitor-General of Spain added some new works to the list of those already prohibited; and in 1550, the doctors of the University of Louvain completed a revision of the Index they had published, which was sent by the Emperor to the Inquisitor-General, and printed by the order of the Council of the Inquisition at Louvain in the same year in 4to.¹⁸ Other Indexes were published by the Faculty of Theology at Paris in 1551, and at Rome, Cologne, &c. &c. of which bibliographical

(17) Llorente, Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition, d'Espagne, T. i pp. 457—459.

(18) Llorente, *ut sup.*

notices may be found in PEIGNOT'S *Dictionnaire des Livres condamnés au feu*, T. i. p. 256—266.

These inquisitorial *Indexes* assumed their most systematic form in the *Council of Trent*, in which a committee or deputation were appointed to compile an *Index* of works to be prohibited. This was afterwards approved by Pope PIUS IV. in 1564, and certain *General Rules* relative to prohibited books drawn up and sanctioned by Papal authority. These Rules are prefixed to the different *Indexes* which have been published since that period.* The *Index* was divided into three classes, arranged alphabetically: the *first* contained the list of those authors who were either considered as heretics or suspected of heresy, and therefore *all* works published by them were condemned or ordered to be corrected: the *second* included a catalogue of books, described by their titles, which were suspected of containing false doctrine, and therefore, either wholly condemned, or ordered to be corrected; the *third* specified those *anonymous* works which were either absolutely condemned, or deemed needful to be corrected. Considerable additions were afterwards made to the list of condemned books, and books to be expurgated or corrected by different Popes, and also by the various inquisitorial authorities; and the *Rules of the Index* modified or enlarged by explanations and ad-

* A translation of these *Rules* will be found in the author's "Illustrations of Biblical Literature," Vol. II. pp. 478.--485.

ditions, particularly by BENEDICT XIV. The following is an instance of the additions to the *Rules* or modifications of them.

ADDITION TO RULE IV.

“ Any versions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue are permitted, that are approved by the Holy See, or published with notes taken from the Fathers of the Church, or from learned and Catholic writers.” (*Decree of the Congregation of the Index. June 13th, 1757.*¹⁹)

Pope SIXTUS V. who obtained the tiara or papal crown in 1585, instituted a Congregation at Rome for the examination of the *Index*, called the *Congregation of the Index*. This forms a branch of the Inquisition, and is sometimes included in the *Congregation of the Holy Office or Inquisition*.²⁰—It is a curious circumstance that SIXTUS V. having published an *Italian Bible*, and prefixed to it a bull recommending and pointing out the advantage of reading it, Cardinal QUIROGA and the Council of the Inquisition in Spain, immediately after the Pope's decease, condemned it as well as the *Spanish Bibles* of CASSIODORUS DE REYNA, and others.²¹

(19) Benedict XIV. *Index*, Lib. Prohib. p. vi. *Romæ*, 1758, 8vo.

(20) Letis's *Life of Sextus the V.* Dublin, 1766, 8vo.; Walch's *History of the Popes*, p. 274. Lond. 1759, 8vo.; Bergier, *Dict. Theol.* T. ii. *Congregations des Cardinaux*, p. 275.

(21) Llorente, T. iii. p. 18. This testimony may also serve

Many of the early *Indexes* were both prohibitory and expurgatory, and some of them consequently very voluminous: that of D. ANTONIO A SOTOMAYOR, Inquisitor-General of Spain, now before me, printed at Madrid, 1667, forms a large volume in folio, containing with the additions upwards of 1300 pages; and STOCKDALE, in his *History of the Inquisition*, p. 366, says the Spanish Index was afterwards increased to “two enormous volumes.”

To aid the reader in forming an idea of these prohibitory compilations, the following brief notices of some of them in the writer's own possession may not be unacceptable.

The *Index Expurgatorius*, compiled by ARIAS MONTANUS, the learned editor of the *Antwerp Polyglott*, was formed by order of PHILIP II. of Spain, the husband of our Queen MARY. It bears date 1571. Among the works to be corrected are those of Erasmus, Reuchlin, Seb. Munster, J. Faber Stapulensis, &c. &c. The works of B. ARIAS MONTANUS himself were afterwards placed in the Index published at Rome and Madrid. The Index compiled by ARIAS MONTANUS, is sometimes called the *Index of the Duke of ALBA*: it is extremely rare and was re-printed with a Latin Preface by F. JUNIUS, a Protestant, in 1599. The reprint is a small volume in 12mo.

to prove the existence of the *Italian Bible* of Sixtus V. which has been questioned by Le Long and others. See *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, Vol. iii. p. 14. and Peignot, *Dict. des Livres condamnés au feu*, T. i. p. 36.

The Spanish *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgandorum novissimus*, printed by order of the Inquisitor General, D. F. ANT. A SOTOMAYOR, at Madrid, 1667, fol. is divided into three Classes according to the mode adopted at the Council of Trent. The 1st Class, or that which enumerates the names of heretical authors or works suspected of heresy, contains a list of 2821 authors or works, with a Supplemental addition of 39. Among the authors whose works are condemned are Lord Bacon, John Fox, John Knox, Luther, Melancthon, Cranmer, Erpenius, Tycho Brahe, Sleidan, Buxtorf, Wielif, Selden, Drusius, Scapula, Piscator, Frobenius, Calvin, Arminius, &c. &c. &c.—In the 2d Class are included all editions of SEBASTIAN CASTALIO'S translation of the *Bible*, and all *Bibles with Annotations* by anonymous authors; beside seven other editions of *Bibles*.—In the 3d Class, about 160 editions of the *Bible* and 14 editions of the *New Testament*, are noted to be corrected; almost all of them in *Latin*, vernacular translations being altogether prohibited.—This Index was re-printed by the Protestants with the Preface of BENEDICT TURRETIN. To this edition, the Indexes of the Council of Trent, as published by CLEMENT VIII. in 1695, and of ALEXANDER VII. are subjoined, with copies of the Decrees of the Inquisition and Congregation of the Index to the year 1664, the date of the Index published by ALEXANDER VII. In this latter *Index* we find Walton's *Polyglott*, Stephens' *Greek Thesaurus*, Buxtorf's *Hebrew*, and Scapula's *Greek Lexicons*, &c. &c.

The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of BENEDICT XIV. printed at Rome, 1758, 8vo. is ornamented with an engraved title page, executed by GIOAN FABRI, representing the burning of the books mentioned Acts xix. 19, with the verse, as an explanation underneath.—Two Appendixes are added, bringing down the list of prohibited books to 1770. Among the proscribed names, we find Walton, Locke, Tillotson, Cave, Bull, Beveridge, Barclay, Allix, Whitby, &c. &c. editions of the *New Testament*, in German, French, Italian, and Latin, and an *English Bible and Commentary*.

The latest *Indexes* before me are, one published by order of PIUS VI. at Rome, 1787, 8vo., and another printed at Rome at the Apostolic press, by order of PIUS VII. in 1806, 8vo. The works condemned are similar to those in the *Index* of BENEDICT XIV. with some additions.

After this sketch of the Prohibitory Indexes the reader will not be surprised to learn, that when they first began to be compiled they were kept from the public view with the utmost caution, and only suffered to be in the possession of certain official characters. Thus to the Index drawn up by ARIAS MONTANUS in 1571, a decree was prefixed by the Duke of ALVA, forbidding “any one to print it except the King’s printer, or privately or publicly sell it, or even to have it in possession except official persons.” Even to the present time they are not, in general, easy to be obtained.

Such have been and still are the endeavours exercised by the Papal hierarchy not only to suppress the dissemination of vicious and immoral works, but to prevent the free circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and to proscribe all writings not harmonizing with the peculiar and exclusive sentiments of the Church of Rome. These efforts may check the progress but never can prevent the ultimate triumph of religious truth, it "is great and will prevail," whatever obstacles may be opposed to it; for "when religion is maintained only by force and by proscription, it cannot appear otherwise than hateful to all who do not reflect how inconsistent such means are with its true spirit;" whilst on the contrary the exercise of the mild and gentle spirit of Christianity will attract and overcome the very men, who if rudely treated, would have despised its precepts and rejected its sanctions. — "Now abideth Faith, Hope, Charity, these three; but the greatest of these is CHARITY." 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

X.

ON THE PROGRESSIVE DIFFUSION OF THE GOSPEL.

THE universal diffusion of Divine Truth, is an event which every pious mind must ardently desire, and which the prophecies of the holy scriptures clearly predict. Prior to the advent of the Messiah, the knowledge of the true God was restricted almost entirely to the Jews, to whom were committed the sacred oracles; but when the fulness of time was come, and the SAVIOUR of the world had “appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself,” the Gospel, the glad tidings of redemption, was commanded to be proclaimed to every nation, and kindred, and people, and tongue: “Go ye into all the world,” said JESUS to his apostles, “and preach the gospel to every creature.”—This gracious command apostolic benevolence endeavoured to accomplish, and the extensive travels, and unparalleled labours of these holy men, bespeak the zeal, and ardour,

and power, and grace, with which they were endued from on high. Their successors entered into their labours, and when they steadily followed their example, were successful: for the great Head of the church had promised to be with his ministers to the latest period, for "Lo!" said he, "I am with you even to the end of the world."

But, unhappily, all who have been "called Israel have not been of Israel," and the Christian church has experienced revolutions and vicissitudes, various in their causes, and extensive in their influence. At some periods, worldly splendour has surrounded certain parts of the Christian church; and at others the gloom of ignorance and superstition, and persecution, has enveloped numbers of its nominal members.

It is not, however, easy to ascertain whether true Christianity has been *gradually extending its benign influence in the world ever since its first promulgation*, at some periods secretly and unostentatiously, at others openly and triumphantly; or whether it has not sometimes been so overpowered by corruption and persecution that its influence has amazingly fluctuated, so that at one time the real possessors of religion have been numerous and powerful, and at a subsequent period few and feeble, and the light of truth nearly extinct. The latter is the opinion most generally maintained; but a serious investigation of the question may perhaps induce us to hesitate in adopting it, and lead us to consider the former.

as possible, and even probable, and not without strong arguments in its favour.

In attempting a vindication of the progressive influence of Christianity, the writer must solicit the candour of his readers on a subject seldom, if ever, previously before the public; and he deems it necessary to premise, that *vital Christianity*, and not any particular mode of it, is the object of his inquiry; he will, therefore, consider himself at liberty to regard its existence as important, whether discovered among societies and churches supported by the state, or unprotected by political authority; whether among societies pronounced orthodox, or calumniated as heretical. Pure experimental and practical religion, wherever found, will be designated as the Christianity he seeks. He is not, however, so sanguine as to suppose that his hypothesis can be established beyond contradiction; he is too well aware of the difficulty of obtaining direct evidence on the subject to expect to do more than render it probable to the understanding of the unbiassed reader.

The difficulty of obtaining complete evidence on the progress and extent of the dissemination of gospel truth, is great beyond what is generally supposed, whilst that very difficulty renders every document of more importance, and of more decisive weight in the scale of inquiry. Most of the ecclesiastical histories, written prior to the Reformation, are either *partial* or *defective*, or both. Nearly the whole of those with which we

are acquainted, were written by members of the Romish or Greek churches, who consequently extol and defend their own respective communions, and endeavour to sink into disrepute and contempt, all who differ from them; in many instances this is remarkably the case, and no pains are spared to vilify and misrepresent those who oppose them, or do not submit to their authority. Few, if any, of these histories detail the spread of vital godliness among mankind. Hence they are rather records of disputes, speculations, and worldly occurrences, than histories of the progress of true religion, and its influence upon the heart and conduct; they must, therefore, be necessarily defective in enabling us to estimate how far the Word of God ran and was glorified.

The paucity of any thing like historical record derived from the churches which differed from those at Rome and Constantinople forms a serious obstacle to the full discussion of a subject like the present. Of this defect in our ecclesiastical histories, the *Paulician* and *Nestorian* churches are remarkable instances. Of the *Paulicians* who rose in the seventh century and spread through the East, especially in Armenia, for several ages, we have scarcely any information but what is afforded by the writings of their opponents PHOTIUS and PETRUS SICULUS; and of the writings of the latter we have merely a bald Latin translation preserved in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. xvi., the Greek original

having perished during a lapse of ages; and yet so numerous was this sect, that the Empress THEODORA is said to have destroyed of them a hundred thousand by gibbet, fire, or sword. The best account in English of this people, will be found in GIBBON'S *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. X., or MILNER'S *History of the Church of Christ*, Vol. III. Of the Nestorians, the Catholic writer ASSEMAN, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, and the Protestant writers LA CROZE in his *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, and MOSHEIM in his *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, furnish much important information; but a more detailed history of this extensive body of Christians, and especially of their missions is still highly desirable, as every one will perceive who glances over the following sketch of them by the elegant but sceptical historian of the Roman Empire: "In the 6th century, according to the report of a Nestorian traveller, Christianity was successfully preached to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites. The Barbaric churches, from the gulf of Persia to the Caspian sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. The pepper coast of Malabar, and the isles of the ocean, Socotora and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of Christians, and the bishops and clergy of those sequestered regions

derived their ordination from the Catholic* of Babylon. In a subsequent age the missionaries of Balch and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imaus and the banks of the Selinga.—In their progress by sea and land, the Nestorians entered China by the port of Canton, and the northern residence of Sigan.—Under the reign of the caliphs, the Nestorian church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions.”—(*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. viii. pp. 338—349.) In the 9th century an embassy was sent to the Nestorians in India, called the *Christians of St. Thomas*, by the English King ALFRED.

In some cases this deficiency in ecclesiastical historians may have arisen from a want of access to the archives or original documents of particular churches; and in others from the peculiar circumstances of the churches themselves, for, being persecuted by those possessed of secular authority, many societies retired from public observation, and were too disadvantageously circumstanced to collect, arrange, transcribe, and defend, authentic documents relative to their

* The Nestorian primates were called *Catholics* from their universal oversight of the bishops and clergy. ED.

origin, progress, and history; for worldly grandeur and extensive power form no proof of an equal influence of piety and grace.

This want of historical proof has been greatly increased also by the nefarious policy of the Romish, if not the Greek church, in destroying or altering the records of other churches, as in the case of the church of Malabar, by Archbishop ALEXIS; and prohibiting the reading or use of such works as were supposed to be favourable to any party deemed heterodox or inimical, even if written by Roman Catholic writers, of which the decrees of the Inquisition and the *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum*, &c. are sufficient proofs.

These facts render it probable, that, had we complete histories of the churches differing from the views of the Romish and Greek hierarchies, we should find the most interesting details of the progress of the gospel, and its blessed effects in the world; especially, as the representations of their enemies themselves occasionally furnish facts highly creditable to their practice and piety.

REINERUS, an Inquisitor in the 13th century, acknowledges that he heard a Waldensian peasant recite the book of JOB by heart, and that there were others among them who could perfectly repeat the whole of the New Testament: and the celebrated THUANUS, a Roman Catholic, in the 17th century, describes the Waldenses inhabiting one of the Valleys in Dauphiny, as poor, but content; and adds, "One thing is astonish-

ing, that persons externally so savage and rude, should have so much moral cultivation. They can all read and write. They understand French so far as is needful for the understanding of the Bible, and the singing of psalms. You can scarcely find a boy among them who cannot give you an intelligible account of the faith which they profess." EGBERT, a monk, says of the Cathari, or Puritans of the 13th century, that he had often disputed with them: "They are armed," says he, "with all the passages of Scripture, which in any degree favour their views." And ÆNEAS SYLVIVS, afterwards Pope PIUS II. speaking of the Bohemians or Taborites, in the 15th century, observes, "That it was a shame to the Italian priests, that many of *them* had never read the whole of the New Testament, whilst scarcely a *woman* could be found among the Bohemians who could not answer any questions respecting either the Old or New Testament:" and let any unprejudiced person only read MILNER'S *History of the Church of Christ*; CRANZ'S *History of the Brethren*; HUGHES'S *Horæ Britannicæ*, Vol. II. and JONES'S *History of the Waldenses*, and he will meet with sufficient evidence to convince him, that many of those societies of Christians who were at different periods condemned by the Church of Rome, were far from being the characters depicted by their adversaries.

From this view, we venture to assume the position, that if we possessed true and complete

histories of the Christians, deemed heterodox by churches possessing greater splendour and secular power, we should probably find, that when religion was at a low ebb among those who had formerly been zealous in its cause it was extending its gracious influence among churches of less note and worldly pomp.

It is pretty certain that the HOLY SCRIPTURES favour the opinion that the diffusion of Divine Truth has been progressive, and will continue to be so until the whole world be evangelized. In the *Old Testament*, the progress of the Gospel is compared *to the expansion of light, or to the sun gradually advancing to meridian splendour*, though obscured occasionally by intervening clouds; ISAIAH lx. 1—3; xlix. 6:—*to the growth of herbs and plants*, springing forth and budding and bearing seed, though checked by unkindly winds and storms; ISAIAH lxi. 11; lv. 10, 11:—*to the gradual enlargement of colonies* by the increase of population, sometimes collecting themselves into compact bodies in towns and cities, and at other times extending themselves to distant places; ISAIAH liv. 1—3:—*to the course of a river* widening as it rolls along, fertilizing the country through which it flows, and at length pouring its tide into the ocean; EZEKIEL xlvii. 1—12, compared with ZECHARIAH xiv. 8:—and *to the continued and triumphant conquests* of a victorious prince, the advancement of the MESSIAH'S kingdom and the extension of the Gospel being correspondent with each other;

ISAIAH ix. 7 ; xlvii. 4. In the NEW TESTAMENT, the Gospel is parabolized by the *grain of mustard-seed*, small in its commencement, but vegetating and growing to a tree sufficient for the fowls to lodge in the branches of it ; MATTHEW xiii. 31 :—and, to *leaven* which secretly yet surely continues to leaven the meal in which it is placed till the whole be leavened ; MATTHEW xiii. 33.

The principal objections urged against the writer's view of the progress of the Gospel, are :

I. The number of Christian converts during the early ages of Christianity.

2. The supposed extermination of the Christian Religion, by DIOCLESIAN.

3. The rapid and extensive spread of Moham-medism in the seventh century: and,

4. The depressed and corrupted state of Christianity during the middle ages.

To the *first* of these objections, it is replied, that great allowances must be made for the hyperbolic and declamatory styles adopted by most of the early Christian writers, and for the association of modern ideas with ancient terms : thus the countries composing the dominions of the Emperors of Rome were designated as “ the World,” notwithstanding there were other governments of vast extent and immense population. Societies of Christians were denominated “ Churches,” though so inconsiderable as to assemble in the houses of private individuals ; and every pastor, however small his flock, was dignified with the title of “ Bishop.”

ORIGEN, whose extraordinary exertions for the spread of the Gospel by his Biblical labours entitle him to peculiar credit, acknowledges in his reply to CELSUS, that compared with the whole population of the Roman empire the Christians in the *third* century formed but “a very small number of persons.”¹

On the *second* objection, it may be sufficient to remark, that the monuments said to be discovered in Spain, bearing inscriptions which testified that they had been erected in memory of the extirpation of Christianity by DIOCLESIAN, rather marked the hope of the persecutors of the Christians, than expressed a well established fact; for although it is probable that many who were Christians only in profession would apostatize during the storm raised by Pagan cruelty; and that others would retire as much as possible from public observation, still it is certain that the defalcation, even in the Roman empire, could not have been what some have supposed, otherwise the circumstances under which CONSTANTINE assumed the purple, and the support which is said

(1) Origen contra Celsum, l. viii. p. 324. On this subject the reader may find some very important remarks in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. ii. ch. xv. pp. 358—370.—The *five* secondary causes of the progress of the Gospel adduced by this historian, have been acutely examined and their fallacy completely detected by Lord Hailes in his *Inquiry into the secondary causes which Mr. Gibbon has assigned, &c.*

to have been afforded him by the Christians, would be destitute of all probability.²

With respect to the *third* objection it is answered, that the defection in the Christian church by the Arabian imposture was more in appearance than in reality, for among the causes of the progress of the Mohammedan faith must be numbered “the bitter dissensions and cruel animosities that reigned among the Christian sects,—dissensions that filled a great part of the East with carnage, assassinations, and such detestable enormities, as rendered the very name of Christianity odious to many.”³ SALE, the learned translator of the *Koran*, observes, that “the Christian world—had so destroyed that peace, love, and charity from among them, which the Gospel was given to promote; and instead thereof, continually provoked each other to that malice, rancour, and every evil work, that they had lost the whole substance of religion, while they eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it.”⁴

The *last* objection, is allowed to have considerable weight as it regards particular churches or denominations of Christians; but certainly it does not apply to Christianity in general, since

(2) See J. E. J. Walchii Christianorum sub Diocletiano in Hispania persecutio, Jenæ, 1751, 12mo. for a learned defence of these monuments.

(3) Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 16.

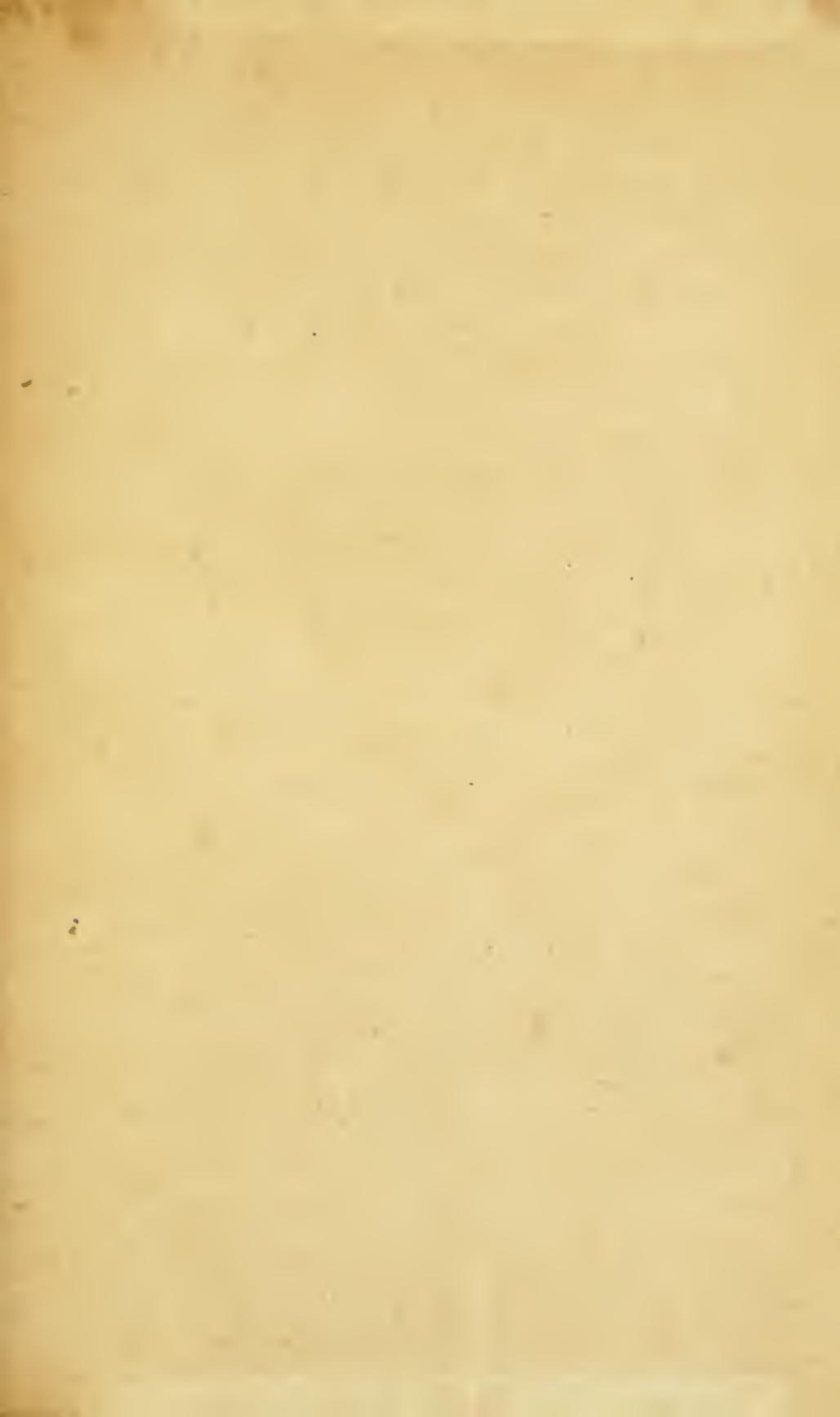
(4) Sale's *Koran*, vol. i. Prelim. Disc. sect. ii. p. 43. Lond. 1801, 8vo.

it will be found that whilst religion decayed in some places and among some societies, it flourished and increased in others. It is also certain, that many of the churches deemed heretical, and vilified and misrepresented, by the writers of the Greek and Romish communions, possessed a spirit of true piety and devotion; and that some of them, at least, were of great extent, and embraced within their respective pales, vast number of Christian converts, as the Syrian church in India, the Paulicians, who flourished in the ninth and several succeeding centuries; the early British churches, prior to the mission of AUGUSTINE; the Waldenses of the 13th and succeeding centuries; the Lollards of England; the Hugonots of France; the Hussites of Bohemia, &c. &c.

It is likewise deserving of remark, that at the worst periods of corruption in the church of Rome, there were those who nobly endeavoured to stem the torrent, and who boldly inveighed against the manners of the age, among whom may be enumerated, Venerable BEDE in the eighth, CLAUDE of Turin in the ninth, BERNARD in the twelfth, GROSSETESTE in the thirteenth, and WICLIF in the fourteenth centuries; to whom may doubtless be added a cloud of witnesses, who, scattered, unobstrusive, and obscure, were endeavouring quietly to serve GOD in simplicity and godly sincerity, "prized and loved by him alone."

On a subject so interesting as that of the dif-

fusion of evangelical truth, full and indubitable evidence would be cheering; but from some of the preceding remarks it will be seen, that almost insuperable obstacles have been thrown in the way of complete historical demonstration. Still, if the evidence discovered be sufficient to preponderate the mind, it will be pleasing to contemplate the gospel like the path of the just "SHINING MORE AND MORE UNTO THE PERFECT DAY." PROVERBS iv. 18.



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