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of Sacred Literature

vol 1 p 108. - 1861

AD 178

was a heathen philosopher, who
undertook to confute the Christians
but on reading their Scriptures in
order to do so, was converted to
their faith. He flourished under
Adrian & Antoninus Pius, AD 178
was first president of the
Catechetical school of Alexandria
& preceptor to Clement, who
wrote the Stromate -
The only two of his works which remain
are his dialogue pro Christianis
& De Christianis mortuorum



2. 13 course, prob. f-2



T H E
A P O L O G E T I C K S

Of the Learned

Athenian PHILOSOPHER

A T H E N A G O R A S,

I. *For the Christian Religion.*

II. *For the Truth of the Resurrection.*

AGAINST

The Scepticks and Infidels of that Age.

T O G E T H E R

With a curious Fragment of *Justin Martyr*
on the Subject of the *Resurrection*, not published
in his Works.

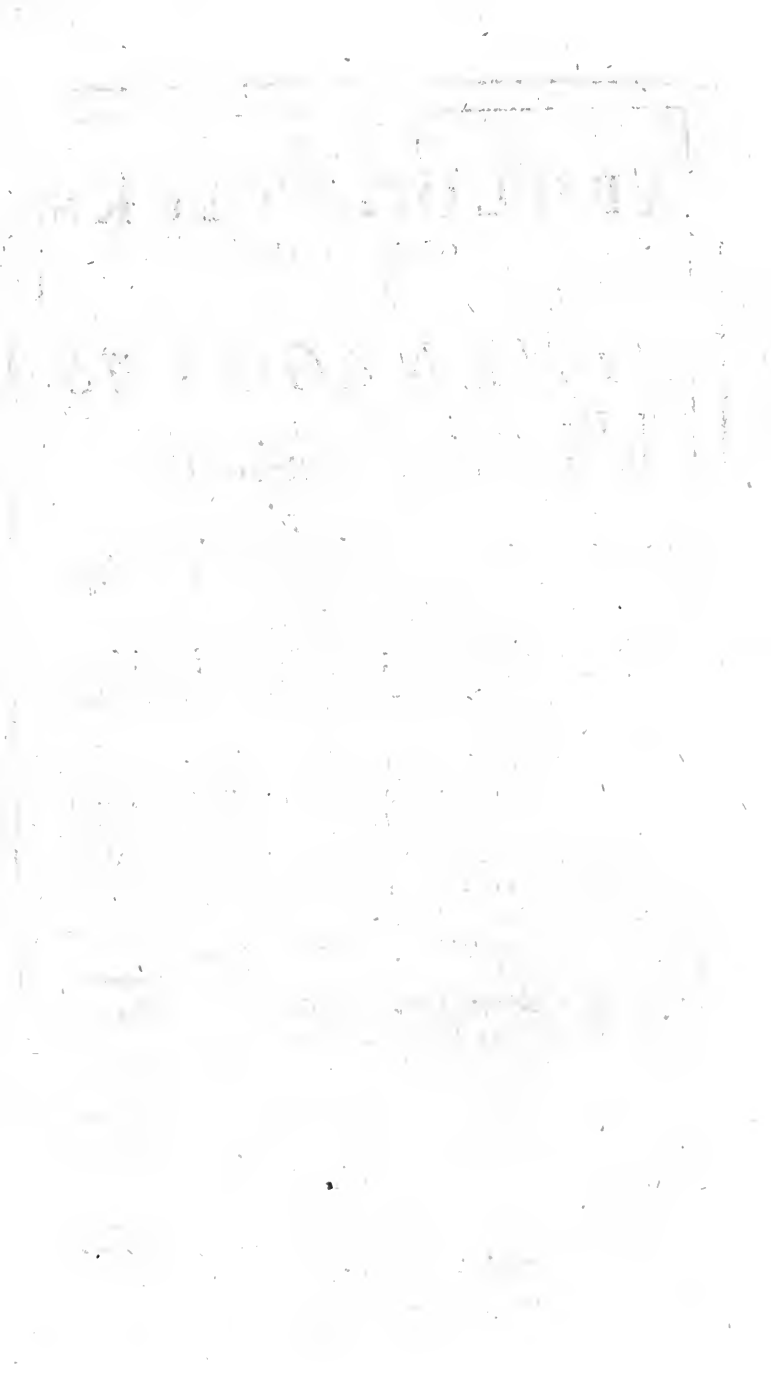
And two other Fragments: The one attri-
buted to *Josephus*: The other to *Methodius*, con-
cerning the *State of the Dead*. Both from MSS.
of the late Reverend Dr. *GRABE*. With
the Original *Greek* printed in the Appendix.

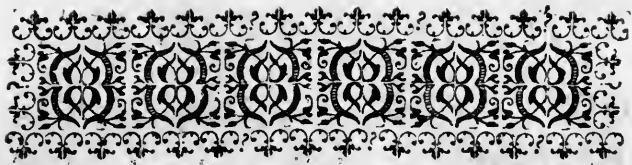
Done into *English*, with Notes.

To which are prefix'd two Dissertations: The one
concerning the *Jewish* Notion of the *Resurrection*:
The other concerning *Athenagoras* and his Remains.

By *DAVID HUMPHREYS*, B. A.
of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*.

LONDON: Printed by *Geo. James*, for *Richard Smith* at
Bishop Beveridge's Head in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1714.

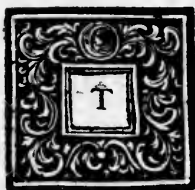




T O

Robert Nelson, Esq;

S I R,



THE Descriptions
of Empires and
States are gene-
rally inscribed to Persons
who seem to have the
largest Share of such Ac-
qui-

A 2

qui-

DEDICATION.

quisitions, and to place their Happiness in *the Things which are present*. The following Papers, therefore, which treat chiefly of a Resurrection, and an other *State of Things*, may not improperly be addressed to You, who make Futurity Your great Concern, and whose sole Ambition is, to be distinguish'd when another Scene shall be opened; and who think the *Euge*, which will then be bestowed on Heroick Virtue, infinitely to be preferred

DEDICATION.

ferred to any Titles the most successful Worldly Ambition ever acquired.

SINCE a Landskip of Worldly Possessions is so pleasing a Gratification to a Carnal Mind, a View of a *Heavenly Land* must be ravishing to a Christian Spirit: And I am thoroughly persuaded, that the Prospect of these Scenes of Futurity will be a more sensible Pleasure to You, than the View of the most splendid Triumph to an ambitious Genius. I do

DEDICATION.

then point out a future Victory to You, and shew the *Time* when Your Labours will be crowned, the *Day* when those Actions will be of greatest Moment, which make the whole Business and Employment of Your Life, even Acts of Charity. And at that Day! how mean and contemptible will the Acclamations, and gorgeous Pomp which surrounds a Triumphal *Roman* Carr, appear, when compared to the Applause given from the Throne of
Glory,

DEDICATION.

Glory, in the Sight of Men and Angels, to that most Divine Vertue!

NOR yet hath this Vertue been adorned only with the highest Strain of Divine Eloquence, but hath been complimented with an Imaginary Paradise by the Heathen World. The great *Roman* Poet conducts the Charitable or Beneficent Man into his *Elysium*, the blisful Seat of departed Souls, according to his Notions: Where, after men-

A 4 tioning

DEDICATION.

tioning the generous * Patriots, the holy Priests, the noble Poets, the great Inventors of Arts; at the Head of this glorious Assembly, he places the Beneficent Spirit; exalting Charity above all the more pompous Endowments, and glittering Talents, as the highest Perfection of humane Mind.

* *Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi:
Quique sacerdotes casti dum vita manebat:
Quique pii vates, & Phœbo digna locuti:
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per Artes:
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.*

Virg. ÆN. Lib. 6.

DEDICATION.

I AM very sensible, a Dedication, in the general Notion, implies a Picture of the Person to whom it is made, with a particular View to the Subject treated on: But I shall not here presume to give an imperfect Sketch, to one who is himself so great a *Master of Picture*; but rather leave that to be collected from Your own Works, the truest Copy of Yourself. Any single Page in them is worth more than a History drawn by such an unskilful

DEDICATION.

skilful Pen as mine. If any one would see You, let him look into Your Writings, and especially into that Piece, which, tho' entituled only as treating on the *Fasts and Festivals*, is, notwithstanding, a *Body* of Divinity, wherein all the considerable Points of Christianity are (as it were incidentally) explained with all the Advantages of an elegant and clear Style, and solid Argument and Reasoning. This Piece shall embalm Your Name; this shall

DEDICATION.

shall preserve Your Picture entire, when Colours shall fade, and Brass and solid Marble moulder.

ALL I shall here do, is, to beg You will be pleased to accept the Patronage of a Primitive Father and great Philosopher, the Learned *Athenagoras*, who still speaks as You now live, in the *Beauty of Holiness*: Since Your having so frequently express'd a great Esteem for the Original, was no small Encouragement to me to undertake the Task
of

DEDICATION.

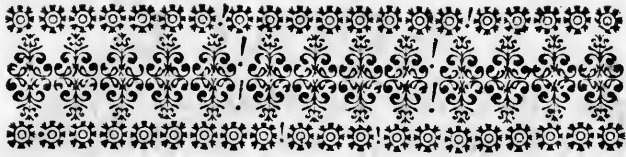
of giving it this *English*
Dress. This is the humble
Request of,

Honoured Sir,

Your Most Humble, and

Most Obedient Servant,

David Humphreys.



P R E F A C E.



HAT I thought necessary to be said concerning Athenagoras, is contain'd in the Dissertation on that Author, and his Remains. It may, perhaps, be requisite, to add a Word here, with relation to the Dissertation on the Notions of the Jews, concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, and to obviate an Objection, which is sometimes made to the Jewish Opinions, as if not in any sort their own, and deliver'd down in their own Nation by Tradition; but entirely collected from Plato, and other Greek Philosophers, which they read in their Dispersion. In Answer to this, it need only be observed, that

P R E F A C E.

that the Greek Historians (and particularly Herodotus) own, the Greeks received all their Theology, both their Gods and their Religious Ceremonies, from the Egyptians: And their most famous Philosophers all travelled to Egypt, and there learned those Notions, which they after propagated in their own Countries. Now, since the Greeks were not themselves the first Authors of these Opinions, but learn'd them of the Egyptians; and the Jews always held a Correspondence and Traffick with Egypt, and in several of their ancient Wars, had Alliances with that State, as we are assured by the holy Text, nay, were themselves once Slaves there: It is absurd to suppose, the Jews, during all such a various Intercourse with this People, should have imbibed none of their Opinions, till they received them at second-hand from the Greek Philosophers.

Concerning this Objection, it is sufficient to have given this Hint. What I propose to speak to here particularly, is the Fragment of Josephus, printed in the

Ap

P R E F A C E.

Appendix, which the Reverend and Learned Dr. Hickeſ, that great Encourager of the Study and Knowledge of Chriſtian Antiquity, and whom therefore the late Excellent Dr Grabe, by his laſt Will, empower'd to diſpoſe of, and print his Manuſcripts for the Uſe of the Publick, was pleaſed to give me leave to publiſh, at the ſame time that he did adviſe and encourage me in the Publication of Athenagoras. Concerning this Fragment very little can be affirmed with Certainty: The moſt learned Photius takes notice of this as a conſiderable Piece, and obſerves it hath been imputed to ſeveral of the famous Chriſtians; as Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, and others. (a) Hoefchelius alſo, in his Notes on Photius, publiſhed this Fragment, but different from the preſent Copy; and ſays, he thinks it muſt have been written by ſome Chriſtian. Photius mentions his ſeeing a Copy of it, and (b) attributed to one Caius, a certain Prieſt living at Rome:

(a) Hoefchelins, in Not. ad Phot. 1. 9.

(b) Εὗρον δε ἐν ᾠδαſεαφᾶις, ὅτι ἐκ ἔſιν ὁ λόγος Ἰω-
σὴπυ, ἀλλὰ Γαίῳ τινὸς πρεſβυτέρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαλείβοντο.

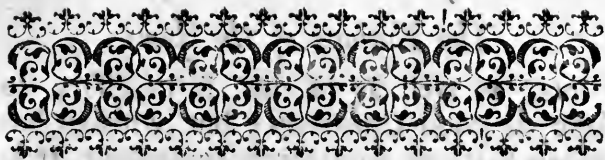
But

P R E F A C E.

*But takes notice also, that the general Voice had given it to one Josephus, who was either a Christian of that Name, or perhaps Flavius Josephus the great Historian, notwithstanding that there is a plain Confession of Christ contained in it. Thus the Great Photius: (c) “ He plainly
 “ confesses Christ, who is truly GOD,
 “ in a most explicate Manner acknow-
 “ ledging the Name Christ, and the un-
 “ conceivable Generation by His Father;
 “ which gave occasion to some to suspect
 “ whether this was a genuine Piece of
 “ Josephus, although the Style is perfect-
 “ ly the same with that in his other Wri-
 “ tings.*

(c) Περὶ μὲν τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀληθινῆς Θεῆ ἡμῶν ὡς ἔγιστα θεολογεῖ, κλησίν τε αὐτὴν ἀναφθεγσόμενον Χριστῶ, καὶ τὴν ἐν Πατρὸς ἀρεσῶν γήνησιν ἀμέμπλως ἀνασφάων; ὁ τινὰς ἴσως καὶ ἀμφιδοξῆν ὡς Ἰωσήφου μὴ τὸ συνταγματικὸν ἀναπέσειεν, ἐστὲν δὲ τὸ τῆς φράσεως αὐτῆς πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεί. Phot. Biblioth. P. 3. 6.





A

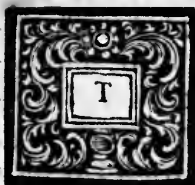
DISSERTATION

Concerning the

NOTIONS of the *JEW S*

About the

Resurrection of the Dead.



THE Notion of a Resurrection of the Dead is so Noble and August, that surely nothing but an immortal Spirit could have any Apprehension of it. And such is the Power of this one Truth, that, like the great *Archimedes*, it challenges only $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\ \varsigma\tilde{\eta}$, where it may set its Foot, where it may be received, and it will move the whole World. It hath apparently, above all other Notions that were ever advanced, the greatest Influence on the Conduct of Humane Life. Faith in other

B

Points,

Points, as well as in this, is necessary to make us good Christians; but without believing this, or something equivalent, it is impossible to be tolerable Heathens. We now stand in such a happy Period of Time, where Life and Immortality are brought to Light, the dark Curtain of the *Jewish* Ceremonial Law drawn away, and the miraculous Scene opened. We hear all the Prophets now speak History: Yet will it be still proper to enquire what were the Opinions of the Old *Jewish* Church, which had the true Oracles of Faith entrusted to it. And here Recourse is to be had to the *Jewish* Authors themselves, both for the Explanation of the Texts of Scripture, on which they believed this Doctrine founded, and for a fuller Account of their own Traditional Knowledge in this Point. If the Resurrection were to be discoursed on from the New Testament, it would not be improper to turn our Eyes very often on them, because the Phraseology of the New Testament is so perfectly different from the old pure *Greek* Style, so full of Allusions to the *Jewish* and *Eastern* Popular Notions and Historical Accidents, that it is difficult to have a full Knowledge of many Passages in that Sacred Writ, without being generally acquainted with the Manners and Opinions of the *Jewish* Writers. It will be also not a little curious to observe, what were the Notions

tions of the old *Jews* concerning the Resurrection, after what Manner they conceiv'd it would be, and by what Arguments they were induced to believe it: And this shall be the Subject of the following Dissertation.

IT is to be noted, that in this, as also in many other Points, the first Notion of a Resurrection among the *Jews* was Matter of Revelation; but the Dress given to it, and the Manner by which they conceived it would be effected, was the Invention of their own Imaginations. In the first therefore, namely, in the plain Doctrine of a Resurrection, however they may fail in the latter, we shall find the despised *Jew* as much superiour to the admired *Greek*, as Revelation is to Reason.

BUT the *Jewish* and *Rabbinical* Learning hath suffer'd much in the Opinion of the Generality of the World, as if Genius and Industry were lost in endeavouring to cultivate so barren and unprofitable a Province; a Soil which would yield nothing but wild Fruit, Stories, and Allegories, which no Art could ever reduce to the Standard of Reason and sound Sense; and as if the *Jewish* Authors were all Men of such lost Understandings, as nothing rational or noble might be expected in their Writings. The *East* hath been famous thro' all Antiquity for the Invention of Arts and Sciences:

And some of the chief Remains of that ancient Literature are certainly preserved in the *Jewish* Authors. - But the frequent Captivities of the *Jews* formerly, and at last the utter Destruction of their Temple and Constitution by the *Roman* Power, hath so blotted out their Name almost from being a People, as not to have left them so much as the empty Honour of an Account of most of their Actions and Writings. For, the greater Part, and probably the best of their Books are lost; yet is not the Spirit of this People for that reason sunk; but there have arose some few Genius's among them, even in these the Days of their Dispersion, equal perhaps to any the most Flourishing Times of *Athens* or *Rome* have produced. *Maimonides*, for Instance, is a Parallel to either *Plato* or *Cicero*; who was a Man of the greatest natural Abilities, improved with extraordinary Industry and Study, and of a consummate Knowledge in the *Jewish* and *Greek* Literature. Not only his Countrymen, but all the *East* had a just Sense of his Merits. The *Jews* in a memorable Adage placed him next to their great Legislator *Moses*: His *Moreh Nevochim* (not to instance in his other Writings, which perhaps are not of so near relation to us) will last as long, and spread as wide, as any of the Works of the above-mentioned famous Men. The main Fault in this great
Man

Man was, too closely following the celebrated Greek Philosopher, *Aristotle*. And if in any Part of his Writings, his great Understanding may have been sometimes borne down the Torrent of the Vulgar Errors among his Country-Men; or if the Narrowness of their Conceptions, have cramped his Genius, not giving him room to shine; yet, notwithstanding all Difficulties, the ὁ ὄντων ἀρχιτέκτων, his great Manner of thinking, and Noble Disposition of such Materials as his Subject furnished, always shew his admirable Sagacity and masterly Understanding.

Now, what hath given the greatest Occasion of Censure, and hath been to some the Chief Matter of Scandal, is the frequent Use of bold Allegories, and Figurative and Ænigmatical Descriptions, in the Writings of the *Jews*; such as, if they should be taken in a strict and literal Sense, would appear extremely absurd. This is on all hands allow'd, and their own greatest Masters, *Nachmanides Abravenel Kimchi*, *M. B. Israel*, acknowledge an Excess this way, among their Country-Men; and complain of the perverse Temper of some, who are resolv'd, contrary to the Intention of the Authors, to understand their Stories, or Apologues, in a strict and rigorous Sense. *Maimonides* wrote his *Moreh Nevochim* with this Design, to explain the *Merchavah*, or Mystical Theology of the *Jews*: He understood their *Cabbala*, and the Mysteries of their Laws, better than
 B 3 any

6 *The Notions of the Jews*

any of the *Rabbins*: He observed there were in the Holy Scriptures, a great many Allegories, Figurative Expressions and Types, but that the *Jews* had built upon them a strange Superstructure, heaped Metaphor on Metaphor; abundance of these Stories he beats down, the Fiction of the *Zabii* about *Abraham* he ridicules, takes notice of several of the more famous Traditional Stories among them, as that of *Adam* and *Eve* being formed with two Bodies joined together in One; and then remarks what a prodigious Stupidity it is for any not to apprehend this as spoken allegorically. The same Turn likewise he gives to the *Rabbinical* Accounts of the Vastness of the Tree of Life, and of the Serpent which tempted *Eve*. His Book before named hath for ever set the *Jewish* Religion and OEconomy in a noble and beautiful Light; and he himself hath done, tho' undesignedly, a great Service to Christianity. *Socrates* was said to bring Philosophy from Heaven to Earth, from the Speculation of Heavenly Bodies and their *Phænomena*, to the Conduct and Regulation of humane Life; it may with the same Justice be affirmed of *Maimonides*, that he brought the *Jewish* Law and the Interpreters thereof, from Types and Parables, to plain Truth, and clear Reason.

Maimonides hath an excellent Passage in his *Moreh Nevochim*, shewing both the erroneous Interpretations which were put on Allegories,

legories, and the genuine and true Meaning of them, upon Occasion of mentioning a Ceremony of the *Jews*, at the Feast of Tabernacles. * “ As concerning those Four
“ Sorts of Boughs, which were to be carried
“ at the Feasts of the Tabernacles, (says he)
“ our *Rabbi's* according to their Custom
“ have given an allegorical Reason for
“ it: For they are extremely delighted with
“ Allegories, as every one knows, who is
“ but the least conversant in their Writings;
“ not that they think them to be the strict
“ Sense and Meaning of the Scriptures, but
“ pleasant Fables, which have a Scripture
“ Moral couched under them. Now concern-
“ ing these, there are Two Opinions. Some
“ imagine they are brought by the *Rabbins*
“ to express the Sense of the Text only more
“ fully and more largely; and others hold
“ them in great Contempt, as plainly see-
“ ing they cannot be the Meaning of the
“ Text. The former are violent in maintain-
“ ing and verifying the Allegories, as the
“ very Paraphrastical Sense of the Scripture,
“ and that as of equal Authority with the
“ *Cabbalistical* Traditions; but both Parties
“ are in the wrong, neither of them under-
“ stood the Matter: For the Allegories are
“ not the very Scripture paraphrastically ex-
“ press'd, nor yet ridiculous, but a sort of Fa-

* Part 3. Cap. 43.

8 *The Notions of the Jews*

“ bles, the Morals of which are very plain
 “ and easy to Persons of any Understanding,
 “ and a Way of Speaking very commonly
 “ used and understood in the Times in
 “ which they were wrote.

To this Apology of *Maimonides* for the *Rabbins*, I shall add another of the learned *Menasse Ben Israel*, who in his Treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead, occasionally takes notice of several of the *Rabbinical Stories*; as of the *Leviathan*, and Devolution of the *Bone Luz* thro' the Earth into the holy Land, and cautions every one against taking such Absurdities in a literal Sense, and assures us, the Masters of the best note among themselves only understood them allegorically. And, *Pag. 229.* he thus observes upon their *Figurative Way* of expressing themselves. * *There are some perverse Men, who ridicule such kind of Apologues of the Ancients, and take in a literal Sense what is here said of the Books,* (he had been speaking of the Books to be opened at the Day of Judgment.) *But no sufficient Reason can be given, why they should*

* *Sunt homines quidam malè feriat, qui rident hujusmodi antiquorum sententias, & quæ de libris istis dicuntur, ad Literam exigant. Cæterum si rem videant, nihil causa est, quare ejusmodi antiquorum opiniones explodantur: Nam pluri eodem modo loquendi utuntur in suis explicationibus, quo Deus in Scripturis usus legitur. Sic in Mose legitur, si non, dele me de libro tuo: Simili phrasi utitur David, deleantur ex libro viventium: Item Daniel, & libri aperti sunt. Si itaque S. Scripturæ textus non est reprehendendus, nec illi quoque reprehendendi videntur, qui stylum Scripturæ sequuntur.*

not use such a Manner of expressing their Sentiments; for they write their Comments in the same allegorical Style, as may be found frequently in the holy Text itself. Thus Moses speaks, if not, blot me out of thy Book: The same Phrase David uses also, let them be blotted out of the Book of the Living: Thus again Daniel, and the Books were opened: If then the Language of holy Scripture is not to be found fault with, neither are they to be blamed who copy after it.

YET notwithstanding these, and the like frequent Instances to the contrary, several Authors have occasionally quoted some of the *Rabbinical* Stories, and delivered them as if taken in a literal Sense by the *Jews*. Which is just as fair, as if they should quote a Fable of *Phædrus* or *Æsop*, and very gravely assure us, the Author was no wiser, than to believe Beasts did, in old Time, use to hold Conferences together; or the celebrated Fable of *Menenius* to the *Romans*, and thence argue, he believ'd the Legs and Belly could speak. Yet thus are they generally misrepresented; but let what hath been said suffice, and these two great Mens Testimonies prove, that the *Rabbinical* Stories and Parables are not to be understood in a literal Sense.

BUT farther, the *Jews* may easily be excused for this Figurative Way of Speaking, inasmuch as a parabolical Style was generally used

used by all the Eastern Nations. The *Chaldeans*, and especially, the *Ægyptians* are famous in Story for their *Hieroglyphicks*, a Magical Language of Beasts and other Things. But as Words are meer arbitrary Marks of Idæas, and valued according to the Voice of the People; so also is the Phrase of a Language. And it is equally absurd, to expect the Tour of their Language should be the same as ours, as that their very Words should. Language always partakes of the Genius and Spirit of the People; and as the Eastern Nations had something warm and pompous in their Temper, above the Western; so are our Languages cold, and without any Relievo of Expression, in Comparison of theirs. But as the learned *M. Ben Israel* has above observed, the Objections against the *Rabbinical* Manner of delivering their Notions, have opened a Way, or at least given some Umbrage to a Cavilling at the Style of the Holy Scriptures. Some Scepticks hence have censured them, as giving us gross and mean Apprehensions of GOD, as describing Him acting upon the same Motives, and after the same Manner as Men do. But the great *Maimonides* furnishes us with Arguments sufficient to confute all Objections of this Sort; and I believe it is scarce possible to start any one, however seemingly new, which may not be fairly answered from his admirable Book *Moreh Nevochim*.

Among

Among the great Number of excellent Observations and Criticisms in that Treatise, I shall choose out one, which will both shew in what Sense such Passages as speak of GOD with an Anthropopathy, are to be understood, and prove they were so taken even by the Generality of the Jews. || “ *Onkelos*, “ a Profelyte, a Person of the most complete Skill in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* Languages, in his Paraphrase upon the Law, “ was very exact in his Translation of several Texts of Scripture, which attributed “ Motion and Passion to GOD, or described “ Him with Hands, or other Members of a “ Man, not to give a *verbal Rendring*, but “ the *true and genuine Sense and Meaning*; “ and so avoided all Terms which seemed “ to give the Deity a Body or Shape. Thus “ meeting with a Word which ascribed “ Motion to GOD, in the stead of Motion, “ or coming to such a Place, he uses the “ Appearance or Manifestation of some visible Glory or *Shechinah* in that Place. “ Thus he interprets, * *The Lord descended to such a Place*, the Lord revealed himself there: † *I will go down now, and see*; “ I will reveal myself, and know. Where- “ ever in the *Hebrew* it is, *the Lord heard*, “ or *in hearing I will hear*; he translates it, it “ was revealed before the Lord, in receiving I will receive the Cry. So too, for

|| *Cap. 27.* * *Exod. xix. 13.* † *Gen. xviii. 21.*

“ * *I have seen the Affliction*, he translates,
 “ the Affliction is revealed before me ; and
 “ for † *I have seen all Laban hath done*, he
 “ renders, all that *Laban* hath done is re-
 “ vealed before me.

To give no more Instances, these and the like Places are sufficient to shew, in what Sense *Onkelos* and *Maimonides* took those Texts of Scripture, which attribute humane Forms and Modes of acting to GOD. It is also a general Rule of all the *Talmudists*, frequently mention'd by *Maimonides* and *David Kimchi*, || that *the Law speaks in the Language of Men*, in Condescension to our Imperfection and Weakness, who cannot apprehend Things as they indeed are, but only under some gross Images. And to prove at once, that the Generality of the *Jews* too understood the Phrase of the Holy Scriptures in the same Manner, it need only be observed, that this Paraphrase of *Onkelos* was valued next to the very Original Law, and publickly read in their Synagogues, as the *Targum*, or Explanation of the Holy Text. *Hottinger* and others are very full of Observations of the great Esteem the *Jews* had of this Paraphrase. *Elias Levita* gives a remarkable Instance of their Care, in preserving great Plenty of Copies of this, preferably to all other

* *Exod.* iii. 7. † *Gen.* xxxi. 12.

|| בְּרַחֲמֵי הַחַיִּים בְּלִשׁוֹן בְּנֵי אָדָם :

Ἀνθρωποπαθῶς μὴ λέγεται, θεοπεπῶς δὲ νοεῖται.

Targums, and reading it solemnly on their Sabbaths in the Synagogues, as the true and genuine Interpretation of their Law. Thus he, * *Before the Invention of the Art of Printing, when Copies of the Targum of the Prophets and Holy Writers were not to be found above one in a Country, or two at most in a whole Climate, because no one took Care of them; the Targum of Onkelos was to be had in great Plenty; and that because we were obliged to read every Seventh Day a Parasha (or Chapter) twice, once in the Text, and once in the Targum. The Sense of the Jews appears from hence, and their general Approbation of Onkelos, that they were very far from being Anthropomorphites, or so slow of Heart, as to believe GOD had Hands, or any Members like those of a Human Body.*

I SHALL now therefore proceed to give a Proof of the Resurrection of the Dead, out of the Old Testament, from the Knowledge of this Allegorical Key. It is written in Isai. xxvi. 19. *Thy dead Men shall rise, together with my dead Body shall they arise: Awake and sing, ye that dwell in Dust: for thy Dew is as the Dew of Herbs, and the Earth shall cast*

* קורם שנמצאה מלאכת הרפוס לא היו נמצאים
 תרגום נביאים וכתובים כי אים אחר כסדינה
 ושנים באיקלים לכן לא היה מי שהשניח בהם:
 אבל תרגום אונקלוס הסיר נמצאה לרוב: מה
 כפני שחייבים אנחנו לקרא בכל שבוע הפרשה שנים
 מקרא ואחד תרגום: Eli. Levit.

out the Dead. A very signal Proof this is of the Resurrection, and such as the *Sadducees* could not by any Art evade. Yet doth the great Force and Conclusiveness of this Text appear from the Use of the Term *Dew*, and Knowing the Allusion those Words make to a received Opinion of the *Jews*. It is possible the subtile *Sadducee* might find some Sophistical Evasion for the former Part of the Verse, even the exprefs Words; *The Dead shall arise: Awake and sing, ye that dwell in Dust: The Earth shall cast out the Dead*; and interpret them as meaning only a secular Felicity, a Rising up from a Condition of Slavery and Misery to a State of Happiness and Power. And this was in Fact the Manner in which the *Sadducees* did answer all Texts of this kind brought against them. But the Mentioning here of the *Dew* shews undeniably, that the whole Text ought to be understood, and was spoken of the Resurrection of the Body.

THE Reason is, the *Jews* examining what second Causes, what Means might be instrumental in the Raising of the Dead, what *Apparatus* the Almighty would use in effecting so great a Miracle, had conceived it would be, or rather allegorically shadow'd it out, by saying, GOD would rain down a Dew of a Plastick Power, which should impregnate the Earth, and vivify the dead Bodies, or their Particles, however dispersed. Thus
speaks

speaks *Menasse Ben Israel*: “ It was certainly
 “ the Opinion of the Ancients, that the
 “ Resurrection would be effected by the
 “ means of a certain Dew rained from Hea-
 “ ven, of a Plastick Vertue, as it is written
 “ in the *Hierusalem Talmud* and *Jelcudi*.
 Thus the Allusion made here by the Pro-
 phet to that popular Notion of the Dew,
 shews plainly, he spoke of the Resurrection
 of the Body, because he assigns a Cause for
 the effecting what he mentioned, the Raising
 of the Dead, which was appropriated by
 them for effecting the Resurrection. For if
 any thing else had been meant by the Pro-
 phet, another Reason must necessarily have
 been given. † Yet was not this Opinion of
 a Dew strictly true, but taken only in a Fi-
 gurative Sense; and the Dew only the best
 Allegorical Means that could be given for
 conceiving how the Resurrection would be

† But the Chaldee and the Syriack Translations, by a little
 diversifying the Phrase, put the Matter beyond all Doubt:
 And if the Hebrew Expression be something dubious, the
 above-mention'd Translations rendring it, But the Dew of
 Light is thy Dew, where, by Light, as very frequently in
 Scripture and Prophane Authors, is meant Life, it is beyond
 Controversy. Agreeable to this, we read, Psal. xlix. ver. 14.
 And the Just shall have Dominion over them in the
 Morning, where by Morning is meant the Resurrection.

Heb. : כִּי טַל אֶרְחַח טַלְךָ

Chal. : אֲרִי טַל גְּהוּר טַלְךָ

Syr. : כִּי טַל אֶרְחַח טַלְךָ

effected.

effected. The great *Maimonides* assures us, by this, not the Natural Dew is to be understood; and in Chapt. 52. of Part the 1st. of his *Moreh Nevochim*, says, “ From these
 “ Instances you see, how those Questions,
 “ which have puzzled the greatest Philoso-
 “ phers, are delivered up and down in the
 “ *Medrasheoth*; and after such a Manner,
 “ that a wise Man, on the first View and
 “ Consideration in the Beginning of his
 “ Studies, would not believe them to be
 “ true, but would rather ridicule them; be-
 “ cause if they be taken in a literal Sense,
 “ they seem at a vast Distance from Truth.
 “ The Reason is, the *Rabbins* speak *Ænig-*
 “ matically, in Parables, concerning these
 “ Points, that they might veil them from
 “ the Eyes and Cavils of the Vulgar. Thus
 necessary is the Knowledge of a popular
 Opinion, tho’ ill-grounded, for understand-
 ing a Part of Scripture which useth the most
 explicite Terms, to the *Jews*, for declaring
 the most important Article of Religion.

ALL the other Texts of Holy Scripture, on which the *Jews* do found their Belief of the Resurrection, are collected by the learned *Menasse Ben Israel* in his Treatise on that Subject, to which the learned Reader is referred. Most of them, especially those in the Prophets, are the same as the Christians now use to prove it by: Some, but particularly those taken out of the *Pentateuch*,

teach, are peculiar to themselves, and several seem too much strained by the *Rabbins*, in order to make a more full Proof of the Resurrection, from the Law. At least they seem so to us, as not being versed enough in their Notions, Customs, and Manners, and particularly in the Use of the allegorical Key of Scripture. I shall therefore omit those Scripture Passages, and give a few Instances of their Belief of it, from their *Misna*, next to the divine Original Text, the most valued Book among them, and from their more celebrated *Rabbins*. In the most valued Part of their *Misna Pirk Avoth*, there is this distinct and explicate Declaration of a Resurrection, an Aphorism of the famous *R. Eleazar the Caparnaite*, so clear and express, none of the great Commentators, as *Maimonides*, *Bartemonora*, or *Fagius*, could express it more fully. “ † Thus
 “ says *Rabbi Eleazar the Caparnaite*: They
 “ who are born, shall die; they who are
 “ dead, shall rise and be judged: They who
 “ shall be born, shall know; they who are
 “ born, shall know; they who shall rise from
 “ the Dead, shall know, that He is GOD
 “ the Maker and Creator, He it is who
 “ sees all Things, He is the Judge, He is
 “ the Witness, He is the Prosecutor in the

וְכָא רַבִּי אֵלְעָזָר אָמַר: הַיְלֹודִים לְמוֹת וְהַמֵּתִים
 לְחַיִּיתָ וְהַחַיִּים לְדוֹן לִירַע לְהוֹדִיעַ וּלְהוֹדֵעַ שֶׁהוּא
 אֵל הוּא לְיוֹצֵר: &c.
 “ Day

“ Day of Judgment: Who is blessed for
 “ ever. With Him is no Injustice nor For-
 “ getfulness, nor Acceptance of Persons, or
 “ Taking of Bribes; for all Things are His:
 “ Know also, that all Things will be done
 “ by Him with the greatest Exactness. Nor
 “ let the Tempter make thee secure, as if
 “ the Grave would be thy Refuge. For as
 “ without thy willing it, thou wast form’d;
 “ without thy willing it, thou dost live; so
 “ also, without the Concurrence of thy Will,
 “ thou shalt die, and shalt hereafter arise to
 “ Judgment, and give an Account of thy
 “ Actions, before the King of all Kings, name-
 “ ly the holy GOD, who is blessed for e-
 “ ver. It is scarce possible to make a Form
 of Words more express than these, but espe-
 cially since this Testimony is in their *Misna*,
 their Oral Tradition so highly esteemed by
 the generality of all the *Jews*, it must be
 look’d on as a Satisfactory Proof of their be-
 lieving a Resurrection.

ANOTHER Testimony, and frequently
 quoted by the *Rabbi*’s, as a Proof of a Resur-
 rection, is that in the celebrated Chapter
 of *Sanhedrin*. “ Every *Israelite* will have a
 “ Portion in the World to come, excepting
 “ such as deny the Resurrection of the Dead,
 “ or that the Law was given by GOD, &c.
 It would be very easy to bring many Quota-
 tions of the same Import, from all the *Jew-
 ish* Authors; but these two Testimonies, out
 of

of a Book of such Authority, are sufficient as bare Affirmations of the Point. I will only observe farther, they were so strict in this Article, that it was not sufficient even to believe and allow it upon any Collateral Proofs, or Foreign Reasons, but it was absolutely held requisite for every true *Israelite* to believe it was fully declar'd in the Law. Thus *R. Solomon Jarchi*: " Tho' one believe from Reason or Tradition, that there will be a Resurrection of the Dead, but maintains it is not declar'd in the Law, he is notwithstanding an Apostate, and hath no Part in the World to come: Thus rigorous were they in requiring an entire Faith in this Article.

But the *Jews* did not only thus speak and believe, but were able to give also a good Account of the Hope which was in them. And tho' they are generally suspected for the contrary, have given as good Reasons for the Resurrection, assign'd such final Causes, as none of the Moderns have been able to improve upon them. Man (said the *Jews*) was created in the Image of GOD, and his End or chief Happiness was the Contemplation of GOD. And tho' Man fell thro' wilful Disobedience, they believed, GOD, in his infinite Mercy, would restore him to his first State and Perfection. The old *Cabbalists* were of that, which is generally called the *Platonick* Notion, of the Præexistence

istence of Souls; and argued something after the same Manner for the Resurrection of the Body, as he did for the Immortality of the Soul: They thought, Man's chief End and Happiness was to know GOD, and would therefore be some time attained to by him. Thus in the celebrated Book, called *Zohar*, this Cause is given for the Resurrection. "The same Soul will return
 " to the same Body made durable and la-
 " sting in the World to come, when GOD
 " shall raise it from the Dead, that so both
 " may be perfect, and may perform, in
 " that Life, what they are not able to
 " do in this. And the *Rabbi's* are very large upon this Head, and insist much upon the Happiness of the future Knowledge. *Menasse Ben Israel* says, "The Soul
 " will be endued with the most consummate
 " Knowledge of Things, and Wisdom,
 " without being in any Danger of again
 " forgetting her Knowledge, upon Account
 " of her Reunion with the Body, but will
 " bring that to its Perfection, by a constant
 " and entire Obedience to all GOD's Com-
 " mands. *Rabbi Pinhas* carries the Matter so far, as to prefer the Knowledge we shall have in the Life to come, even to that of Angels and pure Spirits.

THE excellent *Isaac Abravanel*, and *Joseph Albo*, give another Reason or final Cause for the Resurrection; namely, the full Ma-
 nifestation

nifestation of GOD's Power and Glory.

“ That whereas there have been those, who
 “ have deny'd the Existence of a GOD, and
 “ have asserted that the World was made by
 “ Chance, and consequently, that there can
 “ be no over-ruling Providence, with the like
 “ impious Opinions; and whereas there have
 “ been moreover certain wicked *Demons*, or
 “ evil Angels, who have assumed to them-
 “ selves the Honour and Worship due to
 “ GOD only: For the entire Destruction, and
 “ Confusion, therefore, of the Kingdom of Sa-
 “ tan and of his Angels, GOD will make a full
 “ Revelation of His Majesty and Power, in the
 “ Resurrection of the Dead, and the Restitu-
 “ tion of all Things. And agreeable to this
 Reason, are several Forms of Prayers used
 by the *Jews*; as particularly that used by
 those of the great Synagogue, praying that
 this Time may be hastened. “ Therefore
 “ we hope in Thee, O LORD GOD,
 “ that we shall see Thy Power and Glory,
 “ when Thou wilt wipe away all Iniquity
 “ from the Face of the Earth, and make
 “ the World subject to the Kingdom of *Sha-*
 “ *dai*, wherein all the Sons of Men shall o-
 “ bey Thy Government, and call upon Thy
 “ Name; for Thine is the Kingdom, &c.

A THIRD final Cause is the Retribution
 to be made to the godly and wicked, and a just
 Distribution of Rewards and Punishments:
 In order to this, they believed it was ne-

cessary the Body also should rise again, and thought it extremely unjust for the Soul, in a separate State, to be rewarded or punish'd for such Actions as were committed in Conjunction with the Body: My Author, the learned *Athenagoras*, hath discoursed largely on this Point, and therefore I shall only add a Quotation from *Menasse Ben Israel*; shewing this was the Current Opinion of the Jews too. **R. Moses Gerundensis*, and *R. Hasday*, and other learned Men, have given another Cause for the Resurrection of the Dead. For thus they say, since the Soul and Body were jointly and together vertuous or vicious, it would be most unjust, for the Soul alone, in the World of Souls, to be either rewarded or punish'd for its Actions in the Body: It is therefore necessary they should be again united at the Resurrection of the Dead: That so, as *Daniel* speaks, some may rise to eternal Life, and some to everlasting Reproach.

BUT farther, notwithstanding all Objections of former Hereticks, and many Christians

* *R. Moses Gerundensis*, & *R. Hasday*, alique plures sapientissimi viri, observarunt aliam insuper causam resurrectionis mortuorum. Sic enim inquirunt, cum anima & corpus simul virtuti vel vitii operam dederint, injustissimum foret, si anima sola in mundo animarum pœnam vel præmium operum suorum consequeretur. Quare necesse est, ut denuò in resurrectione mortuorum in unum coalescant & jungantur: Ita ut quemadmodum *Daniel* inquit, Hic ad vitam æternam, ille ad pudorem & opprobrium suscietur. *Menaf*, *Ben Israel*, Cap. 20. de Resurr. Mort.

unwarily giving into their Opinions, it is most certain the *Jews* believ'd a future Happiness was the Reward of Obedience to their Law; tho' they are frequently represented, as having no farther Prospect, than a present Felicity and Carnal Prosperity. It is plain from their Writings, a great Body of the *Jews*, and especially the most intelligent, who could look beyond the *Cortex* of the Law, believ'd a future Spiritual Happiness was the Reward of Obeying their Law. *Maimonides*, in his Preface to his Commentary on the 10th Chapter of the *Sanhedrin*, says a great many excellent Things with relation to this Point; and reckons up the several Opinions and Expectations of the *Jews*, for Obedience or Disobedience to their Law. According to our famous *Pocock's* Translation from the *Arabic*, thus he speaks: "I thought it proper to discourse
" here concerning several Articles of Religion, of great Moment. It is to be observed, they who have embraced the
" *Jewish* Faith and Law, differ in their Opinions concerning the Happiness which
" will be attained by Obedience to those
" Precepts which GOD gave us by the
" Hands of *Moses*, and concerning the Misery
" which is the Consequence of the Transgression of them. Their Notions are as different
" as their Capacities, which seem very much
" puzzled, so far that we cannot find any one

“ who hath spoken with any tolerable
 “ Clearness and Persecuity on this Point;
 “ but there appears to be something intri-
 “ cate and confused in all their Discourses.
 “ Thus some have thought the Gar-
 “ den of *Eden* was the promised Hap-
 “ piness; and that to be a Place where
 “ they did eat and drink without any bo-
 “ dily Trouble or Labour, where there were
 “ Houses of precious Stones, and abundance
 “ of Extravagancies of this Sort. Others did
 “ think, the Happiness to be hoped for was
 “ the Coming of the *Messiah*: That in those
 “ Days Men would be all Kings, and of a
 “ great Stature, and should possess the whole
 “ Earth for ever; and abundance of other
 “ Things, which it is impossible should be un-
 “ derstood in a literal Sense. A third Sort
 “ did believe, a carnal Resurrection of the
 “ Dead would be the Reward of their Obe-
 “ dience; that a Man should be restor’d to Life
 “ after Death, return Home accompanied
 “ with his Friends and Relations, and eat and
 “ drink as before. A fourth Sort did believe,
 “ a temporal Felicity, the Blessings of Chil-
 “ dren, fruitful Harvests, Victory over Ene-
 “ mies, and Health of Body, to be the promi-
 “ sed Happiness of Obedience. But a fifth Par-
 “ ty have joined the two Opinions of a Re-
 “ surrection from the Dead, and the Coming
 “ of the *Messiah*, believe the *Messiah* will come,
 “ and the Dead rise, and go into *Paradise*,
 “ and

“ and there live in all imaginable Enjoy-
 “ ments for ever.

AFTER having reckon'd up these several Opinions, *Maimonides* complains of the Grossness of their Apprehensions, and foolish Expectations of sensual Pleasures, which many of them entertain'd, reflects on them with a just Severity, for embracing such carnal Hopes ; even the Opinion of the Coming of the *Messiah* was so interwoven with carnal and false Expectations, he could not avoid saying : “ But the Days of the *Messiah* are
 “ not to be hoped for, that our Corn or
 “ Riches might be increased. The Prophets, and good Men, desir'd it so earnestly,
 “ that they might enjoy the Society and Conversation of good Men, that they might acquire Knowledge, and see the Wisdom and
 “ Justice of that King, and in how near a
 “ Rank to the Creator he is placed, as it is
 “ said of him, *Thou art My Son* ; and that the
 “ Law of *Moses* might be perfectly obey'd
 “ without any Constraint or Disturbance. Thus this great Man, while he censures some vulgar Errors among his own People, makes it appear, he had greater Apprehensions of a Spiritual Happiness ; and says plainly, it would not be in this World, and during the present State of Things, but in the Life to come, which Life to come and its Spiritual, and not Carnal Felicity, he speaks very magnificently of, in his *Teshuba*. Yet tho'
 the

the *Jews* were greatly mistaken, in their Notions of Futurity and its Happiness, it is plain, much the greater Part, all indeed except the *Sadducees*, believ'd, a future Reward, tho' many foolishly thought it a carnal one, was to be the Recompence of Obedience to their Law. The Hope of a future Reward, was a Reason and final Cause assigned by all the *Jews*, for the Resurrection of the Dead; and they were in the right, in believing a future Happiness was the Reward of their Obedience, tho' vain and greatly mistaken in the Apprehensions of the Kind of Happiness. I shall end this Account of the final Causes of a Resurrection, namely the Recompence of Obedience, with an excellent Quotation from *R. Saadiab Gaon*. “ We find *Moses* our Law-giver, a
 “ most extraordinary just and devout Man,
 “ to have receiv'd none of those Things
 “ which are the Rewards of this Life. As
 “ when it is said, * *I will give you Rain in its*
 “ *Season, and your Threshing shall reach to the*
 “ *Vintage; and I will give Peace, and I will*
 “ *turn me to you, and ye shall eat the old,-----*
 “ because it is plain, he never entered into
 “ the holy Land. If then the just were to
 “ have no other Rewards besides those men-
 “ tion'd in that Chapter, the greatest Share of
 “ them ought to be given to *Moses*. Which

* *Levit. xxvi.*

is very well observed, and is also a Key for the interpreting several other Passages in the *Pentateuch*; for who could hope for more from the Law, than the obedient Law-giver himself had? Therefore we must conclude with the said *Rabbi*, " This makes it very manifest that there must be a Reward in the World to come. " From Reasons like this of *R. Saadiab*, the *Jews* therefore concluded there was a future Reward and Resurrection; and from what was observed from *Maimonides* above, it is plain, the *Jews* had almost all a Notion of a Recompence hereafter, tho' they were mistaken in their Opinions of the Kind of that Happiness.

AFTER what hath been said, it will be proper to make the great Question; *How then are the Dead raised? And with what Bodies do they come?* And farther, *what is the Consequence of a Resurrection?* And here I must premise a small Apology for the *Jews*: For they are known to have confounded together the First and Second Coming of our blessed Saviour: For the *Jewish* Authors generally mention the Coming of the *Messiah*, and the Resurrection of the Dead together, and frequently consider them as Branches of the same Proposition, and seem to be under the same Mistakes with regard to one and the other. They expected a temporal *Messiah*, a Christ whose Kingdom would be of this World,

World, and look'd for a Carnal Resurrection; they were immers'd in the mean Ambition of desiring to rise to no nobler a Condition, than that of a more complete and full Satisfaction of the sensual Appetite: So that, tho' they were right in the plain Doctrine of a Resurrection, they were yet extremely mistaken in their Notions concerning the Nature of its Happiness. This wrong Foundation, that they should rise to the Possession of an Earthly *Canaan*, and the Enjoyment of Worldly Pleasures, made the whole Superstructure of their Reasonings vain. Therefore I shall omit mentioning their Account of the Time, and the Cause of the Resurrection, as by some certain Configuration of the Heavenly Bodies, by the Plastick Dew, or *Bone Luz*; and the Manner of rising, as in the same Habits in which they were buried; which last idle Opinion prevailed so much among them one while, as they grew so expensive in their Dressings for the Dead, that the famous *Gamaliel* put out an Edict for restraining these Excesses.

YET, tho' many of the *Jews* were thus wrong in the Nature and Kind of that Happiness which was to be the Portion of the Obedient in the World to come; some, nevertheless, of their more learned *Rabbins*, (as *Maimonides*, *Nachmanides*, *David Kimchi*, *Menasse Ben Israel*, *Josephus Albo*, and several others) tho' they had a Mixture of Error in their Opinions, as all of them expect-

ing

ting a Temporal *Messiah*, and Carnal Felicity for a Time, as a thousand Years, or more ; yet after the Expiration of the Reign of the *Messiah*, (for *Maimonides* says expressly he was to die) they all imagined they should be translated into another State, called *the World of Souls*. That which was a great Occasion of Disputes, and from whence the Diversity of Opinions about the Nature of the Body raised, and its Happiness proceeded, was, their not always sufficiently explaining their Terms, and distinguishing between when they spoke of the World to come, and meant the Temporal Reign of the *Messiah*, and when they spoke of the Life to come, and meant that Life and State which succeeded the Reign of the *Messiah* ; from the Confusion of these two Terms, most of their material Disputes arose. The World of Souls is sometimes used ambiguously, but generally signifies the State in which the Souls of just Men are, till the general Resurrection. Thus universally in the *Talmud* the Souls of all departed good Men are said to be in the Garden of *Eden*, or in *Paradise* ; but never are said to be in the World to come, but prepared for the Life of the World to come. Tho' we now have but one Idea for all, or at least two of these Terms, *the Life to come*, and *the World to come* ; we must observe yet, that the *Jews* had different Ideas of them.

THE learned *Menasse Ben Israel* observes the different Import and Signification of these

these Phrases, in his Treatise on the Resurrection; but explains them something different from what I have done: For, speaking of the World, or the Age of the Resurrection, he says: “ But to proceed
 “ with Method, let us in the first place con-
 “ sider, whether this World (the Reign of
 “ the *Messiah*) be the same with that the
 “ Ancients called *Gnolam Aaba*, or the World
 “ to come, or whether it is another World.
 “ There was formerly a Dispute between
 “ *R. Moses Ægyptius*, and *R. Moses Gerunden-*
 “ *sis*, about this Point. The first thought,
 “ by the *World to come* was meant the
 “ World of Souls, that State namely, into
 “ which the Souls are received, after their
 “ Separation from the Body.” Thus he:
 * *No Body can be Partaker of, or inherit the*
World to come, but the Souls only of just Men
separated from their Body shall enter into it.
 He declares also in other Places, “ that the
 “ World to come is not that which succeeds
 “ this, but that which every one is received
 “ into after Death. *Moses Gerundensis* is of
 “ quite different Sentiments, and thinks the
 “ World to come means that which follows
 “ after the Resurrection of the Dead; into
 “ the which, according to him, all that have
 “ lived soberly, piously and honestly, being
 “ raised from the Dead, shall be introduced,
 “ which they shall inherit both with Body

* *Halacoth Teshuba*, Cap. 8.

“ and Soul, and so shall eternally enjoy the
 “ Reward and Recompence of their Acti-
 “ ons. But *R. Josephus Albo*, upon Conside-
 “ ration of the Reasons, and especially the
 “ Authorities of the Ancients, with which
 “ each of them endeavoured to make good
 “ their Opinions, thought they might be re-
 “ conciled; namely, that the Phrase *the World*
 “ *to come*, might admit of two Acceptations,
 “ the World of Souls, into which the Souls of
 “ Men are received after Death, and the
 “ World, or Age, which immediately follows
 “ the Resurrection of the Dead. Since there-
 fore the *Rabbins* have differ’d so much among
 each other in this Affair, no better Rule can
 be given, than to observe in what Sense our
 Author takes any of those Phrases: And
 the Reason for doing this, is, because they
 all conceived the Body would be different in
 those several States. If they meant by the
 World to come the Reign of the *Messiah*,
 they all in general affirm’d, there would be
 Eating and Drinking, and all the com-
 mon Offices of Life perform’d: But if they
 meant by it the State immediately following
 upon the Resurrection, they all agreed there
 would be no Eating nor Drinking, Marry-
 ing, nor Giving in Marriage. We must only
 be cautious, lest we think they differ’d in
 their Notions, when they only did so in
 their Terms.

THE *Jews* held, that there were three States
 or Conditions after this Life; a State of in-
 complete

complete Happiness, or Misery, after Death, till the general Resurrection; the Reign of the *Messiah* always, thro' a great Mistake, join'd to the Resurrection; and a third, the World of Souls, or a State which succeeded the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Reign of the *Messiah* upon Earth. *Juda Zabara* declares the Garden of *Eden*, or *Paradise*, to be the Place prepared for the Reception of the Souls of good Men immediately after Death, where they were to continue in a State of incomplete Happiness, till the Resurrection and general Judgment. Thus too *Rabbi Menachem*: "After Death, the Just
 " obtain the Kingdom which is called *Pa-*
 " *radise*, and enjoy the Beatifick Vision of
 " GOD: There too all the Souls, each ac-
 " cording to its Works, are kept till the
 " Resurrection of the Dead, and Day of
 " Judgment. * The *Jews* express'd this Place by several other Phrases, as, being *in the Bundle of Life*, the *High Place*, under *the Throne of Glory*; which very Manner of delivering themselves, shews they meant only a State of incomplete Happiness. There are several Expressions in Scripture, which allude to this generally received Opinion. The famous

רק לאחר פטירת הצדיק יכנס למלכות הנקרא גן
 ומקבל פני השכינה ושם העמודנה כל הנשמות
 כל אחר כפי מעשיו עד תחיית המתים ויום

Rab. Menachem. : הדין

Promise

Promise of our blessed Saviour to the penitent Thief. That Text concerning Judas, Act. i. 25. wherein he is said to go to his own Place, a Place of Punishment and Misery due to his Apostacy: This Place of Scripture hath been by some modern Interpreters explained otherwise: But the learned Bishop Bull, in his Sermon on this Text, hath establish'd this Meaning from the concurrent Testimony of the Fathers, who all, with Irenæus, believ'd the Just would go into a Place appointed for them by GOD, and there remain till the Resurrection. The Phrase of the *Bundle of Life* is used 1 Sam. xxv. 29. *But the Soul of my Lord shall be bound in the Bundle of Life.* So Abigail speaks to David, wishing him the greatest Happiness. Thus Rabbam interprets this Place. *Under the Throne of Glory* was too a Phrase among the Jews, and denoted a Place of Happiness till the Resurrection. * Thus the famous Jewish Poet R. Solomon Ben Gabirol, in *Kether Malcuth*: *Thou, God, hast made under the Throne of thy Glory a Station for the Souls of thy Saints; there is the Habitation of pure Souls, who are ty'd in the Bundle of Life, after having laboured, and being tired: There they renew their Strength,*

* עשא תחת כסא כבודך מעמור לנפשות חסידך
 ושם נזה הנשמות הטהרות אשר בצרור החיים
 צרורות ואשר יגעו וייעפו שם יתליפו כח ושם ינוחו
 יגיעי כח ואלה בני נח ובו נועם בלי תכלית וקצבה
 והוא העולם הבא:

there they rest, who have been tired, there they enjoy Consolation; for in that Place is Pleasure without End, or Limitation. This is the World to come. And in this Place is the Soul of Moses placed by GOD, as R. Nathan says; * and not only his Soul is hid under the Throne of Glory, (says he) but the Souls of the Just are hid under the Throne of Glory. There are abundance of other figurative Expressions of the same Import, mentioned by Maimonides in his *Teshuba*. Opposed to this State of incomplete Happiness, was the middle State of Misery, wherein the Jews believed the Wicked were till the Day of Judgment; their *Gehenna*, where they were tormented till the Resurrection; after which they would be put in ארקא *Arko*, or the lowest Hell, from which there was to be no Redemption. Thus Maimonides in his *Jesudi Thorah*, Cap. 5. Sect. 4. says, *The Idolater and presumptuous Sinner shall be banished from the World to come, and descend to the lowest Pit of Gehenna.*

לא נשמתו של משה בלבד גנווה תחת כסא הכבוד
אלא נשמתן של צדיקים גנוו ות תחת כסא הכבוד:

*Quaquam enim saniores Judaei Paradisi vocabulo non ab-
stineant in designandâ felici beatarum animarum conditione,
quinimo etiam ad horum terrestrem Edenis luculentis verbis
alludant. Nihilominus tamen certum est figurate locutos revera
de Cœlo, Paradiso superiore intelligi debere. Quippe beata illi
conditioni non tantum lucem, sed etiam tranquillitatem, festivitatem,
verum ævi futuri nomen & regni tributum legas cum bea-
tifica visione Dei, &c. Windet de Vita Funct. Stat. P. 150.*

THE World to come, or Reign of the *Messiah* is spoken of very magnificently by all the *Rabbins*; but all their Prosperity and Happiness was to be carnal during his Kingdom. *Maimonides*, in his Preface to his Commentary on the 10th Chapter of the *Sanhedrin*, gives this as the general Opinion and Belief of the *Jews* concerning his Coming, and the State of Things under him. “ But in the Days of the *Messiah* is the Time “ when the Kingdom is to be restored to *Israel*, and when the *Jews* are to be brought “ back to *Palestine*: For he will be a great “ King, and the Metropolis of his King- “ dom shall be *Zion*, and he will fill the re- “ motest Parts of the World with the Glory “ of his Name: He will be greater and richer “ than *Solomon*; the Nations shall make “ Peace with him, and the Kingdoms pay “ Homage to him, because of his Justice, “ and the Miracles which he shall perform. “ Whosoever shall rise up against him, GOD “ shall deliver into his Hand to be destroyed. “ All Parts of the Scriptures extol his Suc- “ cess, and our Happiness: But nothing will “ then be alter’d in the Nature of Things “ from the present State. The *Rabbins* in “ general affirm plainly, that there will be “ no Difference between the present Condi- “ tion of Things, and those under the *Mes- “ siah*; but that the Kingdoms will be sub- “ dued to him: There will be then some “ weaker, and some stronger than others. But

“ in those Days all Necessaries for Life will
 “ be much more easily attained, than they are
 “ now, &c.” This is the Summary of the
Jews Expectations according to *Maimonides*,
 and very agreeable to what may be deduced
 from Scripture to have been their Notions,
 as from their seeking our blessed Saviour to
 make him a King, and from other Places.

BUT this Error of believing a Temporal
Messiah led them into abundance more,
 plung'd them into inextricable Difficulties,
 and gave Occasion to the *Sadducees*, or some-
 times some of the more Orthodox among
 them, to start such Objections as they could
 in no-wise answer: As how the Holy Land,
 or indeed the whole World, could contain
 all the *Jews* that ever lived? How the Mar-
 riages of the same Women to several Men
 could be adjusted, so as every Man should
 still have his own Wife? If any one will
 make an Observation, what a Shadow of an
 Argument will suffice to People who are al-
 ready resolved to believe, he may read with
 what a poor Solution to this latter Difficulty
 the Learned and Ingenious *Menasse Ben Israel*
 contents himself.

THE future Life, (or that which is sup-
 pos'd to succeed the Reign of the *Messiah*
 upon Earth) and the consummate Happi-
 ness, was much after the same manner con-
 ceived by the great *Rabbi's Maimonides* and
Nachmanides; excepting only, that the latter
 was

was of Opinion, that we should be translated with these gross Bodies into that Life and State, tho' we should therein enjoy no sensual Pleasures. The Promise of *Elijah's* Coming again upon Earth, as misapprehended by him to be in the same Body he had here, was urged as an Instance, that it was possible such gross Bodies as we now have might subsist in a State of Immortality, or, as the great Apostle phrases it, *Corruption might inherit Incorruption*. Tho' others of the *Jews* interpreted this Promise right, and understood only, that a Prophet in the Spirit and Power of *Elijah* would come. Thus *Rabbi Tancum*: "There is undoubtedly a Promise of the Appearance of a Prophet in *Israel* a little before the Manifestation of the *Messiah*. Some even of the Learned think it will be *Elijah* the *Tishbite* himself; this is the vulgar Opinion: Others believe it will be only a great Prophet of the same Rank with him, who will be endued with the same Knowledge of *GOD*, and Power of declaring his Name; and is therefore only called *Elijah*." But it was farther objected by *Maimonides* against this Opinion, that supposing it were possible for our Elementary Bodies to subsist thro' all Eternity, without the ordinary Means of living here by Eating and Drinking; it seem'd absurd, that these gross Bodies should be introduced into a State where there were no corporeal sensual Pleasures, wherein they

seem'd to be both an Incumbrance to the Souls, and unprofitable to themselves. To this *Nachmanides* answered, that tho' he took from the Bodies in a future State all such corporeal Pleasures as they now enjoy ; yet did he not absolutely deprive them of all Pleasure, since he could not tell but that there might possibly be other Uses and Pleasures for which GOD may have adapted the Members of the Body. And tho', upon taking away the present Pleasures and Uses of them known to us, the said Members may seem also superfluous and useless ; we ought modestly yet to suspend here determining, inasmuch as we cannot tell but there may be certain other Uses unknown to us, for which these Members of the Body may be as proper as any Ends they have been subservient to here.

THE great *Maimonides* differ'd from him, and from most of the *Jews*, as to this Point, in the Notion of a future Life or World of Souls, and carried it much higher than any of his Country-men. He believed equally, with *Nachmanides*, the Temporal Reign of the *Messiah*, and sensual Enjoyments during the same, but maintained these corporeal corruptible Bodies would not inherit the succeeding Immortality. In his Epistle concerning the Resurrection, he says, “ They
 “ whose Souls shall return into their Bodies,
 “ shall eat and drink, marry and beget Chil-
 “ dren ; but after a long Life, of equal Du-
 “ ration

“ration with the Days of the *Messiah*, they shall be translated; for as I conceive there can be no corporeal Substance in another State, the World to come, but only the Souls of the Just, without this *גוף* or earthy Body, and made like to the Angels of the Ministry.” The Felicity of this State he speaks of, in his *Teshuba*, in a very beautiful and noble Manner. “The consummate Happiness the Soul shall enjoy in a future Life, is such as is impossible to be conceived by the Mind in this present State. Here we neither know, nor desire any but corporeal Pleasures; but so great is the future Felicity, that no Pleasure can be found here to which it may be liken’d or compar’d, without a great Metaphor.” And a little lower he adds, “All those Pleasures, concerning which the Prophets prophesied to the *Israelites*, were only sensual, such as they will enjoy in the Time of the *Messiah*, when the Kingdom will be restored to them; but nothing is equal or like to the future Happiness.”

IN this sublime Manner doth this great Man speak, and yet for this and some other of his refined Notions about Angels, he was for some time under the Displeasure of his Country-men. And tho’ he hath said so many handsome Things of a Resurrection and a future State, they were dissatisfied

with him ; and he was obliged to write his Epistle concerning the Resurrection, to clear himself from the groundless Imputation of not being right in this Point. The *Jews* were displeas'd with him, because he took no Notice of this Article in some of his Tracts, especially in his *Moreh Nevochim* ; as the *Jews* phrase it, he hides his Face from the Question ; and in his *Teshuba*, little can be concluded, but by Induction, of the Resurrection. Nay, where he did take Notice of it, they said, he did not deliver himself fully enough on so important a Point. Where he explains the Articles of Faith, he passes this over too hastily, almost with just naming it ; *the 13th Article* (says he) *is the Resurrection of the Dead.*

Abarbenel, who follows him in most Things, seems to allow there was some Ground given for Censure : But upon the whole it is very manifest, from his Epistle which he wrote on purpose to wipe away all Reflexions, that he was right in the Belief of the Resurrection. He seems to have fallen in with the Christians in their Notion of the Spirituality of Bodies for the inheriting of a future Life ; and where he says no *Gof* can be in the World to come, as I imagine, he means no more than the great Apostle of the *Gentiles* doth, that *this Corruptible must put on Incorruption, and this Mortal put on Immortality.* In his *Moreh Nevochim*,
he

he had declared GOD was a Spirit, and that the Angels had no gross corporeal Bodies, but were separate Intelligences. And therefore, in order that Man might be fit for the glorious Assembly of Angels and Spirits, he declares, that no such gross and corporeal Body, as the present elementary one, can be in the future State, or World of Souls.

HAVING briefly shewn the Belief the *Jews* had of a Resurrection, and the final Causes assigned by them for it, and explained their Notions of the three States, the World of Souls, or the State of Souls separated from their Bodies till the Resurrection; the World to come, or the Reign of the *Messiah*; and the Life to come, the third State which follow'd after the Days of the *Messiah*, and endured for ever; there remain only two Points to be discussed with relation to this Subject, that they believed the *Identity* of the raised Body, and the *Universality* of the Resurrection. Of the former of these the *Jews* have given a Multitude of Testimonies, declaring in most exprefs Terms, their Faith of the Resurrection of the same Body. *Maimonides* says, * “ Men in the same manner as they “ before lived, with the same Body and

* שכמו שהיו האנשים בחיים באותו גופ באותה
 נשמה יחיה אותם הקרבה וישיב אותם לזה העולם
 באותו אופן עצמו ;

Rambam. apud Pocockium in Notis
 Miscellan. in Port. Mos. p. 115.

“ same

“ same Soul, shall be restored to Life by
 “ GOD, and sent into this Life in their
 “ first Identity.” It is scarce possible to
 conceive any Terms more clear and explicite: And again the same Author says,
 “ Nothing can properly be called a Resur-
 “ rection of the Dead, but the Return of
 “ the very same Soul into the very same
 “ Body, from which it was separated.”

Menasse Ben Israel censures *Ben Hasdai*, and *David Kimchi*, for their erroneous Opinion, that GOD would frame at the Resurrection of the Dead, Bodies of the same Figure, Temperament and Crasis, with the former; and upon uniting the Soul to such a Body, the same numerical Man would exist. His Words are these: *In my Opinion this Error is equal to the former, for though GOD may make a Body of the same Figure and Temperament as the former, it will be notwithstanding another Body; as Statues made by a Statuary, exactly like others, still are not the same, but others.* - Besides, since the End of the Resurrection of the Dead is, that Soul and Body being joined again, might be rewarded or punished for their good or evil Actions, who doth not see the above-mention'd Notion contradicts the very final Cause, since there can be no Distribution of Rewards and Punishments, if the same numerical Body be not raised? The learned Jew argues excellently for the Resurrection

rection of the same Body, because *another* Body rising would frustrate the very End and Design of the Resurrection; and it is as absurd to call Bodies of the same Crasis the same Bodies, as to call Statues perfectly alike, one and the same Statue.

AGAIN, *Maimonides* and *Abarbenel*, accuse the Christians of being erroneous in the Doctrine of the Resurrection, for maintaining that the Bodies of the Just, when *first* raised, would be aerial, subtile, light-some, and of the same Nature with Cœlestial Bodies. So strict and rigorous were they in maintaining the Rising again of the same Body, as they would not admit of that Change the Apostle mentions, that *this Corruptible must put on Incorruption, and this Mortal put on Immortality*. Besides which, the Vulgar also of the *Jews* have left very convincing Testimonies of their believing the same Body would rise again. The Circumstances of Rising with the same Cloaths in which they were buried, and with the same Marks and Features in their Bodies they had in their former Life, so as from thence to be able to know each other perfectly well, are signal Proofs of this. I pass over their Accounts of the Manner of GOD's Raising the Dead, as by the luminous plastick Dew, by the Impression of the Divine Spirit on the Body, and by the incorruptible *Bone Luz*. Hypotheses like these, perhaps, are not to
the

the Taste of the present Generation; yet a famous Modern hath explain'd the Resurrection from an Hypothesis, if not the same, very like that of the *Bone Lux*. It is farther plain, that the *Jews* meant something more by a Resurrection, than a Μετεμψύχωσις, or Transmigration of the Soul into another Body; this had been a Dogma of the old School, and *Italick* Sect; both *Plato* and *Pythagoras* are famous for asserting it: Because when *S. Paul* preached to the *Athenians*, who were so well acquainted with all Philosophy, had he preached no more than Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἀνάστησιν, *Jesus* and a Transmigration, he would not have so much surprized the *Athenians*, and they might easily have given into his Opinions. He must then have asserted something more, even the Resurrection of the same Body; and this it was that astonish'd them, and made him seem to them as one that mocked.

THERE remains to be proved, that the *Jews* believed the Resurrection would be general, not of the Just only, but also of the Unjust; nor confined to their own Nation, but common to all Mankind. Some few of the *Jews* indeed consider'd the Possession of the Holy Land, and the Resurrection, as one Proposition; and imagin'd the latter was only in order to the enjoying of the former; and seeing the Land was the peculiar Inheritance of the *Jews*, thought all the

Gentile

Gentile World would be excluded the Resurrection. There were some few misinterpreted Places of Scripture, and traditionary Sayings of the *Rabbins*, which seem'd to countenance this erroneous Opinion. The famous *David Kimchi* commenting on the second Psalm, asserts the Resurrection was peculiar to the Just; and farther supports his Opinion with that ancient Apothegm, "The Benefit of the Rain is common to the Just and Unjust, but the Resurrection from the Dead is the peculiar Privilege of those who have lived righteously." Some of the *Rabbins* too gave the fifth Verse of the first Psalm a wrong Sense*. The Wicked shall *not stand up* in Judgment; arguing hence, the Wicked would not rise again; tho' the *Chaldee* Paraphrast renders it very well, *shall not be advantaged*, or reap any Benefit from a Judgment. There is also a Place quoted from *Daniel*, but entirely nothing to the Purpose: And indeed, what misled them, was some Traditionary Sayings among themselves, and not the Scriptures; especially these: "Every *Israelite* shall have a part in the World to come, except such as believe not the Resurrection, that the Law was given by GOD, &c." And again in *Pirque*, *R. Elea-*

* Heb. : לא יקמו

Chal. : לא יובין

zar, " All the Dead will rise at the Time of
 " the Resurrection, excepting the Genera-
 " tion that lived at the Deluge." And a-
 gain, in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, " The Inha-
 " bitants of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* are ex-
 " cluded from being Partakers in the Resur-
 " rection." But *Abravanel*, and *Menasse Ben*
Israel, give the Expressions a better Gloss,
 and understand by them only, that the
 Wicked are said to have no Part in the
 World to come, as having no Advantage or
 Happiness, but are on the contrary consign-
 ed over to Punishment for their Iniquities ;
 and argued the Wicked too would rise from
 the final Cause of the Resurrection, a just
 Retribution, both to the Just and Unjust.
 Thus the learned *Menasse*, after making an
 Observation that some of his Country-men
 had embraced a false Opinion, *that the Just*
only were to rise, speaks to this Purpose :
 " But if we try this Notion by the Rule of
 " right Reason, and like wise Men strictly
 " examine it, we shall find the Wicked must
 " necessarily rise, as well as the Just. It
 " will be evident, as well from the Light of
 " Reason, as certain from the Authority of
 " the Holy Scriptures, and ancient Tradi-
 " tion : For if the End of the Resurrection
 " be, that Soul and Body joined should be
 " rewarded or punished according as they
 " have deserv'd, which we have before
 " proved, it is plain the Wicked too must
 " rise,

“ rise, that they may be punished for their
“ Iniquities.

NOR did the *Jews* believe only the Resurrection would be general in this respect solely, as including good and bad of their own Nation, and exclusive of all others, but universally so, of all Mankind of all the *Gentile* World, as well as themselves. *Menasse Ben Israel* speaks excellently to this Purpose in the following Words. ‘ It is
‘ equally certain, that the Nations and *Gentile*
‘ *World* will arise from the Dead, as
‘ well as the *Israelites*, and have a Part in the
‘ World to come. All and each Person of the
‘ Nations shall rise, that have lived honestly
‘ and piously; that is, according to *Rabbi*
‘ *Moses* and *Rabbi Meyr Gabay*, have carefully
‘ observ’d the Precepts given to *Noah*: Thou
‘ shalt not be an Idolater, thou shalt not steal,
‘ nor commit Adultery, nor blaspheme the
‘ Divine Name, nor eat the Limb of any living
‘ Creature with the Blood; and thou
‘ shalt appoint over thee Rulers, who shall
‘ take care these Precepts be diligently observ’d:
‘ Such as these shall not only rise, but
‘ be Partakers of the Blessedness of a future
‘ Life, according to that ancient Saying, *God*
‘ *doth not defraud any Creature of his Reward*;
‘ and therefore the above-mentioned must
‘ have a Part. Nor is it to be doubted, but
‘ they who have believed well of GOD, have
‘ lived honestly, piously, and soberly, will
‘ have a Share in the Resurrection of the
‘ Dead,

‘ Dead, as *Moses Ægyptius* declares in his E-
 ‘ pistle, tho’ they be of the *Gentile* World, as
 ‘ *Socrates* and *Plato*. The same may be proved
 ‘ from another Saying of the Ancients. Four
 ‘ private Men will not be Partakers of the
 ‘ World to come, *Balaam*, *Doeg*, *Achitophel*,
 ‘ and *Gebazi*.” And from these Words this
 Conclusion is drawn in the *Talmud*: *Balaam*
doth not come (is excepted) *into the World to*
come: Therefore the other *Gentiles* will
 come. The Conclusion is very good; for
 if none of the *Gentiles* had any, it would be
 impertinent to mention so particularly *Ba-*
laam’s not having a Part in the World to
 come. But since there is Mention made of
 him, and he particularly excepted, we may
 safely conclude, other *Gentiles*, such as *Balaam*
 was, will be Partakers of the Life to come.

AGAIN, that the Wicked and Impious will
 rise to be tormented, *Daniel* declares. *Many*
of them that sleep in the Dust, shall awake;
some to everlasting Life, and some to everlasting
Shame. Here the Prophet doth not speak
 of the *Israelites* in particular, but univer-
 sally of all Mankind: He says, *Not many*
of the Israelites, but many of them who sleep
in the Dust; where, by *many*, must be under-
 stood the *Gentile* World. Besides, in *Pirque*
Aboth, *Rabbi Eleazar* says, *They who are born,*
shall die; they who die, shall rise again, and
live to be judged. This general Affirmation,
 which includes universally every one, with-
 out

out any Exception, is a sufficient Proof, that the Wicked, as well as the Just, among the *Gentiles*, will rise. And we farther read in *Zohar*, a Book of great Authority, that they who have deserved well of the *Israelites* in their Captivity, shall have a great Reward in the World to come.

THIS was the Scheme of a Resurrection, as believed by the Generality of the *Jews*; but it must be own'd, there was a Sect of great Antiquity, and too considerable not to be taken notice of here, who deny'd the Resurrection of the Dead. The Brevity of this Discourse will not permit me to give an Account of all their Heretical Opinions, which have come down to our Times: But this Justice must be done them, and the present Subject, to give their more considerable Arguments against the Truth of the Doctrine of a Resurrection, and the Answers the Orthodox *Jews* made to them. And especially, because they were perhaps the only Sect among any civiliz'd Nation, which avow'd there was nothing which concern'd Man beyond the Grave, but that all Existence both of Soul and Body was absorbed in Death. These Sectaries were named *Sadducees*, from *Zadoc* their Ring-leader: And what first gave Rise to them, was an Aphorism or Saying of *Antigonus*, called *Sochæus*, who flourished before the Incarnation of our Lord 300 Years, and was a Scholar of Si-

mean the Just; his Saying, as still extant in the *Misna*, is: *Be not like Servants who serve the Lord only conditionally, that they should receive a Reward; but be like those Servants who serve God even without Respect to having a Recompence; and let the Fear of God be upon you.* This Saying of the sublime Doctor was by a very sinister Interpretation improv'd into an execrable Heresy, by his Scholars *Zadoc* and *Baytos*, who from hence concluded, that no future Reward was to be expected from God, and that there was no Resurrection from the Dead, or State of Retribution hereafter. This Aphorism was not rejected by any of the *Jews*, as I can find, but interpreted in another Sense than that given it by *Zadoc*; since therefore this was occasionally the Cause of an irreconcilable Schism in the *Jewish Church*, I shall take notice what some of their more famous Men have said to oppose or support it.

THE general Sense given these Words by *Joseph Abbo*, *Menasse Ben Israel*, *Abravanel*, *Maimonides*, and others, is, That the Rules of the Law were not meerly Arbitrary Terms of Happiness laid on Mankind by GOD, but such as were the very Means as well as Conditions of Happiness. *Abravanel*, the subtile *Jewish Doctor*, interprets these Words in a Sense directly contrary to that given them by the *Sadducees*. He affirms that פָּרָס *Paras* signifies a carnal Reward, and there-

therefore understands the Saying to forbid them to serve GOD out of an Expectation of Worldly Felicity or Carnal Rewards, but obey the Law without any View to a temporal Recompence : And from such an Aphorism as this, he argues for the Certainty of a future Reward and Life ; inasmuch as their worldly Prospects and Hopes were cut off, they might thence with all imaginable Certainty expect, from the infinite Goodness and Justice of GOD, the Recompence of their Obedience, in a future State. Not to mention any more in particular, all the Orthodox Jews gave this Saying a Turn contrary to what the Sadducees did. Fagius, who was a great Master of Jewish Learning, comments thus on it : * *The Sense of this Saying is very plain, and agreeable to the Doctrine of our Saviour Christ and his Apostles ; namely, that we ought to serve GOD, not for the Sake of a Reward, but out of Love and Fear, which the Hebrew Rabbins express thus : Worship GOD out of Fear, and worship Him out of Love.*

* *Manifesta est hac Sententia quid sibi velit, & convenit planè cum Doctrinâ Christianâ & Apostolorum ; nempe, serviendum esse Deum, non mercedis gratiâ, sed ex amore & timore, id quod sapientes Hebraeorum sic enunciant :*

עבוד מאהבה עבוד מיראה :

Cole Deum ex amore, & cole ex timore. Amorem autem vocant, si non negligas quod ille fieri præcepit ; timorem, cum vitas quod prohibet. Fagius Comm. ad Pirq. Aboth.

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Worshipping GOD out of Love, they term, the not neglecting to perform what He commands should be done; and Worshipping GOD out of Fear, the avoiding what He forbids.

Maimonides, in his Commentaries on *Pirk Avoth*, opposes the Sense given *Antigonus's* Saying by the *Sadducees*, and more fully in those on the *Sanhedrin*; yet in the last Chapter of his *Teshuba*, insists that the Love of GOD ought to be the chief Motive of our Obedience. It is thus: ‘ Let no Man say, ‘ I observe the Precepts of the Law for this ‘ Reason, and learn Wisdom, that I may ‘ gain the Advantage mention’d in the ‘ Law, and make myself worthy of the Life ‘ of the World to come. Or I therefore ab- ‘ stain from the Crimes forbidden in our ‘ Law, that I may avoid the Curses spoken ‘ of there, and not be cut off from the ‘ Life of the World to come. GOD is ‘ not to be worshipp’d after this Manner, ‘ because he who serves GOD thus, pays O- ‘ bedience to him out of Fear only; and doth ‘ not come up to that Excellence of Divine ‘ Worship, which the Prophets and wise Men ‘ attained to. For none worship GOD out ‘ of such a Regard as this, but very ignorant ‘ Men, Women, and Children, who are first ‘ taught to obey GOD out of Fear, that they ‘ might worship Him out of Love, when ar- ‘ rived to a more full growth of Knowledge. ‘ He, who pays Obedience out of Love, doth not

not study the Law, observe the Precepts, and walk in the Paths of Wisdom, to gain any Thing in this World, or to remove from himself the Fear of Evil, and that he might enjoy Felicity, but follows Truth for the Sake of Truth, considers Vertue as a Reward to itself, and the Obeying its Dictates, and Walking in its Ways, as Happiness. But this is so great an Excellency, as not to be attained by every wise Man: This was the Heroick Piety of our Father *Abraham*, whom GOD (who is blessed for ever) vouchsafed to call his Friend, because he obey'd and worship'd Him out of Love. This too is that Height of Vertue, which GOD by the Mouth of *Moses* commands us to endeavour at; *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God*: And as soon as any one loves GOD worthily and laudably, he will observe all the Precepts of the Law out of Love. But what is that worthy and laudable Love? Such is, when our whole, and most vehement, and most ardent Love is on Him, and our whole Soul is bound up in the Study of Him, is wholly employ'd in it; like one who is in Love with any Person most dear to him, and whether he lies down, or eats, or drinks, continually thinks on the Object of his Affections. The Love of GOD ought to exceed this, and to be always in the Hearts of them who love Him. According to the Precept

‘ *Deuteronomy*, vi. 5. and x. 12. *Thou shalt*
 ‘ *love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and*
 ‘ *with all thy Soul.* And Solomon’s Metapho-
 ‘ rical Expressions in the *Canticles* are to be
 ‘ taken in the same Sense. *I am sick with*
 ‘ *Love.* The whole Book of the *Canticles*
 ‘ is a Metaphorical or Figurative Discourse
 ‘ concerning the Love of GOD. You may
 ‘ reply, perhaps, some of the ancient *Rab-*
 ‘ *bins* have said, I learn the Law, that I may
 ‘ get abundance of Wealth, that I may be
 ‘ called *Rabbi*, and that I may have a Place
 ‘ in the World to come. The *Talmud* says,
 ‘ you must do it out of the Love of GOD,
 ‘ whatever you do, it must be done for the
 ‘ Sake of Love. Besides, the *Rabbins* have
 ‘ said: You should take great Pleasure in
 ‘ the Precepts themselves, and not in their
 ‘ Rewards. And some of the most sublime
 ‘ Doctors have, in express and plain Terms,
 ‘ deliver’d this Command to their more
 ‘ prudent and understanding Scholars: Be
 ‘ ye not like Servants who serve the Lord
 ‘ only conditionally, that they may receive
 ‘ a Reward, but be ye like those Servants who
 ‘ serve Him not for the Sake of Gain and
 ‘ Advantage, because the Lord is to be o-
 ‘ bey’d even upon the sole Account of His
 ‘ being the Sovereign Lord; Which is the
 ‘ same as to say, do your Duty out of Love.
 ‘ Whoever studies the Law, to gain an Ad-
 ‘ vantage, or to avoid a Punishment, does

it not for the Sake of the Law: But who-
 ever studies the Law, not out of Fear or
 Desire of Gain, but out of Love of GOD,
 the Lord and Sovereign of the whole
 World, who commanded it, he studies
 the Law for its own Sake. The *Rabbins*
 have said too; Let every one be diligent
 in the Study of the Law, tho' he now may
 have no Regard to the Law itself: Be-
 cause tho' now he may read and observe
 the Law, and not for its own Sake, in pro-
 cess of Time he may perhaps arrive to
 study and observe it for its own Sake. And
 therefore they who instruct and teach Chil-
 dren, Women, and the Vulgar, lay before
 them Hopes of Reward, and Threats of Pu-
 nishment, before they have made a lauda-
 ble Progress in Science, and have furnish'd
 the Mind with a sufficient Stock of Know-
 ledge; and then they, by little and lit-
 tle, open this Secret to them, and gently
 accustom them to it, till at last they fully
 apprehend and conceive in their Minds,
 and obey GOD out of a Love of Him.
 It is a plain and manifest Case, the Love
 of GOD hath not taken deep Root in
 our Hearts, unless we are continually ex-
 ercis'd in it, and forsake all Worldly
 Things for its Sake. For this is the Precept
Dent. vi. ver. 5. With all thy Heart and
with all thy Soul: But nobody loves GOD,
 but in as much as he knows Him; every
 one's

' one's Love and Knowledge go Hand in
 ' Hand together. If his Knowledge be little,
 ' his Love will be so too; if the former be
 ' large, the latter will be strong. For this
 ' Reason every one ought to settle himself
 ' to study, and endeavour after a Knowledge
 ' of Things which may be a Means to lead
 ' him to such an Understanding of GOD,
 ' as our humane Faculties and Abilities are
 ' capable of attaining.

THUS far the great *Maimonides*; where-
 in, whether he does carry the Notion
 of the Love of GOD to such a Pitch as
Antigonus did; whether it may give weak
 Minds an Occasion of Stumbling, who can-
 not act upon so high a Principle, and ex-
 clusive of others, as he seems to hint; or
 whether he asserts no more than the Apostle,
Perfect Love casteth out Fear, is submitted to
 the Judgment of the Learned. All humane
 Compositions will have a Mixture of Error
 and Weakness; and *Maimonides* may mi-
 stake. He hath spoke very great Things of
 the Heroick Vertue of their Law-giver, in
 his *Moreh Nevochim*; and whatever Con-
 struction these Words are capable of, and
 after what manner soever we interpret them,
 it's most certain, *Maimonides* never intended
 to countenance the Heresy of the *Sadducees*,
 nor ever thought, the Happiness, which
 was in the Obedience itself to the Law, was
 any Argument against the future Felicity
 which

which GOD had declared we should inherit in another Life. But, to return to the Saying of *Antigonus*; whatsoever was the Import of that, and notwithstanding the Comments of the succeeding *Rabbins* on it, *Zadoc* and *Baytos*, his Scholars, did, or pretended to understand it in such a Sense, as to cut off all Hopes of a future Reward, and became Heads of a very powerful Faction in the State, as well as in the Church. *Zadoc* was of the more violent and impetuous Temper, and obstinate in asserting the Soul's Mortality; and therefore the Hereticks were named *Sadducees* from him, and not from *Baytos*. They are very often confounded with the *Samaritans*, and therefore said to receive the *Pentateuch* only as Canonical: But there are several Passages in the *Talmud*, and the more celebrated *Rabbins*, which very expressly declare, they received the Prophets too. They are said to have been exceeding profligate and vicious in their Lives and Morals, and were bitterly hated by the Generality of the *Jews*. The main Objections they used against the Resurrection, were,

First, That the Resurrection was no where declared in the Law, or Five Books of *Moses*.

Secondly, That the Soul was mortal.

Thirdly, That GOD had promised only carnal Rewards and Punishments in the Law.

Fourthly,

58. *The Notions of the Jews*

Fourthly, That the Prophets themselves believed there would be no Resurrection of the Dead.

Fifthly, That a Resurrection was impossible and absurd.

A N. Answer to the first.

THIS first Objection contains the main Strength of *Sadducism*, and the others seem only drawn up for Form, and to make an Appearance of Number on their Side.

THE *Rabbins* then answer thus.

1. THE Resurrection is declared in the Law, provided the Text be not always taken in the most Literal Sense, but a Mystical one; and in the latter it is frequently interpreted in other Cases: Therefore no Reason can be given, why it should not in this.

2. THE Resurrection may be shew'd to be a clear and immediate Consequence of several Texts of the *Pentateuch*.

3. VERY satisfactory Reasons may be given, why this Doctrine is delivered after this Manner.

THE *Sadducees* manage it very unfairly with regard to the first and second Points; they exact a rigorous Literal Sense of the Words in the *Pentateuch*, and will admit of no Mystick Interpretation which might prove a Resurrection; and in the Prophets, who spoke more plainly on this Point, all those Places in them where they plainly speak of a Resurrection, are turn'd into Allegory and Figure: So that if they would keep strictly
either

either to the one or the other Way of interpreting the Scripture, to a Literal or Allegorical one, the Doctrine of a Resurrection might easily be proved; but such Shuffling and Cutting, and changing Sides, just as it is of Advantage to a present Purpose, is unfair: And therefore 'tis not surprizing, if they involve their Adversaries in some Difficulties.

BUT that some Places of Scripture must not be taken in a literal Sense; there is no denying; and how can it be shew'd, but that some, which would prove a Resurrection, must be interpreted after a spiritual Manner. The Incorporeity and spiritual Nature of GOD are to be collected from a Mystick Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures in general, and particularly of the *Pentateuch*, wherein humane Forms of Acting and Speaking, and bodily Organs, are attributed to GOD; and from a similar Manner of interpreting the Holy Scriptures, the Resurrection may be demonstrated. In what Manner the Scripture is to be interpreted, is here the Article of Difficulty. A great many Things have been said on this Head by the most famous *Rabbins*; but I chose *Maimonides's* Account as the most rational. ' There may
' be reckon'd (saith he) three Classes of Men
' who use different Ways in interpreting of
' the Holy Scriptures. The first is of those,
' (and they are much the major Part of any
' whose

' whose Works I have read or heard of) who
 ' will have every thing to be understood in
 ' a literal Sense, without any sort of Gloss, or
 ' different Interpretation: And who must
 ' therefore believe abundance of Impossibi-
 ' lities. The Occasion of their falling into
 ' this Error, is their Ignorance of all Science,
 ' their being perfectly illiterate, and in no
 ' sort able to form a right Judgment them-
 ' selves, nor to obtain Instruction from others.
 ' They think the wise Men, in all their Wri-
 ' tings of undoubted Truth, never intended,
 ' or meant any thing else, than what they
 ' can collect from a superficial View of the
 ' Terms, the meer literal Sense; tho' the
 ' Meaning often, which appears first, is en-
 ' tirely absurd; so that considering Persons,
 ' on Reflexion, will say, how can this be? or
 ' how can any one in the World imagine it
 ' should be true? This is very far from being
 ' a laudable Way of proceeding; and this Sect
 ' are of a most wretched and deplorable Igno-
 ' rance. For while they imagine they pay a
 ' Deference and Honour to the wise Men,
 ' they really highly disgrace them, being ig-
 ' norant of what they do. This Sect certainly
 ' robs Religion of its Honour, and darkens
 ' the Brightness of its Glory, and perverts the
 ' Law of GOD to an End for which it was
 ' never designed. For when GOD Himself
 ' says in the Law, *Deut. iv. 6. The Nations*
 ' *which shall hear these Statutes, and say, Surely*
 ' *this*

‘ *this great Nation is a wise and understanding*
‘ *People* ; this Sect form such Notions from a
‘ meer literal Interpretation, as will give
‘ occasion to the Nations who hear of them,
‘ to say, *Surely that small People is a foolish*
‘ *and ignorant People.* They who are most
‘ guilty of this Fault, are some popular Po-
‘ stillars, who explain to others the Things
‘ they themselves know nothing of ; and I
‘ wish when they were ignorant, they would
‘ be silent. *O that you would be silent, and*
‘ *it should be counted to you for Wisdom* ; or,
‘ at least, own we are not certain what the
‘ Meaning of this Passage is, or how it is
‘ to be explained : But they fancy they un-
‘ derstand it, and are busy in explaining to
‘ others their own Conceptions, and not
‘ the Meaning of the wise Men.

‘ THE second Class, and one too nume-
‘ rous, is of them, who upon hearing the
‘ Sayings of the wise Men, take them in a li-
‘ teral Sense, as thinking they could have no
‘ other Meaning than that which is most ob-
‘ vious, and fall into the Error of conceiving
‘ that to be absurd and false, which is not so,
‘ but only according to their Misinterpretations ;
‘ whence they begin to have mean
‘ Opinions of the wise Men, fancy themselves
‘ much wiser, and that the former were per-
‘ fectly ignorant of every Thing. The major
‘ Part of this Sect is made up of Astronomers,
‘ and others, who in their own Conceit are
‘ won

' wondrous Philosophers, but indeed are such
 ' as true Philosophers would scarce put in the
 ' List of rational Beings. These are Men of a
 ' more abandon'd Understanding than those
 ' of the former Sect: A cursed Generation,
 ' who presume to cavil at the Writings of the
 ' Holy Men, the genuine Import of which,
 ' nevertheless, all learned Men easily perceive.
 ' Would they only apply themselves to the
 ' Study of Wisdom, that they might have
 ' some Notion how Theological and Divine
 ' Matters are to be delivered and explained
 ' to the Vulgar, then the Wisdom of the
 ' Ancients, and Sense of their Writings,
 ' would appear very clear and manifest.

' THE third Sect, and a very small one,
 ' that can scarce be called so with more Pro-
 ' priety than the Sun be styled a Species, con-
 ' sists of them who are persuaded of the
 ' Wisdom and Judgment of the wise Men,
 ' and see, under the Covering of the Words,
 ' a true Import and Meaning.

THUS far the great *Maimonides*. He speaks
 this primarily of reading and understanding
 the *Rabbinical* Authors, but presently goes on
 to justify their Phraseology, and this Manner
 of interpreting them, from that of the Holy
 Scriptures, which he affirms are wrote in many
 Places in a Parabolical Manner, and there-
 fore not to be understood in a Literal Sense.

Maimonides hath not only given Rules,
 but a signal Example for interpreting the
 Holy

Holy Scriptures thus, in his incomparable Book *Moreh Nevochim*. This then is one Point on which the *Jews* insist, that they may recede from the literal Sense of the Words of Scripture; and then they shall be able easily to prove a Resurrection. But this is not allowed them by the *Sadducees*, who think there's no sufficient Authority to leave the plain and most obvious Sense, in order to find out some more subtile and refined, but less true Interpretation.

THE second Point the Orthodox *Jews* maintain, is, that the Resurrection may be proved by a very natural and easy Induction. This some of the *Sadducees* thought to be too much to be allowed their Adversaries; but this the *Jews* have taken, and after this Manner they argue for it. The learned *Menasse Ben Israel* hath collected the more celebrated Proofs of the *Rabbins* of this kind in his Treatise on the Resurrection. I shall put down here one or two of them, which seem the most demonstrative. ‘ *R. Simai* in ‘ *Perek Heleck* (says *Menasse Ben Israel*) most ‘ evidently proves, there will be a Resurre- ‘ ction of the Dead, from a Text in *Exodus*, ‘ wherein GOD thus speaks to *Moses* :” I appeared unto *Abraham*, unto *Isaac*, and unto *Jacob*, by the Name of GOD Almighty; but by My Name *Jehovah* I was not known to them : But I have also established My Covenant with them, to give them the Land of *Canaan*, the Land

Land of their Pilgrimage, wherein they were Strangers. And the Rabbi thus remarks on these Words : ‘ GOD says in the Text, to give to *them*, and not to give to you, whence it is manifest, the Resurrection may be proved from the Law.” This is a very satisfactory Proof, because the Lord GOD doth not say, He had sworn to establish or fulfill His Covenant made with the *Patriarchs*, by giving the Land of Promise for a Possession to the Children of the *Patriarchs*; but by giving it to the *Patriarchs* themselves. This is plain too from the 17thth of *Genesis*, where GOD says, *I will give thee and thy Seed after thee, the Land of thy Pilgrimage*: But it is evident, *Abraham* and the *Patriarchs* did never possess the Land; it follows then necessarily, that they must rise from the Dead, to the Enjoyment of the promised Goods; otherwise the Promises of GOD will be vain and without Effect.

ANOTHER Proof of the Resurrection is from *Deuteronomy*. Thus *Menasse Ben Israel*. ‘ Lastly, the Ancients have given a full Demonstration, that there will be a Resurrection of the Dead, from the xxxiith and 39th of *Deut*. See now that I, even I am He, and there is no GOD with me: I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal. And therefore it is generally said, we must answer those who deny that the Dead will rise again, from this Place. As the

same

Concerning the Resurrection. 65

‘ same Person is the Subject both of the
‘ Disease, and the Cure ; so is he of Death,
‘ and again of Life. From the placing of
‘ these Words we collect the Resurrection,
‘ because GOD says first, *I kill*, and after-
‘ ward, *I restore to Life ; I wound, and I heal*.
‘ And farther, because *Moses* too doth not
‘ seem to speak here of the Divine Power
‘ only as appearing in the two contrary Ef-
‘ fects of killing, and of making alive, with
‘ respect to different Persons ; but speaks
‘ it as a Punishment and Reward with-
‘ out Restriction. With these Proofs
the *Rabbins* satisfy’d themselves ; to them
they seem’d sufficient, tho’ to us perhaps
they may justly appear not perfectly plain
and convincing. Our blessed Saviour, in the
12th of *S. Mark’s* Gospel, and the 26th
Verse, gives a more undeniable Proof of a
Resurrection, from the Law, and such, as ap-
pears by the Effect it had, as was never used
before ; and even the *Scribes* confessed he had
answered the *Sadducees* well. *And as touching
the Dead, that they rise ; have ye not read in the
Book of Moses, how in the Bush God spake unto
him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and
the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob ? He
is not the God of the Dead, but the God of the
Living ; ye therefore do greatly err.* None of
the *Rabbins* use this Text directly to prove
the Resurrection ; but since our blessed Sa-
viour’s Time they have urged it to prove the

Immortality of the Soul. The *Jews* bring Evidence for it abundantly from the inspired Writers and Prophets ; but that is not the Point required here, but from the Law only. The *Jews* differ from the Christians in proving it too from the Prophets ; there are several Texts which they do not make use of, which the Christians do, and think the clearest : And on the contrary, they interpret some other Passages of Scripture to mean a Resurrection, which the Christians do not. Thus from *Psalms* civ. 27, 30. *All things wait upon Thee, that Thou mayest give them their Meat in due Season. That Thou givest them, they gather ; Thou openest Thine Hand, they are filled with Good. Thou hidest Thy Face, they are troubled ; Thou takest away their Breath, they die, and return to their Dust. Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created ; and thou renewest the Face of the Earth.* *Fagius* hath observed, this Text is understood by the *Jews*, to prove a Resurrection ; and the learned *Messasse Ben Israel* comments thus upon it : ‘ If
‘ then, when that Spirit is taken away by
‘ GOD, and the Body reduced to Ashes,
‘ the Spirit will a second time return to the
‘ Body, and the Face of the Earth be re-
‘ newed ; who does not see this must come
‘ to pass in the Resurrection of the Dead ?’
The Christians commonly understand this of GOD’s general Providence only, in preserv-
ing a constant Succession of Generations on
the

the Earth, that when one passes away, another should arise. *Job* xix. 25. is a celebrated Text among the Christians, but deny'd by all the *Rabbins* to signify a Resurrection. For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter Day upon the Earth. And tho' after my Skin, Worms destroy this Body, yet in my Flesh shall I see God. But of this Text, says *Menasse Ben Israel*: ' There is nothing in it any way relating to the Resurrection. Nor doth it appear, any of the *Hebrews* ever understood it in such a Sense. The Meaning and Import of those Words is this; I know that he who is the Redeemer of my Soul, and translates it to a Seat of Happiness, is living, and eternal thro' all Ages; I know farther too, that he shall endure beyond all Terrestrial Things." The excellent Prelate *Pearson* on this Article, in his admirable Book on the Creed, animadvertes upon this Behaviour of the *Jews*, and highly censures them for neglecting or refusing obstinately a plain and easy Text, and seeking to prove it by a more dark and intricate Deduction.

THE last Part of the Answer the *Jews* have made to this Objection, is, That sufficient Reasons can be given, why GOD was not pleased to make a clearer Revelation of this Article in the Law. It is bold and presumptuous to attempt to fathom the Counsels and Designs of Providence, and especially in a

Point so sublime as this, which seems too high for the Reach of humane Minds. All the Reasons then they offer, are only urged as such according to humane Appearance, and no ways exclusive of superiour and juster Reasons. These are the several Accounts of the *Rabbins*. First of *Maimonides*: In several Parts of his Works, as particularly his *Jad Chasaka*, this great *Jewish* Doctor declares, there is prepared for the Soul a proper Spiritual Reward, or Punishment, in another Life, tho' it be not explicitly delivered in the Law, because GOD would be obeyed, and served out of Love, and not merely out of a Prospect of Self-Interest and Reward. Therefore, when GOD in the Holy Texts promises those who obey his Law, Plenty, Peace, Children, Conquest, and Enlargement of their Empire; and on the other hand, threatens the Disobedient with Famine, War, Pestilence, Loss of Children, and the like Temporal Calamities: All such Promises and Threatnings as these are not to be understood as the proper and ultimate Reward or Punishment of the Soul; but GOD means no more by such Declarations, than that He will bestow on the Obedient to His Law, all the Means requisite and conducive to the attaining the great Spiritual and Eternal Reward, and will not give these to the Transgressors of His Laws. And therefore, wherever GOD makes those Promissory

missory Declarations in Holy Writ, He is to be understood to say, If you will diligently obey My Commands and Precepts, I will remove from you all those Temporal Calamities which might hinder and obstruct your Progress in the Study of My Laws, and the Obedience to them; and if, on the contrary, you are stubborn and disobedient, I will take from you all those Blessings which may be a Means to the gaining a much greater and eternal Happiness.

THIS is one of *Maimonides's* Solutions of the Objection; another is, and much the more Just and Sublime, That all the Prophets were able to explain, and the Generality of Mankind able to comprehend the Happiness and Enjoyments of the Reign of the *Messiah*; and therefore have spoken very clearly and fully on this Head. But concerning the State of glorify'd Souls, they have said nothing, as not being able to give a true Landskip of Spiritual Joys, from the general Notions of Mankind, and vain Ideas from the Senses; and have been silent, that they might not lessen it by any Description. With reference to this, they frequently quote that of *Isaiab* lxi. 3. *Since the Beginning of the World, Men have not heard, neither perceived by the Ear; neither hath the Eye seen, O GOD, besides Thee, what He hath prepared for him that waiteth for Him.* And from hence that ancient Apophthegm had its Rise: ' All the Prophets

F 3

: have

‘ have prophesied of the Days of the *Messiah*, but no Eye hath seen the World to come.” Another Reason may be given, why the Happiness of the *Messiah*’s Reign is described, and not that of the separate blessed State, *viz.* because the former pertains to Soul and Body both as they are here; and therefore may be in part expressed by Images and Comparisons drawn from corporeal Objects; but the future Happiness in that State is entirely Spiritual, and relates peculiarly to the Soul, and therefore cannot be comprehended by any humane Mind, in the present Condition of Things.

THE very learned *Aben Ezra* offers this Solution, which is mention’d several times also by *Maimonides*. ‘ The Reward of the Soul, and Happiness of a future State, is exceeding difficult to be apprehended in any Sort; but the Law was to be adapted to the Understandings and Capacities of the Bulk of Mankind, the Illiterate, Children, and Women: And therefore, GOD, in Condescension to humane Infirmary, offers only in the Letter of the Law Temporal Advantages and Blessings, as Motives and Persuasives to Obedience; yet leaving Hints sufficient to the more Learned, and Understanding, to discover a future and Spiritual Reward of their Obedience, from a Mystical Interpretation of the Letter of the Law.

* Rabbi Nissim, and Josephus Albo, and before them R. Jehuda Levita, have thus solved this Difficulty. ' GOD, say they, hath dealt with Man after a Manner like that which Physicians use in curing any Bodily Distemper, who endeavour to expell the Cause and Fountain of the Illness, neglecting all secondary Symptoms, as knowing, upon the Removal of the Cause, the Effect must cease. Thus, when the first Generations of Mankind, before and after the Flood, the Descendents of *Adam* and *Noah*, had all fallen into Idolatry. (a few only excepted, as *Abel* and *Shem*) and believed the World was from Eternity, and in its own Nature immutable, acknowledged no Providence, or Divine Superintendancy over humane Affairs; GOD was pleased, in his infinite Mercy to Mankind, to make visible Manifestations of his Power, by Signs and Miracles, contrary to the general Laws of Nature, and superiour to all her known Powers: And by that Means declared Himself to be a Being distinct from the whole System, and proved that He did create it out of Nothing, and that He was possess'd of a Sovereign Power over all Creatures and Things, of altering and changing their several Natures and Properties, according to His Pleasure. And from hence it was easy to

* *Paras Beresuh. Hicarin, Lib. 4. Cap. 41. Cuzari Lib. 1. M. B. Israel de Resurrect.*

‘ induce them to acknowledge a Providence ;
 ‘ and that being admitted, it seem’d a very
 ‘ ready Consequence, that there would be a
 ‘ Spiritual Reward in a future State for the
 ‘ Good, and Punishment for the Wicked.

THUS GOD dealt with Man before the Promulgation of the Law by the Hand of *Moses*, and much after the same Manner under the Law ; for even in that, GOD did not make a full Revelation of a future Life, because the Generality of the *Israelites* then deny’d a Providence: And therefore it was not yet the Fulness of Time to communicate to them the great Mystery of a future Life ; but first to lead them into a Confession of the Being of a GOD, and that He, by His Providential Wisdom, did regulate and order all the Affairs of the World. GOD must therefore be allowed, according to humane Appearance, to have acted with the highest Wisdom, in promising His People at first only Carnal and Temporal Rewards or Punishments, such as their gross Imaginations could have some Feeling of ; by which great Goodness and Condescension, when the *Israelites* were brought to a Sense of their former Error, and their Minds seem’d enlarg’d, and capacious enough for the Reception of greater Mysteries, GOD sent His Prophets, who made a more clear and full Revelation of the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Life to come. *Naaman* the Syrian, upon his being miraculously cleansed of a
 Lepro-

Leprosy, breaks out into a Confession of the GOD of *Israel*. Now I see, there is no GOD but in *Israel*. Yet had the Prophet offer'd to have proved from this Miracle, tho' it be no very remote Consequence, the Being of a future State, and a Retribution to the Just and Unjust, he would, no doubt, have persisted in his Infidelity, and look'd on the whole Revelation as meer Romance. GOD therefore disposed the Minds of Men by Miracles, prepared them, by those Visible Acts of Omnipotence, for the Reception of Religion. Therefore when the Generality of Mankind saw such numerous and stupendous Miracles wrought by the Hand of *Moses*, or of any of the other Prophets, such Wonders as confounded even the *Magicians*, and overthrew all their Sorceries, they would be forced to acknowledge, that the Persons who performed these Things must be endued with a more than humane Power, inasmuch as all the Elements and natural World appeared obedient and subservient to their Wills and Commands.

Rabbi Bakai the Elder says, ' The Retribution, *i.e.* Happiness or Misery, is a *natural* and *necessary Consequence* of good or ill Actions; and therefore it was not the Business of the Law to be particular concerning them. Many Persons, entirely ignorant of the Law, have, by a right Use of their natural Reason, attained to a Knowledge of a future eternal Happiness. Therefore the Law speaks
 ' not

' not distinctly of this, but of those Things
 ' only which are not necessarily flowing from
 ' the Nature of Things, but proceed more
 ' entirely from the Providence and sole Will
 ' of GOD: According to that in *Leviticus* ;
 ' *Then I will command My Blessing upon*
 ' *you in the sixth Year, and it shall bring*
 ' *Fruit for three Years. Whoever will not*
 ' *give the Tenths, shall be poor. There*
 ' *shall not be one in thy Land that procures*
 ' *Abortion.* Because not natural, but super-
 ' natural Things, were the proper Matter of
 ' Revelation, and such as were to be menti-
 ' oned in the Law, as consider'd to be Divine.

Rabbi Sebadyah solves the Difficulty after
 another Manner. ' The Oracles of the *Hea-*
 ' *then Divinities, and Pagan Nations, falsely*
 ' *promised secular Advantages and temporal*
 ' *Felicity: And when the Heathen Priests*
 ' *made these Predictions, they used to con-*
 ' *sult the Heavenly Bodies and Constellations,*
 ' *as believing all the Stars had an occult, but*
 ' *powerful Influence on all Things in this*
 ' *Sublunary World. And GOD, in order to*
 ' *reclaim the Israelites from this Kind of Ido-*
 ' *latry, and vain superstitious Fear of these Ele-*
 ' *mentary and Celestial Bodies, severely prohi-*
 ' *bited all Worship of the false Gods; accor-*
 ' *ding to that, Thou shalt not bow down to their*
 ' *Gods, nor worship them, but shalt serve the Lord*
 ' *thy GOD: And the Inducement and Motive*
 ' *to Obedience was, because all those Things,*
 ' which

‘ which the *Gentile* World seek after from
 ‘ their Gods, are only in His Power and
 ‘ Hand to give; *He shall bless thy Bread and*
 ‘ *thy Water, and shall remove all Infirmary*
 ‘ *from thee*: These temporal Advantages
 ‘ therefore, which were the Enticements to
 ‘ Idolatry, GOD makes the Motives to His
 ‘ own Worship: Yet notwithstanding GOD
 ‘ promises all secular Goods and Prosperity
 ‘ to those who obey His Law, to reclaim
 ‘ them from Idolatry; there is a future and
 ‘ spiritual Reward, not obscurely menti-
 ‘ on’d in several Places of holy Writ.

THE learned * *Rabbi Moses Gerundenfis*,
 and *Rabbi Joseph Albo*, give us an excellent
 Solution of this Difficulty. ‘ That wherever
 ‘ in the Law, as in *Leviticus* and *Deuterono-*
 ‘ *my*, GOD mentions a Reward or Punish-
 ‘ ment, it is to be understood of general Re-
 ‘ wards or Punishments, of Blessings be-
 ‘ stow’d, or Calamities sent, on the Com-
 ‘ munity of the People, and those must have
 ‘ been necessarily temporal and carnal, such as
 ‘ are frequently described, and not of the pri-
 ‘ vate Reward or Punishment of every *Indivi-*
 ‘ *dual* Person, which must be spiritual and fu-
 ‘ ture, when he is no longer a Member of the
 ‘ Community. Thus in *Deuteronomy* GOD
 ‘ threatens the People: *And the Lord shall*
 ‘ *bring thee, and thy King which thou shalt set*
 ‘ *over thee, into a Nation which neither thou,*

* *Parassat Heceb. Hicarin, Lib. 4. Cap. 40.*

nor thy Fathers have known : Thou shalt beget Sons and Daughters, but shalt not enjoy them : For they shall go into Captivity. ' All these ' Threatnings, all the Judgments here de- ' nounc'd against the Disobedient, have ' respect to the Community, and to the ' State of the Jews, and therefore are secu- ' lar. For this Reason, whenever GOD ' judges a Nation or People, considering ' them in their Political Capacities, they ' are either blessed with the Happiness ' of Peace or Victory, or punished with ' the Destruction of War and Desolation : ' This is wholly done with regard to the ' Merits or Demerits of that People con- ' sider'd as a Body, and accordingly as ' the good or ill Actions of such a State ' do preponderate, so it is made either hap- ' py or miserable. And it is for this Rea- ' son, the Just are often involved in the ' Ruins of the Wicked, and the Wicked of- ' ten protect'd under the Covert and Sha- ' dow of the Just. ' Agreeable to what is here, and by the most ancient *Rabbins* said, *Moses Ægyptius* speaks in his * *Jad Chafaka*, ' If a Kingdom or Country's good ' Actions, in the whole, exceed the Impi- ' eties and Sins thereof, it is treated as just ; ' but if their Iniquities and Sins preponde- ' rate, it is upon the whole declared to be, ' and punish'd as Wicked. Therefore in the ' present Condition of Things, if the Ma-

* *Halach. Teshuba, Cap. 3.*

‘ jor Part of the People behaved wisely,
‘ and obey’d the Rules and Commands of
‘ the Law, the Whole was prosperous,
‘ even the Wicked, for a Season, enjoy’d
‘ all temporal Advantages and Blessings.
‘ The Rain in its Season, Peace, plenteous
‘ Harvests, abundance of Cattle, and Things
‘ of this Nature, were and must be necessa-
‘ rily common and general, since no Di-
‘ stinction could be made in these Cases,
‘ unless by interrupting frequently the or-
‘ dinary Course of Nature. And again,
‘ on the other hand, if the greater Part of
‘ the Community be wicked, the Just must
‘ suffer too with them ; in the Loss of these
‘ temporary Things, the Famine, the Pesti-
‘ lence, and the Sword, sweep both away
‘ without Distinction. But the *dermier Re-*
‘ *sort*, the ultimate Adjustments, of these
‘ little Irregularities, will be in another
‘ Life ; where every Soul will be rewarded
‘ or punish’d according to his own parti-
‘ cular Acting, well or ill. Thus is that fa-
‘ mous Text of *Ezekiel* to be understood ;
‘ *The Soul that sins, it shall die.* In this
‘ Life it is notorious Fact, that it is not so ;
‘ in another therefore it certainly will be.
‘ We must then distinguish betwixt those
‘ Promises of Rewards and Punishments,
‘ which are made to them consider’d as a
‘ State and Body of Men, the which are
‘ more frequently and fully urged, and
‘ that

‘ that spiritual Reward or Punishment
 ‘ which is peculiar to every Person distinctly
 ‘ from the rest, and for the Execution of
 ‘ which another Scene of Things must be
 ‘ opened.

THE next Objection of the *Sadducees* is,
 That *the Soul was Mortal*.

THE Moderns have made such great Advances in Science, and establish'd the Immortality of the Soul upon such undeniable Principles, that I shall omit all the Metaphysical Proofs, which the *Jews* have urged, because they have not reach'd that Accuracy of Demonstration, which the Moderns have attained: Not but that several of the *Rabbins* also have in general argued very well from the Powers of the Soul, which are independent of, and incompatible with Matter; as those of Thought and Choice, as also from the universal Consent of the learned and wise Men of all Nations and Ages, as *Menasse Ben Israel* with great Judgment observes. The abovemention'd Doctor, upon entering on a Proof of the Soul's Immortality, hath this noble Sentence. ‘ It is a
 ‘ great Argument for the Immortality of
 ‘ the Soul, that Men dispute whether it be
 ‘ immortal or no; even hence it appears
 ‘ the Soul must be immortal, because so noble and elevated a Thought could not enter into the Mind of Man thro' the Medium of his Senses only. ” But I shall super-

perfece all Metaphysical Arguments, and observe only what Proofs for the Soul's Immortality are drawn by them from the Holy Scriptures. And first, let us hear what the great *Maimonides* hath said with relation to this Point. In his *Moreh Nevochim*, where he explains the Word *Image*, and thereupon the whole Text, *God created Man in His own Image*, he argues Man must be in the Image of, or like GOD, with respect to his Soul, and not upon Account of any Thing Corporeal, either Substance or Figure, because GOD is a Spirit, and therefore the Soul must be essentially distinct from, and essentially independent on Matter. Thus this great Jewish Doctor: *Because Man hath in himself a peculiar Power, which is not in any other Creature under the Sphere of the Moon, namely an intellectual Power and Faculty distinct from, and independent on Matter, that is of any of his Senses, or the Limbs of the Body (as Hand, Foot, and the like;) therefore the holy Scripture compares it to the Mind of the great Creator, which, in like manner, doth not consist in any Organical Part, nor result from any Disposition or Contexture of Matter. And tho' the Comparison be between infinitely disproportionate Subjects, yet Man, upon Account of the Divine and Spiritual Intellect in him, is said to be made in the Image of God. The most learned Rabbi David Kimchi, in Commenting on the Word עִצְבָּן, Image,*

Image, observes, that there is no Necessity in the Text to prove by Induction, that the Soul, because of its Spiritual Nature, was said to bear the Image of GOD; for the Word in its first and prime Sense signifies not only Corporeal Likeness or Similitude, which is generally Likeness in Figure or Colour, but also a Metaphysical Habit or *Ratio* of two Things to each other, a Likeness of Spirit to Spirit, as well as Body to Body. Thus he; * *Image and Likeness sometimes import a Corporeal Similitude, such as is convey'd to us by our outward Senses, and sometimes an Incorporeal one, not knowable by Sensation, such as can be apprehended by the Mind only.* And in such a Sense is it to be taken in this place, *Let us make Man in our own Image, in the Image of God created He him, and in our Image and Likeness.* The learned *Menasse Ben Israel* uses this Proof of the Spirituality, and consequently the Immortality of the Soul. *It is evident, the Soul is Spiritual, because it doth not depend on the Body, nor is formed out of any Powers of Matter, as the Souls of Brutes are, but is breathed into Man by God. Thus the holy Scripture, in giving the Account of the Production of o-*

ענין צלם כענין דמות והוא פעמים נופל על הצורה מורגשת ופעמים על הצורה שאינה מורגשת אלא צורה מחשבית דל ערך ודמיון במעל והוא בצל אלהים בצלמנו כדמותנו
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ther Things, speaks after this Manner: Let the Earth bring forth her Increase, let the Water bring forth. But when Mention is made of Man, it is in a different Manner: And God formed Man of the Dust of the Earth, and breathed into his Nostrils a living Soul.

Maimonides, in his Preface to *Pirque Avoth*, takes notice of certain Names given to the Soul in the holy Scriptures, which express the several Powers and Faculties, some of which it possesses in common with other Creatures; and therefore such Names of the humane Soul, as import any of those Powers, are sometimes bestow'd on the brutal: We have no Words in *English*, which do exactly express all the Cases; and therefore I must say in general, the *Jews* had Words which expressed the Animal, Vegetative, and Intellectual Soul: And occasionally as the Soul of Man was spoke of as exerting any Powers and Operations of any of those Souls, it was called by that Name: And so when other Creatures were described performing any meerly Animal Actions, they were said to have that Soul: This little Ambiguity, for want of a due Knowledge in the Originals, gave Occasion to some to imagine, that the holy Scriptures spoke of the Soul of Man and of Beast as one and the same, because it was observed they frequently had one and the same Name. But all the Terms are not thus loose and unrestrained; there are two Names solely appropriated to the

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humane

humane Soul, and which we never read in the holy Scripture, were communicated to any other Being or Creature: Which shews plainly; they believed it perfectly different from the brutal Soul. These incommunicable Names (as I may call them) are not always used when the humane Soul is spoke of; but such Powers only as the Soul then exerts; it is sufficient, that it hath peculiar Names, which are on some Occasions made use of: As GOD hath several Names, in Holy Writ, as *Elohim, Shaddai, Adonai*, but hath also an incommunicable Name, *Jehovah*, which proves they believed Him a Being different from all others called Gods.

Menasse Ben Israel hath a very clear Account of these Names of the Soul, which, for a farther and full Illustration on this Point, I shall put down here. Thus he:
 ‘ It hath been ingeniously and learnedly
 ‘ observed by the ancient *Rabbi’s*, in *Beresith*
 ‘ *Raba*, that the Soul of Man hath five
 ‘ Names, *Nepheesh, Ruach, Neshemah, Kajab,*
 ‘ *Jechida*, from some Places of Holy Scrip-
 ‘ ture which they quote. These Names are
 ‘ given the Soul in different Respects, and
 ‘ according to various Ways of Considering
 ‘ it. It is called *Nepheesh*, because it hath a
 ‘ vegetative Power, whereby it occasions
 ‘ the Growth of Man. It is called *Ruach*,
 ‘ as having a Locomotive and Sensitive Fa-
 ‘ culty, by which a Man moves, and hath
 ‘ Sensation. It is called *Neshemah*, as having
 ‘ the

the intellectual Faculty, which distinguishes Man from all the mute Creatures: For *Neshemah* is derived from *Shamaim*, Heaven, either because the Soul comes down from Heaven, or because it is of a Heavenly and Spiritual Nature: Therefore this Name is never read, in the holy Scriptures, as given to Beasts, but to Man only. It is called *Kajah*, because by means of his Soul Man lives and is immortal. And lastly, its most excellent Name is *Jechida*, or *one*, or *simple*, denoting it to be a Substance different from the Body; for all the Members of the Body are compounded of Matter and Form, but the Soul is a simple Essence or Form, and immaterial. In like manner, the Ancients thought the Soul to be one simple Substance, but endued with several different Powers, and that the vegetative and sensative Powers existed after a much superiour and more excellent Manner in Man, than in Beasts or in Plants: And that these different Names are given the Soul, from different Powers and Faculties.

THE third *Objection* of the *Sadducees* was, GOD had promised only carnal Rewards and Punishments in the Law.

THIS *Objection* is much the same with the first, and after the same manner answer'd by the *Jews*. It is own'd as before, that the future spiritual Reward is not revealed in express Terms; but may very easily be

collected from the Law. The *Rabbins* determine very authoritatively; *the Business of a future Life is as manifest and as clear as the Sun, to any one of Understanding.* The Reasons, why the spiritual Reward is not declared in the Letter and expressly, are the same as why the Resurrection is not. Yet there seems to be in the Law one clear Text, a demonstrative Argument, out of the Writings of *Moses*, in the 5th Chapter of *Genesis*. *Enoch walked with GOD, and was not: For GOD took him.* These Words (as *Bishop Bull*, and *Menasse Ben Israel* observe) all Men that have read them, both *Jews* and *Christians*, have always understood of the Translation of *Enoch* [either in his Soul only, or in his Body and Soul together] to heavenly Bliss, after a vertuous Life spent among that vicious and wicked Generation of Men. Here then we find in the Law, something more than a Promise, even an Instance of spiritual Reward and Recompence of Obedience. Here we see *Enoch* set out as an illustrious Example to all succeeding Generations, of what *GOD* would bestow on all the Righteous in another World. *Enoch* also was in his Life-Time an open Assertor and Preacher of the Doctrine of a future Life, and of spiritual Rewards and Punishments therein, as is manifest from *St. Jude*, who assures us that he spake and prophesied of *GOD's* Coming with thousands of *Saints*,

Saints, or holy Angels, to judge the World. Of this Prophecy of *Enoch*, and his miraculous Translation, (which was so certain a Seal and Confirmation of the Truth of them) the *Jews* were very well informed from their *Zohar*, and therefore must have in this Instance all that can possibly be required to make a Demonstration: A most ancient Tradition, as in *Enoch's* Prophecies, an Example in *Enoch's* own Translation, and a Proof in their very Law, as in the Text, *Enoch walked with GOD, and was not; For GOD took him.* Nay farther, their great Legislator, *Moses* himself, was a signal Evidence of a future spiritual Reward: His Preservation at his Birth, and the Series of his whole Life and Actions are one continued Miracle. By what a signal Providence was he saved from the general Fate of his Country-Men, who were all destroy'd by the tyrannous Sword of a jealous Monarch? What humane Motives? What reasonable Hopes and Encouragements pushed him on to undertake the Heroick Enterprize of Delivering the *Jews* from the *Egyptian* Slavery? Could Ambition and the Lust of Power tempt him? Why did he then refuse to be called the Son of the mighty *Pharoah's* Daughter, in those Times, the greatest Monarch in the World? Could not the *Egyptian* Court furnish an ample Scene for Ambition to act in? and was not the Power and endless Wealth of a warlike

Nation, proper Materials for an enterprising Spirit to work with, and attempt mighty Actions? Could a Thirst of Glory make him abandon the *Egyptian* Monarch's Court, and join himself to a poor, despised, and cowardly Herd of People? Or suppose him addicted to sensual Pleasure: Did Wilderesses, Desarts of Sand, and barren Rocks, promise such Scenes of those luxurious Joys, as *Egypt*, fruitful to a Miracle, visibly offer'd? No, *Moses* was not thus meanly ambitious, did not terminate his low Hopes in these vain transitory Enjoyments; some higher and nobler Object charmed his exalted Mind. By Faith *Moses*, when he was come to Years, refused to be called the Son of Pharaoh's Daughter, choosing rather to suffer Affliction with the People of GOD, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season; esteeming the Reproach of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures of *Egypt*. *Moses* then believed he should have a spiritual Reward in a future Life, and upon this Principle undertook and gloriously accomplish'd the Delivery of the *Jews*, by the assistance of the mighty Hand and out-stretched Arm of GOD Almighty. This is an Argument frequently insisted on by the *Rabbins* in their Writings; that *Moses* will be rewarded for his Heroick Vertue, they certainly persuade themselves from the Notions of the Goodness and Justice of GOD: But the great Prophet had no Reward here, had not the

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temporal Blessing of this Earthly *Canaan*, but only saw it, and died, and therefore must assuredly have a Recompence in a future Life.

BUT *Moses* was from his Nativity distinguish'd by a miraculous Providence. The *Jews* have a Tradition, as the famous Historian *Josephus* in his *Antiquities* records, that GOD appeared to *Amram* the Father of *Moses* by Dream, and promised him a Son, who should, in due Time, deliver the *Hebrews* from the *Egyptian* Bondage. This divine Oracle, and not so much the common Ties of Natural Affection, prevailed on *Amram* and his Wife to preserve *Moses*, notwithstanding the cruel Tyrant's Edict to the contrary. And to this Tradition doth that Text probably allude: *By Faith Moses, when he was born, was hid 3 Months of his Parents, because they saw him a goodly Child, and they were not afraid of the King's Commandment.* From this Tradition, from the miraculous Circumstances of his Birth and Preservation, and from his Heroic Behaviour thro' his whole Life, the *Rabbins* have argued, and did believe, that since upon this Stage of Life he went apparently without any Reward, that GOD had laid up for him in another Life an exceeding great Reward.

ANOTHER great Proof of a Recompence is drawn from the Afflictions and frequent Captivities of the *Jews*, the Favourite People of GOD. The *Rabbins* argue,

that since the *Jews*, notwithstanding they are the chosen People of GOD, are here in this World subjected to long and hard Calamities and Slavery, that GOD will hereafter reward them for their Obedience, in another and better Life. I shall close this Argument with an excellent Quotation from *Rabbi Levi Barzel*, which speaks clearly to this Point.

‘ If it should be farther enquired, Have you
 ‘ not declared that the Foundation of all your
 ‘ Reasonings is, that the People of *Israel*
 ‘ are a *Peculium*, or Part chosen from the
 ‘ World? But how can this be true? When
 ‘ they have visibly suffer’d such Banishment
 ‘ and Afflictions for many Ages past. I
 ‘ answer, it is a known and allow’d Principle
 ‘ among all Mankind, that the Lord of
 ‘ the Universe hath created two Worlds,
 ‘ the World of Bodies, and the World of
 ‘ Souls: The World of Bodies is nothing,
 ‘ is Vanity, if compared to the World of
 ‘ Souls. The former is like a Shadow which
 ‘ passes away, but the latter remains for e-
 ‘ ver and ever. Since therefore the Soul is
 ‘ the principal Part of Man, and that endures
 ‘ for ever, and the Body is only as it were a
 ‘ Vessel and Receptacle for the Soul, for a
 ‘ little Time useful, and then corrupting
 ‘ and perishing, GOD hath, as an Inhe-
 ‘ ritance, appointed his People the World
 ‘ of Souls, which World is eternal, and
 ‘ whose

whose Pleasures are endless and incomprehensible.

IN the fourth Place the *Sadducees* object, The Prophets themselves believed the Soul to be mortal, and that there would be no Resurrection of the Dead.

To fill up the Measure of their Iniquities, as *Menasse Ben Israel* informs us, the Hereticks endeavoured to draw the inspired Authors also into a Society and Partnership of their Atheism and Infidelity. I should be too tedious, if I should collect all the Passages of the Holy Scriptures which they wrested to the supporting their Heresy: I shall give only a few Instances, in the more famous, and seemingly more valid Texts. In *Psalms* vi. we read; *In Death there is no Remembrance of Thee; in the Grave who shall give Thee Thanks? Ps. lxxxviii. Wilt Thou shew Wonders to the Dead? Shall the Dead arise and praise Thee? Shall thy loving Kindness be declared in the Grave, or Thy Faithfulness in Destruction? Shall Thy Wonders be known in the dark, and Thy Righteousness in the Land of Forgetfulness? Ps. cxv. The Dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into Silence. And in Ecclesiastes: For that which befalleth the Sons of Men, befalleth Beasts; even one thing befalleth them: As the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea they have all one Breath, so that a Man hath no Pre-eminence above a Beast: For all is Vanity. All go unto*
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one Place, all are of the Dust, and all turn to Dust again. Who knoweth the Spirit of Man that goeth upward, and the Spirit of the Beast that goeth downward to the Earth? And again: For the Living know that they shall die; but the Dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a Reward, for the Memory of them is forgotten. And again: Whatsoever thy Hand findeth to do, do it with thy Might; for there is no Work, nor Device, nor Knowledge, nor Wisdom in the Grave whither thou goest. And again in Job vii. 7. O remember that my Life is Wind; mine Eye shall no more see Good. The Eye of him that hath seen me, shall see me no more: Thine Eyes are upon me, and I am not. As the Cloud is consumed, and vanishes away; so he that goeth down to the Grave, shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his House, neither shall his Place know him any more. And again in Chap. xiv. But Man dieth, and wasteth away; yea, Man giveth up the Ghost, and where is he? As the Waters fail from the Sea, and the Flood decayeth and drieth up: So Man lieth down, and riseth not till the Heavens be no more; they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their Sleep. These are the chief Places of Scripture which the Sadducees bring to support their Opinions. The Passages quoted from the Psalms are interpreted by the ablest Doctors among the Jews, and especially from Zohar, a Book highly valued among them, to import no more,

more, than that this Life is the only Stage for Vertue to be exercised in, and all good and heavenly Dispositions to be acquired. A future State is peculiarly set apart for Rewards and Punishments, as our Holy Gospel speaks, *As the Tree falleth, so it lies*; in whatever State we are when Death takes us, we must continue in to all Eternity. It is the famous *Cabbalistic* and *Platonick* Notion, that the Souls of the Impious still persist in their Impiety, and that the Holy persevere in an indefectible State of Holiness. *David* therefore intreats only for a Time of Repentance and Amendment of Life, wherein he might attain those vertuous Dispositions as might make him eternally happy. *To give Thanks, to declare GOD's loving Kindness, to make known his Wonders and Righteousness,* are Acts of Religion, are Practick Vertues; and the Worshipping GOD is frequently expressed by these Phrases in Scripture, and the Psalmist intreats GOD's Mercy for a longer Date of Life, to form holy Habits in his Mind, and fit himself for the Assembly of Angels, and Enjoyment of GOD. But in the Grave there is no Opportunity for Action, nor Room for Repentance or Amendment of Life; much less for high Improvement and Progress in Vertue. And all those Phrases used by the Psalmist express so many Acts of Penitence, in which the *Jews* were very exact, (the Moderns would

would say rigorous, or some other more harsh Word) which the Reader may observe from *Maimonides's* Treatise on that Subject.

THE next Quotations are taken from *Ecclesiastes*, Texts always wrested by the Atheists to their own Destruction. This would afford a great Field of Discourse; but I shall answer in general, and so as to give a Key to the whole Book. *Menasse Ben Israel*, in his admirable Work called *Conciliator*, hath, with great Judgment and Sagacity, and extraordinary Learning, adjusted the seeming Disagreements or Contradictions in the Holy Scripture; and in his third Part has taken notice of several in *Ecclesiastes*, and reconciles them. But there are in this Book manifest Atheistical Propositions, and plain Contradictions, neither of which can be supposed to be Affirmations of the Holy Spirit of GOD. A Man of moderate Understanding cannot be guilty of such a Fault in so short a Treatise, much less the wisest of Men, *Solomon*, and infinitely less the Holy Spirit of GOD: It is therefore plain and evident, that the whole Book is wrote in Form of a Dialogue, where an Atheist is introduced advancing his impious Tenets in an open and clear Manner, which *Solomon* in his own Character opposes; and therefore in the Close of the Book, *Solomon*, in Opposition to some Text which went before, and gave a Loose to irregular Desires, says,
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Remember now thy Creator in the Days of thy Youth; and then makes a very noble and beautiful Allegorical Description of old Age and Youth. And tho' before, in the Character of the Atheist, we find this Text, *Who knoweth the Spirit of Man that goeth upward, or the Spirit of the Beast that goeth downward to the Earth?* Yet in the End of the Book, after a Confutation of such impious Notions, he affirms in the most explicit Terms: *Then shall the Dust return to the Earth as it was, and the Spirit shall return to GOD who gave it.* And at the last: *Let us hear the Conclusion of the whole Matter; fear GOD, and keep his Commandments; for this is the whole Duty of Man. For GOD shall bring every Work into Judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be Good, or whether it be Evil.* This is the Sense of the Jewish Doctors on this Book.

Job is the next whom the Sadducees imagined to declare there was no Providence, nor Resurrection of the Dead, nor future Retribution. Some of the Jews have been of Opinion, there never was any such Man as *Job*, but that the whole Book is a Parable; but much the greater, and more learned Part of them, believed firmly that it was History, and Matter of Fact. The Text in *Ezekiel*, where GOD speaks of *Job*, *Noah*, and *Daniel*, is used as a Proof, because they conceived it very absurd to think, that *Job*, if it were only a fabulous Character, would
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be joined to those two other real Persons, *Noah* and *Daniel*. *Moses* is supposed to be the Author of the Book of *Job*, by the old *Rabbins*; and the Passage before quoted, and several others, are allowed by them to oppose the Notion of a Resurrection; and they have endeavour'd to find Salvo's for those unguarded Expressions, namely, that the Violence of his Pains, and Grief extorted them from him; and that he was to be excused for what was utter'd in such Anguish of his Heart, especially since at the Conclusion he repents him of his wicked Opinions. *Maimonides* endeavours to alleviate the Guilt of this Behaviour, by saying, that he lived before the Law was given, and had nothing but the *Kabbala*, or *Noachichal* Traditions, to guide himself by; and therefore may be pardon'd, if he ran into some erroneous Tenets: But this is to give up the Question entirely, and yield all the most violent *Sadducee* could demand. But *Maimonides* gives us an Epitome of this Book and Scheme, of all the Reasoning in it, in his *Moreh Nevochim*; wherein he shews, that certain general Opinions of Men concerning Providence are discuss'd in Dialogues between *Job* and his Friends; and that *Elihu's* Account of GOD's Regulation of humane Affairs, comes the nearest the Truth, and is that which convinces *Job* of some Mistakes, and his Friends of very great Errors. I have observed, that *Menasse Ben Israel*, and other

other *Rabbins*, who have occasionally spoke of *Job*, have taken all they have that is good from *Maimonides*: I shall therefore translate the main Parts, which may clear up all Difficulties, and shew that every thing is spoken as proper to the Character only, and not as absolutely true; and therefore some erroneous Notions are assigned to *Job*, and many to his Friends, as part of general Opinions about Providence; all which are rectify'd afterwards in the Close of the Book, where *Elihu* reproveth them all, sums up their several Arguments, and determines what ought to be held as true; to which Sentence *Job* agrees at last, and repents of his own Errors. But what thoroughly convinces *Job* is, the Speech GOD makes to him; for after that we read: *Then Job answered the Lord, and said, I know that Thou canst do every thing, and that no Thought can be withholden from Thee. Who is he that hideth Counsel without Knowledge? Therefore have I utter'd that I understood not, Things too wonderful for me, which I knew not. Hear I beseech thee, and I will speak: I will demand of Thee, and declare Thou unto me. I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the Ear; but now mine Eye seeth Thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in Dust and Ashes.* Here *Job* manifestly retracts his former avow'd Opinions, which are to be considered as Errors in an excellent Man, and written only for our Example. I shall only add *Maimonides's*

nides's Account of *Job's* Friend's Notion, his Explanation of what is meant by *Leviathan* in GOD's Speech, and what he collects from the whole. Thus *Rabbi Ben Maymon*. ' *Eliphaz* maintains, that all which happen'd to ' *Job* was a just Judgment from GOD, that he ' was guilty of many foul and abominable ' Sins, and deserved such severe Treatment, ' as is plain from that Text: *Is not thy Wickedness great? and thine Iniquities infinite?* ' And affirms farther, that all his good ' Works and Sincerity, on which he presum'd, and imagin'd himself so perfect, ' were not sufficient to make him so just and ' meritorious before GOD, but that he ' might be justly punished. *For, behold He puts no Trust in His Servants, and His Angels* ' *He charged with Folly; how much less on them that dwell in Houses of Clay, whose* ' *Foundation is in the Dust, which are crushed before the Moth:* And this Opinion thro' the whole Book *Eliphaz* constantly maintains, that every thing is just ' and right that happens to Man, although ' the Imperfections and Reasons may be utterly unknown to us, upon account of ' which Men may be justly liable to Punishment.

Bildad the *Shubite's* Opinion was, ' That these Irregularities in the present Distribution of Things might be adjusted in a ' future State; either that *Job* might have ' sinn'd

‘ sinn’d in a State of Pre-existence, and de-
 ‘ served these Calamities, or if he had not,
 ‘ GOD could make him abundant Recom-
 ‘ pence in another Life; and that all Things,
 ‘ even the present Misfortunes, would pro-
 ‘ cure him a greater Portion of Happiness
 ‘ in a future State. This is plain from the
 ‘ Text: *If thou wert pure and upright, surely*
 ‘ *now he would awake for thee, and make the*
 ‘ *Habitation of thy Righteousness prosperous.*
 ‘ *Tho’ thy Beginning was small, yet thy latter*
 ‘ *End should greatly increase.*

Zophar the Naamathite maintain’d, ‘ GOD
 ‘ doth all Things according to his Will;
 ‘ and no Reason is to be asked, or given,
 ‘ why he doth this or that. Therefore his
 ‘ Actions are not to be scann’d by our Ap-
 ‘ prehensions of Wisdom or Equity; our
 ‘ Understandings are too dark and limited
 ‘ to comprehend the deep Mysteries of GOD,
 ‘ whose Right and Prerogative it is, to act
 ‘ so, only because he wills to act so. This
 ‘ he means, when he says to Job: *But Oh*
 ‘ *that GOD would speak, and open his Lips*
 ‘ *against thee; and that he would shew thee*
 ‘ *the Secrets of Wisdom, that they are double*
 ‘ *to that which is. Know therefore, that GOD*
 ‘ *exacteth of thee less than thine Iniquity de-*
 ‘ *serveth. Canst thou by searching find out*
 ‘ *GOD? Canst thou find out the Almighty*
 ‘ *unto Perfection?*

‘ WHAT makes the greatest Part of GOD’s
 ‘ Speech to Job, is, the Description of the

Leviathan, which is a fictitious Allegorical Creature, one wherein is supposed to be an Assemblage of all the Powers and Properties of all Creatures, either four-footed Beasts, Fishes, or Fowls of the Air; and all the dispersed Powers of Corporeal Beings, are consider'd in a very magnificent Manner under one Character. And the Scope and Intent of this Figure is to inform our Minds, that we can no ways comprehend how all Beings are renew'd in their successive Generations in this World; nor after what Manner the Natural Faculties which we observe in Creatures, are in them, or begin to be. Since therefore GOD's ordering these lower Creatures, His Providence over the mute Creation is perfectly incomprehensible to our Understandings, and we know only that GOD acts after an infinite superiour Manner, and His ordering and disposing Providence is much above any thing we may call a regulating and providential Care among ourselves. Here therefore we must stop, and believe (as *Elihu* speaks) *His Eyes are upon the Ways of Man, and He seeth all his Goings. There is no Darkness, nor Shadow of Death, where the Workers of Iniquity may hide themselves.* But, that His Providence is wonderfully different from any thing which may bear that Name among us, His Care over His Creatures is not the same as ours over our Affairs and Things; nor can they
be

‘ be comprehended under one Definition, as
‘ some vainly imagine. They have nothing
‘ in common but a Word, a Name. For as
‘ His Ways of Acting and Operations are in-
‘ finitely different from ours, or as all Works
‘ of Art are different from the Productions
‘ of Nature; such also is the Disproportion
‘ and Difference between GOD’s Regula-
‘ tion, Rule, and Providence, over all Natu-
‘ ral Beings, and our Ordering, Governing,
‘ and Care over our little Artificial Affairs.

‘ THE Scope therefore of the whole
‘ Book of *Job* was, to establish this as an
‘ Article firmly to be believ’d, That we
‘ might learn from the visible Powers of Na-
‘ ture, and that exalted Manner in which
‘ they act, to avoid the Error of thinking,
‘ that the Dominion, Regulation, and Pro-
‘ vidence of GOD, is the same as the
‘ Government, Regulation, and Providence
‘ of Man in their Concerns. And were Man
‘ only firmly persuaded of this Principle,
‘ nothing in the present Condition of Things
‘ would seem so hard and unaccountable, as
‘ to make him entertain Notions of GOD
‘ unbecoming His Majesty, or foolishly
‘ doubt, whether GOD knew this Secret,
‘ or took Care of such a seeming Irregularity;
‘ but would rather be wrapt up in ardent
‘ Love and Admiration of the Majesty of
‘ Heaven, and say as *Job* did, after a tho-
‘ rough Consideration of this Matter, *Where-*

fore I abhor myself, and repent in Dust and Ashes.

THE fifth *Objection* of the *Sadducees* is, That the *Resurrection* is impossible.

WHO can presume to set Bounds to infinite Power, and say, Omnipotence can go thus far, and no farther? Whatever doth not involve in itself a manifest Contradiction, is always to be look'd on as possible: And tho' the Miracle of a Resurrection be very arduous and difficult, if we cannot point out, and lay our Finger on something as manifest a Contradiction, as that a Thing should be and not be at the same time, that there may be a Square, whose Diagonal and Side are equal, or a solid Angle equal to four plain right ones, we ought to assent to the Truth of it. Let us then consider wherein the Impossibility of a Resurrection consists according to the *Sadducees*, and where is the invincible Difficulty they point at. I shall confine myself to speak here of two only, but in which their whole Strength lies. The first is *Physical*, and proceeding from the Constitution of Things; and the other *Legal*, or drawn from Circumstances in the Law of *Moses*. The first Difficulty which is common with the *Sadducees*, and all that dispute against the Resurrection of *the same Body*, is, that our Bodies are plainly here in a continual Flux, and lastly after Death, when all the Particles are scatter'd thro' the general Mass of Matter, some unite again with

with every Kind of Animals and Things, and by such a second Incorporation may become Man's proper Food, and again unite to another humane Body, and become Part of it. ' Is it not then (say they) impossible ' for these Parts to be raised in the Resur- ' rection, with these several Bodies? which ' notwithstanding must be, if the same Bo- ' dy be raised.

THIS is the Objection put in the strongest Light. But it would be very easy to invent Theories enough, of the Resurrection of the same Body, perfectly freed from these Difficulties, nay enough hath been already said by modern Philosophers. Supposing *Loevenhoëch's* Opinion to be true, that every humane Body hath an original and immutable *Stamen*, which is only swelled up, and filled by a Quantity of extraneous Fluids and fleshy Substance, and the Blood, the Flesh, and all the grosser Parts, be only consider'd as Cloathing to the finer *Stamina*, which only are the real humane Body. It is plain then, a Nation of *Cannibals* could not occasion any Perplexity or Confusion in a Resurrection, since the true original *Stamina* would always continue the same, excepting only their having different Distentions, at different Ages and Times, and tho' after Death a humane Body, that is the true *Stamina*, should be eat, it would only act like some other extraneous Food, and fill up the the other *Stamina*, but never become a Part

of the first. Or, supposing *Leibnitz* be in the Right, as to his eternal Principle of Individuation in the Body. Or the Notion of our *Athenagoras* be exact, and there be a peculiar Food appropriated for every Creature, and whatever is different from that, is constantly separated from the Body by some Secretion, and never so joins as to become one with it. Any of these *Hypotheses* will fully answer all Difficulties of this Kind. And yet *Loevenhoëch's* Opinion deserves, perhaps, a better Name, and seems establish'd on certain and demonstrative Experiments, and is confirmed by plain Instances in other Cases, from all Vegetables, which contain in their Seed complete organized Trees in Miniature. The Notion of the *Jews*, concerning the *Bone Luz*, was the same in Substance, as the Opinion of the Moderns about the *Stamina*, and very nearly resembled the eternal Atome of *Leibnitz*. The *Jews*, in like manner, believed the *dead Body* would spring up from this *incorruptible Bone*, and acquiesced in this Solution to the Difficulty, as finding it in their admired Book of *Zohar*.

THERE is a farther Objection drawn from that Precept in the Law of *Moses*, whereby the younger Brothers were obliged to marry the elder's Wife, upon his Decease without having any Children. This is frequently to be met with in *Rabbinical Books*; but I shall choose to state it as found in the holy Gospel, because it must be owned, the

Jews

Jews have not made any tolerable Answer to it. Thus in *St. Matt. xxii. ver. 23. The same Day came to Him* (our blessed Saviour) *the Sadducees, which say there is no Resurrection, and asked Him, saying, Master, Moses said, if a Man die, having no Children, his Brother shall marry his Wife, and raise up Seed unto his Brother. Now there were with us seven Brethren, and the first, when he had married a Wife, deceased, and having no Issue, left his Wife unto his Brother: Likewise the second also, and the third, unto the seventh: And last of all the Woman died also. Therefore, in the Resurrection, Whose Wife shall she be, of the seven? For they all had her.* And this Ojection is of more force than generally conceived, because it was the popular Notion of the *Jews*, that they should rise from the Dead, to take Possession of an earthly *Canaan*, and consequently to a full Enjoyment of carnal Pleasures; in which State, as hath been observed before, they should marry and beget Children: And upon admitting this as a true Principle, which was generally admitted by the *Pharisees*, it was utterly impossible to adjust the Marriages in another Life. The *Rabbins* have labour'd indeed to reconcile these two Notions, but were not able. Our blessed Saviour hath given a full Solution. *Jesus answered and said unto them, ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the Power of GOD: For in the Resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in*

Marriage; but are as the Angels of GOD in Heaven. And when the Multitude heard this, they were astonish'd at His Doctrine.

I HAVE now gone through what I propos'd to say concerning the *Jewish* Notion of the Resurrection, proved their Belief of it from their most ancient and authentick *Rabbinical* Books, their *Misna* and *Zohar*, from the concurrent Testimony of their Doctors of the greatest Note: I have given their final Causes of the Resurrection, and shewed that they believed, that the same Body and all Mankind would be raised. I have stated the Objections of the *Sadducees*, and collected the Answers of the *Jewish* Doctors only to them, which will be a Taste of *Rabbinical* Reasoning. I have omitted several curious Points of *Jewish* Learning concerning this Doctrine, and noble Hints of our great *Pocock*, and other famous Doctors of the *Jews*, as conceiving they would be improper for such an *English* Treatise. I have been wholly silent concerning some very considerable *Topicks*, which are an immediate Sequel of the present Subject; as, the *Millenium*, or temporal Reign of the *Messiah* upon Earth, the second Resurrection, or Translation to Heaven, and Consummation of all Things; because I would not deviate from my Subject.



A

DISSERTATION

O N

ATHENAGORAS,

And his REMAINS.



THAT was the Subject of S. Paul's famous Sermon in the *Areopagus* at *Athens*, *Jesus* and a *Resurrection*, are the two Points here discoursed on by the great *Athenian* Philosopher, and Christian, *Athenagoras*. The Honour of the First he defends in his *Apology*, and the Truth and Certainty of the Second he proves in his Discourse on that Head. The Importance of the Matter, and great Character of the Author, are such as will deservedly engage our deepest Attention: Each of them seem mutually to advance and set off the

the

the other: The Philosopher's extensive Genius, and large Compass of Learning, enable him to speak of his Subject with a due Lustre and Magnificence of Thought; and such great and elevated Topicks called for the whole Philosopher to exert himself. Antiquity hath been guilty of the Ingratitude of leaving us no Account of this Champion of our Faith, insomuch that his very Name had been lost, were it not secured by his own Writings.

OUR Author, * as appears from his Works, by which alone we can form any Character of him, was of a magnificent and enterprising Spirit, discussing the highest Points of Philosophy, and defending the capital Articles of Religion. A rich Vein of Thought flows through all his Compositions, and he is plainly very far from endeavouring to say all that can be said on the Subject he handles. He seems to have had a warm and clear Imagination, which made him conceive Things fully; and a great Sagacity and Judgment, which enabled him to make a fine Arrangement of his Notions, and determine with great Accuracy and Exactness. His Style is strong and manly, and his Ex-

* Athenagoras, nobilis Philosophus Atheniensis, non minus Christianâ, quàm Gentilium Theologiâ, ac Scientiâ celebris, claruit circa ▲n. CLXXVII. Altum de eo silentium est apud Eusebium & Hieronymum, nec ex veteribus quisquam ejus meminit, præter Methodium Patarentem, Cav. Hist. Literar. p. 49.

pressions bold and raised. The Style, indeed, and Expression, of all the *Greek* Philosophers, differs very much from that of their other Authors, and *Athanagoras* seems above most others to have chiefly affected the *Sublime* in his Expression, but to have been abrupt in his Style or Manner.

THE learned *Peter Nannius* justly observes a Difficulty in translating him, upon this Account: † ‘ And farther likewise, because he
 ‘ reasons not only in Philosophical Matters
 ‘ and Questions, but also in the highest My-
 ‘ steries of Christianity; so that whoever en-
 ‘ gages with him, will not have only to do
 ‘ with a most able Philosopher, but also with
 ‘ a most learned and skilful Divine; and that
 ‘ too in a very arduous Point, the Doctrine of
 ‘ the Resurrection of the Dead, on which
 ‘ Point, as on a Hinge, the Whole of Christi-
 ‘ anity turns.” His Discourse on the Resurre-
 ction he calls also, * ‘ a Golden Treatise, and
 ‘ valuable above all Jewels; in which all the

† Nobis præter ea incommoda, id quoque molestiæ fuit, quod hic noster *Athanagoras* non in Philosophicis Rebus sed in altissimis Christianitatis Mysteriis philosophetur: Ut qui eum aggrediatur, non minus cum peritissimo Theologo, quam prudentissimo Philosopho negotium habeat, idque in re gravissimâ, nimirum defunctorum Corporum Resurrectione, de quâ cardo ac summa totius Christianæ Religionis pendet.

* In Libello verè Aureo, & super omnia gemmarum pretia æstimando ----- refutantur omnia quæ Resurrectionem ambigam faciunt, afferuntur ea quæ incredulis hominibus, velint nolint, Resurrectionis fidem intigunt. Non enim hic *Athanagoras* noster verisimilibus agit, quæ pronitatem credendi, non necessitatem habeant: Sed omnia demonstrationibus communis,

‘ Ob-

‘ Objections which pretend to invalidate the
 ‘ Truth of that Doctrine, are confuted; and
 ‘ such convincing Proofs are brought for it,
 ‘ that the most incredulous, notwithstanding
 ‘ all Prejudices, will be forced to believe it:
 ‘ For our Author *Athenagoras* uses not only
 ‘ such Arguments as make the Doctrine pro-
 ‘ bable, and which lead us into an Inclination
 ‘ to assent to it; but proves every thing by
 ‘ such strict Demonstration, as to leave the
 ‘ stubborn and stiff-necked *Gentile World* no-
 ‘ thing to reply.” Our famous Bishop *Pearson*
 hath moreover given us a signal Approbation
 of our Author and his Judgment, in the
 Choice of his Arguments, to prove the Re-
 surrection: For in his admirable Book on
 the *Creed*, in the Article of the Resurrection,
 that great and excellent Prelate makes several
 large Quotations from him, and through the
 whole falls entirely into his Way of Reason-
 ing, and gives himself the same Proofs for
 it, as *Athenagoras* had done before him.

SOME Differences, but of very little Con-
 sequence, have arose concerning the Time
 when this famous Apology was made to the
Roman Emperors, M. Aurelius Antoninus,
 and *M. Aurelius Commodus*; and whether it

omnia inexpugnabilibus rationibus instruit; ut nihil habeat
 cervicosa Gentilitas, quod opponere possit. Accipe igitur, eru-
 ditissime & religiosissime Præsul, (Antonius à Gravella Epif-
 copus Atrebatensis) eum Libellum, qui de basi ac fundamento
 totius Christianitatis felicissimè disceptat. Apud Justin. Mart.
 Ed. Paris. p. 193.

was really spoken before, or delivered to them; or was only a Defence of the Christians drawn up in Form of an Apology, as spoken before the Emperors. Our learned *Dodwell*, in his *Dissertations on S. Cyprian*, places this Apology in the Year 178; and *Bayle*, in his great *Critical Dictionary*, offers some Reasons, and Instances, in like Cases, where Apologies said to have been spoken before Kings, had nothing but the Form of such. But this Controversy seems to have nothing material. Our Author, it is certain, flourished and wrote this Apology about the Middle of the second Century. It is very full with Quotations and Allusions to Passages in the most celebrated *Greek* Authors, Philosophers, Historians, and Poets, wherein he shews a great Reading and good Judgment in the Application of what he read. The great Antiquity of some Matters of Theology and Philosophy which he treats of, may perhaps occasion some Parts of his Reasoning to appear to us, at this Distance, dark and confused: As a curious Piece of Statuary, or Architecture, by being placed at too great a Distance from us, most of the laboured Beauties, and finer Stroaks of Art, are lost to our Sight. Therefore, in order to form a just Notion of our Author's Reasoning, and to see clearly the Force and Perspicuity of his Style, it is necessary to inform ourselves of the State of Things some
Thou-

Thousands of Years past, and take a View of the Theology and prevailing Opinions of those Times. *Athenagoras* defends Christianity against the Pagan World, and therefore doth he force the Strong-Holds of Heathenism, concerning which we ought to have some Notices, or otherwise many of the Beauties of this Piece must be sunk to a modern Eye.

THE *Pagan* Folly is driven off the Stage of the *Western* World; and, therefore, to one who doth not look back into past Ages, abundance of his Arguments will appear obsolete and antiquated; though, in the Time they were wrote, they were exceeding proper and useful. We shall find him, in his *Apology*, taking the *Pagan* Scheme of Theology in pieces; and considering it in every Light it can be placed in, both according to the Vulgar Opinion, or the Philosophical Account, and still proving it utterly absurd and ridiculous. The Reader will bear with his pursuing *Paganism* through every Shape it could assume; for though the Success of the Gospel hath happily made his Arguments unnecessary, they will still continue to be curious, and highly deserving the Consideration of such as shall enquire what was said at so signal a Juncture. Here they will observe, how the *Christian* exalts and raises the Philosopher; how humane Learning in the *Christian's* Mouth, is like
Arrows

Arrows in the Hand of a Giant. Let them consider *Athenagoras* disputing with the Sophists of *Athens*; they will compare him to *Moses* working Miracles among the Magicians of *Egypt*. The Sophisters make the Appearances of Arguments, but *Athenagoras* confutes and demonstrates; as the Magicians by their Sorceries made the Resemblances of Serpents, but *Moses* the true one, which devour'd the others.

YET from those Places in our Author, which seem of not such immediate Concern to us, and are the more intricate, thus much may be concluded to his Advantage, That he was a great Scholar, learned in all the Wisdom of the *Greeks*, as *Moses* is celebrated to have been in that of the *Egyptians*. Narrow Views and short Apprehensions of Things, always betray the Mind into Error and Confusedness; but *Athenagoras* will appear to have had such an extensive and enlarged View of his Subject, as makes him always speak with a great Superiority of Argument to his Adversaries. This learned *Apology* will take away the Reproach cast on the Fathers and Primitive Heroes of our Faith, that they were all Men betraye dinto a Scheme, through Ignorance and Weakness. Though had they all been, indeed, illiterate, it could be no Matter of Scandal to the Doctrine, but the contrary; since, inasmuch as the Propagators of it were confessedly naked,

ked, and destitute of all humane Means, they must, most certainly, have been supported by a Divine, and by a Supernatural Assistance, to bring about so great a Work. But, however, the Case is not so; GOD hath not left Himself without Witnesses of any Kind: And some of the ancient Fathers were Masters of such humane Learning, as makes it impossible to imagine, they should suffer themselves to be carried away by a gross Imposition. All were not called to follow our Lord and Master from *mending their Nets* or the *Receipt of Custom*; *S. Paul* was called from the Feet of *Gama-liel*, and *Athenagoras* from the Schools of *Athens*.

AND farther, when this Charge of Ignorance is made against the Fathers, it is generally urged after a very unfair Manner: Some few Particularities of the Times and Age in which they wrote, or a Disagreement in some Points from the modern Philosophy, are amassed together as sufficient Instances of it. But sure, notwithstanding they may differ from the Systems of the Moderns in their Philosophical Notions, they may have been great Philosophers, and very learned in their Generations, and in the Literature of the Times, which is all they could humanely be supposed to have. The ingenious and learned *Lactantius* hath been often triumphed over, for asserting that
there

there were no *Antipodes*, though an Opinion in his Time not received by the generality of Scholars. There are the same Revolutions in the Learned World, as in the Civil; and every Party of Notions and Opinions have *their Day*, and by Turns rise and fall. The Old Philosophy hath filled the Mouths of all Men, the Modern doth now. *Aristotle* hath had his Thousand Commentators; and substantial Forms have been admired. But now a new System is advanced, new Principles and new Theories are invented: Yet it is not to be doubted, but these will also sink and vanish, and a new Face of Things appear in the learned World. The busy and active Spirit of Man will never be becalmed.

Diruit, edificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.

The present Moderns think, they have thrown the past Ages at a vast Distance in Science and Learning; and I question not, but the future Moderns, some few Centuries hence, will, with the same Modesty, think the present Generation no wiser, than those now think their Forefathers were. Since then there apparently is such a Vicissitude and Change in Schemes of Philosophy, why should it be Matter of such Scandal to the *Fathers*, not to have been of Opinions which were not broached till a Thousand

sand Years after them? Besides, it is to be observed, that the first Confessors of our Faith came out of all Sects and Nations to embrace it; and hence, for the most part, still retained their former indifferent Notions and Opinions; and therefore, in Discourses on Points of Religion, have occasionally spoken of some Matters of Philosophy and Learning with a Tincture of that particular Sect they formerly espoused. Nor can I see any Detriment thereby accruing to Religion, since the Fundamental Doctrines are still preserved entire. Nay, I rather think, that something of a Parallel to this may be brought from Holy Scripture, to justify it. The Holy Scriptures (as the *Jews* Phrase is) speak in the Language of Men, and what is more, in the particular Idiom of the Times and Persons who do speak: The Prophets have different Styles, according to their different Education, and Ways of Life. There we see the humble Phrase of the poor Shepherd *Amos*, and the pompous Eloquence of the Princely *Isaiab*, the clear and concise Way of Speaking used by the Royal Preacher in his *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*, and the calm Sublime of *Moses's* Style agreeable to his meek and noble Spirit.

THERE are several very curious Points of Learning concerning the ancient Theology, both *Greek* and *Egyptian*, handled in this *Apology*, and which highly deserve farther

Elu-

Elucidations; but, in an *English* Translation, I conceive it will not be so proper to do it: I shall, therefore, confine my Remarks to these three Points, concerning the most holy and *undivided Trinity*; and concerning *Prophecy or Inspiration*; and concerning a *Plastick Nature*, or *Energetick Life* of Things. The Antiquity of this Primitive Father, as living in the middle of the second Century, made it of great Consequence to observe what he had spoken concerning the Trinity: The late Sect of new Prophets gave occasion to the second Remark on Prophecy; and *Athenagoras's* Manner of Reasoning in his Discourse on the Resurrection, which always supposes a *Plastick or Vegetative Power in Body* distinct from the Rational Soul, made it necessary to say something of the Opinions of some old Philosophers on that Head.

I SHALL collect the Passages in the following *Apology*, which relate to the first Point, the Doctrine of the most *Holy Trinity*; and lay them together before the Reader's Eye, that he may himself see what was the Primitive Faith. "It is abundantly plain, *saieth he*, that we do not deny the Existence of a GOD, we who maintain there is one uncreated, eternal, invisible GOD, not subject to Passions, not to be circumscribed in Place, not capable of Divisibility, only to be compre-

" hended in the Mind and Spirit, endued
 " with incomprehensible Glory, Beauty,
 " Power, and Majesty; who made All
 " Things by His *Logos*, disposed them
 " in this beautiful Harmony; and continu-
 " ally sustained them. We believe too in
 " the Son of GOD ---- the Son of GOD
 " is the WORD of the Father, in Power, and
 " Energy; by Him and through Him were
 " All Things created; for the Father and
 " the Son are One. The Father is in the
 " Son, and the Son is in the Father, by the
 " Unity and Power of the Holy Ghost.
 " For the Son of GOD is the Wisdom and
 " WORD of GOD. --- He is the First-Born
 " of the Father, but not as ever beginning
 " to exist, (for from the Beginning, GOD
 " being an Eternal Mind, must have had
 " from all Eternity the WORD in Himself)
 " and as the Wisdom and Power, He ex-
 " erted Himself in All Things; all Matter
 " was subject to Him by Formation, and
 " the Elements blended together, and mix-
 " ed by His Operation. --- And as for the
 " Holy Spirit, which speaks in the Pro-
 " phets, we assert Him to proceed from
 " GOD, and return to GOD, as a Beam
 " proceeds from the Sun, and is reflected
 " back again. ---- We acknowledge GOD
 " the Father, and GOD the Son, and the
 " Holy Ghost; and we confess their Power
 " in Unity and Distinction. We study only

“ to know GOD, and His *coessential* Word ;
 “ to know what is the Unity of the Son
 “ with the Father, and the Communion of
 “ the Father with the Son ; what the Holy
 “ Ghost ; what the Unity of these *Three* ;
 “ what the Distinction of them who are
 “ *One*, the Father, the Son, and the Holy
 “ Ghost. --- We acknowledge GOD, and
 “ the Son, His WORD, and the Holy
 “ Ghost ; *One* as to their Power, (or one
 “ Power) even the Father, the Son, and the
 “ Spirit. The Son to be the Mind, the
 “ WORD, the Wisdom of the Father, and
 “ the Spirit to proceed as Light doth
 “ from Fire. *

* Athenagoras, in Legatione pro Christianis, communio-
 nem Naturæ atque Essentiæ quæ inter Patrem & Filium
 intercedit, apertissimè agnoscit: Nam quis sit Filius ille
 Dei, quem Christiani venerantur, Ethnicis Philosophis ex-
 plicaturus, ait: Ἄλλ' ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος τοῦ
 Πατρὸς, ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ, πρὸς αὐτὸν γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτὸν,
 πάντα ἐγένετο, ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ὄντος
 τὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Πατρὸς ἐν υἱῷ, ἐνόησι καὶ δυνάμει
 Πνεύματος. Νῦν καὶ λόγος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. i. e. Filius
 Dei est verbum Patris in Idea & Operatione; ab ipso enim
 & per ipsum omnia facta sunt; cum sit unum Pater & Fi-
 lius, & sit in Patre Filius, & Pater in Filio, Unitate &
 Virtute Spiritus. Mens & Verbum Dei, Filius Dei est.
 Equis Arianorum de Filio Dei ita locutus est? Dicit
 Patrem & Filium unum esse, idque non tantum consensu,
 quod Ariani contendebant, sed mutuam περιχώρησιν, sive cir-
 cuminseptione, ut Scholastici loquuntur; ita ut Filius sit in
 Patre, & Pater in Filio. Dicit Filium esse ipsam Mentem
 & Verbum Dei Patris; quod quo sensu intelligendum sit,
 infra ostendemus; interim certum est, illud cum Ariano
 Dogmate nullo sensu conciliari posse. Neque illud negli-

gendum quod Athenagoras de creationis opere quod in Scripturis Filio Dei tribuitur, agens, non modo δι' αὐτῆς per ipsum Filium, quod Ariani concedebant, intelligentes nimirum per Ipsum, tanquam per Instrumentum quod per se nihil valet agere; sed πρὸς αὐτῆς ab ipso, ut causa scilicet efficiente principali, cum Patre conjuncta, condita fuisse universa doceat: idque additâ hac ratione, quod unum sint Pater & Filius, nempe Essentia ac Natura, proindeque Virtute & Operatione: quod Arianae Hæresi veluti ex Diametro repugnat. Mox vero ibidem desertè negat Athenagoras Filium in principio ex Patre progressum esse ad condenda Universa ὡς χυρόμενον, ut factum, sive à Deo creatum: quod Jugulum ipsum petit Arianae Blasphemiae. Locum infra ad sectionem tertiam integrum adducemus. Pauculis interjectis plenam τῆς ὁμοουσίᾳς Τετραδῶς confessionem edit his Verbis: Τίς ἐν ἡμῶν ἀνὰ ἡμᾶς ἀπορήσας Θεὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ὕδον Θεόν, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, δεικνύσας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δῶσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν ἀκέρως, Ἄθεός καλεῖσθαι; i. e. quis igitur non miretur, cum audiat nos qui Deum Patrem prædicamus, & Deum Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum, eorum in Unitate Virtutem, & in Ordine distinctionem explicantes, Atheos vocari? Cui gemina est explicatio sententiæ Christianorum de sacrosancta Trinitate, quam alibi in eodem Libro tradit his verbis concepta. Θεὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐν ἑαυτῶν μὴ χωριστὰ δῶσθαι τὸ Πατέρα, καὶ ὕδον, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὅτι νῦν, λόγος, σοφία, ὁ ὕψος τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἀπόρροια ὡς ὁὗς ἀπὸ πνεύματος. i. e. Deum asserimus, & Filium ejus verbum, & spiritum sanctum, virtute unitos: Patrem, Filium, & spiritum sanctum; Filius enim Patris mens, verbum, & sapientia est, & effluentia ut Lumen ab Igne, Spiritus. Ubi Patrem Filium, & Spiritum sanctum unum esse Deum inde satis aperte colligit, quod unicus sit fons Divinitatis, nempe Pater ex cujus essentia Filius & Spiritus sanctus derivantur; idque ita ut Filius sit λόγος ex ipsâ Mente Paternâ ab æterno existens & nascens, (nam id voluisse Athenagoram, infra clare ostendemus) & Spiritus quoque Sanctus ita effluat & emanet ex ipso Deo Patre, (nempe per Filium quemadmodum supra docuimus) ut lumen ab igne procedit. Obiter animadvertas, Spiritus sancti perinde ac Filii homoussion ab Athenagora omnino agnitum fuisse. P. 71. Defens. Fil. Nic. Fol.

Athenagoras,

Athenagoras, after having given us an excellent Proof of the Unity of GOD, from Reason and Philosophy, appeals to the sure Word of Prophecy as a more certain and incontestable Evidence. And thus describes the Prophets, *Οἱ κατ' ἔκστασιν, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογισμῶν, κινήσαντος αὐτῆς τῆ Θεῆ Πνεύματος, ἃ ἐνηργῆντο ἐξεφώνησαν*, who in Extasies, or Raptures, without the Assistance of their own Reasonings, being moved by the Holy Spirit, spoke such Things as were operated in them. Or which amounts to the same, who in Extasies delivered such Notions as were inspired into them by the Divine Spirit. The Word of Prophecy is the highest Demonstration of the Truth of our holy Religion; and as being such, great Care is to be used, lest as this was the Instrument of establishing Christianity, so the Pretence to it should be an Engine of subverting it. There are two vulgar Errors concerning Prophecy, which I would animadvert upon: The first, That the Prophets were ignorant of all they spoke during their being under the Influence of the Holy Spirit; and the second, That all Things seen or done in Prophetick Vision were external, and apprehended by the Eye, or any other corporeal Sense. And I would the rather animadvert on these, because they have not only spread in Books, and by a traditionary Ignorance of the Vulgar, but have of late Years furnished us with a Sect

of new Prophets, false Pretenders to that holy Gift; and many have been carried away even by that dull and senseless Imposture. But what Convulsions might they not have occasioned in a Government, had there happen'd to have been at that Time a Coincidence of any extraordinary, tho' natural *Phænomenon*? All that the Commonalty gaped for, was *τι καινόν*, something new and out of the way; and it would have been strained into a full Attestation of the Veracity of their Mission, had there been any thing new, tho' a natural Appearance of the Elementary World.

PROPHECY is always described in the Holy Scripture, in such Terms, as speak it not to have been any humane Attainment, such as a Man, by any Exercise of his own natural Faculties, could ever arrive at. *Holy Men spake of old* (says our Gospel) *as they were moved by the Holy Spirit of GOD.* As *Athenagoras* says, *ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογισμῶν*, being rapt out of their own Reasonings and Conceptions; but never are described as such meer Machines, as were utterly void of all Consciousness of what the Holy Ghost spoke by them, but the contrary, as being perfectly conscious of, and knowing every kind of Revelation which was communicated to them. While they were under the Influence of the blessed Spirit, they felt a rapturous Exaltation and Enlightenment of their Intellect

telleſt and Phantaſy, and were conſcious; ſome ſuperiour Nature actuated and moved their Minds by a divine Impulſe, and which did in a ſupernatural Manner communicate to them ſuch Truths, as no humane Study or Learning could attain to the Knowledge of.

THE Hebrew Word *וַיְהוֹוֶה* answers exactly to the *Engliſh* Word *Influence*, which metaphorically hinted at the Operation of the Holy Spirit upon the Mind. It is impoſſible to find in any Language, or invent any Word which ſhould expreſs the true Manner by which the bleſſed Spirit, or any ſpiritual Nature, effects any thing; and the moſt refined Metaphor, when conſidered thorowly, will appear plainly a groſs Type of the Manner in which an abſtracted Nature muſt act; ſince it is equally impoſſible to have a full and adequate Idea of the Manner of a Spirit's Acting, as of its Eſſence. But this Term *Influence*, the famous *Maimonides* uſes, in defining of Prophecy, as thus; *Prophecy is an Influence descending from the higheſt GOD, and affecting the Intellect and Imagination of the Prophet.* And thus the *Jews* in general; *Prophecy is an Influence proceeding from the Creator upon a Prophet, by the Mediation of an Angel of the loweſt Order.* Both which Definitions leave no room to ſuſpect it being any humane Attainment, but certainly a ſupernatural Communication of ſome Truth from

from the Fountain of all Wisdom, GOD. And those Terms in the last Definition, by the Mediation or Intervention of an Angel of the lowest Order, according to the Way of Speaking used by the *Jews*, import, that the natural Ideas and Images in the Memory and Mind, were by the Agency of a superior spiritual Being, excited; and after such a Manner combined, as was requisite to give the Prophet an Apprehension of the Revelation which GOD was then pleased to make to him: It was the general Opinion of the *Jews*, that all Powers in Nature which exceeded the Effects of mere Mechanism, were the Operations of Angels acting according to the immediate Order and Command of GOD. And therefore, for the exciting and combining those Images which were requisite for making a Discovery of GOD's Will to the Prophets, an Angel of the lowest Rank, that is, to speak like a *Cabbalist* and a *Platonist*, a Spirit more immersed in Matter, drowsy, and less awaken'd, and therefore of nearer Affinity to a humane Mind as now joined to the Body, was ordered to act upon the Soul, and excite and make a proper Assemblage and Combination of the Images or Ideas in the Mind: Which when the Intellect perceives, and such a strange Tide of Light flowing in upon it, strong Images of Things which it neither now receives by the Ministry of the Senses, nor doth any way combine

combine, but finds wholly ready-adjusted, without any *Discursus*, or Operation of itself; the Soul is ravished, is rapt up in Extasy, and the Tongue and Voice perform their Secondary Offices, and utters forth her present Apprehensions. The Intellect apprehends the Revelations discovered to it, after a Manner like that by which we apprehend the Actions of Men on our reading a History, or Poem. We find the Ideas proper for the representing such Actions excited in the Mind, and by Words express our own internal Ideas to others. And the Prophet is equally conscious of what is revealed to him, during his being under the Influence of the Holy Spirit, and which he speaks; as one who reads a Poem or History to another, is of the Descriptions or Actions contained in them. In this, therefore, and only this Sense, are the Prophets said to be meer Instruments, by which the Holy Spirit declares His Will to Mankind: As one who speaks another's Oration, is the Instrument only thro' which the Author communicates his Thoughts to an Assembly, inasmuch as he had no part in Composing it, but barely delivers it by his Voice.

Maimonides takes Notice of it as a vulgar Opinion, that nothing more was requisite to any Man's being a Prophet, upon supposing it was the good Pleasure of GOD to choose him, than that he should be

be of a devout and religious Disposition of Mind: Which is indeed true, if we give it only this Elucidation; that there are several Degrees of Prophecy, and perhaps every honest Mind may be capable of the lower; yet there are higher Degrees, Raptures to the third Heaven, which require great natural Abilities of Mind. Several Faculties of the Mind, and those in great Perfection, are highly requisite for the receiving some certain Communications of the Holy Spirit, as a great Strength and Clearness of Imagination in order to receive Visions: If that therefore be naturally weak and imperfect, or through any Casualty vitiated, the Person will be, during his continuing such, incapable of receiving such Visions as *Ezekiel* or *Daniel* had communicated to them: Not but GOD may correct that Imperfection and Weakness, and exalt and fortify the feeblest Imagination above the most strong natural one. As there are great Instances in the Apostles who received such Variety of Gifts, and in much greater Measure than the old *Jewish* Prophets, in the Day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descended upon them in a publick and solemn Manner. And forasmuch as this imaginative Power, proportionally to its Strength, paints all Objects in stronger and more vivid, or in weaker and fainter Colours, and is more perfect in Youth than in declining Age, therefore Visions which

which require a great Strength of Imagination in the Person who sees them, are always in the Holy Scripture appropriated to young Men. Thus the Prophet *Joel* says, *Your young Men shall see Visions.* The learned *Dodwell*, in his *Dissertations on S. Cyprian*, takes Notice of this, as what had not been before remarked by the Christians. The great *Maimonides* before him was of the same Opinion, and collected it from the same Text in the Prophet *Joel*. Thus speaks our learned * *Dodwell*: ‘ But concerning ‘ Visions, I must by the way make a Re-

* De visionibus tamen id obiter animadvertendum, nescio an ab aliis animadvertum, Juvenum illas fuisse proprias, id è celeberrimo illo *Joelis* loco colligo, Prophetabunt Filii & Filia vestra: senes vestri somnia somniabunt, & Juvenes vestri visiones videbunt. Plane senibus ita somnia aptantur, ut Juvenibus visiones. Vehemens nimirum illa humorum agitatio non erat nisi in ætatis vigore toleranda; Maximus enim imminebat in visionibus à vilis terror, quem etiamnum tantum experiuntur qui rem habent cum phantasmatis, ut macies illos & pallor occupet, sensimque in vitiosissimam corporis habitudinem conjiciat.

Ita se quidem habuit in Gentium Prophetis, ut Tripodem invitissima accesserit apud *Lucanum* *Pythia*, & nonnullæ fuerint ipsa agitationis violentia extinctæ. Ita enim *Lucanus*:

————— *Nam si qua Deus sub pectore venit,*
Numinis aut Pæna est mors immatura recepti
Aut Pretium; quippe stimulo fluctuque furoris
Compages humana labat, pulsusque Deorum
Concutiunt fragiles animas —————

Et *Valerius Maximus* in *Delphico Oraculo*: Unde ut certæ consulentibus petuntur sortes, ita nimius Divini Spiritus haustus reddentibus pestifer fuit. Longe quidem violentior
 mark,

mark, which I think hath been omitted by
 others, and which I gather from this cele-
 brated Text in *Joel*: And your Sons and
 your Daughters shall prophesy; your old Men
 shall dream Dreams, and your young Men
 shall see Visions. Here Dreams are plainly
 appropriated to old Men, as Visions are to
 young Men: And for this Reason, because
 that vehement Agitation of the Humours
 of the Body, and rapid Motion of the Spi-
 rits, could not be borne, but in the full Vi-
 gour of Youth. For Visions excited a great
 Terror from Sights, such as when only
 felt once, by them who see a Spirit, yet
 are seized with a Trembling and Paleness,

erat Pseudo-Prophetarum Enthusiatarumque motus, ut hoc
 ipso Catholici veros à Montanistarum illis distinguendos esse
 censuerint. Nulla erat in veteribus Prophetis insania, nulla
καλοχῆς illa tam vehemens jactatio: Sibi ipsis constabant
 potius, prudentes scientesque prædicenda proferebant. Erat
 tamen visorum Terror Humanæ Naturæ fragilitati difficile
 ferendus. Horruit Danieli Spiritus, Dan. vii. 15. collapsus
 est in Terram, viii. 19. Non remansit in eo fortitudo, sed &
 Species ejus immutata est in eo, & emarcuit, nec habuit
 quicquam virium, x. 8. jacuit consternatus super faciem
 suam, & vultus ejus hærebat Terræ, v. 9. Stetit tremens,
 v. 11. in Visione dissolutæ sunt compages ejus, & nihil in eo
 remansit virium, sed & habitus ejus interclusus est, v. 17.
 Nec alius quam Visionis Propheticæ terror in Jobo descri-
 bitur & in Abrahamo. Non est itaque quod miremur Ju-
 venibus hæc quam senibus fuisse tolerabiliora. Proinde
 etiam apud Ethnicos Tiresias Juvenum esse *καλοχῆν* docet.
 Ita enim apud Senecam Ill.

— Si foret viridis mihi —

Callidusque sanguis, pectore excuterem Deum.

Dod. Dissert. 4. in S. Cypr.

and

and fall into a Leanness, and dangerous ill Habit of Health.

WHAT is farther observable in Visions, is, that the Actions said to be done by the Prophets, are not to be conceived to have been really and externally exhibited, but only mentally, and in the Prophetick Vision. This was *Maimonides's* Opinion; and his whole Account of this Matter I shall here give the Reader. As it often happens in a Dream for a Man to seem to take a far Journey into this or that Country, to marry a Wife there, to live there some time, to have a Son by her, to give him such or such a Name, and he to prove dutiful or undutiful: So are we to understand several Things in the Parables of the Prophets; and all they are said to *do* or *see*, is to be conceived only as done in the Vision of Prophecy. Whatever those Parables mention, as Actions done by the Prophets, or of the Space and Length of Time between one Action and another, or of going from one Place to another, all this is to be conceived as only exhibited to the Mind in the Prophetick Vision, and not as true, real, and external Actions, tho' some of them are described with the same Exactness, as if they were indeed transacted. For since, in the Beginning, the whole was declared to be a Prophetick Vision, there was no need to repeat at the relating every
Part,

Part, or Incident, that it was done in Vi-
 sion of Prophecy. As when once the Pro-
 phet had said, *The Lord said unto me,*
 there was no farther Explication necessary
 that it was in Vision, or in Dream. But
 the Vulgar have entertained a Notion, that
 all those Actions, Goings from one Place
 to another, Questions, and Answers, were
 really performed by the outward Senses,
 and not only mentally, and in the Prophe-
 tick Vision: Therefore I have proposed to
 myself to explain this Matter, and give
 some Instances wherein it is impossible for
 any Man of Sense to doubt but that they
 were meer visionary Apprehensions, and
 not external Actions; and touch on some
 other Examples, which will suffice to shew
 what Judgment ought to be made of all
 the rest.

AN Instance, which is manifest, and be-
 yond all possible Doubt, we have in those
 Words of Ezekiel. *Ezek. viii. 1. I sate in*
my House, and the Elders of Judah sate be-
fore me, &c. iii. 23. Then the Spirit took
me up, between the Earth and the Heaven,
and brought me in the Visions of GOD to
Jerusalem. And, then I arose, and went into
the Plain. As that also happened only in
 the Vision of Prophecy, which is said of
Abraham. Gen. xv. 5. And he brought him
forth, and said. As also that spoken of
Ezekiel, and set me down in the midst of a
Valley,

Valley, which was full of Bones. And in
 the Vision, in which he was carried to Je-
 rusalem, we find this Passage: And he
 brought me to the Door of the Court; and
 when I looked, behold a Hole in the Wall.
 Then said he unto me, Son of Man, dig now
 in the Wall; and when I had digged in the
 Wall, behold a Door. All this must only
 be mental and visionary, and not external.
 And like to this is the following: Ezek. iv.
 4. Lie thou also upon thy left Side, and lay
 the Iniquity of the House of Israel upon it.
 And lower; Take thou also unto thee Wheat,
 and Barley, and Beans, and the rest.
 And in the next Chapter we read, And
 thou Son of Man, take thee a sharp Knife,
 take thee a Barber's Razor, and cause it
 to pass upon thy Head, and upon thy
 Beard. All these Actions must be concei-
 ved only as internal Transportations, and
 especially the last of Shaving himself, be-
 cause that Action is contrary and repug-
 nant to an express Command in the Law:
 For Ezekiel was then Priest, and therefore
 bound by the Law not to shave some Parts
 of his Head and Beard. Thus also is that
 in *Isaiab* to be understood; Like as My
 Servant *Isaiab* hath walked naked and bare-
 foot three Years. People of small Sagacity
 take all these Things in a very wrong Sense,
 and imagine the Prophet every where re-
 lates what was commanded him to do,

and which he actually did. Thus the
 Prophet says, He was commanded to dig
 in the Wall, and he did dig, when it is
 plain he was all the time in *Babylon*. Thus
 we read concerning *Abraham*: *The Word*
of the Lord came unto Abraham in a Vision;
 and in the same Vision, *He brought him forth*
abroad, and said, look now toward Hea-
ven, and tell the Stars, if thou be able to
number them. As it is here plain and
 evident, that in the Vision of Prophecy he
 seemed to be brought out from the Place
 where he was to see the Heaven, and after
 that was commanded to number the Stars:
 In this Manner are we to interpret that
 Command to *Jeremiah*: *Take the Girdle*
which thou hast got, which is upon thy
Loins, and arise, go to Euphrates, and hide
it there in a Hole of the Rock. His Obe-
 dience to this Command, the hiding the
 Girdle, and fetching it again a long while
 after, is meerly visionary; neither did *Je-*
remiah ever go out of the Land of *Israel* to
Babylon, or ever see *Euphrates*. So too
 that of *Hosea*; *Go take unto thee a Wife of*
Whoredoms, and Children of Whoredoms. So
 he went and took *Gomer, the Daughter of*
Diblaim. All this was transacted only in
 Vision. And so in general of all Passages
 in the Prophets of the like Kind, where
 any one is said to go to hear, to see, or
 do such and such Things, tho' all the mi-
 nute

' nute Circumstances of Time, Place, and
 ' Persons, be exactly recited, the whole is
 ' still to be considered as merely visionary,
 ' and in no kind real and external.

Athenagoras, in his Treatise on the Resur-
 rection, makes use of this Argument to prove
 the Body must necessarily be raised. ' GOD
 ' (saith he) will most assuredly punish the
 ' Wicked, and reward the Vertuous; but in
 ' order to this He must raise the Body, in-
 ' asmuch as it would be extremely unjust,
 ' either to punish or reward the separate
 ' Soul for what was performed jointly with
 ' the Body, and in both which Actions that
 ' had so considerable a Share." He farther
 enlarges very much on this Head, and shews,
 that neither any Vertue or Vice, as Justice,
 Temperance, Continnence, or the Contra-
 ries, can be conceived in a Soul distinct from
 a Body; and shews, the Law was given to
Man, that is, Soul and Body both, as com-
 posing one Animal; and therefore the Pu-
 nishment or Reward of Obedience, or Diso-
 bedience, ought to be given to *Man*, that is,
 Soul and Body both joined together. It is
 plain, from the whole Scope of his Argu-
 ment, that he reasons according to his Plato-
 nick Notions, (for he was a Platonist) and
 attributes a vital Energy, a Plastick Power
 to the Body; for it was the Opinion of *Pla-
 to*, that there was a low kind of sluggish Life
 in all Matter, and which depended on a

great Mundane Soul. Concerning this Vegetative or Plastick Nature, thus much shall be said to illustrate the Argument of *Athenagoras* for the Resurrection of the Body.

THE *Plastick Nature* (which was the third Point I design'd to remark upon) was, by the *Platonists*, held to be ἡ μέρος ψυχῆς, ἢ μὴ ἀνευ ψυχῆς, Part of a Soul, or not without a Soul; that is, either some lower Power, or Part of some intellectual conscious Soul, or an inferiour distinct Life, though subordinate and dependent on some higher Soul. It is described to be a Vitality, or internal Energy in Things, void of all Thought or Consciousness, yet, notwithstanding, acting for Ends, and in an orderly and artificial Manner. *Simplicius* describes this *Plastick Nature* thus: 'The Spermatick Reason, or Plastick Nature, is no pure Mind, or perfect Intellect, nor any kind of pure Soul; but something which depends upon it, being, as it were, an Effulgency or Eradiation, from both together, Mind and Soul, or Soul affected according to Mind, generating the same as a lower Kind of Life.

THE learned Dr. *Cudworth* argues very excellently, thus, to prove the Vegetative Soul or Plastick Power must be incorporeal. Moreover, in the Efformation of the Bodies of Animals, it is one and the self-same thing which directs the Whole: That which contrives
and

and frames the Eye, cannot be a distinct thing from that which frames the Ear; nor that which makes the Hand from that which makes the Foot: The same thing which delineates the Veins, must also form the Arteries; and that which fabricates the Nerves, must also project the Muscles and Joints: It must be the same thing that designs and organizes the Heart and Brain with such Communications betwixt them; one and the self-same thing must needs have in it the entire Idea and the complete Model or Platform of the whole Organick Body. For the several Parts of Matter distant from one another, acting alone by themselves without any common Directrix, being not able to center together, or communicate with each other, could never possibly conspire to make up one such uniform and orderly System, or Compages, as the Body of every Animal is. The same is to be said likewise, concerning the Plastick Nature of the whole corporeal Universe, in which *ἅπαντα πρὸς ἓν συντάσσονται*, all things are ordered together conspiringly into one. It must be one and the same thing which formeth the Whole, or else it could not have fallen into such an uniform Order and Harmony. Now that which is one and the same acting upon several distant Parts of Matter, cannot be corporeal.

ALL Matter must either be allowed to be endued with this Plastick Power, or GOD supposed continually to exert Himself in a

miraculous Manner, and form every Plant, Herb, Mineral, or Animal Body, inasmuch as no verbal Command can be conceived sufficient for the Production of Things, without some efficient Cause. And after that insolvable *Phenomenon* of the Load-Stone, what Power seems too great to be lodged in Matter? And if, as Mr. *Lock* seems to assert, that Matter may be even capable of being endued with a Power of Thinking; sure then, there cannot be much difficulty to conceive it endued with the lowest kind of Life, an internal Energy? What seems most hard to be apprehended, is, that it should act methodically, and for Ends, but yet, not electively, or consciously. Comparisons, and Instances of Actions, done after this manner confessedly, will illustrate this Point, better than any Rationals, or Account how they are performed. The learned *Cudworth* uses this Similitude, to shew how it acts for Ends, but not electively. Nature may as well act regularly and artificially, without any Knowledge or Consciousness of its own, as Forms of Letters, compounded together, may print coherent Philosophick Sense, though they understand nothing at all; and it may act also for the sake of those Ends, that are not intended by itself, but some higher Being. But this may be shew'd more evidently, from several Actions done by Men, as Writing, which is performed regu-

regularly, but not electively; or playing on a Musical Instrument, or Dancing; in all which Actions, neither every Stroke in Writing, nor Motion of the Hand in playing on an Instrument, nor Gesture of the Body in dancing, is at that immediate time considered attentively; but after a Habit in each of these, being once acquired, they are frequently all performed regularly and artificially, and yet without Consciousness or Election.

THE Atheistick, old Atomick Philosophers, being extremely solicitous lest they should admit any Principles which might seem to approach towards an incorporeal Nature, and a GOD, denied there was any Vegetative Soul or Plastick Nature in Things, as distinct and separable from such material Subjects as they were said to be in: But Matter had in itself essentially a spermatick Form or Reason, which, according to different fortuitous Mechanisms, did exert itself in those several Powers as were attributed to a distinct vegetative Soul. Even *Aristotle* himself, who hath not so explicitly asserted the Immortality of the Soul as his great Master *Plato* had done before him, doth also fall into the Notion of all vegetative Life being meerly corporeal, contrary to *Plato's* famous Aphorism, Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος, every Soul is immortal. The great Argument used by *Plato*, for proving the Immortality

and Immateriality of the Soul of Man, is the Præ-existence of it: And *Aristotle*, in order to prove the Corporiety and Mortality of all sensitive Souls, argues thus against their Præ-existence. * ' It is manifest from
 ' hence, that all Souls cannot præ-exist;
 ' because those Principles (or Souls) whose
 ' Actions are meerly corporeal, cannot be
 ' conceived to exist without the Body, as
 ' the Power of walking without the Feet:
 ' It is, therefore, impossible that these sen-
 ' sitive Souls should come into the Body
 ' from without, since they can neither come
 ' alone by themselves, naked, and stripped
 ' of all Body, as being inseparable from it,
 ' neither can they come into it with a Body,
 ' that is, the Seed.

AND farther, that they might give a total Overthrow to that Notion of a Deity, desperately resolv'd to maintain this Proposition; *Ratio nunquam esse possit, nisi in Hominis figura: That nothing but a humane Shape could be capable of Reason and Understanding.* The *Atheists* were press'd on every side, by all the Philosophers, even by several of the *Atomical*, especially the *Stoicks*, who maintained, that there was an incorpo-

* 'Οτι μὴ ἔχ' οἶον τε πᾶσα προϋπάρχειν, φανερόν ὅτιν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ὄσων γὰρ ὅτιν ἀρχῶν ἢ ἐκέρσεια σωματικῆ, δῆλον ὅτι ταύτας ἀνευ σώματος ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν, οἶον βαδίζειν ἀνευ ποδῶν ὡσεὶ καὶ θυροθὲν εἰσιέναι κενώματον, ἕτε γὰρ ἑαυτὰς καθ' οἶον τε ἀχωρίστως ἔσας.

real Power or Matter diffused through all Things; *Omnia uno divino & continuato Spiritu contineri*; That all Things were contained by one and the same Divine Spirit. And that in the whole System, there was a Power superiour to any in one Part of it; *Ut nulla pars Corporis nostri est, quæ non sit minor quam nosmet ipsi sumus, sic Mundum Universum pluris esse necesse est quam Partem aliquam universi*; As there is no Part of our Body which is not inferiour in Perfection to ourselves, so the whole Universe must of necessity be more perfect than any of the Parts thereof. And this last Assertion seemed a great Advance toward the maintaining the Existence of a GOD: The *Atheists*, therefore, in order to get out of all possible Danger of any Deity, boldly asserted, That neither the whole corporeal System, nor any Part of it, as Moon, Stars, Sun, was animated, or had Reason, or Sense, and that because all Qualities and Properties of concreated Bodies, which have some Semblance of Reason, were the Result of such a peculiar Contexture of their Atomes; and especially, that Understanding and Sensation arose only from such an Organization of Parts as humane Bodies have; that Head, Heart, Nerves, Bones, soft Flesh, Blood, and Brains, were absolutely requisite for the Production of Sensation and Reason: And therefore, because the whole World apparently had not these

these Requisites of Feet, Eyes, and Ears, it was utterly incapacitated for Sense, or Understanding. *

BUT all the ancient *Theists*, or such as maintained the Existence of a GOD, especially the *Platonists*, and the *Stoicks*, have asserted, there was a *Plastick* or *Vegetative Soul* diffused through the whole *Mafs* of *Matter*. *Empedocles* thought all *Creatures* did partake of *Life* from the great *Mundane Soul*, as they do of *Heat* from that which is in the *Universe*. The *Stoicks* maintained, that *GOD* did pervade the *Universe*; and by different *Operations* animate different *Systems* of *Matter*. Which *Notion* the † *Latin Poet* thus expresses in a very magnificent *Manner*.

* ——— *Sensus jungitur omnis*

*Visceribus, Nervis, Venis, quacunq; videmus,
Mollia mortali consistere corpore creta.*

*Depositum videtur ubi esse & crescere possit
Seorsim anima atq; animus; tanto magis inficiandum
Totum posse extra corpus Formamq; Animalem
Putribus in glebis terrarum, aut Solis in Igni,
Aut in aqua durare, aut altis Aetheris oris;
Haud igitur constant Divino prædita sensu,
Quandoquidem nequeunt vitalia esse animata.*

† *Principio, Cælum ac Terram, Camposque liquentes,
Lucentemq; Globum Luna, Titaniaque Astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totosque infusa per Artus
Mens, agit at Molem, & magno se corpore miscet;
In le Hominum Pecudumq; Genus, Vitæq; Volantium.*

OR, as the Author of the *Treatise de Mundo* expresses it; Ἀρχαῖος μὲν ἔν τις λόγος, καὶ πατριος ἔστιν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ Θεῶ τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ Θεῶ ἡμῶν συνέστηκε· ἐδεμῖα ὅ φύσις αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτῆν αὐτάρχης ἐρημωθεῖσα τῆς ἐκ τέτυ σωτηρίας. It is an ancient Opinion, or Tradition, that hath been conveyed down to all Men from their Progenitors, that all things are from GOD, and consist by Him; and that no Nature is sufficient to preserve itself, if left alone, and devoid of the Divine Assistance and Influence.

Plato is celebrated for maintaining, there is but one supreme GOD, and that the World is animated, by an incorporeal Spirit diffused through it. *Plutarch* observed this, and thus expresses this Matter in his *Platonick Questions*: 'Why doth *Plato* call the supreme GOD Father, and Maker of all Things? Is He (as *Homer* calls Him) of created Gods and Men the Father, and of Brutes, and of Things which have no Soul, the Maker? ---- Or, is there any Difference between a Father and a Maker, or between Procreation and Making? For as what is procreated is also made, but not on the contrary, so he that procreated did also make: For, the Procreation of an Animal is the Making of it. Now the Work of a Maker, as of a Builder, a Weaver, a Musical Instrument-Maker, or a Statuary, doth altogether differ from its Au-
thor:

' thor: But the Principle and Power of the
 ' Procreator is implanted in the Progeny,
 ' and contains His Nature, the Progeny be-
 ' ing a Piece pulled off the Procreator:
 ' Since therefore, that the World is neither
 ' like a Piece of Potter's Work, nor Joyn-
 ' er's Work, but that there is a great Share
 ' of Life and Divinity in it, which GOD
 ' from Himself communicated to, and mix-
 ' ed with Matter, GOD may as well be called
 ' the Father of the World, it having Life in
 ' it, as the Maker of it.

Xenophon, in his first Book of Memoirs,
 introduces *Socrates*, thus persuading *Aristo-*
demus, that that Mind and Understand-
 ing which is in Man, was derived from
 some Mind and Understanding in the
 Universe, as well as that Earth and Water
 which is in Man, is taken from the Earth
 and Water of the Universe. * ' Do you
 ' think, that you only have Wisdom in
 ' yourself, and that there is none any where
 ' else in the whole World without you?
 ' Tho' you know that you have but a small
 ' Part in your Body of that vast Quantity
 ' of Earth, which is without you, and but

* Σὺ δὲ σαυτὸν φρόνιμον τὶ δοκεῖς ἔχειν, ἄλλοθι δὲ ἕδα-
 μῆ ἕδ' ἐν φρόνιμον εἶ; εἰδὼς ὅτι γῆς τε σμικρὸν μέρος ἐν τῷ
 σώματι πολλῆς ἕσης ἔχεις, καὶ ὕδατος βραχὺ πολλὴ ὄνη;
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δή τι μέγ' ὄνων ἕκαστ' μικρὸν μέρος λά-
 βοντι τὸ σωτῆρμαί σοι; Νῦν δὲ ἀεὶ μόνον ἕδαμῆ ὄνη
 σε ἐνυχοῦς πῶς δοκεῖς σωτῆρμαί;

a little of that Water and Fire, and so
 of every other thing that your Body is
 compounded of, in respect of that great
 Mass and Magazine of them which is in
 the World; is Mind and Understanding
 therefore the thing, which, you fancy, you
 alone have, some way or other, luckily
 got, and snatched unto yourself, while
 there is no such thing any where in the
 World without you?

LET it suffice to have hinted thus much
 concerning the ancient and almost general
 Notion of all Philosophers, of a Plastick or
 Vegetative Nature of Things. Agreeably
 to this Opinion, our *Athenagoras* supposes
 the Body to have in itself a *low Life*, a Ten-
 dency to some Actions; and therefore ar-
 gues, that it is necessary that the Body also
 should rise, since it was not only an Instru-
 ment, but in some sort an Agent, in all
 good or evil Actions; and it would there-
 fore be unjust, either to punish or reward
 the Soul only for what was done by it, in
 and with the Body.





THE
A P O L O G Y
O F
ATHENAGORAS,
FOR THE
Christian Religion.

To the Emperors M. Aurelius Antoninus, and M. Aurelius Commodus, of Armenia and Sarmatia, Conquerors, and what is more, Philosophers.



THE Nations composing the Empire under your Dominion, *Most Mighty Princes*, are severally govern'd by different Laws and Customs: None of them are restrained by any Decree

Decree or Fear of Punishment, from the free Exercise of such Rites and Ceremonies, tho' apparently ridiculous, as have obtained in their several Countries. Thus the Inhabitants of *Troy* worship *Hector*, and *Helena Adrastia*: The *Lacedemonians* adore *Jupiter*, *Agamemnon*, and *Philonoe* the Daughter of *Tyndarus*. The *Athenians* sacrifice to *Neptune Erectheus*; nay, Offices and Mysteries are appointed at *Athens* to * *Agraulos* and *Pandrosos*, tho' supposed to have been guilty of Impiety in opening the Box: And to be short, in all Nations under your Dominion, every one is permitted freely to make use of any Form of Worship they please. The

* *Apollodorus*, mentioning this Story, calls her, as our Author, *Agraulos*, but *Ovid*, *Aglauros*. The Impiety which *Agraulos* and *Pandrosos*, Daughters of *Cecrops King of Athens*, are said to have been guilty of, was Breach of Promise, and Disobedience to the Goddess *Minerva*, who put the Infant *Erethionius* into a Box, and gave it to these Daughters, commanding them not to look into it; but they, or as *Ovid* says, one of them, *Agraulos*, opened the Box, and saw the Infant. Thus the Story is in *Ovid*:

Pallas Eriſthonium, prolem ſine matre creatam,
 Clauſerat Aſtæo texta de vimine Ciſtâ;
 Virginibuſque tribus gemino de Cecrope natis
 Hanc Legem dederat, ſua ne ſecreta viderent.

————— Commiſſa duæ ſine fraude tuentur,
 Pandroſos atque Herſe; timidæ vocat una Sorores
 Aglauros; nodosque manu diducit, at intus
 Infantemque vident, apporrectumque Draconem.

Ovid. Metam. Lib. 2.

Egyp-

Egyptians † have been so licentious this way; as to deify even Cats, Dogs, Adders, Serpents, and Crocodiles. And this both you, Mighty Princes, and their own National Laws allow; because as it is impious, and by the Laws of several Countries capital, to deny the Existence of a GOD, so is it necessary to permit every one to worship such as he at least thinks to be Gods, that they may be kept from running into Wickedness by a Sense of Divine Justice.

WE cannot therefore but hope, that you, being free from the vulgar Prejudice, will

† *The Egyptians have been famous among all Nations and Authors for their Polytheism and Idolatry; and in Holy Scripture, to denote the Uncleanness of their Spiritual Whoredoms and Fornications, Egypt is joined with Sodom. For the Egyptians, besides the Stars, Demons and Heroes, which they, in common with other Gentiles, worshipped as Gods; and besides some animated Statues which they boasted themselves to have the Power of making, had also a strange Infatuation of Mind peculiar to themselves above all the Pagan World, and upon which account they have been frequently ridiculed; even their Worshipping, in some Sense or other, the most noxious and contemptible Brute Animals. Origen against Celsus, gives us a very lively Idea of this Folly, in these Words: Παρ' οἷς προσίοσι μὲν ἔστι λαμπρὰ τεμένη καὶ ἄλση, καὶ πυλαίων μεγέθη τε καὶ κάλλη, καὶ νεῶν θαυμαστοί, καὶ σκηναὶ περὶ ἑστῶν ἑσθῆρας, καὶ θρησκείαι μάλα δεσποδαίμονες καὶ μυστηριώτιδες ἢ δὴ ἢ εἰσίοσι καὶ ἐν δοτέρῳ γενημενῶν θεωρεῖται προσκυνέμεναι αἴλαρον, ἢ τίθηκον, ἢ κροκόδειλον, ἢ τεφῆλον, ἢ κύων.* "To one that cometh to be a spectator of the Egyptian Worship, there first offer themselves to his View most splendid and stately Temples sumptuously adorned, together with solemn Groves, and many pompous Rites and mystical Ceremonies; but as soon as he enters in, he perceives it is either a Cat, or an Ape, a Crocodile, or a Goat, or a Dog, that is the Object of this religious Worship.

not condemn us meerly for the sake of a Name; for Names meerly as such deserve not Hatred; but Villanies, both that and Punishment. Every particular Person in your vast Dominions, admires and partakes of the Benefits of your Clemency and easy Government: All Cities and Communities enjoy their peculiar Privileges, and the whole Body of the Empire is now blessed with the Happiness of a lasting Peace. We only, who are called *Christians*, seem excluded the common Blessings of your Reign. You permit us, though void of all Offence, (as shall be presently shew'd) and paying the greatest Honour and Adoration to the Divine Being, and the firmest Loyalty to your Persons and Government, to be persecuted, to be plundered, to be *legally* murdered, and for no other Reason, than because we wear a peculiar Name, because we are called *Christians*.

WE do therefore here humbly represent our Case to your Majesties, and hope to make it appear, from what shall follow, that we suffer these Things contrary to all manner of Justice and Equity; and therefore intreat your Protection, that we may no more lie at the Mercy of every vile Informer. Our Persecutors do not content themselves with Fining us, with Deprivations of our Estates and Fortunes, or with putting any Mark of popular Infamy and Disgrace on us;

the greatest Damages of this Kind we could patiently bear: We have learned to despise these Things, though they be so much the Admiration of the Vulgar. The Mildness of our Law teaches us, not only to forbear returning Blows when we are beaten, or prosecuting in Law those who injure and rob us, but even to turn the other Cheek to him who hath smitten us on the one Side, and to give him our Coat who hath taken away our Cloak: No, our Adversaries Malice goes farther, and attacks our very Lives. They charge us with heavy and false Crimes, such as none but they themselves could commit, and such as we were never guilty of, even so much as in Thought. If any one can convict us of any such Fact, great or small, we are willing to suffer the most rigorous Severity, nay, we sue for it. But if we are guilty of nothing but a Name, (for as yet no Christian hath suffered any thing from a legal Conviction, but only from the ill-grounded Censure of the Vulgar.) If our Persecutors can prove nothing on us but a *Word*, it will become you, most Mighty, most Merciful, and most Wise Princes, to protect us by your Laws: That whereas every Person in particular, and all Communities in general, reap the Benefits of your gracious Government, we too may enjoy our Share of the common Happiness, and may bless you for a Deliverance from the Tyranny

ny of Informers. Nor doth it become your Imperial Justice, since in Judicial Proceedings against others, no one is punished before legal Proofs of Facts, that a meer Name should be of more Force against us, than the strongest Evidence in other Cases. The Judges examine not what any of us may have committed, they enquire only into our *Name*, as if our *Name* were a *capital Fact*. But a *Name*, meerly considered as such, is neither good nor bad, and can only admit of such a Denomination, as it implies a good or ill Action. This you know perfectly well, as being acquainted with all Parts of Learning and Philosophy. Therefore they who stand at your Judgment-Seat, even for capital Crimes, have a Confidence with respect to this; they know Examination will be made into their Lives and Actions, and that meer Names, and false Imputations, will be of no Moment against them with you. Both they who are acquitted, and they who are condemned, have the same fair Tryal. This general Favour, which is allowed every one, we request; and that we too may be no more prosecuted or punished, only because we are called *Christians*. For what Crime can there be in a Word? But let us be proceeded against for Facts, and according as they are proved, or not, let us be acquitted, or condemned. No one as a Christian is wicked; if he be, he only dissembles the Profession.

We observe the Philosophers are thus tried: No one is sentenced, or cleared, for his Sentiments, or Opinions, without any Facts being proved against him. And if any one be convicted, he is punished; but Philosophy is charged with no Guilt. The Person who acts illegally, he is guilty, but the Profession is blameless: And if the Person disprove the Accusations, he is cleared. Such an equitable Proceeding as this, we desire. Let our Lives be examined, and let our Names be no more thought Crimes. But before I begin my Apology, I beg a fair impartial Hearing from you, Mighty Princes; and that you will not suffer yourselves to be prejudiced against us by any Byass from popular Fame. I intreat you, as you are Lovers of Learning and Truth, to give your Attention, and then neither will you pronounce a wrong Sentence through any Misunderstanding of our Case, nor shall we be any more persecuted, being sufficiently cleared from all popular Scandal.

COMMON Report charges us with three Crimes: *Atheism, Feasting on humane Flesh,* and *Incest*. And if this Charge be true, we desire no Mercy. Spare no Age or Sex, drag us to Tortures, extirpate so profligate a Crew, with their Wives and Children. If it is almost possible to imagine there can be a Sect of Men so abandon'd to all manner of Wickedness, and guilty of what the very Brutes

are

are void of. The Beasts devour not those of the same Species with themselves, restrained by meer stupid Instinct: They use not such licentious Coitions, but only in order to Propagation, and that in a certain Season of the Year. They too shew often a Sense of kind Usage, and a Love for their Benefactors. But should there be found a Man so much more than brutish, what Severity, what Punishment, doth he not deserve? But we hope to make it appear, that these are only random Bolts of Malice and Detraction, and which have no sure Evidence: For even the natural Law of Reason shews Vice and Vertue to be Opposites, and therefore how much more doth the Revealed Will of GOD declare their Contrariety? And your mighty Selves will thence be Witnesses, that we cannot be guilty of any thing like this, even in Thought. Make a strict Examination into our Lives, search into our Tenets and Notions, into our Obedience and Loyalty to your Family and Government, do this with the same Impartiality with regard to us and our Adversaries, and we shall come off Conquerors; we are ready to lay down even our Lives for the Sake of the Truth.

I SHALL answer to these Articles in Order; and first of the Charge of *Atheism*, which is brought against us. The *Athenians* formerly, to their immortal Honour, con-

demned *Diagoras* for this Crime: He not only divulged the sacred *Orphean* Rites, and the *Elusian* Mysteries, but took the Statue of *Hercules*, and contemptuously burnt it to boil his Rape-Seed; nay, utterly deny'd the Existence of a GOD, or Divine Nature. But we distinguish GOD from any thing material, we affirm Him to be a Being perfectly different from Matter; and in Consequence of this, believe Him to have Attributes entirely incompatible with Matter. We believe GOD to be a Being Self-existent and Eternal, but Matter we own to have been created, and to be corruptible; and therefore are very far from the *great Impiety of Atheism*. Could we be guilty of Notions, such as those of *Diagoras*, when we cannot but see such convincing Proofs of a Divine Nature, and of Religion, in that standing Miracle the World; its Order and Proportion, its Beauty and Magnificence, the Figure and Disposition of all its Parts: Could we be blind to so much Light, and deaf to the Voice of all Nature, we should be deservedly accused and persecuted. But since we, on all Occasions, declare the Existence of One GOD; the Maker of All Things, and who is Himself uncreated, and created All Things by His WORD, it is evident we maintain no such impious Tenets, and are unjustly accused and persecuted. Your own Poets and Philosophers were
never

never charged with *Atheism* for believing a GOD. *Euripides* declares his Doubt of those being Gods which the Vulgar held to be such, in these Verses :

*Were there a Jove which rul'd in yonder Sky,
This Man had not been wretched ----*

And a GOD which is only to be spiritually conceived, he owns in the following Verses :

*View those wide Fields of Light, that Airy
Space
Which in its Bosom doth this Earth embrace.
Call this great Jove, this GOD. ----*

He knew not of the Existence of any of those Gods the Vulgar talked of; he saw nothing of a particular *Jupiter*, but the Name; and thought the Name belonged to nothing really existent in Nature: But arrived to the Knowledge of the one Supreme GOD from a Contemplation of His Works, from the wonderful *Phænomena* of Heaven. The Author of these Works, the Governor of these Second Causes, he believed to be GOD: And of this Opinion *Sophocles* seems to be.

*In Truth there's but one GOD who did create
The Heav'n and Earth ----*

Each of these great Men discover'd the Being of a GOD from the Beauty of the Universe, declared His Unity, and pointed out the Seat of His Habitation, Heaven. *Philolaus* too declares all Things live and have their Being in GOD; and at the same time asserts His Unity and Superiority to Matter. *Lysis*, and another Philosopher, have hinted at the Unity of GOD. The one thought GOD was an ineffable Number, the other the Excess, by which the greatest Number exceeds the next. And if the greatest Number be the *Denary*, or, according to the *Pythagoreans*, the * *Tetrad*, which contains in it all Arithmetical and Harmonical Pro-

* How GOD is a Tetrad, you will clearly find in the sacred Discourse ascribed to Pythagoras, wherein GOD is the Number of Numbers. For if all things subsist by His eternal Counsel, it is manifest that Number, in every Species of Beings, depends upon their Causes; the first Number is there, and from thence derived hither: The determined Limit of Number is the Decad; for he who would reckon farther, must return to 1, 2, 3, and number a second Decad; in like manner, a third, to make up 30, and so on, till having numbred the tenth Decad, he comes to 100. Again, he reckons from a Hundred in the same manner, and so may proceed to Infinite by Revolution of the Decad. Now the Tetrad is the Power of the Decad; before we arrive at the Perfection of the Decad, we find a united Perfection in the Tetrad, the Decad being made up by Addition of 1, 2, 3, 4. Moreover, the Tetrad is an Arithmetical Mean betwixt One and Seven, equally exceeding and exceeded in Number. It wants 3 of 7, and exceeds 1 by 3. The Monad, as being the Mother of Numbers, contains all their Powers within itself. The Hebdomad, as being Motherless, and a Virgin, possesseth the second Place in Dignity; for it is not made up of any Number within the Decad, as 4 is of twice 2, 8 of twice 4, or 9 of thrice 3, and 10 of twice 5.

portions,

portions, and the next to this be Nine; GOD is a *Monad* or *Unity*, for an *Unite* is the Excess of the greatest Number above the next lesser.

I SHALL not here enter into a long Account of the Philosophers Notions of GOD; I know you are not more raised above Mankind in Point of Power and Dignity, than in the Degree of your Knowledge and Learning; of such universal Abilities, that the Professors in each Science come short of you, even in their own peculiar Province. I only instanced in these Philosophers, to shew that we are not so very singular in our Notions, and are not the only Persons who have maintained the Unity of GOD. Thus too says *Plato*: *It is difficult to find out the Creator and Father of the Universe; and when found out, impossible to be divulged to the Vulgar.* Meaning hereby the Uncreated and One GOD; for other Bodies, as the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, he knew were called Gods, but those he knew were created. Thus therefore he introduces the Supreme GOD speaking to

Neither doth it make up any Number within the Decad, as 2 makes 4, 3 makes 6, 5 makes 10. But the Tetrad lying between the Unbegotten Monad, and the Motherless Hebdomad, comprehends all Powers of the productive and produced Numbers; for this, of all Numbers under 10, is made up of a certain Number, and makes a certain Number; the Duad doubled makes a Tetrad, and the Tetrad doubled makes 8. Heroc. in Aurea Carm. Stanl. Lives of the Philosophers, p. 526.

the Inferiour Demons. Gods of Gods, all the Things I have made and created, are eternal of My Will and Pleasure, and not by any Prerogative inherent in their own Natures; for whatever is compounded, may be again dissolved. If the great Plato is not impious in declaring that one uncreated GOD was Author of All Things, neither are we to be called *Atheists* for believing and maintaining that there is but one GOD, who by His WORD created All Things, and by His SPIRIT guides and governs the Universe. *Aristotle* and his Followers maintained there was but one GOD, though they grossly conceived Him to be a Compound Being, consisting of Parts, as Body and Soul. They thought the Heavens and Planetary Bodies were His Body, and a Power which caused the Motions of those Bodies, continuing itself always immoveable, they imagined to be His Soul. The *Stoicks* too, though they give many Appellations to the Divine Nature, according to the Diversities of Corporeal Beings thro' all which the Deity was diffused, yet did in effect maintain there was but one GOD. If GOD be a Vital † Plastick Fire, using a

† Laertius, in his Life of Zeno the great Stoick, gives this Account of this Notion: Τὸν ὃ κόσμον διοικῶν καὶ νῦν καὶ προνοίαν εἰς ἅπαν αὐτῷ μερῶς δίδουσι, † νῦν, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὸ λογῆς· ἀλλ' ἠδὴ δι' ἑνὸς μὲν μᾶλλον, δι' ἑνὸς ἡττοῦ, δι' ἑνὸς μὲν ὡς ἕξις κεχώρηκεν ὡς διὰ τῶν ὁσῶν καὶ ὑδάτων· δι' ἑνὸς ὡς νῦν, ὡς διὰ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν· ἔτω δὲ
certain

certain regular Method and Art in forming all Things, and containing in Himself all Seminal Powers by which all Things were made, according to a fatal Determination, and His Spirit be diffused through the

καὶ τὸ ὅλον κόσμον Ζῶον ὄντα καὶ ἔμφυχον. καὶ λογικόν, ἔχειν
 ἠγεμονικὸν μὴ τὸ αἰθέρα, ἢ τὸ ἕρανόν, ἢ τὸ ἥλιον. Ὁ καὶ
 πρῶτον Θεὸν λέγουσιν αἰσθητικῶς ὡς περ κεχορηκέναι διὰ
 τὸ ἐν ἀέρι καὶ διὰ τὸ Ζῶον ἀπάντων καὶ φυτῶν, διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν
 αὐτῆς καθ' ἑξίν. The Stoicks affirm, 'That the World is go-
 'verned by Mind, and Providence; this Mind passing through
 'all the Parts of it, as the Soul doth in us; which yet doth
 'not act in all Parts alike, but in some more, and in some less:
 'It passing through some Parts only as a Habit, as through the
 'Bones, and the Nerves: But through others, as Mind, and Un-
 'derstanding, as through that which is called the Hegemonicon,
 'or primary governing Principle. So the whole World, being a
 'living and rational Animal, hath its Hegemonical, or principal
 'Part too, whether this be the Æther, or the Heaven, or the
 'Sun. And they say also, that this first GOD is, as it were,
 'sensibly diffused through all Animals, and Plants, but through
 'the Earth itself only as a Habit. Nor was this Notion pecu-
 'liar to the Stoicks only, but it was generally believed by all the
 'Pagan Theists: That GOD was diffused throughout the whole
 'World, and did permeate and pervade all things, did exist in all
 'things, and intimately actuate all things.' It was moreover
 held, by the Egyptian Theologists, That GOD was τὸ παντὸς
 κόσμου τὸ δεικνόν Πνεῦμα, 'A Spirit, pervading the whole
 'World.' And Sextus Empericius represents this to be the
 Sense of Pythagoras, Empedocles, and all the Italick Philo-
 sopher: Μὴ μόνον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
 Θεοὺς εἶναι τινὰ κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τῶν
 Ζῶων ἐν τῷ ὑπαρχόντι Πνεύματι τὸ διὰ παντὸς κόσμου
 δεικνόν, ψυχῆς τρέπον τὸ καὶ ἐνὲν ἡμῶν πρὸς ἑκάστα. 'That
 'we Men have not only a Communion among ourselves with one
 'another, but also with the Gods above us, and with Brute Ani-
 'mals below us; because there is one Spirit, which, like a Soul,
 'pervades the whole World, and unites all the Parts thereof to-
 'gether.

whole World. According to them there is but one Divine * Nature, which in the Fire, or *Æther*, is called *Jupiter*, in the Air *Juno*, and so on in every Part of Matter, from the Diversity of Operations assuming different Appellations.

* *The Argumentation of our Author, against paying Divine Honours and Worship to many, but one only, is excellent, and convincing, even upon supposition of the Stoical Scheme. For it was essential to the Doctrine of the Stoicks, and perfectly unavoidable from their Principles, that all those worshipped as Gods by them, must perish, must be, as it were, dissolved, and melted down in the general Conflagration, and no other Deity possibly remain safe and unburnt, but their Zeus, or fiery Principle. Thus Plutarch, in his Defect of Oracles, writing of the Mortality of Dæmons: 'We know the Stoicks maintain this Opinion, not only concerning Dæmons, but also the Gods themselves, that they are Mortal. For though they own such a Multitude of Gods, yet do they acknowledge only one of them Eternal and Incorruptible; affirming, concerning all the rest, That as they were made in Time, so they shall be again corrupted and destroyed.' And Seneca compares the Life of a Wise Man in Solitude, to that of Jupiter, in one of these conflagrations, when Jupiter remains alone, and all the other Gods are perished: Qualis futura est vita sapientis, si sine amicis relinquatur, in custodiam conjectus, aut in desertum litus ejectus? Qualis est Jovis cum Resoluto Mundo & Dis in unum confusis, paulisper cessante Natura acquiescit sibi Cogitationibus suis traditus: 'If you ask, what would be the Life of a Wise Man in a Prison, or Desert? I answer; The same with that of Jupiter: When the World being dissolved, and the Gods all confounded into one, and the Course of Nature ceasing, he resteth in himself, conversing with his own Thoughts.' And agreeably to this Notion, is that ironical Lamentation of Jupiter, for being left all alone in a conflagration: Τάλας ἔγω ἔτε τ' Ἡγεῦ ἔχω, ἔτε τ' Ἀθίνας, ἔτε τ' Ἀπόλλωνα. ἔτε Ὀλῆς. ἢ Ἀδύφον, ἢ Υἱόν, ἢ Συγγενῆ. Arr. l. iii. 13. 'Alas! I am now left all alone; I have neither Juno, nor Minerva, nor Apollo with me; neither Brother, nor Son, nor Nephew, nor Kinsman, to keep me company.*

SINCE

SINCE therefore all Sects have asserted the Unity of the Divine Nature, when they consider'd the first Principles of all Things; and we assert only, that the Creator of the Universe is the one only GOD, how come they to be indulg'd the Liberty of Writing and Speaking whatever they please of GOD, while we are by a Law debarred from declaring that we are justly convinced by the best Reasons, and do firmly believe there is but one GOD? The Poets and Philosophers proceeding after a similar Manner, as in other Things, tho' probably moved by a Divine Impulse to think on that Subject, vainly endeavoured to search out to Perfection, GOD, who is incomprehensible, by the Force of their own natural Reason, and therefore deservedly failed, because they sought not for the Knowledge of GOD from GOD Himself, but from their own Imaginations. Hence proceeds that Diversity of Opinions among them concerning GOD, Matter, and Form, and the World. But we have Prophets for Vouchers of our Faith, Men who spake as they were moved by the Divine SPIRIT concerning GOD, and the Things of GOD. And here we dare appeal to your Majesties, who are endued with a more intimate Knowledge of, and Piety towards, the Divine Nature, whether it be reasonable to disbelieve the Holy Spirit of GOD speaking through the Mouths of the Prophets as meer Instruments,

ments, and at the same time to place an entire Credit in the Inventions and Notions of Men.

BUT that there is but one GOD, the Maker of all Things, you may thus conceive, and thereby have a good *Rationale* of our Faith. If there were at first two or more Gods, they must have existed either together in one and the same Place, or each separately by himself: Now they could not exist in the same Place, they being of the same Nature both, and equal and commensurate to each other; for if they could, then must two Commensurates of the same Kind exist in one and the same Place. Things indeed created, and uncreated, do not necessarily exclude each other from Place, as being unequal, and incommensurate to each other, and also of a different Kind. If then they were equal and commensurate to each other, they could not have existed in, and both filled the same Place: But Things created and uncreated may, as being unequal and incommensurate; the Created after some Exemplar or Pattern, the Uncreated after none. But if as the Hand, the Eye, the Foot, constitute one Body, are the Complement of Parts, and all together compose one Being, and GOD be imagined to be after this Manner one, as made up of several integral Parts, it follows GOD is corruptible and perishable: For Man, as being subject
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to Division, and a Separation of Parts, is consequently a Creature, and corruptible. But GOD must be uncreated, impassible, and not to be divided, and therefore cannot consist of Parts. But on the other hand, if these Gods existed each separately, that GOD which made the Universe was immediately above the Things created, and comprehended within Himself all the Things He formed and regulated; where then can the other God be? For if the Universe be spherical, and the whole System be filled with Orbs, and the Builder of the World be above His Works, and governs them all by His Providence; what Place can there be for any other God, or Gods? Not in this World, because it is the Place of another; nor above it, for the GOD of this World is above, and comprehends within Himself all His Works. If then He is not either in or above this World, (for the Whole of it is filled by its Creator) where is He? Is he above this in some other Mundal System? which if it be granted, concerns not us at all, since He is not over us, because He governs not this World; nor can His Power be Divine, which is bounded by all this visible Universe. But farther, He cannot be in or over another World, for the Creator of ours fills all conceivable Space, governs all imaginable Beings: Therefore he cannot exist, for there is no Place wherein he should exist; and with-

without being in some Place, it is impossible he should be at all. But supposing he should be some where, what would he do? the Universe belongs to another: He must be imagined to be some where beyond the Creator of this World, since he cannot be over this, nor within it. But where is that Place where this imaginary Being can exist extrinsically to the Uncreated GOD? GOD and His Power must fill all Space, and leave no Void for another's Existence: Nor can that other God be conceiv'd to exercise a Providence and Care, because he made nothing to take Care of. It is evident then, that any other imagined God can neither do any thing, nor exist any where, and therefore there was from Eternity but one GOD only, namely, the Creator of the Universe.

BUT did we build our Belief on such Speculations as these, were such as these the only Proofs of our Religion, it might justly be looked on as a humane Scheme; but we have the Word of Prophecy to secure our Faith, and strengthen our Reason. I believe your Majesties, who are such great Lovers and Patrons of Learning, and learned Men, not to be unacquainted with the Writings of *Moses*, *Isaiab*, and *Jeremiab*, and of the other Prophets, who, in Extasies, delivered such Notions as were inspired into them by the Holy SPIRIT, who used them (to make a low Comparifon) as a Musician
doth

doth a Pipe; to communicate his Will to Mankind. And what do they say? *I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no GOD besides Me. There is none besides Me; I am the Lord, and there is none else; Isa. xlv. 5, 6. And again, I, even I am He: Before Me, there was no GOD formed, neither shall there be after Me; Isa. xliii. 10. And again, See now that I, even I am He, and there is no God with Me: --- For I lift up My Hand to Heaven, and say, I live for ever; Deut. xxxii. 39, 40. And of His Greatness; Thus saith the Lord, The Heaven is My Throne, and the Earth is My Footstool: Where is the House that you build unto Me? And, where is the Place of My Rest? Isa. lxvi. 1.* I shall instance in no more Passages, but leave the whole Books to your own Perusal and Consideration, that you may yourselves search into the Prophecies, and, from your own personal Knowledge, vindicate us from all malicious Cavils and Censure.

It is abundantly plain then, that we do not deny the Existence of a GOD: We who maintain, there is one uncreated, eternal, invisible GOD, not subject to Passions, not to be circumscribed in Place, not capable of Divisibility, only to be comprehended in the Mind, and Spirit, and endued with incomprehensible Glory, Beauty, Power, and Majesty; by whom all Things were

made thro' His WORD, were disposed in this beautiful Harmony, and are continually sustained. We believe too in the SON of GOD; let not this be a Subject of Ridicule, because we mention a SON of GOD: We have not the same Notions of GOD, the Father, or the Son, as your absurd Poets and Mythologists have, who make their Gods as foolish and as wicked as themselves. The SON of GOD is the WORD of the Father, in Power and Energy: By Him and thro' Him were all Things created: For the Father and the Son are One: The Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Father, by the Unity and Power of the HOLY GHOST. For the SON of GOD is the WISDOM and WORD of GOD. If you desire a farther Explanation of the Meaning of SON in this Point, I will endeavour to give you a brief one: He is the First-Born of the Father, but not as ever beginning to exist; for from the Beginning, GOD being an eternal Mind, must have had, from all Eternity, the WORD in Himself; and as the Wisdom and Power, He exerted Himself in all things: All Matter was subject to Him by Formation, and the Elements blended together, and mixed by His Operation. The Prophetical Spirit too confirms this: *The Lord possessed Me in the Beginning of His Way, before His Works of Old: I was set up from Everlasting, from*
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the Beginning, or ever the Earth was. And as for the Holy Spirit, who speaks to us in the Prophets, we assert Him to proceed from GOD, and returning to GOD, as a Beam proceeds from the Sun, and is reflected back again. Who then can but wonder, to hear us charg'd of *Atheism*, who declare, there is GOD the Father, and GOD the Son, and the Holy Ghost; who acknowledge their Power in Unity and Distinction!

NOR do we here end our Belief of spiritual Natures; for we believe, there is a great Multitude of Angels, and ministring Spirits, whom the Divine Architect, and Creator of the World, hath distributed into several Ranks and Orders, and appointed to serve about the Elements, the Heaven, and the Earth, to regulate the Affairs and OEconomy of the World. Your Majesties will bear with my being thus particular in the Account of our Faith and Religion: We do it to obviate the vulgar Censure, and prevent your Majesties being carried away by popular Mistake; that you may learn from our own Tenets and Notions, which were not invented by Men, but delivered and taught us by GOD, how wide we are from being, as we are misrepresented, *Atheists*. And, what are our Rules, and Dogma's? Even these: *I say unto you, Love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, pray*

for them that persecute you ; --- That ye may be the Children of your Father which is in Heaven ; for He maketh His Sun to rise on the Evil, and on the Good, and sendeth Rain on the Just, and on the Unjust, Matth. v. 44, 45. Seeing then I make my Apology before Emperors, who are Philosophers, let me challenge any of the Tribe of Sophisters, who yet pretend to give their Readers such Information and Happiness from these Studies, to shew such a mild Disposition of Soul, a Heart so clear'd from Rancour and Malice, as to return even their Enemies Love for Hatred, to bless those who unjustly revile them ; nay, to pray for those who attempt their very Lives : Do not they always act the contrary part ? Do they not persecute any that injure them, after the most revengeful manner ? Do they not always study a severe Retaliation ? Nay, do they not professedly teach an Art of Words, and not a Rule of Actions ? But among us, you find unletter'd Men, ordinary Mechanicks, and even Women ; tho' they cannot by Words, defend or advantage our Religion, yet adorn it, and set it off, by bright Examples in their Actions ; they study not the Fineness of Composition, but practise the Solidity of Vertue : When struck, they strike not again ; they persecute not those who rob them ; they are charitable to such as stand in need of their Assistance ;

Assistance; and, in a Word, love their Neighbours (that is, all Men) as themselves. And can we be imagined, to exercise such an Innocence and Purity of Life, if we did not believe there was a GOD who presided over Mankind? No certainly; but being thoroughly convinced, that we shall one Day give an Account of our Lives and Actions to the great Creator of us, and all the World, we choose such a gentle, meek, and generally despised Method of Life; assuring ourselves, that we can suffer no Evil from our Persecutors, no, tho' it were the Loss of our very Lives, which can be of any Value or Consideration, when compar'd to that exceeding great Reward which GOD will give us hereafter.

Plato tells us, *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus* will judge the wicked, and punish them according to their Deserts: But, whether there were ever such Persons as *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*, or no, this is certain, neither they, nor their Fathers, shall escape the Judgment of GOD. Shall they who say, *Let us eat, and drink, for to morrow we die*; and by Death, mean a Futurity of deep Sleep, a State of eternal Insensibility; shall they (I say) be thought Religious, and to have any Regard for GOD? But we who despise the present, for the sake of a future Life, and heavenly Enjoyments, and study only to know GOD, and his coessential WORD: What is the Uni-

ty of the Son with the Father, and the Communion of the Father with the Son: What the Holy Ghost: What is the Unity of these Three: What the Distinction of them who are One, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: We who maintain, that the Life and Happiness which succeeds this, is greater than can be expressed, which is prepared for those who keep themselves unpolluted from all Wickedness: We who have such a general Benevolence for all Mankind, as not only to love those who love us, but our most bitter Enemies; (For our Blessed Saviour saith, *If you love those who love you, and lend to those who lend to you, what Reward have you?*) Shall we (I say) who receive such a holy Dispensation, and lead such a Life, that we may escape a Condemnation to come, be accused of, be condemned for the great Impiety of *Atheism*? These few Arguments, out of a great many, that I may not be too prolix, I presume to offer to your gracious Consideration; by which Specimen, you may be able to judge of the Goodness of the rest. But most of those who are so violent in accusing us, are Persons of the grossest Stupidity: Without Learning, without good Sense, who know nothing of Philosophy, nothing of Theology, place all Piety in outward Sacrifices and Ceremonies; these are they who accuse us of *Atheism*, who themselves

selves can tell no Difference between GOD and a Cloud; and for no other reason, than because we do not worship those as Gods, which the generality of Cities and States fondly believe to be such.

BE pleased, Great SIRs, to consider each Branch of this Charge against us: And first, of our not Sacrificing. Sure, the Great Father and Creator of the Universe wants not the Blood of Sacrifices, nor the Nidours and Steams of Victims, nor the sweet Scents and Perfumes of Incense; forasmuch as He is Perfection itself, He can want no Scents, can need nothing without Himself. The greatest Sacrifice we can give Him, is to study to know Him, who stretched out and compassed the Heavens, who fixed the Earth as a Center, who gathered the Waters together into the Seas, who divided the Light from the Darkness, who beautify'd the Skies with Stars, who commanded the Earth to bring forth every green Herb, who made all the Beasts, and, last of all, formed Man: When we thus contemplate Him as the Creator, the Preserver and Governor of all Things, and endued with infinite Wisdom and Power, and lift up holy Hands to Him, what need is there of any other Sacrifice? Why must we offer Holocausts, since GOD wants them not? We must offer an *unbloody Sacrifice*, a reasonable Service; and this GOD requires.

THE next thing they accuse us of, is our not praying to Statues, or honouring such as Gods, which the Countries and States about us do. But are they, who accuse us of *Atheism*, agreed among themselves, which Gods are to be worshipped? or, do they worship all? The *Athenians* have erected Statues to *Celeus*, and *Metanira*, as to Gods: The *Lacedemonians* have appointed Feasts and Sacrifices to *Menelaus*; the *Trojans*, on the contrary, who will not so much as hear of his Name, but as an Enemy, worship *Hector*. The *Chians* have erected Divine Statues to *Aristæus*, think him both *Apollo* and *Jupiter*; the *Tasians* to *Theagenes*, who committed a Murder at the *Olympick Games*; the *Samians* to *Lysander*, notwithstanding so many Murders and Villanies committed by him: *Alemon* and *Hesiod* to *Medæa*; the *Cilicians* to *Niobe*, and the *Sicilians* to *Philip* the Son of *Bontacides*; the *Amathusians* to *Onesilaus*, and the *Carthaginians* to *Amilcar*. But the Day would end, before I could reckon up all the Variety of their Deities: Since, therefore, they differ so much among themselves about their Gods, why should they be angry with us for not conforming ourselves to them? How ridiculous is the Behaviour of the *Egyptians* in their Ceremonies? How absurdly do they lament, and beat their Breasts in their Temples, for their Idols, as if deceased, and after wor-
ship

ship them as alive, and also as Gods? But nothing of this Kind can be thought strange, with regard to the *Egyptians*, who deify even Brutes; and when they die, bury them in their Temples, shave themselves for them, and order Publick Fasts. If therefore we are *Atheists*, because we differ from them in our Worship, the whole World must be so too; for no other Nations adore the same Gods as they do.

BUT supposing they were agreed in a Uniformity of Worship; because the generality of Mankind cannot distinguish between GOD and Matter, and what an infinite Disparity and Dissimilitude there is between them, and therefore pray to material Images and Statues: Shall we (I say) who make a vast Difference between Matter and Spirit, the World and GOD, between what is created and what is uncreated, what is Existence itself and a perfect Non-Entity, between what is the Object of the Understanding, and what is only of the Senses, and give each its due Properties and Attributes? shall we (I say) come, and fall down, and worship dead Statues and Images? If GOD and Matter were one Thing, were only different Names of the same Essence, we should be impious in not worshipping as Gods, Stones and Wood, Gold and Silver: But if there be an infinite Difference between them, as between the Art of the Artist,

Artist, and the gross Materials he works on; why are we arraigned? As the Clay is to the Potter, so is all Matter subject to the Will and Operation of GOD. As the Clay can form itself into no Vessel without the Skill and Hand of the Potter, so Matter, without being disposed by GOD, can, of itself, assume no Distinction, or Figure, or Ornament. As none are so stupid as to prefer the Work before the Artist, but if it hath any thing wonderful, attribute it not to the Matter, but give all the Praise of the Beauty and Usefulness of the Vessels to the Artist: Thus too, with respect to GOD and Matter; the Disposition and Order of the material World, speaks the Praise of the Almighty Architect, GOD, and not of Matter: And, if we should esteem every distinct Mechanism of Matter, as the Elementary Bodies, or Creatures, to be GOD, it would be plain we knew not the true GOD, inasmuch as we did equal, corruptible, and dissolvable Compounds, and mixt Bodies, to the one eternal and immutable GOD. It must be confessed, that the World is beautiful; and for its Magnitude, for its spherical Figure, and for the Disposition of all its Parts, most excellent, and wonderful: The Ranging of the Stars in the *Zodiack*, and the Fixation of the *North-Pole*, are of no small Service to Mankind. But we ought not to worship this great and beautiful System, or
any

any Part of it, but their Creator. As the Subjects of your Empire, when they have any Petition or Suit to your Majesties, neglect not to make their humble Application to you, the Lords and Governors of the Affairs they are then concerned in. They turn not themselves from you, to view and consider the Magnificence of your Palace; the Royal Dome they may with another Regard behold, and admire the Nobleness of the Structure, but must not thereby be distracted from paying all Honour and Obedience to your own Persons. Tho', among many others, there is this Difference in the Comparison; All Princes build their Palaces, in some measure, for their own Use and Conveniency; but GOD created the World, not for His own Use, as wanting Nothing. For GOD is every thing to Himself, is Light inaccessible, is a perfect World, is the Spirit, and the Power, and the Reason of All Things. If we consider the World as a perfect Instrument, moved in just Time and Harmony, I worship not the Instrument, but He that guides and directs it, and is the prime Cause of its Musick and Harmony. Thus they, who dispose of the Rewards in the publick Games, use not to crown the Harps, and neglect the Persons who play'd on them. If then the World be, as *Plato* imagines, the Art of GOD, I adore the Artist out of an Admiration of its Beauty:

Beauty : Or if, as the *Peripateticks* think, it be Substance and Body, we neglect not to worship its Spirit, the first Mover, GOD ; we fall not down to the poor and helpless Elements, nor absurdly adore corruptible Matter, with an immortal Spirit : Or, if the Power and Spirit of GOD be conceived to animate all the Parts of the Universe, we adore not those Emanations of the Divinity, but GOD Himself, the Fountain and Author of them. *Plato* seems to approve this. ‘ The System of Matter, which we call Heaven and Earth, hath had many Excellencies given it by the Creator ; but, notwithstanding, these are no more than corporeal, and therefore necessarily subject to Change and Dissolution.’ If then I admire the Beauty and Contrivance of the Elements, yet worship them not as GOD, as knowing they are in their own Nature corruptible ; how much less shall I adore as Gods, Statues and Images, which, I perfectly know, Men, like myself, have made ?

MAY it please now your Majesties to consider well this Point : It is necessary for me, in making an Apology, to examine thoroughly into this Matter, and shew, that the very Names of these Gods are Modern, and that these Statues were made as yesterday almost. You yourselves are conversant in all, and especially in ancient Authors, and therefore will, on a little Recollection, inform yourselves,

selves, better than I can do, of the Truths
 hereof. I shall therefore only hint, that
 some Men, as *Orpheus*, *Homer*, and *Hesiod*,
 were Contemporary with, or but a very lit-
 tle later than those by you called Gods. This
Herodotus testifies. ' *Hesiod* and *Homer*, I am
 of Opinion, were not above Five hundred
 Years more ancient than myself. They first
 fram'd a certain Theogony for the *Greeks*,
 gave Names to their several Divinities, di-
 stributed their Honours and Arts, and de-
 scribed their Sex, and very outward Form.'
 But Pictures and Images were not invented
 till many Years after this. Painting and
 Sculpture are not so much as named till the
 Times of *Saurias* of *Samos*, *Crato* the *Scy-*
conian, *Cleanthes* of *Corinth*, and *Core*. Draw-
 ing was invented by *Saurias* of *Samos*, upon
 accidentally etching out a Horse from his
 Shadow in the Sun. *Crato*, who invented
 Painting, first made a colour'd Picture of a
 Man on a whited Board. Making of Wax
 Images was invented by *Core*, who being in
 Love, drew her Lover's Picture on a Wall
 as he lay by asleep; and her Father extreme-
 ly delighted with the Exactness of the Like-
 ness, and happening to be a Joiner by Pro-
 fession, cut out the Features, and filled them
 with Wax. This was the Original of that
 Art, and the Archetype is still preserved at
Corinth. *Dadalus* and *Theodorus* the *Mile-*
sian, long after this, found out Statuary.

Of so modern a Date are the Statues of all the Gods, that we can name the very Persons that made them. *Endyus*, the Scholar of *Dædalus*, made the fam'd Statue of *Diana* of *Ephefus*, and that of *Minerva Athena*, or rather *Athela*, as their Mysticks choose to call her. *Pythian Apollo* is the Work of *Theodorus* and *Telecles*; *Delius* and *Artemis* are made by *Ideætetus*. *Angelion* and *Smilis* made *Juno* in *Argos* and *Samos*; and *Phidias*, the other famous Statues. *Praxiteles* carved the Statue of *Venus the Lady* in *Cnidos*; *Phidias* that of *Æscalapius* in *Epidaurus*; and to conclude, there was not any Statue which was not made by some Man or other. If then these are Gods, how is it they were made by the Hands of Men? how is it they did not exist from the Beginning? how come they to be later than the above-mentioned Authors of them? how came they to stand in need of Men, and their Art, that they might exist. They are but Earth, Wood, and Stone, curiously wrought. But this I know is granted by some who readily allow that they are in themselves but meer Images, but will have them to be Representatives of the Gods; and thence argue, that all Worship paid to them, all Supplication offer'd before them, is ultimately referr'd to the represented Gods; and that there is no other Way by which we can approach the Divine Natures, forasmuch as the real Sight of the

the Gods is terrible, and not to be borne. And to confirm this, we are told some Stories of Miracles wrought by these Images. Let this Matter then be thorowly examin'd into by you, Mighty Princes; and since this *Apology* was not undertaken by us so much to expose them, as to clear ourselves of the Censure cast upon us, permit us to argue for the Truth, and to give an Account of our Faith. For in you we see some Resemblance of the Heavenly Kingdom, inasmuch as you the Father and Son jointly govern this whole Empire, which is given you by GOD. Since as the Heart of Princes, so their Power, is in the Hand of GOD, according to the Prophetick Spirit, even so are all Things subject to GOD and His Son the undivided WORD.

Now with respect to these Gods before spoken of, be pleas'd farther to observe, they are allowed not to have been from Eternity, but were every one of them born in the same Manner as we are. This they all agree to; thus *Homer* sings:

Ocean and Tethys, Parents of the Gods.

Orpheus, who first invented Names for them, and gave us their Genealogy, and the History of their Actions, is thought to have deliver'd us the truest Theology; and from him *Homer* took many Things, especially such as
related

related to the Gods; even he too makes *Oceanus*, or Water, to be the Origin of them all.

Old Ocean, Origin of all the Gods.

For according to him all Things sprung from Water; and first *Ilus* was born, and by both was generated the first Animal *Draco*, which had the Head of a Lyon, and in the Middle the Face of a certain God, called *Heracles*, or *Cronos*. This *Heracles*, or *Cronos*, produced an Egg of wonderful Magnitude, which being made pregnant by Incubation, was by some Violence broke; and the two Parts being separated, the uppermost constituted the Heavens, and the lowermost the Earth. And now *Terra*, or the Earth, began to be a Goddess; and Heaven and Earth, or *Cælus* and *Terra*, begat Daughters, *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*; and Sons with a hundred Hands each, as *Cotta*, *Briareus*, and *Gyges*, and the *Cyclopes*, named *Brontis*, *Sterops*, and *Argos*, which *Cælus* bound in Chains and flung down to *Tartarus*, he having foreseen that he should be dethroned by his Sons; and *Terra* being upon this Account angry, produced the *Titans*.

*Then Mother Earth produc'd Cæstial Youths,
Call'd Titans, from the fierce Revenge they took
On Starry Cælus.*

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This is according to those ancient Poets, the Beginning and Original of their Gods, and of all Things else. But if they did begin to be, as their own Theologues confess, then they did not always exist; for a Thing must be either self-existent, and therefore eternal; or generated, and therefore corruptible: Your own Philosophers agree to this. Thus Plato: *We must distinguish between these two, what is Self-existent and Un-generated, and what is Generated, and therefore not Self-existent.* He speaks here of Intelligible and sensible Existencies; those which always have existed, he calls the Intelligible and the Un-generated; and those which have not so existed, the Sensible, as both beginning to be, and subject to cease from being. And much after the same Opinion do the Stoicks speak, when they say, *All Things shall be destroyed by Fire, and the World have a new Beginning.* But if there be, as they assert, these two Principles, the one Operative, and a first Mover, as Form; the other Passive, and Moved, as Matter; it is plain the World cannot subsist for ever, as being thus made. How then can these Gods live for ever, who are not self-existent, but originated? Or wherein can the Gods be thought superiour to Matter, who derive their Natures from a first Matter, which they called Water? Nay farther, neither do they even think Water itself to have been the first and supreme Origin

gin of all Things : And yet what can be composed of simple and homogeneous Elements? (Matter necessarily requires an Artist, and an Artist Matter.) Or how could the Forms of Things exist, without Matter or Artist? But what can be more absurd, than to make Water more ancient than the Gods? forasmuch as the efficient Cause must necessarily have been before the Thing effected. Hence their Theology is full of Absurdity, inasmuch as it teaches their Gods had a Beginning, nay, were originated of Water.

HAVING now proved, that whatever is generated, or made, is capable of Dissolution, I shall proceed to instance in some other Absurdities of their Scheme, with relation to the Forms and Figures they so monstrously bestow on their Gods. *Heracles* is deliver'd by them to have been in the Form of a twisting Serpent : The *Titans* are described with a Hundred Hands each ; and *Jupiter's* Daughter, by his Mother *Rhea*, or *Ceres*, to have two Eyes in the usual Places, and two others above them in her Forehead, with a Bird's Beak on the hinder part of her Neck, and Horns on her Head : And *Rhea* affrighted at so monstrous a Birth, is said to have fled away, refusing to give it Suck ; and therefore their Mysticks (forsooth) call her Lady *Athela*, that is, not suckled, but more generally *Persephone* ; not that *Minerva*, or
Athena,

Athena, which was called *Glaucopis* from her Blue Eyes. And after this they proceed to give us a long Gallimawfrey of Absurdities, as if they thought it a clear and rational Account of the Actions of their Gods. *Saturn* castrated his Father, flung him headlong out of his own Chariot, and ravenously devour'd his own Children. His Son put his Father in Chains, drove him from Heaven, as *Cælus* had done his Sons before, and made War after this with the *Titans* for his Empire. He endeavoured to ravish his Mother *Rhea*, and upon her refusing to yield, and changing herself thereupon into a Female Serpent, he changed himself into a Serpent too, and had carnal Knowledge of her, wreathing about her in a *Herculean* Fold; the Memorial of which Affair is preserved in the Symbolical Serpents wreathed about each other in the *Caduceus* of *Mercury*: And not content with this, he proceeded to ravish his own Daughter *Persephone*, and had by her a Son called *Dionysius*. It was indeed necessary for me to say thus much of their fabulous Theology; and now, pray, what Religion, yea, what common Decency is there in these Histories? or what is there that should induce any one to believe *Cronos*, or *Jupiter*, or *Persephone*, and the rest, to have been Gods and Goddesses? Shall I urge against their Forms; who of any common Sense can even believe,

that Serpents were begotten by Gods, as *Orpheus* tells us ?

*Phanes produc'd a strange and monstrous Birth;
A Dragon's fiery Form, yet silken Hair
Fell from her Head, which shew'd a lovely Face;
The other Parts all Serpents were. ----*

What Man of ordinary Sense can away with these senseless Tales; can worship *Phanes* or *Cælus* for a God, yea, the eldest God, for he was the very First-Born of the Egg; or can imagine he had any Shape or Similitude of a Serpent? or that his Son *Jupiter* devoured *Metis*, to secure the Possession of his Kingdom?

SINCE these called Gods are guilty of more Brutalities than the very Beasts, can we be so stupid as to think them real Gods? when it is clear, that the Divine Nature, or a GOD, must be distinct, and perfectly different from all Terrestrial or Material Substance. And can we be blamed for not Praying to such as are confessedly begotten like to Brutes, and whose Shapes are the most absurd Compositions of whatever is either terrible or ridiculous? Nay more, it would be something tolerable, were these Divinities only Flesh and Blood, or had only Animal Passions and Desires; for then it would be somewhat possible to bear with so ridiculous a System as this, tho' we know
very

very well the Divine Nature cannot be subject to Anger, or Desire, or Sensuality; but we will bear yet with this, let them only behave with some Decency, let them not be so peevish and quarrelsome; let not *Minerva* shew herself

Wrathful at Jove, fell Anger burns her Heart.

Let not *Juno* be seen in such a Rage;

Juno could not contain her Rage, but spoke.

Let not *Jupiter* be lost in Sorrow:

*Alas, I see the Man I love, pursued
Round Troy's fam'd Walls, and Grief eats
up my Heart.*

Now, I say, Men who suffer themselves to be extravagantly hurried away by Passions; as Rage, or Grief, are of weak and rude Minds; but for the Father Himself of Gods and Men to weep and pine for his Son;

*Alas Sarpedon, most belov'd of Men,
Must fall by bold Patroclus's Spear.*

And though he be thus much concerned for him, he cannot save him:

*Sarpedon is Jove's Son, but Jove can't save
His much-lov'd Son.*

Can we think the Admirers of such Fables as these, Lovers of the Deity? or rather are they not stark Atheists? since can there be any thing more ridiculous imposed on the Understanding of Man?

BUT if I am to bear with Gods for being Flesh and Blood, pray let them keep out of Harms way, let them not get wounded, as *Venus* was in her Body by *Diomedes*;

Tydeus's great Son gave me this grievous Wound;

or in her Heart by *Mars*, as her Husband *Vulcan* complains :

*Me her lame Husband, Venus doth despise,
For the young Mars hath smit her Heart,----*

Nay, *Mars* had

His sprightly Body pierc'd by Diomedes.

How! the God of Battle, the Champion of the Heavens, the Assister of *Jupiter*, against the *Titans*, is he baffled by a *Diomedes*?

With madding Mind he burns in Arms like Mars,

Away with Stuff like this, thou blind *Homer*: GOD cannot act madly, But it seems
your

your Poets carry the Matter farther, make him a Destroyer, and a Murderer ;

Destroying, murdering Mars.

Nay, an Adulterer, and caught in the Fact.

*They went to Bed, the subtile unseen Chains
By Vulcan forg'd did soon inclose their Limbs,
And held them fast. -----*

And how many of such impious Absurdities do they heap and cast into their Accounts of the Gods? *Cælus* is castrated, *Cronos* is chain'd and flung down to *Tartarus*, the *Titans* rebell, *Styx* is killed in the Battle. From the last Instance then, the Gods are shew'd not to be immortal: They are in Love with one another, and also with Men and Women.

*Æneas, whom the Golden Venus bore,
Got by Anchises in th' Idæan Groves.*

Are not the Gods here declared subject to all the Passions of Men? But if they were indeed Gods, they could not be touched with Concupiscence? or if GOD did take our Flesh on Him, would He be a Slave to such Affections?

*Goddeſs nor Woman never in my Breast
Kindled before ſo fierce a Flame of Love.*

*I lov'd Ixion's Wife, the Acrisian Maid
 Alcmena, Semele, and Europa, fair
 Latona once, and Ceres warm'd my Blood ;
 I have lov'd you, but all my Love before
 Was as an Infant's Dream, compar'd to this.*

Whoever it be that is thus disposed, must be no more than meer Man, a generated and mortal Creature, without any Attributes or Form of GOD.

BUT let us observe farther, these Gods find it now and then for their Conveniency, to hire themselves out to Mortals :

*Hail Palace of Admetus, where once I,
 Altho' a God, sate at a menial Board.*

And feed Cattle :

*For here I came, and fed his lowing Herds,
 And kept this House.*

Certainly *Admetus* was a Man superiour to his Godship. O Prophet! O wise Foreseer of the Calamities of others, but ignorant of thy own! How couldst thou not prophesy that thou shouldst kill the Boy, the dear Boy?

*I thought Apollo always spoke the Truth,
 Divine, and true, foreseeing Things to come.*

May we not think that *Æschylus* abuses *Apollo*, as calling him a false Prophet, and supposing him caught in a Lye?

*The Subject of your Hymns this feasted God,
He 'twas that kill'd my Son.*

BUT this (it may be said) is the Dress the Poets have given to your Theology; and the thing may be quite different when taken in an abstracted and philosophical Sense: Well, ---- let us now consider it then in the best Light which it can be put in by you, and as *Empedocles* says;

*Let Jove be Fire, Juno the Air,
Pluto the Earth, Nestis the genial Stream.*

I grant then they did mean this; let *Jupiter* be Fire, and *Juno* the Air, *Pluto* the Earth, and *Nestis* Water; still Fire, Water, Earth, and Air, are but the Elements; therefore none of them can be GOD, not *Jupiter*, nor *Juno*, nor *Pluto*, nor *Nestis*; for all these Elements owe their Original to Matter, which is perfectly distinct from GOD.

*Fire, Water, Earth, and the mild fleeting Air,
With Harmony ----*

Without Harmony these Elements could not
con-

consist, but would be dissipated by Discord; how then can they be called Gods? According to *Empedocles*, Harmony alone is the leading Principle, and to which all Elementary Compounds are subject. Then the first leading Principle is the Lord over them. If then you make the commanding and governing Principle of the same Power, you give the same Honour to corruptible and changeable Matter, as to the uncreated, eternal, and unchangeable GOD.

OR, let *Jupiter* be, according to the *Stoicks*, fiery Essence, *Juno* the airy, and *Neptune* the watry; which Etymologists may, perhaps, shew from the Words: Or, let another Interpretation be given to them. Some make the Air an Hermaphrodite, both Male and Female, and call it *Jupiter*; others *Opportunity*, and is therefore alone said to have escaped the Teeth of Time, or *Cronos*. Tho', with the *Stoicks*, you may argue thus; If you think the one GOD above to be Eternal and Uncreated, but according to the Variations of Matter thro' all which His Spirit is diffused, He assumes different Appellations, such Systems of Matter will make, as it were, the Body of GOD: And farther, since these Elements are subject to a general Conflagration, as they believe all these Combinations or Systems of Matter will be utterly destroyed,

ed, and there will, consequently, remain only the Spirit, which is GOD. Who then can call those Elements Gods, which, upon the sole Account of their being Material, are subject to Variation? But as to the Fable of *Cronos*, hinted at above, whether is meant by it Time, and by *Rhea* the Earth, and She be said to conceive by Time, or *Cronos*, and bring forth; and, therefore, be styled the Mother of all Things, and He be said to beget and devour them: Let the Madness of *Cronos* be understood of the Changes and different Seasons of the Year, which destroy both animate and inanimate Things. By Chains, and *Tartarus*, let there be understood the Revolution, and fixed Course of the Year. Whether then by *Cronos* is meant Time, or any Season, 'tis plainly subject to Changes: Or, if Darkness is meant thereby, or Frigidity, or Moisture, all these are alterable: But, the Divine Nature is unalterable, immovable, and unchangble; and, therefore, neither *Cronos*, nor any Image of Him, can be GOD. And as concerning *Jupiter*, whether He be the Air, the Male of which is called *Jupiter*, and the Female *Juno*, (and therefore styled Sister and Wife) it is changeable; or, if by Him is meant any Season, it also is changeable: But GOD never varies; therefore, that is not GOD.

BUT

BUT I am too prolix on this Head, and trouble your Majesties with these Philosophical Interpretations, which you have a much greater Knowledge of. Why should I mention *Minerva*, which they interpret *Wisdom*, diffused through All Things? Or *Isis*, by which is understood natural Time, in which all Things are born, and through which they exist: Or *Osiris*, who was killed by his Brother *Typho*, and whom his Mother sought for, and found his Limbs, and buried them; and whose Tomb is to this Day in being, and is called by his Name: For, while Men wander among the Systems and Compounds of Matter, they deviate from the true GOD, who is comprehensible by the Mind only; and thence they deify the Elements, and Parts of them, by different Names. Thus *Osiris* killed, is interpreted the *sowed Seed*, and * *Isis* gathering his Limbs the *reaping*

* Notwithstanding what is here said, and in most Authors, concerning the Multitude of Gods worshipped by the Egyptians, some very considerable Men, both of the Ancients and Moderns, have thought, the more Intelligent among them believed, there was one GOD only; and this very Story of Isis and Osiris hath been itself urged as a Proof. The whole Thing is thus, in the learned Cudworth: 'Our second Observation is this, That the Egyptian Theology, asserting one incorporeal Deity, that is, All Things; as it is evident, that it could not admit a Multitude of self-existent and independent Deities, so did the seeming Polytheism of these Egyptians proceed also, in great measure, from this Principle of theirs, not rightly understood; they being led

Corn;

Corn; and then, the solemn εὐρήκαμεν, we have found him, is the Joy of Harvest: The Fruit of the Vine they call *Bacchus*, and the Vine itself *Semele*, and the Thunder the *Heat of the Sun*. And thus they go on

thereby, in a certain Sense, θεοποιεῖν, to personate and deify the several Parts of the World, and Things of Nature, bestowing the Names of Gods and Goddesses upon them: Not that they thereby worshipped the inanimate Parts of the World as such, much less Things not substantial, but meer Accidents, for so many real distinct personal Deities; but because, conceiving that GOD was All Things, ought to be worshipped in all Things, (such, especially, as were more beneficial to Mankind;) they did, according to that Asclepian and Trismegistick Doctrine beforemention'd, call God by the Name of every thing, or every thing by the Name of GOD. And that the wiser of them very well understood, that it was really one and the same simple Deity that was thus worshipped amongst them by piece-meal, in the several Parts of the World, and Things of Nature, and under different Names and Notions, and with different Ceremonies, is thus declared by Plutarch: Ἑλληνικὸν ἢ Ἴσις ὄσι, καὶ ὁ Τυφῶν πολέμιος τῇ Θεῷ, καὶ δι' ἀγνοίαν καὶ ἀπάτην τελευτωμένη, καὶ διασπῶν καὶ ἀφανίζων τὴν ἱερὸν λόγον ὃν ἡ Θεὸς σωτήρια καὶ σωτήρησι, καὶ ἀπαλλάττει τοῖς τελευτωμένοις θεώσεως. Isis is a Greek Word, which signifies Knowledge; and Typhon is the Enemy to this Goddess, who being puffed up by Ignorance and Error, doth distract and disceip the holy Doctrine, (of the simple Deity;) which Isis collects together again, and makes up into one, and thus delivers it to those who are initiated into her sacred Mysteries, in order to Deification. In which Words, Plutarch intimates, That the Egyptian Fable of Osiris being mangled and cut in pieces by Typhon, did allegorically signify the Disceip and Distracttion of the simple Deity, by reason of the Weakness and Ignorance of vulgar Minds, (not able to comprehend it altogether at once) into several Names, and partial Notions, which yet true Knowledge and Understanding, that is, Isis makes up whole again, and unites into one. Cud. Intel. Syst. p. 414.

with

with their odd Interpretations, but still cannot find Salvo's for a Number of Absurdities; and while they strain some of these Stories into a mystick Sense, they put the remaining into a more glaring, ridiculous Light.

FOR, let *Jupiter* be supposed to be the Air, *Juno* the Earth, and so forth; what Relation hath *Europa* and a *Bull*, a *Swan* and *Leda*, to the Earth, or Air? What can his foul Adulteries mean, which can concern Earth, or Air? The true Fact is, All the Philosophers had but narrow and gross Apprehensions of the Greatness and Majesty of GOD; they were unable to raise their Minds, by any divine Sympathy or Devotion, to the heavenly Things; but sunk into the Mire of Matter, and deify'd that in several Forms and Systems: And with just the same Folly, as if any one should honour the Ship he sailed in, or any Part of it, as the Pilot. Tho' a Ship, however well rigged, if wanting a Pilot, is yet a good Emblem of the Imperfection of the Elements, which, without a GOD, would be of no Use, tho' ordered as we see them: For as the Ship without a Pilot cannot sail, neither can the Elements move without a GOD.

It may be demanded here, by your Majesties, by what Means can the Idols perform some very extraordinary Actions, if they

they were not the Statues and Representatives of true Gods? since it is absurd to think, fixed and inanimate Images can do any thing of themselves, and without some Mover? In answer to this Objection, we grant, *First*, That there have been in several Countries and Cities, some surprizing Things done in the Name, and as if really by these Statues. But we think not this sufficient to oblige us to believe them Gods; whether some Persons may have suffered any Calamity, or gained any Profit through their Means. That I may prove this, I shall strictly examine, in what Sense Statues can be conceived to do any thing, and what those Beings are who assume their Names, and perform all the Actions attributed to them. In order then to shew, who those are, who personate these Idols, and do some strange Feats, and to prove they are not Gods, it will be proper to have recourse to the general Notions of your own Philosophers. And, *First*, *Thales* divides superiour Beings into three Orders, or Ranks, *GOD*, *Dæmons*, and *Genii*; *GOD* he conceives to be the Mind of the World, *Dæmons* he thinks spiritual Beings, and *Genii* the separate Souls of Men, good ones of good Men, and bad of bad Men. *Plato* too makes three Orders of superiour Beings; the uncreated *GOD*, the Planets and fixed Stars created for the

Orna-

Ornament of the Heavens, and the *Dæmons*: Concerning which *Dæmons*, he declines giving any Opinion of his own, and advises rather to acquiesce in what had been already delivered by other Writers. 'But to speak of the other *Dæmons*, and to conceive their Generation, is a Matter above my Abilities, we must believe what is already declared: And as being the Off-spring of the Gods, according as they assure us, they themselves must have known best their own Original: For we ought not to disbelieve the Accounts the Sons of the Gods give concerning themselves, though they do not prove them to us by necessary Demonstration. And since they declare, they speak of Matters peculiar to themselves, we should obey the Law of our Country, and believe them. Therefore, agreeable to what they have said, I shall give this Account of the Generation of the Gods. *Oceanus* and *Tethys* were begot by *Cælus* and *Terra*; *Phorcis*, *Saturn*, and *Rhea*, by them: And *Jupiter*, and *Juno*, and a great many others, which we every day hear styled their Brothers and Sisters, were begot by *Saturn* and *Rhea*. And from these are descended a great many other Divinities.' But could the great *Plato*, who had a Notion of the eternal Mind, GOD, only comprehensible spiritually, who gives Him His distinguishing Attributes, perfect Existence,

Existence, Unity, Goodness, and Truth; that He is King over All Things; that All Things were made according to His good Pleasure; that He is the Cause of all Things, is second in second Causes; and third in third Causes: Could it be above His Understanding, to discover the Truth concerning Gods said to be begotten of sensible Bodies, the Heaven, and the Earth? No; this must not be understood so of *Plato*; but after this manner, he knew it was impossible, that Gods should beget, or be begotten, because whatever hath a Beginning shall also have an End: But he knew too, it was still more impossible to undeceive the generality even of these Absurdities, which they had sucked in, and for this Reason saith, 'It is above his Abilites to inform them, after what manner those *Dæmons* were generated: ' And this is plain, from these Words of his. 'The great Ruler in Heaven driving his winged Chariot, goes before, ordering and presiding over All Things; a Host of Gods and *Dæmons* follow him.' This cannot be applied to *Jupiter*, Son of *Saturn*. For hereby the great Creator of the World is meant, as *Plato* clearly enough expresses himself; but he wanting a more pro-

per Name, gives him the common Appellative of *Jupiter*, as the Word which expressed the highest Notion of the Vulgar. He used it as a Name not proper and peculiar to GOD, but as one just hinting thereby His Nature; and since it was impossible to describe GOD according to His Greatness to the Vulgar, he aggrandizes the common Phrase as much as possible, gives it the Epithets *Great* and *Ruler*, that he might distinguish the heavenly from the earthly, the uncreated from the created, from one not only younger than his Parents *Cælus* and *Terra*, but even than Mortals, the *Cretans*, who hid the helpless God from being eat up by his Father.

I NEED not enlarge before your Majesties, who have an universal Knowledge in these Matters; nor examine any farther into the Philosophers and Poets Opinions and Notions: Who, whether or no they did acknowledge one GOD, yet did apparently always speak of these as of *Dæmons*, or as of Matter variously modified, or as of Men once in being. And such Notions as these we justly reject, who distinguish between GOD and Matter, and their different Essences, as we acknowledge GOD, and the Son His *Logos*, with the Holy Ghost, one as to their
Power,

Power, (or one Power) even the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; the Son to be the Mind, the Word the Wisdom of the Father, and the Spirit to proceed as Light doth from Fire: So we confess, there are other Powers in and conversant about Matter opposed to GOD; not that there is any contrary Principle to GOD, as the Notion of *Empedocles* was of Discord and Harmony. But there is opposed to the Goodness of GOD, which is an inseparable Property of His Nature, a certain Spirit conversant about Matter, yet made by GOD as the other Spirits or Angels were, and entrusted with the Management of Matter, and of its Forms. For Angels were for this End created, that they might preside over, and govern Things made and put in order by GOD. For tho' GOD Himself doth exercise an universal and general Providence over all His Creatures, yet the Charge of Particulars is committed to Angels set over them; and as Men were endued with Free-Will, and the Power of choosing Good or Ill; so, in like manner, was the Condition of the Angels. For you would neither reward the Good, nor punish the Bad, if Vertue and Vice were not equally in their Power, and some behaved themselves faithfully, and others unfaithfully,

fully, in their Charges. Some of the Angels, by a right Use of their Liberty, continued such as they were created by GOD, and in due Obedience to His Commands: Others, on the contrary, acted unbecoming their State and Office; particularly, the presiding Angel over Matter, and its Forms, with some others, who were placed over Things in this lower Atmosphere, (we speak nothing as of ourselves, but only relate what our Books have declared) fell into Concupiscence, and the Love of Women, and became subject to the Flesh; and the presiding Spirit grew negligent and wicked in the Administration of the Charge committed to Him. And these, who thus fell in Love with Women, begat the Giants so called. Here be not surprized, if your own Poetical History hath something like this; ' Divine and Heavenly
' Wisdom is as much different from the
' Earthly and Worldly as the Resem-
' blance of Truth is from Truth itself: For even the President over Matter

*Speaks often Lyes, which bear the Form
of Truth.*

These

These * Angels, therefore, falling from their first State and Heaven, not being able to raise themselves again to Heaven, as also the Souls of the Giants,

* Plato says very near the same thing, in his Phædo; but we find a full Record of this Notion in Hierocles, and is by him attributed to Empedocles and Pythagoras, as well as to Plato: Κάτεσι κὺ Σποπίπης τ' εὐδαίμωνθ· χῶεξς ὁ ἀνθρώπθ· ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς οἴσιν ὁ Πυθαγόρειθ, — φυγὰς Θεΐθεν, κὺ Ἀλιπης Νείκω, μαινομώμω Πέσωθ· — Ἄνεσι ὃ κὺ τ' ἀρχαίαν ἔξιν Σπολαμβάνι·

Εἰ φάξι τὰ πει γλῶ κὺ τ' ἀτέρπεα χῶεον,
Ἐνθα φύνθ, τε Κότθ, τε κὺ ἄλλων ἔθνεα
κηρῶν.

Εἰς ὃν οἱ ἐκπέσοντες,

* Ατῆς

— Ἄνὰ λειμῶνα τε κὺ σκότθ ἠλάτκεσιν.

Ἡ ὃ ἔρεσις τ' φεῖοντθ τ' τ' Ἄτῆς λειμῶνα πρὸς τ' ἀληθείας ἐπέσει λειμῶνα, ὃν Σπολειπόν τῆ ὄρμη πλερρῦσεως εἰς γνῖνον ἔρχεθ σῶμα, ὀλβία — αἰώνθ ἀμυθείς. Man falleth from his happy State, as Empedocles the Pythagorean says, — by being a Fugitive, Apostate, and Wanderer from GOD, acted with a certain, mad, and irrational Strife, or Contention. — But he ascends again, and recovers his former State; — If he

Decline these earthly Things, and wretched State, Where Murder, Wrath, and Troops of Mischiefs reign.

into which Place they who fall, wander up and down through the Field of Ate and Darkness: But the Desire of him that flies from this Field of Ate, carries him on towards the Field of Truth; which the Soul at first relinquishing, and loosing its Wings, fell downward into this earthly Body, deprived of its happy Life.

wander up and down the Earth, and excite Motions agreeable to their Constitutions, or the Lusts they once pursued, and especially the Prince of Matter, as appears from the Events of Things, opposes and thwarts the Goodness of GOD;

*When I consider, Doubt perplext my Breast
If GOD or Fortune guides the Life of Man,
For Ills unmerited the Good oppress,
And unforeseen Success the Villain crowns.*

The unequal Distribution of Adversity and Prosperity makes *Euripides* doubt, to what he should attribute the Regulation of humane Affairs: Upon consideration of which, one might say,

*When we see these Things, how can I think
There is a GOD, or follow Rules. ----*

And hence, *Aristotle* too hastily concludes, That all sublunary Things were not governed by Providence. This is a Mistake; for the Divine Providence extends itself equally over the Affairs of this World.

*Whether it will or no, the teeming Earth
Produces Grass to feed my lowing Herds.*

THE Generals are regulated according to Merit, by certain universal Laws, so that nothing is fortuitous, but the Particulars being comprehended under those universal Laws, may thereby be involved in a general Good or Evil springing from them. Yet upon account of the Disturbances of such Laws, and Irregularities from them occasioned by the Operation and Energy of Evil Spirits, and particularly of *Satan* their Prince, who tempt from within and without, as particular Persons, so also whole Nations, after sundry Manners, according to the stated Laws of Matter, and their respective Dispositions to the Heavenly Bodies: Some Persons of Name have imagined the World to have been created without any Design or Order, and to have been first made, and still govern'd by what they call Chance.

BUT these observe not how every part of the Elementary World, and whatever regards the Frame and Constitution of the whole Universe, is in perfect Order, being immediately taken Care of by Divine Providence, and therefore nothing can break that Regularity in which it was at first created. Thus, for instance, Mankind hath one constant and univocal Manner of Generation; keeps a certain

Shape and Contexture of Limbs, and hath a general and much-alike Term and Period of Life. Notwithstanding which, according to his own Particularity of Disposition and Temperament, and according to the Operation or Temptation of the malignant presiding Spirit, and evil Angels his Associates, he is in some Cases differently moved and acted. Those of them then, who incline and tempt Men to the Worship of Idols, are such of the above-mentioned evil Spirits, as are delighted in the Blood of Sacrifices, and are imagined to lick it up. But those of your Gods which are held in such Admiration by the Vulgar, and whose Names the Statues bear, what are they, or what their Worshippers? Some command the Privy-Parts to be cut off, as those who minister to *Rhea*; others cut and wound their Bodies, as the Woshippers of *Diana*; nay more, *Diana*, surnamed *Taurica*, commands Strangers to be sacrificed to her. I forbear here mentioning those who are so moderate as only to cut and slash themselves with Knives, or to whip themselves; as also the Rabble of these petty Deities: But GOD sure doth not command us to act after this unnatural Manner.

But

*But when a Dæmon aims to bring a
Plague
On Man, he first infatuates the Mind.*

But GOD is perfectly good, and therefore is eternally beneficent.

BUT moreover, those malevolent Beings which operate after this Manner, and they to whom the Statues are inscribed, are perfectly different. Proofs of this may be taken from *Troas* and *Parium*; the one of those hath the Statue of my Contemporary one *Neryllinus*, the other, those of *Alexander* and *Proteus*. *Alexander's* Tomb and Statue are yet in the *Forum*; and the Statues of *Neryllinus* are the frequent Ornaments of the City, if they may be called Ornaments to a City. The first of these is imagined to cure Diseases, and to give Responses, and the Inhabitants of *Troas* very devoutly sacrifice to it, and, on solemn Occasions, gild it over with Gold, and crown it with Chaplets; The Statue of *Proteus* is said to have the Gift of Prophecy, who, as you know very well, threw himself into the Fire at the Olympicks. But to the Statue of *Alexander*, as to a beneficent and kind God, there are publick Feasts and Sacrifices instituted: Of whom the Poet;

Unlucky,

Unlucky, beauteous, mad with Women's Lust.

Which of them then is it, that performs what is attributed to the Statues? *Neryllinus*, or *Proteus*, or *Alexander*, or is it the Composition of the Matter? As to the Matter of these Statues that is Brass, and what can Brass do of itself? That may be made into any Figure, as in *Herodotus* the Statue of *Amasis* into a Metal-line Mirror. Or what Good, I pray, can either *Neryllinus*, or *Proteus*, now do to the Sick? Yet even now the Statue of *Neryllinus* is believed to effect extraordinary Things, while he himself is alive, and at this time sick. Now what shall we assign for the Cause of such Extravagancies as these? Is it that some senseless and chimerical Motions and Reveries of the Mind concerning some Opinions, occasion them to form to themselves several Idols and Images, partly of Things really existent, partly the Creature of their own Imagination? The Soul is most subject to this, when affected with some Contagion from the Spirit presiding over Matter, and raises not itself up to Heaven, but is wholly immersed in Matter, being depressed to the Earth, and becoming

ing almost entirely Flesh and Blood, and no more a pure Spirit. These absurd and wild Motions of the Mind produce idolatrous Imaginations, especially if the Soul be of a soft and pliable Nature, be rude in wholesome Doctrines, be void of all speculative Notions of the Truth, and be without any Knowledge of the Father and Creator of the Universe; she then conceives false Apprehensions, and the Spirits which are conversant about Matter, and delight in the Blood and Nidour of Sacrifices, as being Impostors and Deceivers of Mankind, make their Advantage of these irrational Motions of the Mind in the Vulgar, excite imaginative Apprehensions in them, as if occasioned by those Statues, whose Names they usurp. And whatever the Soul, as being naturally immortal, by an ordinary Process of Reasoning, knows, or by a natural Divination foresees, and accordingly regulates the present, the Honour and Renown of doing all this, those evil Spirits proudly arrogate to themselves.

FARTHER, it is necessary something should be here said concerning the Names of the Gods. *Herodotus*, in the Epistle of *Alexander* the Son of *Philip*, to his Mother, (who both had Conferences with the Priests themselves upon this Point, in
Heli-

Heliopolis, Memphis and Thebes) doth assure us, the Priests informed him they were meer Men. ‘ They proved to us, ‘ (*says he*) all they whose Images were ‘ there, were just such as they were re- ‘ presented, and different from the Gods: ‘ That before these who had been Men, ‘ and were Kings in *Egypt*, there were ‘ the Gods who lived with Men, and over ‘ whom there was acknowledg’d one to ‘ preside.” And *Orus*, Son of *Osiris*, by the *Greeks* called *Apollo*, after he had destroyed *Typho*, was the last who reigned in *Egypt*. By *Osiris*, is meant *Bacchus* in the *Greek*. Thus the last, and all the preceding Kings of *Egypt*, were Men: And from these were derived the Names of the Gods among the *Greeks*: *Apollo* was the Son of *Bacchus* and *Isis*, as *Herodotus* tells us. *Apollo* and *Diana* descended of *Dionysius* and *Isis*, and *Latona* was their Nurse, and their Deliverer. These more ancient Kings were their Gods.

AND farther, partly out of Ignorance of the True GOD, and partly in Flattery to their Princes, they deify’d also their Queens. The *Egyptians*, in general, sacrifice Bulls and Calves, but Heifers and Cows it was held unlawful to sacrifice, for they were sacred to *Isis*, whose Image is Female, and horned like a Cow, as

Io is painted among the *Greeks*. And who should be believed in an Affair of this Nature sooner, than those who successively, from Father to Son, received with the Priestly Office this traditionary Account; and they whose Interest it would have been to have made their Idols as considerable as possible? can they be supposed to lye for this Side, and falsely declare they were once Men? Did *Herodotus* only assure us, the *Egyptians* had Traditions that some of their Gods had been Men, I should be unwilling to mention any thing more than their Names, and leave every one to determine as they please: But *Hermes Tresmegistus*, and *Alexander*, and many others, agree, that they were not from Eternity, as to leave no room for doubting but that they had been Kings, and were deify'd. Besides, that they were Men, the most learned of the *Egyptians* inform us, who generally worshipped the Heavens, the Sun, and the Moon, but believed all the others to have been Men, and the Temples their Tombs. *Apollodorus* shews this in his Book concerning the Gods. *Herodotus* too calls their Passions, or Deaths, Mysteries. In the City of *Busiris*, where, as I mentioned before, they keep a certain Festival to *Isis*, and after Sacrifice is per-

performed to the Deity, many Thousands of Men and Women are beaten, and after such an unseemly Manner, as it is not lawful for me to utter. If they were Gods, they must be immortal; if they were beaten, and those their Sufferings be the Mysteries commemorated, then they must have been Men. And thus again the same *Herodotus*. ' Behind the
' same Temple of *Minerva* at *Sais*, cer-
' tain Sepulchres are built by the back
' Wall, for a Memorial of Things not to
' be named by me. Vast Obelisks stand
' erected on the consecrated Ground near
' a Lake, of orbicular Form, lined with
' Stone, and, in my Opinion, equal to
' that of *Delos*, which from the Round-
' ness of its Figure, is called *Trocheides* :
' In this Lake the *Egyptians* form the
' Ideas of their Nocturnal Passions, which
' they call *Mysteries*; but for the sake of
' Decency I shall not explain these Things.
Nay, not only the Place where *Osiris*
was buried, is shew'd, but also the very
Mummy. And their Embalmers, when
any Corps is brought them, shew those
who bring them, Images of the Dead car-
ved in Wood: Among others, they have
one they esteem very highly, whose Name
alone I dare not presume to speak. But
all the *Greek* Poets make no Scruple of
attri-

attributing any thing humane to their Gods. Thus of Hercules:

*Cruel, whom not the Fear of Pow'rs above,
Nor Dread of Hospitable Jove, restrain'd
From killing Iphitus.*

It is not to be admired if a Person of this Temper ran mad, and flung himself into the Fire, and was burnt. Thus Hesiod also speaks of *Æsculapius*:

*Him the great Sire of Men in furious Rage,
Darting his Thunder from Olympus' Top
Destroy'd.*

Thus Pindar too:

*Even Wisdom is a Slave to powerful Gold.
The golden Bribe work'd on his yielding
Mind.*

*But him for the Presumption Jove destroy'd,
With ruddy Lightning, and the Thunder's
Stroke.*

But moreover, if they were Gods, they could not be covetous of Money.

*O Gold, thou chief Possession of Mankind,
Exceeding all the Charities of Child,
Or Mother.*

The

The Divine Nature must be above the Want or Desire of any thing: Neither could they die, had they been Gods. But they were Men, wicked Men, illiterate and covetous Men. Why should I here mention *Castor* and *Pollux*; or *Amphiraus*; who but the other Day have been raised from the Condition of Men, to the Dignity of Gods? Or *Ino*, who after her Madness, and what she suffered in it, is now imagined to be a Goddess?

*Whom trembling Mariners in Tempests call
Lucothea:*

And her Son

They worship by Palæmon's sacred Name:

Thus the most profligate Men; and most hated by good Spirits, have acquired the Reputation of being Gods themselves. *Semiramis*, the Daughter of *Dercetus*, a lustful and bloody Woman, is worshipped under the Name of the *Syrian* Goddess. And upon account of *Dercetus* and *Semiramis*, the *Syrians* worship Pigeons, because she, according to *Ctesias*, was changed into a Pigeon. What Wonder is it then, if Princes, in the Pride and Power of Empire, are, through the Adulation
of

of their Subjects, worshipp'd as Gods? This the Sybil, who is mentioned by Plato, confess'd :

*'Twas now the tenth revolving Age of
Man,
When Saturn, Titan, and Japetus reign'd,
Styl'd by succeeding Times, the noble Sons
Of Ouranos and Gaia, and so styl'd,
Because the first of perish'd humane Race.*

Some Men, again, were deified for their Strength of Body, as *Hercules*, and *Perseus*; and some for their Art, as *Æsculapius*: And Princes, either through Fear of their Severity, or Love of their Vertues, were worshipp'd by their Subjects. Thus *Antinous*, not long ago, by favouring your Ancestors, obtained, among his Subjects, the Esteem and Honours of a GOD; and Posterity, without any farther Examination, have admitted him as such.

*The Cretes are always Lyars, they
presume
To shew the Tomb of Jove; but great
Jove lives.*

Dost thou, *Callimachus*, believe his Birth; and yet doubt of his Death? Dost thou think to conceal the Truth, by talking
P thus

thus to the Ignorant? Canst thou look on the Cave, and acknowledge him to be born of *Rhea*, and view his Urn, and yet question his Decease? Art thou ignorant that the only GOD, without beginning of Existence, is the eternal One? Either, then, all the Accounts the Poets and Historians give us of the Gods, are false, and therefore all Worship of them, as delivered to us, is useless; or, if the Relations be true, of their Births, Amours, Murders, Thieveries, Castrations, and judicial Deaths, they are not now any more, they are deceased, they must have died because they were born. How is it possible to believe one, and doubt of the other? For, surely, the Poets give us the best Accounts they can of their Divinities: It is their Business to give every thing the most graceful Turn, and cannot be thought to forge any thing to the Dishonour of them. I have thus proved, according to my Ability, though not equal to the Dignity of the Subject, that we are not Atheists, but believe the Creator of All Things, and His WORD to be GOD.

OUR Accusers farther charge us, *with feasting on humane Flesh, and of Incests*. All which is meerly invidious, and designed only to palliate their own malicious

Pro

Prosecution, to terrify us from our Profession, or to inflame the States and Princes, and exasperate the Vulgar against us, by such an enormous Charge of Villanies. But both natural Reason and revealed Religion shew us, that Vertue and Vice are Contraries; and not only now, but of old too, have opposed each other: We are not, therefore, surprized with their persecuting us. Thus *Pythagoras*, with Three hundred more, were burnt: *Democritus* was banished from *Ephesus*; and *Hevaclitus*, the *Abderite*, accused of Madness. Thus also the *Athenians* put *Socrates* to Death. But as their Vertue was not lessened by the Opinions of the Vulgar, so neither is the Integrity of our Lives blemished by the Accusations of our Enemies. Before GOD we are still innocent. I shall answer to these Accusations against us; though, I believe, you, Mighty Princes, are satisfied, that I have cleared our Religion by what is before said: And that the Men, who make GOD the Rule of all their Actions, and study to live unblameable, and void of Offence towards Him; those cannot be supposed guilty of the least criminal Thought. Had we no Hopes beyond the present Life, and these sensual Enjoyments, there might be a Probability we might follow

the Dictates of Flesh and Blood, and be Lovers of Pleasure, and Lovers of Money. But we, who believe an omnipresent and omniscient Being observes our Thoughts and Actions, and that He is Light, and sees the hidden Things of our Hearts; we who believe, that after being delivered from this mortal Condition, we shall enjoy a happier, and eternal, heavenly Life hereafter: Living for ever with GOD; not subject to Passion, or Change; not like Flesh and Blood, tho' we shall have *Bodies*, but like pure heavenly Spirits. And the Truth of this we confess even at the Stake, and in the midst of Flames. For GOD hath not made Man like the brute Beasts, hath not formed him for a momentary Life, and then to perish, and be lost in Annihilation.

AND seeing this is our Faith, it is absurd to suppose, we should study and endeavour to commit such unheard of Wickedness, and voluntarily expose ourselves to be punished by the great Judge: But it is no wonder our Accusers charge us with such things, since they impute the same even to their Gods, and call their Lusts Mysteries. But were they, in good earnest, so angry for Incests and promiscuous Commerces with Women, supposing the Fact true, what will they say
to

to *Jove*, who had Children by his own Mother, and Daughter? nay, married his own Sister? Either they must hate and abominate him, or own these Accounts are all Forgeries and Lyes of *Orpheus*, inasmuch as they make *Jupiter* more bestial and execrable than *Thyestes*. For *Thyestes* lay but with his Daughter, and by the Advice of the Oracle, in order to preserve his Crown. But, certainly, no one thing can be more distant from another, than we are from being guilty of such Wickedness as this, and much less of openly professing it; since we are not allowed to look with the Eye of Concupiscence on a Woman. For, (says our great Lord and Master) *Whoever looketh on a Woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery already with her in his Heart*. How can we be suspected of any Breach of Chastity, who dare not use our very Eyes, otherwise than GOD designed them, that is, to be Lights to our Bodies? Who think, that to look with Concupiscence, is to commit Adultery; nay, believe, we shall be judged for our very Thoughts. For we are not under a humane Dispensation and Law, where we might be wicked and concealed; but, as I declared from the Beginning, we have received our Law from

GOD : And we have a Law, which requires the most exact Justice with regard to ourselves; and from us to our Neighbours. Therefore, according to the Differences of Age, we esteem some as Brothers and Sisters, and others as Sons and Daughters. The Elder we honour as Fathers and Mothers; and esteem it one of the greatest Acts of our Religion, to preserve chaste and unpolluted the Bodies of those whom we call Brothers and Sisters, or by any Name of Kindred. Our Religion teaches us, (according to a certain Author of ours) ' If any one
 ' shall return a Kiss out of Concupiscence;
 ' and again, a Kiss is to be given with
 ' the greatest Caution, as a kind of religious Act; for if it be polluted but with
 ' the least impure Intention, it puts us in
 ' danger of the Loss of eternal Life.' Having, therefore, a sure Hope of everlasting Life, we despise the present sensual Pleasures and Enjoyments: And when we marry, according to the Laws of our Religion, it is only for Procreation. As the Farmer, after sowing his Ground, waits for the Harvest, and sows no more; so we make the Getting of Children the Measure of our Concupiscence. And among us, you will find many Men and Women, who continue all their Lives unmarried,

married, hoping to come to a nearer Union with GOD by that Means. Since we do think Virginity to be more acceptable to GOD, and do abstain from all impure Thoughts and Imaginations, how can we be supposed guilty of Actions which we dare not think of? Our Religion is not a Study of Words, but a Practice of Actions and Vertues. We, therefore, continue in the same Condition we are born in, or marry once only. For, a second Marriage is by us generally esteemed a specious Adultery. For, *Whoever shall give his Wife a Bill of Divorcement, and shall marry another, commits Adultery*, says our Lord; whereby He doth not permit a Man to divorce the Woman, whose Virginity he had, and to marry another. For he who deprives himself of his first Wife, nay, if she should die, and marries again, is a clandestine Adulterer. He transgresses the Decree of GOD; (for in the Beginning, GOD created one Man, and one Woman) and separates Flesh from Flesh, and dissolves the Union of the two Sexes. Seeing then that we are such, how come we to be charged with such Abominations? Do the Stews preach Chastity? Do they who keep, as it were, a Fair for all manner of Lewdness, who practise So-

P 4 *domy,*

domy, who abuse the most beautiful Bodies, dishonouring that Beauty which is the Gift of GOD? (For the Beauty of Nothing in the Earth, ariseth from itself, but proceeds from the Will and Hand of GOD:) Do they accuse us of the Wickedness, which they are conscious of being guilty of themselves? and which they also impute to their Gods, as laudable Actions? *Adulterers* and *Sodomites* accuse us, who marry once only, or make * *Eunuchs* of ourseves, for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake. They who live like ravenous Fishes, which devour all that comes in their way, where the weaker always is the Prey of the stronger; these Men accuse us of a third Article, which is, *viz.*

* *The famous Origen is remarkable for making himself an Eunuch, an Action (as Dr. Cave says) very much commended by some, and condemned by others: Concerning this, and the strict and severe Chastity of the Primitive Times, Dr. Cave speaks thus, in the Life of Origen: (2.9.) 'Justin Martyr tells us of a young Man of Alexandria, who to convince the Gentiles of the Falshood of that malicious Charge of Incontinency, and promiscuous Mixtures which they usually laid upon the Christians, presented a Petition to Fœlix the President of Alexandria, desiring his Leave that the Physicians might make him an Eunuch, which the President refused, as prohibited by the Laws of the Empire; as it was after by several Proviso's and Canons of the Church. This Fact, (of making himself an Eunuch) though*

THE Eating of humane Flesh; persecuting us contrary to the Laws made by you, and your Royal Ancestors, upon the most mature Consideration; so that now your Proconsuls and Deputies, in several Countries and Nations, are not sufficient to hear and determine the perpetual Informations against us: Against us, I say, who, when we are beaten, turn not away; and, when we are reviled, must only bless: Yet, do not these Men acquiesce, and think themselves not injured, (though strict Justice allows a Retaliation) but with a strange kind of Impudence, pretend to Merit, and urge, they are the Sufferers? Is it not stark Madness, to say we, according to such a Profession as I have spoken of, can be Murderers?

Origen endeavoured to conceal from some of his Friends, yet did it quickly break out; and Demetrius the Bishop, who now admired it as an heroick Act of Temperance, and an Instance of a great and daring Mind, did afterwards load it with all its Aggravations, and bring it in as an inexcusable Charge against him. I add no more concerning this, than that whatever Origen might do now in the Vigour of his Youth, and through the Sprightliness of his devout Zeal, yet in his more considerate and reduced Age he was of another Mind, condemning such kind of Attempts, and soberly enough expounding that Passage of our Saviour, which before he had so fatally misunderstood." Dr. Cave in the *Life of Origen*, p. 220.

For before we can eat any Man's Flesh, we must kill some Man. But as the former, so is the latter false. If any of them be asked, whether they have seen us commit any thing of this kind, none can be found so lost to all Sense of Modesty and Truth, as to affirm it. Some of us also have Servants, more or fewer, from whom it is impossible to conceal our Actions; none of them have seen us, none of them have, even though falsely, witnessed against us any such thing. How can we be charged with eating humane Flesh, who are unwilling to see a legal Execution? The Spectacles of the Theatre, the Games, the Combats of the Gladiators with one another, and with Beasts, such especially as are exhibited by you, are generally admired; but, we think, looking with Pleasure on such Slaughters of Men, is a Step towards Murder; and, therefore, abstain from all Sights of this kind. How then can we, who indulge not ourselves to see Slaughters, lest we should be polluted, commit Murder? How can we, who say Women, who cause Abortion by Medicines, are guilty of Murder, and shall answer for it before GOD, be imagined to kill and destroy perfect and grown-up Men and Women? Is it not
inconsistent

inconsistent for the same Persons, to believe the Embrio in the Womb is an Animal, and the Object of GOD's Providence ; and that to destroy it, is no less than Murder ; and yet, when it is born, and apparently in a State of Life, to kill it ? Or, who believe we ought never to *expose* our Children, as thinking, all Parents who do so, guilty of their Deaths, can be capable of murdering them, when we have brought them up ? No, we act with more Consistency, and always in obedience to Reason, and to our Principles, and never contrary to them.

AGAIN, who, that is persuaded of a future Resurrection, would make himself the Sepulchre of Bodies which will be raised ? It is acting with strange Absurdity, to believe our Bodies will rise again, and to feed on them as if they would never be raised. To think the Earth shall give up her Dead, yet he who hath buried a humane Body in himself, shall not be obliged to restore it. It is much more probable and rational to suppose rather, that they who think they shall never give any Account of their Lives, good or bad, and that there will be no Resurrection of the Dead, but that the Soul perishes together with the Body, is, as it were, extinguished ;
they

they may be conceived to give themselves a Loose to all Wickedness: But that we, who believe GOD will bring every Action into Judgment, and that the Body will be punished for being subservient to the irregular Desires and Motions of the Soul, must be imagined to abstain from all Wickedness, if there is not an utter Inconsistency between our Thoughts and Actions. But it may seem to some a Subject of Ridicule, to assert the Resurrection of the Body: However that be, let it not be imputed to us as criminal, let it be only thought our Simplicity. If we do deceive ourselves by such a Notion, we injure no one: And yet, the Notion that the dead Bodies will be raised, is not so entirely new, but some old Philosophers have hinted at it: If I should give Instances of this, I should exceed the proposed Bounds of this Discourse. I shall, therefore, just touch upon this Point. Those Philosophers, who have wrote of Sensibles and Intelligibles, and their Natures, have declared, that the Intelligibles are more ancient than the Sensibles; though, by an inverted Order of Nature, we have first a Perception of Sensibles, and the Sensibles are derived from
from

from the † Intelligibles which are incorporeal. Therefore, according to both *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, it is in no sort impossible for these Bodies, after a Dissolution, to be again formed of the same Principles they were first made of. But let this Point of the Resurrection drop for this time.

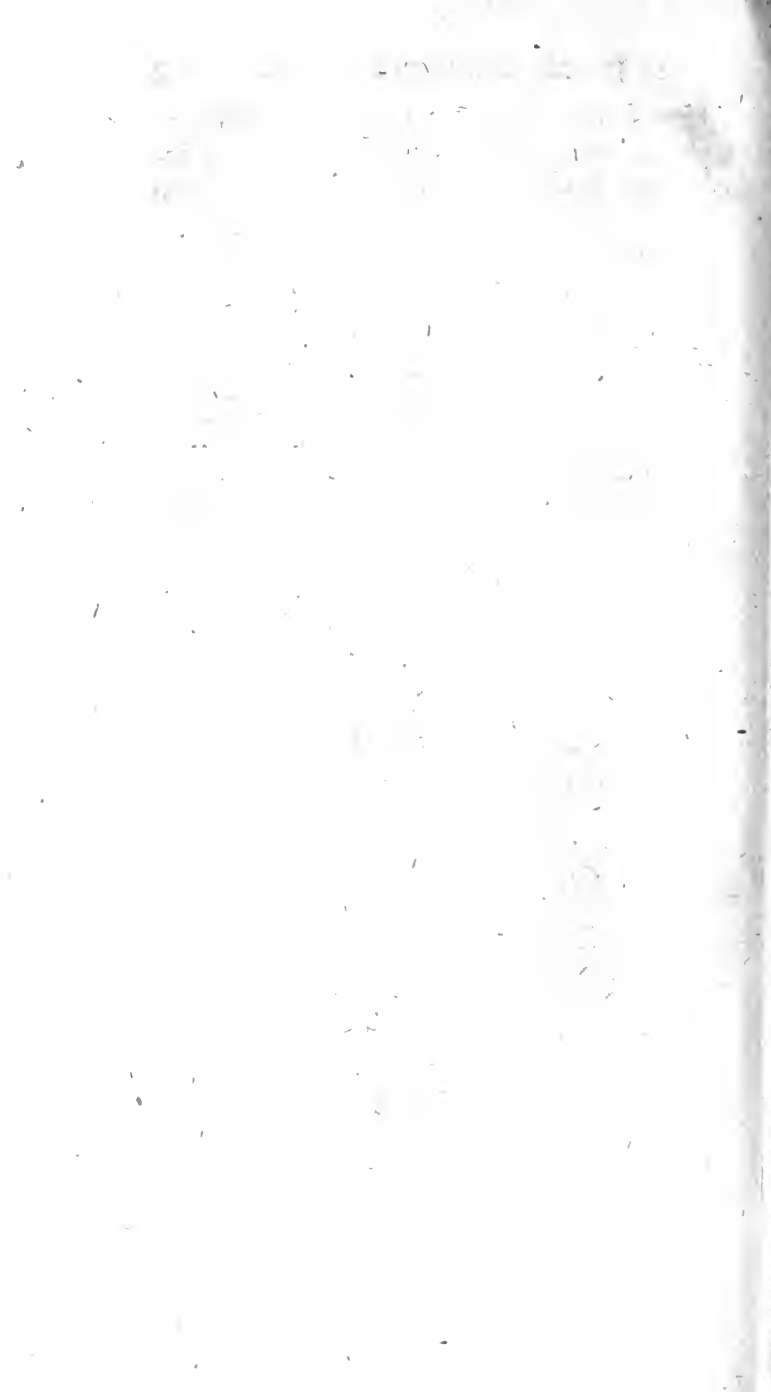
MAY it please your Majesties, most learned, clement, and mild, most worthy of Empire, and greatest Lovers of Mankind, to give us your Royal Approbation, seeing I have cleared our Pro-

† *The learned Dr. Cudworth, in his Intellectual System, gives this Account of these Intelligibles and Sensibles, p. 728.*
 ‘ If there be eternal Truths, which were never made, and
 ‘ could not but be, then must the Rationes Rerum, the
 ‘ simple Reasons of Things also, or their intelligible Natures
 ‘ and Essences, out of which those Truths are compounded,
 ‘ be of Necessity eternal likewise. For how can this be an
 ‘ eternal Truth, that the Diameter of a Square is incommen-
 ‘ surable with the Sides, if the Rationes, or Reasons, of a
 ‘ Square, Diameter, and Sides, or their intelligible Essences,
 ‘ were not themselves eternal? These are therefore called by
 ‘ *Plato*, not only ἀεί ταῦτα καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα, Things
 ‘ which are always the same and unchangeable; but also
 ‘ τὰ μὴ γινόμενα, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ ὄντα, Things which were
 ‘ never made, but always exist; and sometimes μήτε γιν-
 ‘ ομένων, μήτε ἀπολλόμενα, Things that were neither
 ‘ made, nor can be destroyed; sometimes τὰ ἀγένετα καὶ
 ‘ ἀνώλεθρα, Things ingenerable, and incorruptible.
 ‘ Of which *Cicero* thus: Hæc *Plato* negat gigni sed sem-
 ‘ per esse, & Ratione & Intelligentiâ contineri: These
 ‘ Things *Plato* affirmeth to have been never made, but
 ‘ always to be, and to be contained in Reason and Un-
 ‘ derstanding. And though perhaps it may seem strange,
 ‘ even

' even Aristotle himself also, notwithstanding his so often
 ' Clashing with Plato's Ideas, here really agreeth in the main,
 ' that the Forms or Species, or the universal intelligible Es-
 ' sences of Things, which are the proper and immediate Ob-
 ' jects of Science were eternal, and never made. Thus in his
 ' *Metaphysicks*; τὸ εἶδος ἐδὲς ποιεῖ, ἐδὲ γινᾶσθαι, no
 ' Man ever makes the Form or Species of a Thing,
 ' nor was it ever generated; and again, τὸ σφαῖρα εἶναι
 ' ἐκ βεῖ γένεσις, there is no Generation of the Essence of
 ' a Sphere." — And he sometimes calleth these Objects
 of Science, ἀκίνητον εἶσαν, or φύσιν, an immutable Es-
 sence, or Nature. Lastly, where he writeth against the
 Heracliticks, and those other Scepticks who deny'd all Cer-
 tainty of Science, he first discovers the Ground of their Error
 therein to have been this; ' That they supposed singular Bodies,
 ' or Sensibles existing without, to be the only Things or Ob-
 ' jects of the Mind, or Knowledge;" αἰτίαν τὴ δόξης τέ-
 τοις ὅτι περὶ τῶ ὄντων τὴ ἀληθείαν ἐσκόπων· τὰ δὲ ὄντα
 ὑπέλαβον εἶναι τὰ αἰσθητὰ μόνον, ἐν δὲ τέτοις πολλὴ ἢ τὸ
 ἀοεῖσθαι φύσιν ἐνυπάρχει — ἐτί δὲ παῖσαν ὁρᾶντες ταύ-
 τω κινεῖσθαι τὴ φύσιν, κάτασε τὸ μεταβάλλον· ἐδὲν
 ἀληθεύοντων περὶ τὸ πάντως πάντα μεταβάλλον, ἐκ
 ἐκδέχεσθαι ἀληθεύειν. The Original of these Mens Mistakes
 was this, ' because Truth is to be looked for in Things, and
 ' they conceived the only Things to be Sensibles, in which it is
 ' certain there is much of the indeterminate Nature. Where-
 ' fore they perceiving all the Nature of Sensibles to be move-
 ' able, or in perpetual Flux and Mutation, since nothing can
 ' possibly be verified, or constantly affirmed, concerning that
 ' which is not the same, but changeable, concluded that there
 ' could be no Truth at all, nor Certainty of Science, those
 ' Things which are the only Objects of it, never continuing
 ' the same." And then he subjoins, in Way of Opposition to
 this Sceptical Doctrine of theirs, and the forementioned Ground
 thereof, ἀξιώσομεν αὐτὸς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἢ ἄλλω εἶσαν
 εἶναι τῶ ὄντων, ἢ ἔτε κίνησις ὑπάρχει, ἔτε φθορὰ, ἔτε γένεσις
 τὸ παῖσαν. ' We would have these Men therefore to know
 ' that there is another Kind of Essence of Things besides that of
 ' Sensibles, to which belongeth neither Motion or Corruption,
 ' nor any Generation at all." By which Essences of Things
 that have no Generation nor Corruption, he could understand
 nothing else but those intelligible Natures, Species and Ideas,
 which are the standing and immutable Objects of Science.

fession from all Imputations, and proved, we are religious towards GOD, and inoffensive towards Men, and pure in our Souls. And, who can seem to have a fairer Claim to your Royal Favour than ourselves? We continually offer up Prayers to Almighty GOD for your Reign; that the Son may very late succeed the Father, as is most just; that your Dominions may be still enlarged; that all your Actions may succeed according to your Wishes, and we may live a quiet and peaceable Life under you, and shew always a ready Obedience to all your Commands.







A
T R E A T I S E
O F
A T H E N A G O R A S,
T H E
Athenian Philosopher, and Christian,
Concerning the
Resurrection of the Dead.



ALL the Opinions and Notions of Men concerning the Truth of such Subjects as the present, have had a Mixture of something erroneous, or false; not that it is a genuine Consequence, or any ways proceeds from the Nature of the Thing, but is rather occasioned by the Perverseness of some, who gratify a Passion in sowing *Tares* among the good *Seed*, in order to choak it. This appears
Q very

very plain from the Writings of such as have employed themselves in Speculations of this kind, who differ both from their cotemporary, and the more ancient Authors who have handled those Points. The Confusion of their Notions concerning the Subject here to be treated on, is a great Instance of this. Men of such a Turn of Mind have left no Sort of Truth without some Touch of Sophistry; Nothing hath escaped their Disputing Humour; no, not even the Being, the Knowledge, and the Providence of a GOD, and the plain Consequences thereof; nay, not the very Reasons which make Religion manifest to the World. Some are so hardy, as openly to profess an Unbelief of such kind of Truths; and others give them just such a Turn and Colour, as suits with their own Humours and Inclinations.

IT will therefore be proper for one who shall discourse on these Topicks to make use of two Methods; the one, to prove and demonstrate the Truth to such as are in a State of Infidelity; the other, to explain it to such as have, through Mistake, formed wrong Apprehensions concerning it, and who are of themselves of ingenuous Tempers and Dispositions of Mind. Therefore, in managing the Question now under Debate, what is proper must be observed with Accuracy, and our Reasoning adapted thereunto; lest, if we should use but any one certain Method, the
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Discourse become of no Effect to the one or other of these two Sects.

INDEED, in the Order of Demonstration and Physical Consequence, the Arguments which prove any Truth are always antecedent to such as only explain it; yet, with regard to what is convenient, the other may frequently be requisite. But as the Farmer commits not his Seed to the Ground, before he hath cleared it of such Weeds and Brakes as would hinder and choak the Growth of the Seed, nor the Physician give the Patient Restoratives, until he be cleansed of those ill Humours which occasioned the Indisposition; so neither can Truth be established, till Prejudices and false Notions are rooted out of the Mind, and the Person be endued with such an Impartiality as is necessary for the Reception of it. And conformably to this Rule I shall treat the present Question of the Resurrection; first establishing the Truth of the Doctrine, and afterwards explaining and enforcing it. For here too we are engaged with Infidels and Scepticks, who wholly, or for the most part, deny the Reality. Some of them act with such Absurdity, as to admit all the Premises, and notwithstanding do not own the Consequences, though they confess they are not able to prove the contrary, nor give any tolerable Arguments for their Infidelity.

IN Matters of Controversy it is therefore to be observed, whether the Unbelief proceeds from some Prejudice or ill-grounded Opinion formerly taken up; or is the Effect of *Pretended* Reason, and hath something of Argument to give the Gloss and Appearance of Truth. For to doubt where we can give no Reasons for so doing, is either a strange Blindness of the Understanding, or Perverseness and Prejudice of Temper.

THEY therefore who deny the Resurrection, or doubt of it, would not willingly be supposed to do it, upon account of some Notions they have formerly inconsiderately taken up, or in Complaisance to their own Lusts, or those of the dissolute Part of Mankind, but would be thought able to argue against the Truth of it. And in order to this, they must either assert Mankind to have been produced by no *Designing* Cause, (which Absurdity may with great Ease be expos'd) or they must prove it incredible, even upon admitting that there is a GOD, and He the Creator of all Things. And, that they may prove the latter of these, they must shew, That GOD wants either Power, or Will, to raise up the dead and dissolved Body, to reunite the dispersed Particles of it, and restore to Life the *same Men*: But if our Adversaries cannot do this, (which they most certainly never can) let them forbear their Atheistical Scoffs and Doubts, and impi-
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ously to blaspheme GOD's Majesty and Power. Should they assert GOD wanted Power for effecting the Resurrection, it would hence appear false. The Want of Power may be distinguished into two Sorts; Ignorance of what is to be done, or Inability to perform it when known; for no Being can possibly be conceived to endeavour the Execution of such Things as he hath no Knowledge of: And He who knows what is to be done, and the Manner of performing such Actions, if that Being be wise, and understands his own Abilities, will not attempt what it is impossible for him to perform; but should he attempt it, he would be frustrated in the proposed End.

BUT GOD cannot be said to be ignorant of the Thing or Manner it ought to be perform'd by; not of the Thing, that is, the Nature of the Body to be raised, in the Whole, or its Parts; nor yet with what Elements the Particles of the Body by Dissolution and Death are mixed and united; tho' to humane Appearance, Things so broke and blended with the general Mass of Matter seem entirely undistinguishable, and therefore not to be separated from them. For GOD, who before the Creation of any thing, by His Eternal Prescience, knew the Nature of the future Elements, of which all Bodies are originally composed, must certainly know the Nature of the Parts of those

Elements; from which, according to His Pleasure, He took such as composed the humane Body; And must farther know where any of these Parts are scatter'd, by the Dissolution of that Frame of the Body in Death: For tho' in regard to our Worldly Affairs, and their Regulation, and with respect to humane Understanding, it is more difficult to foresee future Events and Contingencies; yet, in respect to the Majesty and Wisdom of GOD, 'tis equally easy and natural to have a Fore-knowledge of Things not yet existing, and to distinguish from other Matter the Parts of dissolved Bodies, wheresoever they be scatter'd.

AGAIN, the Power of Producing Something out of Nothing at first, evinces GOD's Sufficiency for the Instauration and Resurrection of all Bodies. If GOD could form humane Body of Elements endued with a quite different Figure, nay, create those very Elements; how much more will He be able to raise again those Bodies, however dissolved, nay, wheresoever the Parts be separated from each other; whether these Parts be supposed to consist of meer Matter, as Atomes; or of Elements, as Air, Fire, Water; or lastly, of Seed? For it requires as great Power either to order and diversify with various Forms and Figures rude and shapeless Matter; or to unite the different Elements into one Composition, *viz.* humane Body; or lastly, to diver-

diversify one simple, (but specified) Matter, that is, the Seed, into Bones, Nerves, Blood, and Spirits, and endue it with Sensation and Life; as to reunite the scatter'd Parts of the Body, to raise up the Dead, and change the Corruptible into Incorruption; or farther, to distinguish and separate the Parts of humane Body devoured and turned into Aliment, by whatsoever Number of Beasts, and again unite them in the same one Composition or System; nay, tho' they have passed thro' great Numbers of Beasts successively, or whether by natural Putrefaction they be again reduced to their first Principles.

AND yet this is the main Objection which hath occasioned so gross a Mistake in Persons of considerable Reputation for Learning, who in this Point have, nevertheless, suffer'd themselves to be carried away with the Torrent of vulgar Error, and permitted their Reason to be confounded by the Noise and Din of popular Ignorance. Our Adversaries observe, and very truly, that many Bodies of Men shipwreck'd at Sea, or drowned in fresh Water, become a Prey to Fishes; many Bodies of Men slain in Battles, or by other unhappy Casualties, are devoured by Beasts and Birds, and the Limbs and Parts of such Bodies unite and incorporate with the Body of the Beast, and become a Part thereof; so as to seem impossible to be di-

stinguished or separated from the others. Nay, they push this Objection still farther, and urge, That the Bodies of such Beasts are frequently eat by Men, and those Parts of the Beast which were composed of humane Flesh, do now again incorporate, and become Part of another humane Body. And to give this Objection the most formidable Dress, Romance and Poetry is ransack'd for fabulous Instances of such as have eaten their own Children, in War, Famine, or Madness; or by some fearful Deceit of their Enemies, have had their Bodies impos'd on them for ordinary Meats. Here *Thyestes's* Tragical Feast, and Numbers of strange Stories from all Nations, *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, are brought as Instances: And from hence they conclude the Impossibility of the Resurrection, since it is manifestly impossible that the same Members should be Part of several Bodies, and rise with them; and yet it is evident they have belonged to several; for either the first or last Possessors of them must want these Parts, must be deficient in their Complement, and be imperfect.

BUT this Objection will appear to be entirely founded on their Ignorance of the Power of GOD, and His Regulation of the World; for He hath appropriated a peculiar Food and Nutriment to every Species of Creatures, and doth not permit any Body, without Distinction, to be incorporated
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with any other; nor would the Almighty be perplexed with distinguishing and separating any Parts of different Natures, could they be joined together, who permits every Creature to exert and exercise such Abilities and Properties as it was at first endued with; yet still preserving the Sovereign Prerogative of suspending such Laws of Nature, or directing the Properties of His Creatures for the executing any of his Purposes.

AGAIN, our Adversaries seem to be under a surprizing Ignorance of the Nutriment and Nature of Creatures; they appear not to have so much Sagacity, as to distinguish, and observe, that all Food taken into the Body is not properly Nourishment, nor does become a Part of the Body; several Things, as soon as received into the Stomach, are thrown up, or otherwise discharged, so as not to admit of the first Concoction, or mix with the nutritive Juices; and the much greater Part, even of Things regularly digested, mix not with the Chyle, but pass presently into the *Duodenum*, and become excrementitious: But lastly, such Parts as do absolutely mix with the Blood, and are by that means carried thro' the whole Body, meet with such innumerable Secretions in almost infinite Glands, and are several Ways discharged in such abundance, that we experimentally find, that what is not some way or other thrown off, is extremely little,
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in Comparison of what is received. Besides, that which does mix with the Blood, frequently turns to Humour, or some excrementitious Tumor, according as the Body happens to abound, more or less, with Fluids. Since, therefore, the several Kinds of Animals are so different in their Natures, and Providence hath appropriated such Food and Nutriment for each, as is most convenient and agreeable to the Species, it follows, that their Nutriment must be as different as their Natures. Again, all Aliment received by Creatures passes three Concoctions before it mixes with the Blood, in the Pancreatick Juice, in the Chyle, and in Sanguification, when it enters with the Blood into the Heart; in which Process, considering what great Secretions are made, it is highly probable, that all which is not adapted for the Aliment of the Creature, is separated and discharged; and therefore that only, which after having passed all the various Secretions and Filtrations of the Body, and continues still in it, ought to be consider'd as the Aliment of the Creature; and whatever was noxious and destructive to the Constitution, and was therefore discharged, all that Load of Sustenance taken into the Stomach for its Repletion, and the Sating of the Appetite, is not, strictly speaking, to be styled Nourishment. But should any thing of a different Nature be eaten by any Animal,

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should it escape all these Tryals, and pass into the Mass of Blood, insinuate itself with the Parts, and unite to the Body; even then, if that Body be vigorous and strong, it will be expelled; but if it be too weak to effect this, such Aliment of so different a Nature, so improper for the Nourishment of that Species, will only breed Diseases in the Blood, taint and corrupt the Juices, poison even the wholesome, and so far from nourishing, that it will at last destroy the Animal. We have a convincing Argument for this in Poisons, where it is observable, that Pain, Danger, and Death are the Consequences of any, the most wholesome and salutary, Meats, when mixed with it: The Reason of which is, the Difference that there is between it and the Nature of such Things as are appropriated for the Nourishment of the Creature; for all Animals are preserved by what is proper for, and destroy'd by what is contrary to, their Natures. If therefore, when the natural Food and Aliment is corrupted with the Mixture of what is improper and heterogeneous, the whole Gross of that is not indifferently mixed with the Juices, and incorporated with the Limbs, but such only as, after many Concoctions and Secretions, appear to be similar and of a Kind with the Animal; it is very evident that nothing can be united to an Animal's Body, which is heterogeneous and different from the Nature

ture of its proper Food, but must be either discharged with the Excrements, or, if it mix with the Blood, generates only Diseases, either corrupting the Fluids, or preying on and devouring the Solids of the Body : Nay tho' this should be expelled by Physick or Diet, or conquer'd by an extraordinary Strength of Constitution, it will be, notwithstanding, injurious to the Body, as being unable to unite with and nourish it, upon Account of the Difference of its Nature.

BUT to conclude, supposing our Adversaries could make good their Objection, (which yet, for the above-mention'd Reasons, they will never be able to do) it would, after all their Pains, be exceeding frivolous, and not of the least Consequence to their Purpose. Be it allow'd, that any Man should be nourish'd with improper Aliment, (which it is absurd to suppose) yet, I say, granting these Impossibilities, with so little Reason do our Adversaries argue, it will in no wise affect the Resurrection of the Body, or prove that because a Man has eaten of a Fish that has prey'd upon a humane Body, therefore that Body should have more Limbs than Nature ordain'd for his Use; since no Number of Limbs eaten are changed and become entire Limbs, but only augment and dilate the former; nay farther, do not continue always

ways with the Body, or lastly, if they should remain, are of no Use in a future Life, whether they compose Part of the Blood, of the aqueous and bilious Juices or Spirits; for the Bodies, which before required Aliment, but are now *raised in Glory* and Incorruption, will not want Nutriment, and therefore not those Parts. Again, tho' we should grant such strange Food, after many Transmutations; should at last become very Flesh, yet does it not follow that such Flesh, made by eating humane Bodies, should become an integral Part; the most that can possibly be conceiv'd of it, being only that it should be joined to it, and not that it should become an entire Limb. But the most natural Flesh, with which the adventitious is incorporated, doth not always remain, but changes continually: Pains destroy it; Grief, Sorrows, and Care, waste it; Heats and Colds diversify the Humours of the Body, changing them into Flesh or Fat; insomuch that the Flesh, made by the most natural Food, continues not always the same: Since then Flesh, made by the most proper Aliment, undergoes such Variety of Changes, how much rather may we suppose the same of that made by improper Meats, which Nature always labours to expell and discharge? Sometimes increasing, and sometimes diminishing the Bulk, for Reasons above cited, and entirely expelling all extraneous

traneous Matter, that only excepted, which is in a peculiar Manner adapted for the Supporting of the Animal's Life; such as is formed of Aliment by Nature, preparod for assisting the Body in the Performance of the Functions of Animal Life. Whether therefore such Nutriment be presently discharged, or whether it be mixt with the Blood, our Adversaries can make no Advantage of the Objection.

THEY cannot prove that one humane Body becomes an integral Part of another; whether the Person be impos'd upon, and eat it as ordinary Meat, or by Famine, or Madness, pollute himself with such abominable Repasts. Unless we can believe that there are Beasts with a humane Face, or at least of a mixt and compound Nature; such as the extravagant Imaginations of Poets have created, as *Centaur*s and *Harpyes*, &c. But why should I be thus large in speaking of humane Bodies? which Providence hath apparently not allotted for Food to any Creature, much less to the same Species; but which, by the Sovereignty of its Nature, hath alone obtained the Honour of Burial: When the great Creator of all Things hath not appointed any Creature to be Food for those of its own Species, but every Being is nourish'd by others of a different Kind. But if our Adversaries can make it appear, that GOD
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hath appointed humane Flesh for Man's Food; the Consequence of this wild Notion is, that we may kill and eat one another, as we do Beasts; and the Mantainers of the Opinion must be conceiv'd to be extremely desirous of Feasting on the Bodies of their dearest Relations, in order to regale themselves with the most Exquisite Delicacies. But if this be abominable, if it be shocking to humane Nature, and impious to feast on humane Flesh; and if we have argued right, and all such Things as are not proper Food cannot be incorporated with the humane Body, it follows, no Parts of one can become Parts or Members of another humane Body, tho' in some extraordinary Calamity they may be eaten, and after the Method of ordinary Food digested. And tho' the Body suffer a Dissolution of its Parts, and the whole Compound be again resolv'd into its first Elementary Principles, by the Wisdom and Power of the great Creator of all Things, they shall be again summoned together, again united in the same Form and Site, so as to constitute the same Body, whether it hath been burnt by Fire, or putrify'd in Water, or devoured by wild Beasts, or whether some of its Members should be cut from the Body, and perished long before the rest, they will again unite together in the same Harmony of Parts, and complete the Resurrection of the same Body, however it hath been
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dispersed thro' the whole Mass of Matter.

It would be impertinent to enlarge farther on this Head, since all civilized Nations are entirely agreed upon this Part of the Question, and since the present Subject will furnish much nobler Topicks to argue upon. I shall desire by way of Preliminary to take no Notice of all Objections drawn from the Works of Nature and Art; which, thro' Age, or any Violence, being destroy'd, cannot possibly be afterwards repaired. From Comparisons like these, taken from *Potters* and *Smiths*, they are so stupid, as seriously to argue, that neither can GOD again renew a dead Body when its Parts are variously dispersed. Such incoherent Reasoning do they put up for Demonstration, such insipid Chicanry for Argument, and with as great Folly as Impiety, running a Parallel between Art and Nature, the Inability of Man, and the Omnipotence of GOD. What a notable Insult is this to the common Understanding of Man! But next to the Stupidity of making such Objections, would be that of giving them a formal Answer. Is it not much more reasonable to say, with Man indeed such an Action is impossible, but to GOD all Things are possible? Let the foregoing Arguments suffice, to shew the Resurrection is a Work *possible* to GOD, and an adequate Object of his Power; the ensuing

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tures of such unequal Natures, as Man and Beast, require alike disproportionate Degrees of Happiness. Lastly, there is another Reason why Brutes cannot be said to suffer Injustice; that is, because they have no Sense of Justice or Resentment of the contrary.

FARTHER, neither can the Person raised any ways be said to be injured. For Man is compos'd of Body and Soul, and neither of them are injured; the Soul cannot be said to suffer Injustice, because it perseveres not in a separate Existence; for if, when it inhabited a Body corruptible and obnoxious to Pains and Diseases, it then was not unjustly treated, much less will the Soul be injured, when it hath appointed for its Seat of Residence a glorious and incorruptible Body: Neither can the Body be injuriously used; for if being corruptible, it was not unjust to unite it to an incorruptible Partner the Soul, it will not be unjust to unite both again, when both are incorruptible.

AND lastly, it cannot be said to be unbecoming GOD's Majesty, to restore Bodies after Dissolution to their former Life and Symmetry; for since to make what is much inferiour, to produce a Body mortal and subject to Pains, be not unbecoming GOD, it will be much less so, to renew again the deceas'd Body, and crown it with Immortality. Thus from the most certain Premisses, and their indubitable Consequences, we have demon-

demonstrated the present Question in all its Parts, and evinced that the Resurrection of the Body is a Work suitable to the Majesty, possible to the Power, and free to the Will of GOD. From this direct Proof, the Falsity of the contrary Opinion appears, and the Absurdity of all Scepticks and Unbelievers. I may here urge, that the Parts of this Demonstration reciprocally prove each other: And we may equally say, that which is possible to GOD, GOD can *will*; and that which GOD can *will*, is possible to Him.

BUT as I before observed, since we must after different Methods argue for and concerning the Truth, and several Ways were to be insisted on according to particular Emergencies: That the present Discourse may be uniform in its Parts, and firmly establish the proposed Truth, I shall, from the same Premises, or some of the same Kind, prove the Question consider'd in another Light. And these Arguments which follow, are in the Nature of the Thing superiour to the foregoing; those were but Preliminaries, were but Guards, which clear the Way, and remove all Obstructions and Impediments from before the succeeding Truth. But tho' Reasoning concerning Truth be most necessary and useful for Mankind, and is chief both by Nature and Order of Method; by Nature, as being that

which gives a Knowledge of the Subject, and by Nature as that which must exist at the same Time with the Things reason'd upon; and lastly, in Point of Usefulness, as being that which procures Security to all that examine into and understand it: But all Disputation for the Truth of any Object is inferiour in Nature and Dignity; it being less honourable to confute a false Notion, than to establish a true one. It is second in Order of Method, because it extirpates the bad Seed, which was not sow'd by the Enemy till after the good. Tho' thus they stand in the Disposition of Nature, yet such Preliminary Discourses as only root out Infidelity, Scepticism, or false Notions, are very advantageously made use of. But to conclude this Distinction, both are designed for the same End, both advance Piety; that which establishes Truth, and that which detects Errour. Yet they are different from each other; one is, upon all Occasions, necessary to all Believers, and such as have any Regard to their Souls, and the Salvation of them; the other, upon some Occasions and with regard to Persons and Circumstances, is more proper to be applied.

THIS being observed, I shall proceed to confirm the Truth of the Resurrection, by the following Reasons. First, from the *End and Design of the Creation* of the first Man
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and all his Descendents: Secondly, from the *Nature of Man*, as being an Accountable and Religious Creature: And thirdly, from the *Justice of GOD*, which must be manifested in the Distribution of Rewards and Punishments.

THE first Argument is drawn from the *Design* of the Creator in forming the first Man. Here we are to enquire, whether Man was made undesignedly and to no Intent, or whether he was made and appointed to certain particular Duties and Offices. Whether he was made to live and persevere in a State of Existence, or to be of Use to some other Creature more favoured by the divine Nature than himself. And here, from a Process of Reasoning generally used, in the more plain and ordinary Things of Life, by Men, we may conclude no Being acting with Prudence can possibly do any Thing with Thought, and yet to no End; and much less then can GOD, the Fountain of all Wisdom, be conceived to act with that Absurdity. Again, the Motives He can possibly act upon must be some of these; either He created Man for his own Advantage, or that of some more beloved Creature, or out of a Desire of communicating His Happiness to the Being created. A familiar Comparison taken from common Life will put the Matter in a clear Light. A Man builds a House, and for his own proper Use: He builds

too Stables for Horses, or Oxen, or such Beasts as are of Use to him: These Stables are not made for his own immediate Use, though the final Cause be his Advantage; the Proximate is the Security of those Beasts. He begets too Children, and not for his own Profit or the Advantage of others, but solely for their own Sakes, that they may live after him; and by this means doth as it were repair the Breaches of Mortality, and create a sort of Immortality for himself, in that of his Descendents. Upon these Motives it is, Men act thus. To apply the Comparison. GOD could not create Man inconsiderately, and without designing him to any End and Purpose, upon Account of His infinite Wisdom. : Neither did He create him for any private Emolument, and to supply His own Necessities, since GOD cannot want any Thing: Neither did He lastly create Man for the Service of any of his other Works or Creatures. For no Being, endued with Free-will and of a higher Nature, can be thought to be form'd for the Use and Service of a Creature of an inferiour Condition, but entirely for its own Happiness. Nor can any other Reason than this, of his own Happiness, be assigned for Man's Creation; since whatever is immortal, is naturally above all Wants and Necessities, and independent of Men, for the supporting its Nature: Again, Man is Lord of the Animal and Vegetable World,

World, all the Creatures are made Subject to him; they all serve Man, for whom they were created, and make not use of Man as their Property. It is absurd and unnatural for the Lordly and Sovereign Nature of Man to be made Subject to Creatures of an inferior Rank, and the rational Being enslav'd to the irrational Brute, which by its own Nature is incapable of making a true Use of Power and Dominion.

IF then Man was not created undesignedly, and to no End and Purpose; nor for any private Emolument of the great Creator of all Things, or that of any other Creature; it follows evidently, that GOD's Goodness and Desire of communicating His own Happiness, must be the only Motive for His Creation of Man. And here, if we push our Enquiry more closely, and ask for the more immediate and proximate Cause of Man's Creation, it is, *that he should live*, but not a Momentary Life, now born, and presently lost again in Original Non-existence. So small a Portion of *Being* GOD may have allotted for Birds and Reptiles: But to Man, who was created in His own Image, to whom He gave Reason, and an unlimited Capacity, GOD hath given too an Eternity of Existence; That having arrived here to a Knowledge of the Creator, and according to humane Imperfection imitated His Holiness and Wisdom, they might enjoy an Eternity in

the Exercise of those Vertues they practised in their mortal and corruptible Bodies. Those Things which are created for the Use of others, upon the ceasing of the first, the latter cease also; since GOD cannot be thought to give Existence to any Thing in vain, and to no End or Purpose. But if the Existence of any Creature was the ultimate End of his Creation, such Creature must necessarily exist for ever, since the Reason which prevails for its Existence once, continues to prevail always. Since therefore it follows from the very End of His Creation, that Man must exist always; it follows also clearly, that in the infinite Circle of Duration such Creature must undergo, and that securely, all Circumstances and Changes its Nature will admit of; in the endless Space of Eternity he must exert every proper Function in acting or suffering: The Soul persevering to exist, upon the Account of the Unchangeableness of its Nature, in an uniform Condition, and suitably to the Design of its Creation, governing and regulating the Passions and Affections of the Body, and examining, with an exact Scrutiny of Reason, whatever offers itself as an Object of the Understanding, and making a just Estimate thereupon; the Body to continue to be affected with natural Objects, and to receive such Changes and Alterations as are proper for it: And among other Transmutations of Age,
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Form, Magnitude, to admit also of a Resurrection, which is also a Species of Change, and the last it shall endure, and such as alters it into a better. And of these future Changes we are equally certain, as of those already passed; and considering this our Nature, content ourselves with the present necessitous and perishing Life, as suitable to the State of this World, and certainly assure ourselves of an everlasting Life hereafter, agreeable to a more exalted State of Immortality; And this we believe, not persuaded by Artifices of Wit, or by cunningly devised Fables, but induced by the highest and most forcible Arguments *à priori*, even from the very End and Design of the Creator in the Formation of Man, as making him of an immortal Soul and corruptible Body, and enduing him with Reason, and the Principle of preserving and improving such Faculties as are of Advantage to Life, and perfective of his own rational Nature. Nor can infinite Wisdom be charged with such Folly, as to create so glorious a Creature as Man, to have pour'd out such Excellencies on him as deserve to be the Exercise and Practice of an Immortality, and yet not give him the Basis of all these Blessings, *Life*; but allot a Creature so beautify'd, so trifling and inconsiderable a Portion of Existence. If then GOD created Man for the Enjoyment of a rational Life, and for the Contemplation of
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His Magnificence, Wisdom, and Power in all the Works of the Creation, his Existence must last as long as there is Matter of Wonder and Admiration in the Universe. Thus the End of Man's Creation proves Existence forward, and that, the Resurrection, since without the latter the former is impossible.

It appears therefore, from what hath been urged from the End of Man's Creation, and the Design of GOD, that there must be a Resurrection of the Dead. Having therefore examined into the Reason why Man was brought on the Stage of Life, we are next to consider the Nature of Man, and then the last Judgment, or Allotment of Rewards and Punishments which GOD will make to His Creatures, according to their Actions; and, to conclude all, the *End of Living*.

HAVING sufficiently discoursed on the foregoing Topicks, I proceed to argue from the *Nature of Man*; our Notions concerning which must be drawn either from the establish'd Dogma's and Tenets of the Schools, or other more obvious and general Opinions of Mankind: A Demonstration which is not raised on any particular Philosophical Sect, the Scheme of a Party, but built on the more universal Notions and Apprehensions of all Mankind, is the most convincing, and with greatest Safety to be depended on. Upon such common and natural Ideas, the Frame of Demonstration must be raised. The Method

Method of doing this is, either by giving such Hints as awaken our simple and innate Ideas, or by shewing the certain Connexion between some other Tenets and such simple Ideas. Order and Perspicuity are on this Occasion highly necessary to put in a fair Light such Notions as are the certain Deductions of our simple Ideas, without joining together, or separating what Nature hath not done before us.

WHOEVER therefore doth in earnest desire to inform himself of the Truth of the present Question, *the Resurrection of the Dead*, must weigh exactly the Sum and collective Force of all the Arguments offer'd to support the Proposition, and what particular Part of the Demonstration each Argument maintains; which is first, second, or last in the Chain of Demonstration. Let him then thus methodize the Arguments, and they will amount to a convincing Proof. First the *End of Man's Creation*, that is, the Reason or Motive on which GOD created him; then the Nature of Man. These two Propositions, when joined together, will not be so easy to be understood, tho' they mutually conspire to establish the present Doctrine. From these Reasons, as from Arguments drawn from the Nature of the Thing, the Resurrection is clearly proved. Again, the Resurrection may be demonstrated from the *Wisdom and Justice of GOD*, both of which must

must appear in a just Distribution of Rewards and Punishments, according to the Actions of Men, that their End may be correspondent to their Lives. I find several have insisted only on a third Way of proving the Resurrection, from the Necessity of the Wicked being punished; but this Argument doth not prove but a Part of the Proposition, because all that are affirmed to rise will not be punished. If the Resurrection was only for the Punishment of the Wicked, the Wicked would only rise; the Holy and Religious, and all such as have done many noble and pious Actions, and such as died in their Infancy, would be excluded from a Share in the Resurrection. Thus I conceive this Argument proves not the Resurrection; but have chose rather to use the above-mention'd Proof from the *Design* of the Creator, and the *Nature* of Man.

THO' what hath been already advanced on the foregoing Argument, be enough to establish the Certainty of the Resurrection, as being what necessarily follows a Dissolution; yet, in Condescension to such as shall not be able to go thro' with the rest by themselves, I shall proceed to draw the Argument out in its full Length, and prove the Resurrection from the Nature of Man, which will both increase our Knowledge, and raise our Faith in this Point.

IF the Nature of Man be compounded of a mortal Body and an immortal Soul united, and GOD gave not humane Life either to the Soul or Body as two separate Things, and without relation to each other, but to Man, that is to these two joined together; it is absolutely requisite that these two integral Parts, Soul and Body, with which Men were born, and lived, should again, after a Dissolution, be joined together, for the receiving a due Recompence of their Actions. Since one and the same Animal is made of these two Parts, endued with the Faculties of Reason and Sense, and with both these Parts joined, the Man performs all Actions, which therefore all should have one common End and Result, that the Origin, Nature, and Life of Man, his Actions and Sufferings might conspire in one End. Since all Actions of the Animal are the common Result of the Faculties and Passions of Mind and Body jointly acting, it is highly reasonable they should jointly have one common End or Assignment for them. And this will perfectly be done, if the same Animal be raised in the same Form; for the same Animal being raised, constitutes, and makes the Resurrection properly the *End* and *Result* of both their joint Operations: But the same Animal will be raised, if the same Parts be again restored in the same Form, such a vital Union of all the separated Parts

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constituting the Identity of the Animal: For the Resurrection of the same Man necessarily involves in it the Resurrection of the same Body; and it is impossible to conceive the first without the latter. Again, if Understanding and Reason were given Man not only for the Contemplation of sensible corporeal Objects, but also of Spiritual Natures, and the glorious Attributes of GOD, His Goodness, Justice, Wisdom; it follows necessarily, as long as those Attributes, as long as the Cause, so long will the Effect, the Powers of admiring and contemplating these, remain. But it is impossible they should remain, unless that Nature, which was the proper *Substratum* or Subject of these Properties, continue. But the accountable and rational Creature, is *Man*, not a *Soul subsisting by itself*; Man therefore composed of Body and Soul must exist for ever: But this is impossible, if there be no Resurrection of the Dead; but as the Premises are indubitable, so the Consequence must be certain.

BESIDES, if the Natural Man remain not, in vain hath the Soul been made obnoxious to the Necessities, Wants, and Concupiscence of the Body; and the Body hath in vain borne the Command and Restraint of the Soul in the Pursuit of its own Pleasures: In vain were those glorious and exalted Attributes of humane Mind given Man, Invention, Understanding, all social Virtues,

tues, and their Practice; in vain was the Institution and Promulgation of all Laws. To conclude all, in vain was all that hath been done great and beautiful by Man: Nay, the very Creation and Nature of Man was meer Vanity, absurdly and to no End framed. But if GOD cannot be charged with Folly, if all his Gifts and Graces were not vainly bestowed, then must the Body be of the same lasting Duration as the Soul, that the same Identical Animal may exist. Let it not here seem harsh, that Life, which is interrupted by Death, is styled Duration: For the Word *Duration* admits of various Significations, and the Manner of the Duration of Things is as different as the Nature of Things themselves: Such a Sameness of Duration, as Beings incorruptible and immortal enjoy, is not to be expected in Things of a lower Rank: The Duration of a Being perfectly Spiritual, an Uniformity of Existence, without any Change or Variation to be looked for in Man. Man is a Compound Creature, and hath an Invariableness of Duration with respect to his Soul, but with regard to his Body doth by changing gain his Immortality. This is the *Rationale* of the Resurrection, on which great *Crisis* of Time having the Eye of Faith fixed, we bear contentedly the Thoughts of a Dissolution, as the natural Consequence of an indigent and corruptible Life, and hope for a glorious
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and never-ending Duration hereafter. Thus keeping a Mean, the Path of Wisdom, we neither liken our Death to that of Brutes, to be without Hope; nor do we vainly equal it with the unchangeable Duration of Beings naturally immortal.

NOR let us yet think it strange, that Man's Duration seems not to be in the most perfect Manner, but admitting Variations; nor let any, thro' Weakness, deny the Resurrection, because the Separation of Soul and Body, and entire Dissolution of the Parts of the Body, seem to break the Continuity of Existence. When we sleep, we are in a State of Insensibility, the Faculties of the Mind, the Senses of the Body, not exerting themselves; nay, some Men have Periodical Times of Sleeping, and much longer than is usual, yet we still reckon the whole Time one Life: For this Reason is it, that Sleep is called the Brother of Death, not as by such Expression there is declar'd any natural Generation, as if they both were derived from the same Father; but intimated a very close moral Relation and Similitude, inasmuch as many of the same Things are common both to the Dead and Sleeping: Both are in a State of Insensibility, ignorant of all Transactions about them, nay generally not so much as having a Consciousness of their own Existence. If then we call this humane Life a continued Life, which is so full of Breaks from our very Birth to our
Graves,

Graves, so should we neither scruple to allow Life, after a Dissolution, the same continued Existence, tho' it seems interrupted by the Separation of Soul and Body. For the Nature of Man, by the first Institution of the Creator, was made subject to a Multitude of Changes and Variations, with Breaks and Pauses of Sleep and Death, not to mention the lesser Variations from Age, where all Things appear in such a constant Flux, that the first scarce shew themselves, when others press forward on them.

WHO could believe, unless convinced by manifest Experiment and Fact, that there could be such Powers in the simple and simlar Seed, that such Diversities of Form and Bulk should be concealed, that Bones, Nerves, Muscles, Bowels, and other Staminal Parts, should only want an Evolution, and a Distention, with other Matter, to unfold themselves in such Beauty and Magnificence? And yet nothing of this appears to the Eye in the Seed. Nor do abundance of Things appear in Infants which shew themselves in Youth, nor in Youth which are manifest in Manhood, nor in Manhood, which discover themselves in old Age. Some Variations come on us insensibly, others grow more gradually, and are exposed to our Perception: Yet every one that is not blinded thro' extreme Ignorance or Prejudice, can make a proper Judgment on these Points.

The Seed is first to be properly disposed, that expands itself into Members and a Body; Youth bestows on it Stature, Manhood a full Distention and Thickness; then follows an easy Declension, till, in extreme old Age, the ruinous Pile of humane Body sinks, and is dissolved. Yet in this Process the Seed discovers no Likeness of a Body at first, nor doth Life shew any Signs of Death, when all the integral Parts shall be disjoined, and dissolved again into their first Elementary Principles; but Time and Experience unravels this whole Process, and forces us to confess the Reality of what shew'd no Appearance that it would be such.

THUS Reason, by just Deductions, and illustrated by similar Experiments, establishes the Truth of the Resurrection. Others argue from the Nature of Mankind, who all are the Descendents of one common Parent, created by GOD; and this perhaps is too less liable to Objections, than the former reasoning from Experience. Others draw sufficient Arguments for their Faith from the End and Design of GOD's creating Man, and His Providential Care over others: But the accountable Nature, and Actions of Man, and the Design of GOD in forming Man, ought to be jointly considered, in order to prove the Resurrection.

THERE is too another Argument from the *Justice of GOD*, which hath its Force
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from the immutable and independent Nature of Good and Evil; upon which Account GOD will most assuredly reward, or punish, good or evil Actions.

HAVING therefore now dispatch'd all the Arguments of the first Rank, *the Design of GOD's creating Man, and the End and Nature of Man*, I proceed to lay down the Arguments of the *second Order*, such as are drawn from the Necessity of Rewards and Punishments, which must be distributed according to the Deserts or Demerits of Men, as the End necessarily consequential to such pious or wicked Actions. That I may proceed methodically, I begin with shewing the Reason of a *future Judgment*, and from undeniable *Postulatum*s deduce my Proposition to be proved. First, they who believe the Existence of a GOD, and His Creation of Man, must also grant, that all Things are governed and ordered by his Wisdom and Justice, if they will talk consequentially, and agreeably to their own allowed Premises. They allow then, that all Visible and Invisible Things are under the Providence of GOD; that nothing secret or open, great or little, is destitute of His Regard; all created Nature must rely upon His Providential Care, and particularly every Being is more immediately dependent on Him for such Things as that Being was naturally formed and designed for.

I SHALL not here enter into a Philosophical Dispute concerning the Necessaries of every Creature, nor make any pompous Display of them. Man, about whom we now discourse, is, unquestionably, as subject to Hunger; necessitous of Food; as Mortal, wanting a Succession of Children; and as rational, liable to a Judgment to come, where he is accountable for all his Actions. Again, as Man stands in need of Food and Descendants, upon Account of his compound Nature, so is he also accountable for the same Reason, as consisting of Body and Soul; to him as such a future Judgment pertains; he is the Person to be rewarded, or punished, for his good or evil Actions. If by a righteous Sentence the Punishment is laid on the true Actor; for the Soul separately cannot be punished for Sins committed in Conjunction with the Body, since the Soul separate and distinct from the Body could not be affected with sensual Pleasures, with Concupiscence, or Luxury, and the like: Nor can the Body be properly punished alone, as being, when consider'd *alone*, a Subject incapable of Law or Justice: But Man, composed of these two united, is properly to receive the End and Sentence for such Actions. But this due Recompence for his Actions he receives not in this Life; the strict Rule of Retribution is not observed here. How many doth Experience point out to us,
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who have lived in Infidelity and Wickedness all their Days, without receiving any Stroke of Correction for such an impious Life? And how many Heroick Saints have been always in a Storm of Adversity, have been the Mark of Malice and Detraction, nay, have suffer'd all bodily Pains and Misery? Neither can Rewards and Punishments be properly adjusted after Death, without the Existence of the Body: For without the Body, there is not the whole *Compositum*, Man. The Body is dissolv'd, and all its Parts are scatter'd thro' the whole Mass of Matter; there remains nothing which retains the same Shape, or Form, or Quality, or Consciousness of what was once performed jointly with it. It is evident therefore, that in the Apostle's Phrase; *This Corruptible must put on Incorruption, that the enliven'd Dead arising may receive the Recompence of Things done in their Body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil.*

WITH such as allow of a Providence, and admit such Premisses as we assumed, nor, thro' any Mistake, fall from such just Principles, the foregoing Arguments will be fully convincing; and especially, if the Reasoning here delivered in a close and demonstrative Method be heighten'd by a beautiful Turn. But with such Persons so deep in Scepticism, as to call in Question all Principles, a different Method must be used;

and to shew their Absurdity, we must fall in with their doubting Humour, and propose such Queries as these to them : Whether any Superiour Being takes any Notice of the Life of Man, good or evil? Whether the Grave, and perpetual Oblivion, obliterates all the Actions of Men? Or whether the Creator of this beautiful Frame doth preside over and govern it? Whether He always observes, and will one Day judge all Men? But if no Cognizance is taken of Men's Actions, they are upon a Level with the Brutes; nay, many of them are much more miserable, as confining themselves to the Practice of Vertue, Justice, Piety, under all Discouragements. And the Life of Brutes being void of these Obligations and Duties, comparatively, is exceedingly happy. The Practice of Vertue, according to the Notion of a Sceptick, must be Stupidity; the Threats of a future Judgment highly ridiculous; sensual Pleasure must be Man's chief Good, and the known Maxim of that profligate Crew, very just, *Let us eat and drink, for to Morrow we die.* According to them, Death is not a State of Happiness or Misery, but of Insensibility: Nor can they any ways account for the Condition of Things here, without injuring GOD's Justice. For if the Sovereign Creator of all Things takes any Notice of Man, or His other Creatures; if there is any Time wherein He calls them

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to an Account for their Actions, upon the Supposition of there being no Resurrection, they must be recompens'd during this Life, or their Souls only in another after Death. But Justice cannot possibly be distributed either of these Ways. Besides, 'tis Fact, and Experience, that the Good are not rewarded, or the Evil punished in this Life.

I MAY here also use another Argument, that from the very Nature of Man, and present Constitution of Things, it is impossible, in abundance of Cases, that he should have any Punishment inflicted adequate to his Crimes. Suppose a Robber, a Prince or Tyrant, should accumulate Murders on Murders, how can his single Life pay so immense a Debt? We may give an Instance farther of one that hath lived in an utter Contempt of GOD, hath taken up wrong and blasphemous Notions of Him, hath devoted himself wholly to his Lusts, hath despised all Laws Divine and Humane, hath been guilty of Sodomy, hath unjustly destroy'd Cities, involving the Inhabitants in one common Flame; how can such a one in his mortal Condition, in a perishing Body, satisfy for such an immense Villany? Put him to Torments and the Rack, Death snatches him from us before he is punish'd to half of his Demerits, perhaps before he hath paid the Debt of one Villany. He can suffer but one Death for innumerable Murders and

Devastations. Justice therefore cannot exert itself in full Force here in this mortal Life; nor yet can it after Death, upon Supposition of there being no Resurrection. For if Death be an entire Annihilation, and the Soul perishes together with the Body, the Matter admits of no Dispute: But if the Soul remain indissoluble and incorruptible, the Body still is perish'd; nor doth it any longer preserve a Memory of former Actions or Accidents. The Life of *Man* is utterly destroy'd; and therefore no Examination can be made into Men's Actions, *as Men*, for they are not, whether they have liv'd piously, or committed all Manner of Wickedness. Such a Notion breaks the Barriers of all Law and Justice, opens a Way for Men to give themselves a Loose to all Wickedness, even the grand Impiety of denying the Existence of a GOD. For if the Body be dissolved into its first Elementary Principles, and the Soul persist in an incorruptible State, the Soul cannot be judged, because nothing can be determin'd of it separately. But it is impious to think GOD should judge, and not justly; there can therefore be no Judgment: No just Judgment can be made, where the Person offending or deserving is not the Subject; and it was the *Man*, and not the Soul separately, which was the Author of all such Actions as then come under Cognizance.

To conclude, such partial Proceedings, every Way consider'd, will be unjust. The Body will unquestionably be injuriously treated, by being deprived of its Share of the Honour and Reward of good Actions: Since the Body too was a Fellow-Labourer in the Performing of such glorious Actions, which entitle to a Reward it does not partake of: Again, in many Cases it seems equitable the Soul should be in some Measure pardon'd for what was acted wrong, thro' the pressing Necessities of the Body; and yet the Body too would be unrewarded for all Acts of Mortification and Self-denial, tho' in a more especial Manner its peculiar Merit. And is not this unjust? On the other hand; were all Sins punish'd in the Soul, that would be unjust: Since she alone would then bear the Punishment of Crimes committed thro' the Disorder of the Body, being sometimes secretly seduced to such sensual Pleasures and Gratifications, and at other times overcome by some powerful Temptation, and at other times willingly yielded to the Body's Desires, in Compliance to the Weakness of her Partner. How then can the Soul be justly punish'd for such Crimes, as she could not possibly, by reason of her Nature, be guilty of, in Desire or Act, if separate and not joined to the Body; such as are the Sins of Luxury, Violence, Covetousness, and Injustice? If most Sins proceed from Mens not duly governing

ning their Passions, and those Passions are provoked by the Wants and Necessities of the Body, (for all Riches are got for the Use, and spent in the Gratification, of the Body) how can it be just for the Soul to suffer singly for such Affections as were properly inherent in the Body, and the Soul hath only such a Share in, as her Union with the Body doth necessarily oblige her to: Shall Lusts, Pleasures, Fears, Sorrow, and all criminal Excess proceed from the Body, and yet the Soul only, which neither wanted, nor desired, nor feared any Thing of that Kind, bear the whole Punishment due to such Crimes? But if we will, and perhaps with more Propriety of Speech, call them, not the Passions of the Soul or Body separately, but of *Man*, since his simple Life is made of the Union of them both; yet cannot these Offences be charged on the Soul, even upon the Account of its very Nature. If the Soul wanted not Nutriment, Food, or Drink, she could not desire such Things as were perfectly useless to her Nature; and as not desiring, she would not thro' Fraud or Violence take from others any of these Things as she was naturally incapable of enjoying: Nor can she be conceiv'd to lament or grieve for want of Riches and Possessions, as being Things foreign and useless to her. Again, as being in her Nature incorruptible, she is incapable of fearing any external Violence,

lence, far exalted above the Reach of humane Power : Neither Famine, nor Disease, nor Death could be to her the Objects of Fear and Terrour ; since none of these could either hurt or disturb her ; since no Body or Bodily Power could any ways affect her Spiritual Nature. But as it is absurd to impute Affections, such as the above-mention'd, to the Soul, so is it strangely impious to assign the Punishment due to them to the separate Soul.

BUT as Vices, so neither can Vertues, be conceiv'd as Actions of a separate Soul ; they are the Properties of *Men*, and cannot be conceived inherent in the Soul separate and distinct from the Body ; therefore neither can the Rewards of any good Actions be given the Soul alone.

How can Fortitude or Courage be conceiv'd as Properties of the Soul only, which, upon account of its Nature, can apprehend nothing terrible from Death, Wounds, or Maiming ; dreads no contumelious Usage, nor the Consequences of these Pains and Sorrows ? How can Temperance be imputed to the Soul, that is incapable of desiring luxurious Delicacies or sensual Pleasures ; is stir'd up by nothing within itself to such Actions ; nor is affected by any external Object ? How can Prudence be imagined to be in the Soul, since nothing humane is desirable, or the contrary, to be done or left undone,

undone, with respect to her only? In what tolerable Sense can Souls be said to exercise Justice to each other, since they have not the Things or Means whereby to exercise such Actions as may be called just, excepting only a Power of Paying an *Honour due* to GOD. Again, since they can make no use of their own Riches, (could they be conceiv'd to have any) how can they be imagin'd to covet others Wealth and Possessions? Enjoyment and Abstinence are only properly imputed to such Natures as are capable of making an Use of such Objects: But since the Soul cannot any ways enjoy such Things, neither can she therefore be said to practise any such Vertue as Abstinence.

FARTHER, this Notion of Souls being separately punished, still labours with a greater Absurdity. A *Law* is promulged and given to *Man*, and the Punishments and Rewards of Disobedience or Obedience to this Law are given to Souls alone. But *Man*, and not a distinct Soul, received this Law; the first therefore, and not the latter, ought to bear the Punishment of Disobedience. Thus GOD commands not Souls, but Men, to abstain from such unlawful Actions, as Adultery, Murder, Theft, Rapine, Disobedience to Parents; from all unjust Actions, and unlawful Coveting the Possessions of others. The Precept, *Honour thy Father*
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and Mother, could not be given to Souls, such Names belong not to them; for Souls beget not Souls, but Man doth Man. Nor, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*, cannot without Absurdity be spoken to, or understood of Souls; since in them there is no Difference of Sex, nor Desire, or Power of Coition. Since such a Commerce is universally impossible to Souls, any *Species* of it, as Adultery, cannot be conceived in them. *Thou shalt not steal: Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbour's House, &c.* cannot neither be understood of Souls; for they have no need of such Things, and they only, who want them for the supplying of their Necessities, steal from others. Thus they steal Gold, Silver, Cattle, or something proper for Food or Raiment: But an immortal Nature regards not these Things, which indigent Creatures desire, only because they want. They, who require farther Explanation in the Points, or would more effectually combat with our Adversaries, would do well to consider these Arguments urged in their full Extent. The foregoing Discourse seems to me to have sufficiently establish'd the Doctrine of a Resurrection; I shall therefore draw to a Conclusion. For it was not here my Intent to say all so large a Subject as the Resurrection would furnish, and urge every Argument fully, but briefly, and in a close demonstrative Method, to prove the Truth of the Doctrine.

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The Reader may, from what hath been here said, form an *Idea* of what may be more largely delivered on this most important Point.

HAVING sufficiently discoursed on the foregoing Arguments; It remains only, that something should be said of Man's Life, and the Result or *End* of all his Actions. This is a plain Consequence of what hath been said, and is only here particularly mentioned, lest it might seem thro' neglect passed over, and the Discourse not so complete and uniform. For these and the like Reasons, thus much shall be said on this Head.

ALL Works of Nature or Art are formed to some peculiar *End* and Design; common Experience evidently attests the Truth of this. The several Orders of Men, Soldiers, and Physicians, are appointed to different *Ends*; Plants and Vegetables have an *End* different from Animals, who feed on them, and who propagate their own *Species*: Since this is Fact, and all Animals have and pursue such peculiar Purposes they were appointed for, it follows, Man too must have an *End* peculiar to himself, and different from that of the Generality of Animals, proportionally as his Nature is above theirs. For it is preposterous to put the rational and accountable Nature of Man upon a level with irrational Brutes, or the vegetable World. A State of Indolence and

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Insensibility cannot be the End for which Man was designed, for *that* Plants and Vegetables have; nor can Voluptuousness and Sensuality be the *End* for which Man was appointed, for in those Things the Brutes exceed us, and then the Life of Brutes would be more excellent than that of Man, and Vertue an Imperfection. Sensuality must therefore be the *chief End* of Brutes only, and not of an immortal Soul and rational Nature. Nor can the Happiness of the Soul, separate from the Body, be the *End* of Man; this is contrary to our *Hypothesis*; for the End of Man is the Question; of *Man*, a Being compos'd of those Parts Soul and Body united. For Man who enjoys this Life is such; therefore the *End*, or Result of that Life, is to be enquired after. If then the *End* of Man, as consisting of Soul and Body, is demanded; it is plain from the Reasons laid down above, that no proper End can be found during his living here; nor yet in a State of the Soul's Separation from the Body, while the latter is dissolved, and its Parts scatter'd thro' the whole Mass of Matter, tho' the Soul be allow'd a distinct Subsistence by itself. It is absolutely necessary then, that the same Animal be again restored to Life, the same Man again raised, that there may indeed be a proper *End*; and consequently the very same numerical dead Bodies, however their Parts be dispersed, must again be raised; for the Resurrection, or new For-

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mation of a *new Body*, is not sufficient; that will not constitute an *End*, properly speaking; for the *End* now enquired after, is that of those Bodies which before lived; and it is again impossible the same Men should be raised, if the same Bodies are not restored to the Souls: But the Soul cannot have the same Body, unless it be raised. And when this comes to pass, then will Man have the *End* suitable to, and for which his Nature was framed: And we may presume to say, that the *End* of a virtuous Life and a rational Nature, is to be thro' all Eternity conversant with, and employ'd about such Objects as are agreeable to a Spiritual Nature, the Contemplation of GOD, and Enjoyment of such Pleasures and Happiness as he hath promised to make us Heirs of, for all Eternity. I confess, the Generality of Mankind are as far from considering this *End*, for which they were appointed, as from pursuing it as they ought to do in their Lives and Actions; yet this no ways invalidates the Argument, nor the Multitude of them that fail of it disprove in any Sort this common *End* to which they were appointed: And there is besides, for the completing of the whole Scheme, a general Judgment concerning this Behaviour, appointed, and Rewards and Punishments prepared, which will be distributed to everyone, according as they have lived, well, or ill.



A Fragment of Justin Martyr concerning the Resurrection.



THE Word of Truth is evident from itself, doth not depend on other Proofs, or submit to an ordinary Demonstration, for the obtaining the Belief of those who hear it : This Self-

evidence it derives from the Authority of Him who sent it, and He who sent it is GOD : It is therefore no Arrogance in this to command our Assent, as carrying a superior Kind of Certainty in itself, and on that Account justly rejecting the Proofs used in ordinary Notions. For this is no other than the very Truth, which is GOD. Every Demonstration is made of Principles, which are more clear and certain than the Proposition to be demonstrated ; therefore that which was not believed before the Demonstration was made, when it is made and applied, obtains a firm Credit. But nothing can be more certain and sure, than Truth itself, and therefore whoever should

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require

require it to be demonstrated, would be as unreasonable, as one that should demand a Proof of what is most self-evident from our very Senses. Our own Senses are the ultimate Judges of Things which we hear from common Report; there cannot be any farther Appeal, but the Senses must be their own *dernier* Resort. Therefore as we examine with our own Senses all Matters of vulgar Fame and Report, and according to our Information from them determine without having recourse to any Thing else: So all humane and worldly Opinions we examine by the Rule of Truth, and by that determine whether they be good or bad: But Truth itself we can try by nothing, but must believe in it thro' its own Evidence. For GOD is Truth, the Father of all Things, and the perfect Mind; Whose Son, the Word, came down to us, was cloathed with our Flesh, and gave us, in himself, a Resurrection from the Dead, and eternal Life hereafter: The same is Jesus Christ our Lord, and He is the Proof both of Himself and of all He deliver'd. They therefore who follow Him, and have known Him, believe and acquiesce in Him as a most certain Demonstration.

BUT forasmuch as the Adversary, the Devil, ceases not to war against Mankind, but uses all subtile Arts to tempt them who have believed, from the Faith, and harden the
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the Infidels in their Unbelief ; it seemed necessary that we should arm ourselves with the invincible Word of Truth, to resist and fight against him for the Sake of weaker Brethren.

THEY therefore who deny the Resurrection of the Flesh, make these Objections. *First*, That it is impossible the Flesh, after a Corruption and perfect Dissolution of all its Parts, should be again united together. *Secondly*, they urge that the Salvation of the Flesh is of no Advantage or Use. And *thirdly*, accuse it of being the Cause and Origin of all Sin and Wickedness ; so that if the Flesh is to be raised, all Vices, as interwoven in its very Nature, must be raised too. Such Sophisms as these are their Arguments. If the Flesh is raised, it will be raised either complete and with all its integral Parts, or the contrary ; but if it be raised incomplete and wanting any of its Parts, it argues Want of Power in GOD ; if He be able to preserve and raise up some and not others. But if the whole Body, with all its Parts and Members, be raised ; Is not that an absurd Assertion ? Since our Blessed Saviour says, *In the Resurrection, they neither marry, nor are given in Marriage ; but will be like the Angels in Heaven.* But (say they) the Angels have neither Flesh, nor do they eat or use Propagation, and therefore the Flesh will not be raised. By these and the like Assertions,

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they endeavour to turn some from the Truth. It must indeed be confest that there are Hereticks, who assert our Saviour Jesus Christ had not a real humane Flesh and Body, but *appear'd only* as a *Spirit* or Phantom, with a *Resemblance* of a humane Body; who thence also labour to defraud the Flesh of its promis'd Salvation. I shall first solve those Difficulties which are pretended to be inexplicable, and afterwards proceed to demonstrate that the Flesh will be saved.

THE Objectors say then, If the whole Body be raised complete and with all its Parts, they will necessarily have the same Functions they had before in this Life, and each Sex perform the proper Offices of Generation. In this Point lies the whole Strefs of their Argument, and when I shall have proved the Falsity of this, all their Objections fall to the Ground. To make this evident, let us consider thus. The Office of the Woman is to bear, and of the Man to beget Children: And to perform either of these, such and such Means must necessarily be us'd. But as the first is not, so neither is the latter requisite. We see, in this Life, several Women, after Marriage, have no Children, but are all their Time barren: So that it doth not necessarily follow that every Woman should have Children. Others too, perhaps not barren, have preserved their Virginitie, and abstained from the Marriage-Bed,

Bed, from the Beginning; and others have from some certain Time lived in a State of Continnence. We observe too there have been Men, some from the Beginning, some from their later Years, strictly chaste and continent, who have apparently broken the Law of Concupiscence, and been Instances that it is not of general Force. We have Examples too of the Brutes, who many of them are barren; and also in Mules which never propagate their mix'd *Specie*. Thus both Men and the Brutes furnish us with Instances, where all Acts of Concupiscence have been omitted even in this Life. And indeed our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was for this Reason born of a pure Virgin, that he might abolish the Law of irregular Concupiscence, and shew the World that Man might be form'd without any Congress of Man with Woman. He was born, and perform'd all the Actions of corporeal Life, as Eating, and Drinking, and Wearing of Cloaths, but was like us in no Act of Concupiscence.

ALL necessary Desires of the Flesh he assumed, but not those which are unnecessary. The Flesh, if it wants Meat, Drink, and Cloaths, must perish; but no Disadvantage follows, if it be deprived of carnal Knowledge, which our Law no where enjoins. But that all of this Kind will be done away in a future State, is plain from this Text: *The Children of this World marry, and are given*

in Marriage : But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that World, and the Resurrection from the Dead, neither marry, nor are given in Marriage ; but are equal to the Angels in Heaven. Luke xx. ver. 24. Unbelievers therefore ought not to admire, if all Concupiscence of Lust be taken away from the Body in a future Life, since even in this, Contenance is frequently exercis'd.

BUT they proceed, granting this (say they) then the Body will be raised just such as it deceas'd, if it dy'd having one Eye, it will be raised with one Eye only ; if it dy'd lame, it will be raised so too : And universally, whatever Defect or Maim any Body had at its Decease, it will be raised in the Resurrection with the same. Thus are their Eyes blinded against the Truth. But do they not see, even in this Life, the Blind have received their Sight, and the Lame have been made to walk ? And this our Blessed Saviour effected by the Word of His Mouth ; both to fulfill the Saying of the Prophet, *The Blind shall see, and the Deaf shall hear ;* And also to assure us, the Flesh will be raised at the Resurrection. If on Earth then He cured all Diseases, and made the Body whole and perfect, how much more will He, in the general Resurrection, raise the Body complete and perfect.

THERE are three more Objections of them who deny the Resurrection of the
Flesh ;

Flesh ; the first is, that it is impossible ; the second, that it is unbecoming the Majesty of GOD, to raise up again so vile and despicable a Lump ; and the last, that there is no Promise that it should ever be raised. It will be convenient to answer first them who maintain it is impossible for GOD to raise again the Flesh ; and to shew that they are only verbal Professors of the Truth, but are in fact Infidels, nay worse than Infidels. For even the very *Gentiles*, who believe in Idols, are thoroughly persuaded that all Things are possible to them : As their Poet *Homer* says.

The Gods can all Things do with Ease.

He says *with Ease*, to shew the Greatness of the Power of their Gods : These Objectors must then be consider'd as much more Infidels than even the Heathens. For if the *Gentiles* believe their Idols, which they call Gods (*which have Ears and hear not, which have Eyes and see not*) If they believe (I say) these *Devils*, for so the Scripture too calls them, are able to do all Things : How much rather shall we, who hold a true and excellent Faith, firmly believe our GOD ? Since we have the most convincing Proofs and Arguments ; as first, the Formation of the Protoplast *Adam*, whom GOD made of the Earth ; this is a plain Instance of GOD's Omnipotence. And farther, whoever atten-

tively considers the Generation of Man, by Man and Woman ; afterwards, how such a great Creature is framed from so small a Beginning, will find still a greater Occasion of Wonder and Admiration. But our Blessed Saviour hath given us in Himself an incontestable Instance of a Resurrection ; of which I shall speak hereafter, and now proceed to demonstrate the Possibility of the Resurrection, first asking Pardon of the Sons of the Truth, for condescending to prove this Doctrine from foreign and worldly Reasons.

FIRST then, we affirm that nothing is extraneous to GOD ; and then apply our Discourse to the Unbelievers. For it would have been sufficient to inform Believers, that this was our Faith, but now we must advance every Step by Demonstration. Tho' the above-mention'd Arguments are sufficient to prove the Possibility of the Resurrection of the Flesh ; yet by reason of the stubborn Infidelity of some, I must give more abundant Proofs ; not such as are drawn from the Word of Truth, for *that* they do not admit, but from Arguments, which their present State of Infidelity will allow ; I mean worldly Reasons. For if we can prove the Resurrection of the Flesh by these, we shall give them great matter of Shame ; since they will appear not able to apprehend the Reason of this World, which yet hath furnish'd

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convincing Evidence of the Truth of this Notion. The Philosophers of this World; who are also called Wise-Men, have maintained these several Opinions. *Plato* says, that this whole Universe consists of GOD and of Matter: *Epicurus* affirms, that it is made of Atomes and *Vacuum*: The *Stoicks* maintain, all Things are compounded of the four Elements, Fire, Water, Earth, and Air: It is sufficient to mention the more celebrated *Hypotheses*. *Plato* says, all Things were made by GOD out of Matter, and according to the Rules of His Wisdom. *Epicurus*, that His Atomes and *Vacuum*, by a fortuitous and spontaneous Concourse of Corpuscles, produced all things. The *Stoicks*, that GOD being diffused thro' all the Elements, form'd the World. And tho' they thus differ exceedingly in the main of their Notions; there are yet some Principles generally allow'd by every Sect: As for instance, that no Thing can be made out of *nothing*, nor any Thing that is, perish and become *nothing*, and that the Elements, out of which all Things are generated, are incorruptible.

Now even admitting these Schemes of the Philosophers for true, it will be evident, there may be a Regeneration or Resurrection of the Flesh. For if there exist at first, as *Plato* conceiv'd, Matter and GOD, and they be both uncorruptible, and GOD be consider'd as the Artificer, and Matter as the

the Subject, Clay, Wax, and the like. Whatever is formed out of Matter, as a Statue or Image, is subject to Corruption; but Matter itself is incorruptible, as the Clay, or Wax, or any other kind of Matter. Thus a Statuary may make of Clay or Wax an exact Image of any Animal; and afterwards, if by chance or design it be destroy'd, can out of the same Materials, in the same Manner mixed, make up again the same Image. Therefore, according to *Plato*, it will be possible to an *incorruptible* GOD, who hath also *incorruptible* Matter, to renew and make again an Animal the same it was before, after it shall have been corrupted and dissolved.

So likewise, according to the *Stoicks*, all Bodies, being formed out of the four Elements in due Manner mixed, after they are dissolved, may (since the Elements themselves remain incorruptible) assume again the same *Crafts* and Temperament as they had before, and thro' the Means of GOD, who pervades them, become again the same Bodies. As if any one should mix Gold, Silver, Brass, and Tin, together, and make any Vessel with them, he may dissolve the Whole, and separate the Parts from each other; and upon altering his Mind, may again mix them together, and make the same Vessel he did before.

SUPPOSE, lastly, we take the *Epicurean* Opinion, since the *Atomes* and *Vacuum* of *Epicurus* are incorruptible, and all Bodies are formed out of these compounded together in due Order and Site, and every Body, according to him, being dissolved by Time, returns again to its first compounding Principles the *Atomes*. Since these remain always incorruptible, they may again fall into the same Order and Site, and recompose the same Body; as if some one should make any Animal's Figure in Chequer-Work, and that should be broken by any Accident, or Length of Time, he may gather again the same Chequers, and put them together in the same Manner, and so make again the same Figure of the Animal. And after this, shall we say, GOD is not able to gather together the dissolved Particles of our Flesh, and reunite them together, so as to constitute again the same numerical Body? Thus have I demonstrated, from Principles allow'd by the Heathens, the Possibility of a Resurrection: But if, according to the Unbelievers, it be possible, how much more is it so according to them who believe?

IN the next place, I must turn my Discourse to those who speak of the Body as contemptible, and represent it as unworthy of a Resurrection and Heavenly Glory: First, because it is made of Earth; and secondly, because it is full of all Iniquity, and
because

because it drew the Soul into a Partnership of Guilt with it. But these Objectors seem to forget, that Matter itself, and the first Formation of Man, and the whole World, is the Workmanship of GOD. Doth not the Holy Scripture say, *Let us make Man in our own Image and Likeness?* What Man? the Earthy Man: For thus the Holy Scripture; *And GOD took of the Dust of the Earth, and made Man.* It is plain then, the Man who is said to be made in the Image of GOD, was made of the Earth. Is it not then absurd to say, that the Flesh, which was made in the Image of GOD, is base and contemptible? Since, that the Flesh is honourable and valuable, is evident, because GOD Himself made it, as every Image or Picture is valued by the Statuary or Painter who made it. This is farther evident too from the Formation of the whole World; because that, for which all other Things were made, must be valued and loved above all other Things, by the Creator.

But granting this, (say they) the Flesh is sinful, and draws also the Soul to Sin: But this is to charge the Flesh wrongfully, and to lay the Faults of both on one only. For how could the Body sin, if the Soul did not lead and direct her? To make a Comparison from a Yoke of Oxen; if either be separated from the other, neither can plow singly
by

by itself; so too neither Soul or Body, when their Bond of Union is broken, are able to do any thing. But if the Body only be the Cause of Sin, our Blessed Saviour came for its Sake only: For thus we read; *I came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance.*

IN the next place, we must reply to those who assert, that tho' the Body be the Workmanship of GOD, and more honourable than all other Things, yet it hath not any Promise of a Resurrection. But is it not absurd to assert, that which was formed with peculiar Care, and honoured above every thing else, should afterwards be utterly neglected and despised by its Creator, and suffer'd to sink into Nothing. Among Men we observe, Painters and Statuaries endeavour to preserve, and if possible, to perpetuate their Labours, that they might thereby acquire an immortal Fame; and shall GOD be imagined so to despise his own Work, as to let it perish utterly? Nay, do not such Notions as these make him to have laboured in vain? If we may accuse a Man of having laboured in vain, who builds a House, and presently pulls it down; or, when it wants repairing, neglects it, and suffers it to fall to Ruin; may we not also say the same of GOD, if He should act so with respect to Man? But the eternal One is not such, nor the univer-
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sal Mind void of Understanding. Let then the Infidels be silent, if they will not believe. GOD hath called the Flesh to a Resurrection, and promised it eternal Life: For inasmuch as He hath promised Man eternal Life, He hath promised it to the Flesh. For what is Man, but a rational Creature consisting of Body and Soul? the Soul singly is not Man, but the Soul of Man: Nor can the Body be called a Man, but the Body of a Man. If therefore neither of these singly is the Man, but the Animal consisting of both united be called Man; and if GOD hath called Man to Life, and to a Resurrection from the Dead, He hath not called Part of him, but the Whole, that is both Soul and Body. Or how can it be imagined the one should be saved, and not the other, of Beings which so necessarily depend on each other. Or since, as we have proved above, it is in no-wise impossible for the Flesh to be raised, why is this Difference made between them, as to think the Soul shall be saved, and not the Body?

Do they stint and confine GOD's Goodness? GOD is infinitely beneficent, would have all to be saved both by Himself and by the Preaching of the Gospel: Nor did the Soul only hear the Gospel, but the Flesh also, and jointly with it believed in Christ Jesus. Both were washed, and both worked
Right-

Righteousness together: Do they then think GOD unjust or ungrateful? since they make Him save one, and not the other, when both believed in Him.

BUT they reply, the Soul is Incorruptible, as being a Part of GOD, breathed from Him; and therefore He will save this which is peculiarly like Himself; and not the Flesh, since it is naturally subject to Corruption, and not derived from Himself, as the Soul is. If so, what Favour or Power doth He shew, if He only saves that which is in its own Nature incorruptible, and Part of Himself. The Soul hath naturally Salvation in itself; and therefore the Saving that is no great Act of Power, as being a Part of, and derived from Himself. Nothing deserves Thanks for saving what is its own, for it only saves itself. He who saves Part of himself, saves himself, as apprehending he may some time want that Part. Such an Action as this will not denominate any a good Man. No body calls him a good Man, who doth a kind Office to none but his own Children, or nearest Relations; for this the most savage Beasts do, which, when it is necessary, for the Defence of their Young ones, expose themselves to certain Death: But if a Person do such good Offices even to Servants, then may he justly be called good. For this Reason our Saviour commands us to love our Enemies; for then we have a Reward. By this, shewing
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ing us it is an Act of Goodness not to love only our Children, but those also who are no ways related to us: And whatever He commanded us, He hath exemplified in Himself. * * * * *

* * * * * If the Flesh were of no Use, why did He cure the Diseases of the Body? or which is a stronger Argument, why did He raise the Dead? unless to demonstrate what the Resurrection of the Dead would be? Or how did he raise the Dead? Souls, or Bodies? Did he not raise both? But if the Resurrection were only spiritual, it behoved Him, when He raised Himself from the Dead, to shew the Soul and the Body separate and distinct from each other: But He raised the Body, as a Confirmation of His Promise to it of a future Life. Why did He rise in the Flesh in which He suffer'd, but to prove the Resurrection of the Flesh? And He, being willing to prove to His Disciples, who doubted, that He rose in a real Body, said to them, *Do you yet not believe? see it is Me*, and offer'd Himself to be felt by them, and shew'd them the Prints of the Nails in His Hands. Therefore, when they were thoroughly convinced that it was *He Himself* in a *real Body*, they desired Him to take Meat with them; that by this too they might certainly know that He was risen with a *real humane Body*. And being willing to shew it was not impossible for the Body to ascend

ascend up into Heaven, because He had before said our Habitation is in Heaven; He was taken up into Heaven, while they were looking on, in His real humane Body.

IF, after all this, any one shall require farther Demonstration, he is in the same Error as the *Sadducees*. For the Resurrection of the Flesh is the Power of GOD, superiour to all Reasoning, and is firmly established by Faith, and apparent by Matters of Fact. * * * * *

THE Resurrection is of the Flesh which died; but the Soul doth not die. The Soul is in the Body; but when the Body is without the Soul, it cannot live. The Body is the Mansion of the Soul, and the Soul the Mansion of the Spirit. These three will be saved in those who have a sincere Hope and firm Faith in GOD.

THUS have we consider'd the worldly Arguments and Methods of Reasoning, and found, that even, according to these, the Resurrection is not impossible: And more than this, we see our Blessed Saviour throughout all the Gospel declares the Salvation of our Flesh. Why then do we hearken to the pernicious Maxims of Infidels, and imprudently swerve from the Truth, by owning the Soul only is immortal and incorruptible, but the Body corruptible and perishable. This we knew from *Plato* and *Py-*

thagoras before we knew the Truth. If our Saviour therefore hath taught us no more than this, He hath taught us nothing new, nothing more than *Plato* and *Pythagoras* had done before. But He hath made a new and wonderful Revelation to Mankind: And truly new and wonderful it is, for GOD to promise, not only to preserve what is incorruptible in Incorruption, but to bestow also Incorruption on that which is corruptible.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, the Prince of Wickedness, when he could by no other Means corrupt the Word of Faith, hath sent out his wicked Emissaries to spread the Pestilence of his Doctrine; such as were chosen out of them who crucify'd our Saviour, and who indeed do bear the Name of Him, as being called Christians, but do the Works of Him who sent them; and give Occasion thence for the Holy Name to be blasphemed. For if the Flesh will not be redeemed, why do we not indulge it in all its Appetites? and why do we not rather imitate Physicians, who, when they see their Patient in a desperate Way, give him over, to follow his own Humour, as being sure he must die. But it is the Haters of the Flesh who advance this Notion, and, as much as in them is, defraud it of its Inheritance; and therefore they contemn it as a worthless Carcass. But our Physician, Christ the GOD, hath commanded us not to pursue our irregular Appetites,

petites, but hath prescribed our Flesh the sober and continent Regimen of Life which He Himself used ; which was manifestly for this Reason, to keep it from Sin, as having a Hope of its Salvation hereafter, in the same manner as Physicians forbid those Patients every thing that is irregular, whom they have any hope of curing.





A Fragment of *Josephus*,
out of a Tract, entituled,
*Of the Cause of the Uni-
verse against Plato, con-
cerning Hades, in which
are kept the Souls of the
Just and Unjust.*

— **A**ND let this suffice to be said concerning such Spirits as have never been in Bodies. It is necessary to speak now of *Hades*, where are kept the Souls of the Righteous and Unrighteous. *Hades* is a Place in its very Constitution without Ornament; a subterranean Region, in which the Light of the World shines not: And inasmuch as there never appears any Light here, there must needs be perpetual Obscurity. This Region is appointed as a Place of Custody for Souls, and over which there are certain Angels set as Guards, who are the Distributers of Temporary Penalties to such as have deserved them.

IN this Region there is a Place separate from the rest, a Lake of unquenchable Fire; into which, according to our Opinion, there is no one yet cast; but it is prepared against the Day appointed by GOD, wherein a Sentence of just Judgment will be passed on all Men, according as they have deserved. The Wicked, and they who believe not GOD, but worship the vain Work of Men's Hands, Graven Images, as GOD, being guilty of the most abominable Pollutions, shall be condemned to eternal Punishment: But the *Just* shall obtain a Kingdom incorruptible, and from which they cannot fall: who now are, nevertheless, kept in *Hades*, but not in the same Part as the Wicked.

FOR there is one Entrance into that Receptacle, at the Gate of which we believe there is an Archangel with a Guard standing; thro' which Gate pass all those who are led by the Angels appointed to be Guardians of Souls: But these go not all the same Way. The Righteous go to the Right Hand, guided by a Light, and are received with Hymns by the Angels who are set over those Mansions, till they arrive at the Region of Light, where all the Just, who have been from the Beginning of the World, converse together, not detain'd by any Force of Necessity, but by the enjoying a continual Contemplation of present Goods, and full of Joy with the Expectation of future Rewards appointed

for every one of them, which they believe more excellent than the present: In this Place there is no Labour, or Trouble; no Heat, nor Cold, nor Anxiety; but the pleasant Sight of the Righteous Fathers always smiling, who wait for, after Continuance for some time in this Receptacle, Rest, and an eternal Life in Heaven: And this Place we call *Abraham's Bosom*.

BUT the Wicked are dragg'd towards the Left by the tormenting Angels, not walking freely, but forced along with Violence like Prisoners, who are attended by the presiding Angels according to their Office, reproaching them, and threatning them with terrible Faces, and driving them towards the Brink of the lowermost Hell. The presiding Angels drag them to the Brink of *Gebenna*, where they stand, and continually hear the Boiling of the Lake, and are not free from the Smoak. And having a near View of this Spectacle of terrible and exceeding *red Fire*, they are struck with a fearful Expectation of a Judgment to come, being now already virtually punished: They see the Assembly of the Fathers and the Saints; that too is a Punishment to them. There is, moreover, a great and deep Chasm, or Gulf, fixed in the middle between them; so that none of the Righteous, out of Compassion, or the Wicked, through Desperateness, can pass from one to the other.

THIS is the Account of *Hades*, in which the Souls both of the Righteous and Unrighteous are kept till the Time appointed by GOD; when He will make a Resurrection of all, not a Transmigration of Souls from one Body into another, but a Resurrection of those very same Bodies. But ye *Gentiles* seeing them dissolved, do not believe they will rise again; now learn not to be Infidels: For since you believe, according to *Plato*, the Soul to have been made Immortal by GOD, you should not doubt but GOD is able to raise again the same Body compounded of the same Elements, and give it Immortality. The one cannot be said to be possible, and the other impossible to GOD. We believe the Body will rise again, for it is dissolved, but not annihilated: The Earth takes the Remains of it, and preserves them, and they will spring up again like Seed sown and filled with the fructifying Particles of the Earth. What is sown, is bare Seed sown; but by the Command of GOD the Creator, it rises up flourishing, cloathed, and glorious; yet not before it dies, and is mixed with the Earth. Thus we do not fondly believe the Resurrection of the Body: For tho' for a Season it suffer a Dissolution, because of the first Disobedience, it is flung into the Ground as into a Potter's Furnace, to be formed again a-new; not such as before, corruptible, but

pure, and no more subject to Corruption. When its own proper Soul is restored to every Body, and the Soul is cloathed therewith, the said Soul will not be grieved, but will rejoyce, as being herself pure; and inhabiting a pure Body, will now have in that State the Body a just Companion, and not a Seducer in all Things, and will embrace it with all Joy. But the Wicked will assume Bodies not transformed, not glorified, nor freed from Infirmity and Disease, but with the very Diseases they died of, and such as they were in their Infidelity, shall they be certainly judg'd.

FOR All, the Just and the Unjust, shall be brought before GOD the *Logos*: For the Father hath given all Judgment to him; and He fulfilling the Will of His Father, will be our Judge, whom we call Christ. For neither *Minos*, nor *Radamanthus*, will be Judges, as you *Gentiles* think; but he whom GOD and the Father hath glorify'd, concerning whom we shall hereafter discourse more distinctly, in favour of those who seek for the Truth. He, thus exercising his Father's just Judgment on all, hath prepared for every one according to their Works; before whose Judgment all Men, and Angels, and Devils, shall stand, and with one unanimous Voice say, *Just is Thy Judgment*. The Equity of the Voice will appear from the Retribution made to both, giving eternal

nal Happiness to those who have done well, and everlasting Punishment to the Lovers of Wickedness. For these is reserved the unquenchable Fire, and a certain fiery Worm which never dies, and yet never destroys the Body; but with incessant Pain breaks out of it, and still remains. No Sleep shall ease these; Night shall not give them Rest, Death shall not deliver them from Punishment; no Intercessions of Relations shall avail them; for they can no more see the Just, nor do they deserve to be had in Remembrance: For the Just shall remember only their just Works, thro' which they gain'd the Kingdom of Heaven, in which there is neither Sleep, nor Grief, nor Corruption, nor Anxiety, nor Night, nor Day, as measured Time; nor the Sun necessarily revolving round the Heaven in a Circle; no Angels taking Care of the Spaces of the *Seasons*, and *Stars* for the Use of the Life of Man: No Change of Moon, occasioning Change of Weather, neither Moon moistening, nor the Sun scorching the Earth, nor the Bear-Star turning round the Pole; no Earth difficult to be pass'd, nor Seat of Paradise difficult to be found, nor terrible Swellings of the Sea, which stops the Traveller from marching over it: For even the Sea then will be passable by the Just, not deprived of its Liquidness, nor yet made solid Earth, that it might be walked over. The
Heaven

Heaven will not be then uninhabitable by Men, nor the Ascent up to it impossible; the Earth will not now be difficult to be tilled, and force Man to Labour, but shall of its own Accord produce all Fruits for the Happiness of the World, according as the Lord shall appoint. Beasts will no more procreate their like; neither will the other Animals have longer a Nature proper for Generation: For Man will no more beget Children; but the Number of the Just shall continue always the same, and in an indefectible Condition, together with the Holy Angels and Spirits of GOD, and with His *Word*. The Assembly of just Men and Women continues free from old Age and Corruption, praising GOD, who for a Life led regularly, and according to the Law, shall have brought them hither: Together with whom the whole Creation, being freed from Corruption, shall sing a perpetual Hymn, being glorify'd by the Splendor and Purity of the Spirit, and not forced by any Chain of Necessity: But in perfect Freedom shall, together with Angels, and all other Intellectual and Rational Beings, voluntarily celebrate the great Creator.

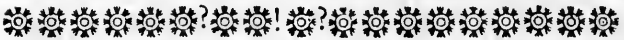
AND if you *Gentiles*, being persuaded of these Things, will not forsake the Vanity of your Philosophy, the Pride of your Pedigree, and the Superfluity of your Riches, and not occupying yourselves about the
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Subtilties of Words, lead yourselves into Errors, but hearken to the divinely inspired Prophets, the Interpreters of GOD, and of the *Logos*; you then shall be made Partakers of, and shall enjoy those future Goods; shall clearly see the Ascent of the immense Heaven; and that Kingdom which is there prepared, GOD will give what must now be pass'd over in Silence: *For Eye hath not seen, Ear hath not heard, neither hath it enter'd into the Heart of Man, to conceive the Things which He hath prepared for them who love Him.*

IN whatsoever Ways I shall find you, for them I will judge you, says the *End of all Things*: And whosoever at first hath lived a vertuous Life, but towards the latter End of it falls into Vice, these Labours by him before endured shall be altogether vain and unprofitable, even as in a Play brought to an ill Catastrophe. Whosoever shall have lived wickedly and luxuriously, may repent. However, there will be need of much Time to conquer an evil Habit; and even after Repentance, his whole Life must be guarded with great Care and Diligence. After the Manner of a Body, which hath been a long time afflicted with a Distemper, requires a stricter Diet and Method of Living. It is indeed possible to break off the Chain of our irregular Affections at one Stroke; but yet our Amendment cannot be secured, without
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the extraordinary Grace of GOD, the Prayers of good Men, the Help of the Brethren, and our own sincere Repentance, and constant Care. It is beautiful not to have sinn'd; it is good, having sinn'd, to repent. As it is best to have Health always, but it is good to recover from an Illness. Glory and Power be to GOD for ever and ever.

Amen.



A Fragment of St. Methodius concerning the Resurrection.



WHO hath knit together the hard Substance of the Bones? Who hath made the Limbs pliable in the Joints, and capable of being stretch'd and drawn in, by Means of the Muscles? Who gave the Fluids a due Fermentation, and moisten'd with Blood the soft Flesh on our Bodies? The great Artist alone, who form'd Man in the Womb a rational living Image of himself. Who is it that takes Care that the Embryo in the Womb is not suffocated by Moisture, and Straitness of the Vessels about it? Or who, after

after it is born, and is come into the World, brings it to Stature, Beauty and Strength, from being weak and little? Who but the great Artist I mention'd before, GOD, who by his creating Power fram'd every Species in its Contexture and Beauty. GOD is Immortality, and Life, and Incorruptibility. Man is the immediate Workmanship of GOD; but every Work of an immortal Being must be Immortal. And GOD Himself formed Man, but commanded the Air, and Earth, and Seas, to bring forth Creeping Things, and Birds flying upon the Earth in the Firmament of Heaven, and let the Earth bring forth every living Soul according to its Kind, four-footed Creatures and Creeping Things, and Beasts of the Earth, according to their Kind. But of Man, He said not, *let it bring forth*, but *let us make Man in our own Image, according to our own Likeness*: And GOD took of the Dust of the Earth, and formed him.





APPENDIX.



Baroc. MS. 26.

ἸΩ' ΣΗΠΠΟΣ ἐκ τῆς Λόγῃ τῆς Ἰη-
γεραμμίας καὶ ΠΛΑ' ΤΩΝΟΣ,
ὡς τῆς πανίως ἀπίας· ὡς Ἄδϛ,
ἐν ᾧ σωέχον) ψυχὰ δικαίων τε καὶ
ἀδίκων.

— **Κ** ΑΙ' ὡς μὲν ὁ ὡς δαιμόνων τόπος· ὡς ἡ Ἄδϛ
ἐν ᾧ σωέχον) ψυχὰ δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων, ἀνασκαιὸν
εἶπεν.

Ὁ ἄδης τόπος ὅτι ἐν τῇ κλίσει ἀκαλασκιδίας, χωρίον
(a) ὑπόγειον, ἐν ᾧ ὡς κόσμος ἐκ ἐπιλάμπη· φωτὸς τοίνω ἐν
τέτω τῷ (b) χωρίῳ μὴ καλαλάμπου, ἀνάκη σκότος
διηλεκῶς τυγχάνειν. Τῆτο τὸ χωρίον (c) ὡς φρερίον ἀπενε-
μήθη ψυχῆς· ἐφ' ᾧ καλεσάθη ἀγγελιο φρερί, ὡς τὰς
ἐκάσων πρῶξεις διανέμονεις (d) τὰς τῆς τρέπων πρῶσκαίρας
κολύσεις.

Ἐκτέτω ἡ τῶς χωρίῳ τόπος ἀφάεισαι τῆς λύμνης πρῶξεις
ἀσθῆεις· ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἐδέπω τινὰ (e) καλερρίφθαι ὑπελίφαμν·
Ἐσκιδάθη ἡ εἰς τῆς πρῶξεις μὲν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ Θεῶ, ἐν ᾧ
δικαίως κείσεως ὑπόστασις μία πᾶσιν ἀξίως (f) πρῶξεις χθῆ·
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀδικοί, καὶ Θεῶ ἀπεθήσαντες τὰ τε μάλα ἐρῶ

(a) γρ. ὑπόγειον. (b) γρ. τὸ χωρίον. (c) γρ. ὁ ὡς. (d) γρ. τὰς τε.
(e) γρ. κατα. ερε. φθαι. (f) πρῶξεις χθῆ. Hoefsch.

χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων καλεσκάσμηνα ἔδωλα ἄς Θεὸν τιμήσαντες ταύτης τ' αἰδίου κολάσεως (g) αἴτιοι μισμμάτων ἡρόμμοι, περσκειθῶσιν, οἱ ὃ δίκαιοι τ' ἀφθάρτε κ' ἀνεκλείπτε βασιλείας τύχωσιν, οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἄδῃ νῶϊ μ' σωέρον, ἀλλ' ἔπερ αὐτῶ τῶτω, (h) ὃ κ' οἱ ἀδικοι.

Μία γ' εἰς τῶτο τὸ χροεῖον κάθοδθ, ἔ (i) τῆ πύλη ἐφεσῶτα ἀρχάγγελον ἄμα εἰσαῖα πεπισδίκαιμνῖ ἦν πύλλω διελθόντες οἱ καλαγόμμοι ὑπὸ τ' ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τετασμένων ἀγγέλων, ἔ μιᾶ ὁδῶ πορδόνθ. ἀλλ' οἱ μ' δίκαιοι (k) εἰς δεξιά φωλασμένμοι, κ' ὑπὸ τ' ἐφεσῶτων (l) κτ' τῶπον ἀγγέλων ὑμνέμμοι, ἄγονθ εἰς χροεῖον φωτεινόν. Ἐν ὃ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαιοι πολιδόνθ, ἔχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κρατέμμοι, ἀλλὰ τ' τ' ὁρωμμένων [ἀγαθῶν] θέας αἰεὶ σπολαύοντες, κ' τῆ τ' ἐκάσθε καινῶν (m) ὁρωμμένων περσοδοκία ἠδύμμοι, κακείνα τέτων (n) βελίονα ἠσέμμοι οἷς ὁ τόπθ ἔ καμάληφόρθ, ἡμέθ. ἔ καύσων ὁ (o) κρῦθ, ἔ τέβολθ ἐν αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' ἠ τ' πατέρων δικαίων τε ὁρωμμένη ὄφισ πάνθῃ (p) μεδεῖα, ἀναμμόντων τ' μτ' τῶτο τὸ χροεῖον ἀνάπασιν, κ' αἰώνια (q) βιωτῶ ἐν ἔρανθ. (r) τῶτον ὃ ὀνόματι (s) κικλήσκομν κῶλπον Ἄβεραμ.

Οἱ ὃ ἀδικοι [εἰς] αἰεσεῖα ἔλκονθ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων κολασῶν, ἔκέτι ἐκσῶσιν πορδόνμμοι, ἀλλὰ μτ' βίας ἄς δέσμιοι ἔλκόμεμοι οἷς οἱ ἐφεσῶτες ἀγγελοὶ (t) ἐπιελῶντες διαπέμπονθ (u) ἐπονεδίζοντες, κ' φοβερῶ ὄμματι ἐπαπειλῶντες, εἰς τὰ καλιότερα ὠθύντες. (x) ἔς ἀγομμένας ἔλκσιν οἱ ἐφεσῶτες ἔως πλησιον τ' γέεννης. Οἱ (y) ἐγγίονες ὄλλες τῶ μ' βρασμῶ ἀδιαλείπτως (z) ἐπακῶσι, κ' τῶ τ' θέρμης ἀτμῶ ἔκ (a) ἀμυρῶσιν αὐτῆς ὃ τ' ἐγγίονθ ὄφεις τ' φοβεράν κ' ὑπερβαλλόντως (b) ξάνθλω θείαν τῶ πωρὸς ὀρώντες, (c) καταπεπλήσασιν τῆ περσοδοκία τ' μελλέσης κείσεως, ἦδη δωάμα κολαζόμεμοι. ἀλλὰ κ' ἔ (d) τ' τ' πατέρων χροεῖον κ' τῶν δικαίων ὀρῶσι, κ' ἐπ' αὐτῶ (e) τέτω κολαζόμεμοι. χάθ γ' βαθῦ κ' μέγα ἀναμέσον ἐσήεικθ, ὥσε μὴ δίκαιον συμπαθήσαντα περσοδέξααθ, μήτε ἀδικον τολμήσαντα διελθεῖν.

(g) ὡς αἴτιοι. edit. Hoefch. (h) γρ. ὡς καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι. (i) γρ. τῆς πύλης. (k) γρ. ἐκ. (l) γρ. κατόπον, Legendum censet Lanyb. κατόπεν. (m) Hoefch. non agnoscit. (n) βελτίω, Hoefch. N. B Hoefc. non agnoscit. (o) γρ. κροίσση. (p) γρ. μηδία. (q) ἀναβίωσιν, Hoefch. (r) τούτω δὲ ὄνομα, Hoefch. (s) γρ. κλίζομεν. (t) Deest, Hoefch. (u) ὄνειδίζοντες, Hoefch. (x) ὡς ἀγομμένας. (y) ἐγγιον, Hoefch. (z) ὑπακούουσι, Hoefch. (a) καὶ ἀμυρῶσιν, Hoefch. (b) Hoefch. non habet. (c) καταπεπλήσασιν, Hoefch. (d) γρ. τὸν τούτων δικαίων τὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων, legendum conjicit Lanyb. (e) τούτω MS.

Οὗτ' ὁ περὶ αἵματος λόγος ἐν ᾧ ψυχὰς πάντων κατέχον ἄχει καιρῶ, ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ὤειπεν· ἀνάσασιν τότε πάντων ποιησόμενος, ἔ ψυχὰς μελενσωματῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα ἀνισῶν· ἃ λελυμένα ὀρώητες ἀπισεῖτε ἔλλωτες, (f) μάθειτε μὴ ἀπισεῖν. Τῷ γὰρ ψυχῷ (g) γεννητῷ καὶ ἀθάνατον ὑπὸ Θεῦ γερονέται πιστεύσαντες, καὶ τὸ τὸ Πλάτωνος λόγον, χροῖα μὴ ἀπισήσητε, (h) [ὡς] καὶ τὸ σῶμα (i) ἐκ τῆ αὐτῆς στοιχείων σωθῆτον ἡρόμενον δωματὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἀναβίωσας, ἀθάνατον ποιεῖν· ἔ τὸ μὲ δωματὸς, τὸ ἃ ἀδωίατ' ῥηθήσε, καὶ περὶ Θεῦ.

Ἡμεῖς ἐν καὶ σῶμα (k) ἀνίστασθαι πεπιστεύκαμεν· εἰ γὰρ φθείρε, ἀλλ' ἐκ (l) ἀπόλλυ. Τύττω γὰρ τὰ λείψανα (m) γῆ ὑποδεξαμένη τηρεῖ καὶ δίκλω σπόρου (n) πιανομένη, καὶ τὴ γῆς λιπαρωτέρω συμπλεκόμενα (o) ἀνθήσει· καὶ τὸ μὲ παρὲν κόκκ' ἡμιγυμνὸς σπείρε, (p) κελύσματι (q) ἃ τὸ δημιουργήσαντ' Θεῦ θάλλων, ἡμριεσμῶν, καὶ ἐνδοξος ἐσείρε, ἔ περύτερον, εἰ μὴ ἀποθανῶν λυθῆ καὶ γῆ συμπηγῆ, ὡσεὶ τὸ ἀνάσασιν τὸ σῶματ' ἔ μάττω πεπιστεύκαμεν.

Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ λύει περὶ καιρὸν διὰ τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἡμομήλω ἄσφακῶ, ὡς εἰς χωνάτῃον, εἰς γλῶ καθίσα, πάλιν ἀναπλασθόμενον· ἔ τοῖσιν (r) φθειρόμενον, ἀλλὰ καθαρὸν καὶ μηκέτι φθειρόμενον [καὶ] (s) ὡς ἐκάστω σώματι ἢ ἰδία ψυχῇ ἀποδοθήσε, (t) τὸτο ἐπενδυσάμενη ἐκ ἀνιαθήσε. Ἄλλὰ (u) συγχαρήσε καθαρά καθαρῶ ἄσφαμίνασα· (x) ἢ ἐν (y) κόσμῳ νῦν δικαίως σωσθήσασα, καὶ μὴ (z) ἐπίβουλον ἐν πᾶσιν ἔχουσα, καὶ πάσης ἀσφαλλιάσεως ἀπολήψε. Οἱ ἃ ἀδικοὶ ἐκ ἀλλοιωθέντα τὰ σώματα, ἔδὲ πάθος ἢ νόσος μελασάντα, ἔδὲ ἐνδοξαθέντα ἀπολήψον· ἀλλὰ ἐν οἷς νοσήμασιν (a) ἐτελεύτων, καὶ ὁποῖοι ἐν ἀπιστία γεγῆλω, τοῖσιν πιστῶς κειθήσον.

Πάντες (b) ἃ δίκαιοι τε καὶ ἀδικοὶ ἐνώπιον τῶ Θεῦ Λόγῳ ἀχθήσον· τῶ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ τὸ κείσιν πᾶσι δέδωκε· καὶ συ-

(f) μάθεται. (g) Ita uterque Cod. & MS. & impress. Mendos. Tamen legendum ἀγεννητον· Plato enim in Phædro, unde hoc desumptum, animam docet αὐτοκίνητον εἶναι, & perinde concludit, ἔξανάρχῃς ἀγεννητόν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον ἢ ψυχῇ ἂν εἶναι. Atque ideo forsitan pro χρόνω hic legendum esse Φαίδρω. Lanyb. Vid. Justin. ad Dignital. (h) Deest ὡς MS. deest Hoefch. (i) De quibus in priore parte libri dixerat, πῦρ, καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος. (k) γρ. ἀνίστασθε, (l) ἀπόλλυτε. (m) ὑποδεχομένη ἡ γῆ, Hoefch. (n) γενόμενα, καὶ . . . συμπλεκόμενα, Hoefch. (o) ἀνθεῖ, Hoefch. (p) Ita MS. κελύσματι MS. quo usque Hoefch. (q) Deest MS. (r) ἀνισάμενον, Hoefch. (s) [MS. deest] deest Hoefch. deest MS. (t) καὶ τῶτο, Hoefch. (u) συγχαρίσεται. (x) ὡς MS. (y) τῶ MS. & Hoefch. (z) Vid. Philemon. quod deterius infidiatur, &c. (a) γρ. ἐτελεύτων. (b) γὰρ, Hoefch.

τις βυλλῶ παλῆς ἐπιτελῶν, κελίης ᾠραγίνε), ὃν (c) Χει-
 σὸν πρῶσαφορῶομν· ἐδὲ γδ Μίνως κῆ Ραδαμάνθη κελιά
 οἱ καθ' ἑμᾶς (d) ἔλλωες, ἀλλ' ὃν ὁ Θεὸς κῆ παλιρ ἐδόξα-
 σεν· πῶλ ἔ (e) ἐν ἐτέροις λεπτομερέτερον διεληλύθα, κῆ
 πρὸς τὸ ἐπιζητῆνας τῆ ἀλήθειαν· (f) ἔστ τῆ παλῆς εἰς
 πάντας δικαιοκείσιαν ποιέμεν· ἐκάσω κῆ τὰ ἔργα πα-
 ρεσκίασεν τὸ δίκαιον· ἔ κείσῃ ᾠραγίνες (g) οἱ πάντες ἀν-
 θρωποὶ τε, κῆ ἀγγελοὶ, κῆ δαίμονες, μίαν ἀποθῆγξον) φωνῶ,
 ἔτω λέσοντες, ΔΙΚΑΙΑ ΣΟΥ Ἡ ΚΡΙΣΙΣ. Ἡς φωνῆς
 τὸ ἀναπόδομα ἐπ' ἀμοφίεροις ἐπάγῃ τὸ δίκαιον· τοῖς μ'
 ἐνπερῆξασι (h) δικαίως τῆ αἰδίων ἐπόλασιν ᾠραγόν),
 τοῖς ἔ τῆ φαύλων ἔρασαῖς τῆ αἰώνιον κόλασιν (i) ἀπονέμαν-
 τ). Καὶ τέτοις μ' τὸ πῶρ ἀσθεσον διαμῆ κῆ ἀτελεύτη-
 τον, σκώληξ δὲ τις ἔμπυρ), μῆ τελῆτῆρ, μῆδὲ σῶμα
 διασθεῖρων, (k) ἀπαύσω δ' ὀδυῆ ἐκ σώμα) ἐκθεσῶων
 ᾠραγίμει. Τέτες ἐχ ὕπν) (l) ἀναπαύσῃ, ἔ νῦξ παρη-
 γορῆς, ἔ θάνα) τῆ κολάσεως ἀπολύσῃ, ἔ ᾠρακλήσις
 συζητῶν μεσιδῶσάντων ὀνήσῃ· ἔ γδ ἔτι δίκαιοι ὕπ' αὐτῆς
 ὀρῶν), ἐδὲ μνήμης γίνον) ἀξιοί.

(m) Μόνοι ἔ οἱ δίκαιοι δικαίων μεμνήσον) ἔργων, δι'
 ὧν ἐπὶ τῆ ἐραίνιον βασιλείαν καλιώτη). Ἐν ἡ ἐχ ὕπν),
 ἔ λύπη, ἔ φθορῃ, ἔ φρονίς, ἐδὲ νῦξ, ἐδὲ ἡμέρα χεῖνω
 μετρεμῆ· ἐχ ἡλι) ἀνάγκη κύκλον ἐρανε (n) δρόμῳ
 ἐλαυνόμεν). [ἐκ ἀγγελοὶ] ὠρῶν μέτρα ἡ κέλιεα. πρὸς
 ἐσθῆσον ἀνθρώπων βίον διαμετρεμῆμα (o) ὀροθετῆνες· ἔ
 σελήνη (p) φθίνουσα ἡ αὔξουσα, ἡ τρεπᾶς καιρῶν (q) ἀπά-
 γουσα, ἐχ (r) ὕφαίνουσα γλῶ, ἐδὲ ἡλι) ἐπικαίαν· ἐκ ἀρκ) ἐ-
 σρεφομῆ, ἐκ ὠείων (s) γλυνόμεν), ἐκ ἄσρων πλάνη ἐνά-
 ειθμ). ἔ δύσβα) γῆ ἐδὲ δύσδύρε) ᾠραδῆσις αὐλή,
 ἐδὲ δεινὸν θαλάσσης φύρασμα (t) κωλύον ἐπιδάν)α πα-
 τῆν· εὔβατ) ἔ κῆ αὐτῇ τοῖς δικαίοις γλῆσε), ἔτε τῆ
 ὕγρῃ σερμῆ, ἐδὲ τῆ σερρῶ, διὰ τὸ (u, κροδὸν (x) ἰχνῶ
 παλιμῆ· ἐκ ἐρανοῦς ἀοίκη) ἀνθρώποις, ἐδὲ τέτε ὀδῶς
 ἀναβάσεως ἀνδύρε). ἔ γῆ ἀνέρσας), ἐδὲ ἀνθρώποις
 ἐπίπον), (y) αὐτομάτη ἔ φύσσα καρπῶς πρὸς ἐυκοσμίαν
 (z) ἡ πρῶσαξῆς ὁ δεσπόζων.

(c) Photius hæc respexit in Biblioth. κλήσι Χριστοῦ. (d) γρ. ἑλλήνας. (e) Priore scil. hujus Operis parte, seu λυγιδῶ. (f) οὕτως MS. (g) Des-
 est Hoesch. (h) δικαστοῦ, Langb. (i) γρ. ἀπονέμαντος. (k) ἀπαύ-
 σως ὀδύνη MS. (l) ἀναπαύση. (m) Scalig. in Memb. Salmaf. de
 Climacter. (n) δρόμον MS. [defunt Hoesch.] (o) ὀροθετοῦντος, Ho-
 esch. (p) γρ. φθίνουσα. (q) ἀπάγουσα MS. (r) γρ. ὕφρένουσα. (s) ἰσ.
 θηράμενος, vel γυνομανής, Langb. (t) γρ. κωλύον. (u) Forte διὰ τὸ
 ἀπὸ κουφοῦτε καὶ ἰχνῶ, [defunt Hoesch.] (x) ἰσ. ἰχνους, Langb.
 (y) γρ. αὐτόματι. (z) Defunt Hoesch.

(a) Οὐ θειῶν γήεσις πάλιν, ἔδὲ τ̄ λοιπῶν [ζῶων] ἐκθεσασομένη ἰσία· ἔδὲ γδ̄ (b) ἀνθρωπ̄ πάλιν γήνᾶ· ἀλλ̄ ὁ (c) δικαίαν ἀειθμὸς διαμύξ̄ ἀνέκλειπ̄⊖ ἅμα δικαίοις ἀγγέλοις, κ̄ πνύμασι (d) Θεῶ, κ̄ τῶ τέττε (e) ΛΟΓΩ ὡς τ̄ δικαίων χοεὸς ἀνδρῶν τε κ̄ γυαικῶν ἀγῆρας, κ̄ ἀσθάρως διαμύξ̄ (f) ὕμνων τ̄ ἐπὶ ταῦτα (g) προαγόμενον Θεόν, διατ̄ τ̄ ἐν βίῳ ἐλύακτε νομοθεσίας· συὶ οἷς κ̄ πᾶσα κτίσις (h) ἀδιάλειπτον ὕμνον ἀνοίσις ἀπὸ τ̄ φθορεῖς εἰς ἀσθαρσίαν· (i) διαυγῆ κ̄ καθαρῶ πνύμα⊖ δεδοξασομένη, ἔχ̄ ὑπ̄ ἀνάγκης δεσμῆ (k) συχεθήσει), ἀλλὰ ἐλάθεῖα ζῶσα ἐκίσιον τ̄ ὕμνον ἅμα τοῖς ἐλάθερωθεῖσιν πάσις (l) δουλείας ἀγγέλοις τε, κ̄ πνύμασιν, κ̄ ἀνθρώποις αἰνέση τ̄ πεποίηκοντα.

(m) Τέττε εἰάν (n) πειθέντες ἑλλῆνες (o) καταλείψῃτε τ̄ μαλαιότηα τ̄ πει γένε, κ̄ (p) χρημάτων πόρε σοφίας, κ̄ μὴ πει (q) λέξεις ρημάτων ἀχολέρινοι τ̄ νῦν (r) εἰσπληνῆσαι νω—ῆε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοπνύσις προφήταις κ̄ Θεῶ, κ̄ (s) ΛΟΓΟΥ, θεηγήαῖς ἐγχεισάντες τὰς ἀκοὰς Θεῶ (t) πισδύσις, ἔσεθε, κ̄ τῶτων κοιωνοὶ, κ̄ τ̄ μὲλλόνων (u) τῶξεθε ἀγαθῶν, ἀμέτρτε τε κερνῶ ἀνάστασιν, κ̄ τ̄ ἐκεῖ βασιλείαν (x) ὄψεθε φανερώς (y) εἰ γδ̄ ὁ Θεὸς ἀ νῶ σεσιάπη), ἀ ἔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδειν, ἔτε ἔς ἦκκεσεν, ἔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπτε ἀνέβη ὅσα ἠτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπᾶσιν αὐτόν.

(Γφ) οἷς ἀν ἔυρω ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τέτοις κεινῶ παρ̄ ἕκασα, βοᾷ τὸ ΤΕΛΟΣ ἀπάνων ὡσε (z) κ̄ ταῦτα ἐντεποικῶτι τ̄ βίον λήξαν⊖ τ̄ τ̄ κ̄ (a) ὄλε τέλος (a) θεῶκηναν, (b) τῆ πρὸς κακίαν ἀνότητι οἱ (a) πρέθεα πόννοι ἐπὶ τῆ καλασεφῆ τ̄ (a) δῶμα⊖ θεῶδλω γήομῶ. (c) Τῶτε χεῖρον κ̄ (d) ἐπτεσυρμῶως βιάσαντι πρότερον ὅτιν ὕτερον μετανοήσαντι πολλῶ χεῖνε πολλίειαν πονηρᾶν (e) ἐνίκησι τῶ

(a) [Addit Hoefsch.] (b) ἀνθρώποις, Hoefsch. (c) μετὰ, Hoefsch. (d) In his deficit Codex Hoefsch. Quæ sequuntur misere mendosa, ac hiulca, sanitati suæ, quantum per conjecturam licet, restituumus. (e) λόγου, MS. (f) γρ. ὕμνων. (g) ἰσ. προαγόμενον, Langb. (h) γρ. ἀδιάλειπτον. (i) διαυγῆ, MS. (k) συχεθήσεται. (l) γρ. δουλείας. (m) ἰσ. τούτοις. (n) γρ. πειθέντες ἑλλῆνες. (o) καταλείψεται, MS. (p) ἰσ. χρηματοποιου σοφίας, Langb. χρημάτων ἀπόρου σοφίας, Aitmach. τειε Langb. (q) γρ. λέξις. (r) Hic aqua hæret. ἰσ. ἐμπαιροῖνῆτε, vel eis πλάνης ὄμιον ὠθήτε, Langb. neutrum placet; mallet eis πλάνησιν ὠθήτε. (s) γρ. λόγοι. (t) γρ. πιεύσεται. (u) τεύξεσθε, MS. (x) γρ. ὄψεσθαι. (y) καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅσα, legendum censet Langb. (z) τῶ τε legendum vult Langb. mallens κατὰ ταῦτα. (a) Ita Langb. (b) τί sic Langb. (c) γρ. τότε, Langb. (d) Ita Langb. (e) ἐνίκησαι ἰσ.

μῦ ἢ μετάνοιαν χερόνω ἀκείβειας (f) δέδειχῃ πολλῆς
 ἢ ἢ μακρὰν (g) ὅσω πεπονηκόσι σώμασι διαίτης
 (h) χρεία, καὶ προσοχῆς (i) πλείονος ἔστι μὴ δυνάτων ἢ
 ἴσως ἀθρόως ἐποκόψαι (k) πάθῃ σύσροφα, ἀλλὰ μῦ Θεῶ
 δυνάμεθ, καὶ (l) ἀνθρώπων ἰκισίας, καὶ ἀδελφῶν
 βοηθείας, καὶ εὐλοκίαν μετάνοίας, καὶ (m) συνεχῆς μελέ-
 τῆς (n) καλορθῶ. (o) καλὸν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀμῦρτάνειν ἀσάθον
 ἢ καὶ τὸ ἀμῦρτάνουσι μετάνοίαν ὡς ἀείσον τὸ ὑγιάνειν
 αἰεὶ, καλὸν ἢ καὶ τὸ (p) ἀνασφῆλαι μῦ ἢ νόσον. (q) πρὸ Θεῶ
 δόξα [καὶ τὸ κρεῖτθ εἰς τοῦ αἰῶνας τῶ αἰῶνων. Ἀμύ.]

(f) δὲ δεῖται, Langb. (g) ὡς περ τοῖς μακρῶ νόσω πεπονηκόσι,
 Langb. (h) χρεία, MS. (i) πλείονος ἔστι μὲν ἀδύνατον γὰρ, Langb.
 (k) παθοῦς τροφῆς, Langb. (l) Sic Langb. (m) συνεχῆς, MS. (n) κα-
 τὰρ. (o) Mallem κάλλιζον, Langb. (p) ἀνασφῆλαι MS. (q) Supplet.
 ex Hoefsch.





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Τῶ ἀγίῳ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ
ἀναστάσεως.

ΤΙΣ ἰσέων θεῶν ἤϊπ) ἀτηκτον ἰσίαν; τίς δὲ συνέδησεν ἐπιείκελς νύκεις κὶ ἀνίεαδς πει τὰς ἀρμολὰς καμπύμωρα τὰ μέλη; τίς οὐ ἐζύμωσε χυμὸς, δέουσα ἀίματι κὶ μαλθακῶ ἡμῖν ἐκ κροῦς σάρκα; μόνθ ὁ ἀεισὸλέχνης τ̄ λογικωτάτῳ εἰλόνα κὶ ἐμφυχον, ἄνθρωπον, ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῶ τεκλιανόμενθ κὶ κηροπλασῶν, θε ὑγρῶν κὶ βραχυτάτων σπερμάτων ἐν μήτρᾳ· τίς γάρ ὄσιν ὁ κρομηθέμενθ μὴ συμπνίσεαδς τῷ ὑγρῶ, κὶ τῇ σωχοῇ τ̄ ἀγλείων ἐπικλειζόμενον ἔσω τὸ ἐμβρυον; ἢ τίς ὁ κτ̄ τὸ λοχαθλιῶαι, κὶ εἰς οῶς ἀνελθεῖν, εἰς μέσεθ κὶ κάλλθ κὶ ῥώμῳ θε ἀθενῶς κὶ βραχέθ μελαβάλλον, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς εἰσὶ ἀεισὸλέχνης, ὡς ἔφῳ θεὸς τῇ ποιητικῇ δωάμῃ μελαρημαλίζων, κὶ μελαζωσαφῶν τὰς ἰδέας; ὁ θεὸς ἀθανασία ὄσι κὶ ζωὴ κὶ ἀσφαρσία· ἔργον ὃ ἄνθρωπθ θεῶ· πᾶν ὃ τὸ ἰσὸ ἀθανασίας ἐργασθῆν, ἀθάνατον· διὸ τ̄ μὴ ἄνθρωπον αὐτῶρσησεν αὐτὸς, τὰ ὃ κοιτὰ ἡμῶν τ̄ ζῶων ἀεί κὶ γῆ κὶ ὕδαλι κροσέταξε φέρειν· θεασαγέτω, λέξων τὰ ὕδαλι ἐρπέλα ζωσῶν ψυχῶν, κὶ πεινὰ πετόμωρα ἐπὶ τ̄ γῆς, κτ̄ τὸ σερῆομα τῶ ἔσανθ· κὶ θεασαγέτω ἢ γῆ ψυχῶ ζωθ κτ̄ ἡμῶ, τετραπόδα, κὶ ἐρπέλα κὶ θῆεια τ̄ γῆς κτ̄ ἡμῶ· ἐπὶ ὃ τῶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ ὄσι, θεασαγέτω, ἀλλὰ ΠΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ ἌΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ΚΑΤ' ΕἰΚΟΝΑ ἩΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘ' ΟΜΟΙΩΣΙΝ· ΚΑΙ ἘΛΑΒΕΝ Ὁ ΘΕΟΪ ΧΟΥΝ ἈΠΟ' ΤΗΪΣ ΓΗΪΣ, ΚΑΙ ἘΠΛΑΣΕΝ ἈΤΤΟΝ.—

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a sort of confusion - p iii

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