THE
APOLOGETICKS
Of the Learned
Athenian PHILOSOPHER
ATHENAGORAS,
I. For the Christian Religion.
II. For the Truth of the Resurrection.
AGAINST
The Scepticks and Insidels of that Age.
TOGETHER
With a curious Fragment of Justin Martyr
on the Subject of the Resurrection, not published
in his Works.
And two other Fragments: The one attributed to Josephus: The other to Methodius, concern-
ing 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.

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Thomas Read
Bristol

After apostasizing AD 178
as a heathen philosopher, who
endeavored to confute the Christian
scriptures, in order to do so, was converted to
their faith. He flourished under
Adrian and Antoninus Pius, AD 178
first presbyters of the
benevolent school of Alexandria, who
wrote the Stromate.

The only two of his works which remain
are his dedication and an address
of De resurrectione nostrorum.
TO Robert Nelson, Esq;

SIR,

THE Descriptions of Empires and States are generally inscribed to Persons who seem to have the largest Share of such Acquisi-
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 then
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,
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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 blissful Seat of departed Souls, according to his Notions: Where, after mentioning
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, Phæbo digna locuti:
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per Artes:
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 6.
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
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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
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Shall preserve Your Picture entire, when Colours shall fade, and Brags 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
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of giving it this English Dress. This is the humble Request of,

Honoured Sir,

Your Most Humble, and

Most Obedient Servant,

David Humphreys.
PREFACE.

What 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 delivered 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
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 learnt 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 Jofephus, printed in the Ap-
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, empowered 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) Hoeschelius 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) Hoeschelius, in Not. ad Phot. i. 9.
(b) Euer de ico οἱ Καὶ οἱ Εἰρηναῖοι, ἃτι ἐκ ἐκείν ἐν λόγῳ-ωστε, ἐὰν τιὸς καὶ θερῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη διαλέγοντο

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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 explicite Manner acknowledging 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 perfectly the same with that in his other Writings.

(c) Πεις ἔ το Χειρὶ τὴν ἁλκαίαν Ὑσὴ ἡμῶν ὡς ἔγγειρα ἡγελογεῖ, κλήσει το αὐτὴν ἀναφέρεται το Χειρὶ, οὐκ έν Πάλαις ἀνεφέρεται ἡμᾶς ἀναφέρεις, ὡς των ζωγραφείων ὡς ισαίας μη τδ συνταξίαν ἀναφέρεις, οὐκ ἐν θδ δόμοντας αὐτῷ πέρα δα ἴωλοπα "ένδεδο παρακ. Phot. Biblioth. P. 3. 6.
A DISSERTATION
Concerning the
NOTIONS of the JEWS
About the
Resurrection of the Dead.

HE 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 ποταμικόν, 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 Points,
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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 Traditio-nary 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
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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 despis'd 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
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
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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 νόος 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 Abravanel 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
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 Phenomena, 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,
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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 concerning 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 seeing they cannot be the Meaning of the Text. The former are violent in maintaining 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 understood the Matter: For the Allegories are not the very Scripture paraphrastically express'd, nor yet ridiculous, but a sort of Far

* Part 3. Cap. 43.
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"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 Apologies 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 feriati, qui rident eujusmodi antiquorum sententias, & que de libris istis dicitur, ad Literam exigant. Ceterum si rem videant, nihil causa est, quare eujusmodi antiquorum opiniones explodantur: Nam plani eodem modo loquendi uiuntur in suis explicationibus, quo Deus in Scripturis istis legisit. Sic in Moæ legisit, fi non, dele me de libro tuo: Simili phrae utitur David, deleantur ex libro viventium: Item Daniel, & libri aperti sunt. Si itaque S. Scripture textus non est reprehendendus, nec illi quoque reprehendendi videtur, qui stylium Scripture sequuntur.
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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 Phaedrus or AESop, 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
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used by all the Eastern Nations. The Chal-
daæans, and especially, the Ægyptians are
famous in Story for their Hieroglyphicks, a
Magical Language of Beasts and other
Things. But as Words are mere arbitrary
Marks of Ideas, 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 Lan-
guage 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 some-
thing 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 Scep-
ticks hence have cen§ured 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 seem-
ingly new, which may not be fairly answered
from his admirable Book Moreh Nevochim.

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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 Proselyte, 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. Wherever 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
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*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 revealed 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.

|| בְּרֵחַ יְהוָה בַּל שׁוֹן בֵּן אָדָם

'אַבְרְכֵּאֵתָּא וְאַלְּכָּאֵתָא, דְּאַבְרְכֵּאֵתָא יְנוּכָּאֵתָא.

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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 flow 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

*קָוָ֑ו שֵׁ֖נֶּתָֽא בְּמַלְּאָכָ֣ה בְּרֵפֶ֔וֹס לֵא הֵֽי נְמַצַּא֛ו
חֵר֔וֹנָה נַבִּיא֖וֹת וּפוּרֶ֑וֹת כְּאֵ֖יִן אָֽהַר נְסֵרָ֑ה
שְׁעָ֖יו בָּאוּלֶ֑וֹת לְכֵֽלּוֹ לֹא הֵֽי מִי שְׁחָשְנִ֖ת בָּ֑וָה
אַבֵּל חֵר֔וֹנָה אָנָ֖קִלָו חֵסֵר נְכֵרָ֑ו לֹאֵֽו לֹ֖וָו: מִי
כְּפִ֣י שְׁחָירֵי הָאֲנָוֹת לַקְּרָא בְּכֵֽלּוֹ שְׁכֵֽוּוֹת הַפְּרֶֽשֶׁת שְׁנַֽוָּו
Eli. Levit. : וְקָרָֽא אָֽהַר תְּרֵנָֽו out
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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 express 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
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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 Heaven, of a Plastick Vertue, as it is written in the Hierusalem Talmud and Seidu. Thus the Allusion made here by the Prophet 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 Prophet, another Reason must necessarily have been given. Yet was not this Opinion of a Dew strictly true, but taken only in a Figurative 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 rendering 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. נָלַל אַחְוָרִים מַלֵּץ
Chal. אִרָא צלִל נַורָה שְׂלָדֶן
Syx. אַחֲרֶן בַּלְעָבָה שֵׁלְדוּ אַלְּלוֹ בֶּן אֵלֶּה

effected.
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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 Philosophers, are delivered up and down in the " Medrascoth; 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 enigmatically, 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 understanding 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 Penta-
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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 explicite Declaration of a Resurrection, an Aphorism of the famous R. Eleazar the Caparnaithe, so clear and express, none of the great Commentators, as Maimonides, Bartenora, or Fa-gius, could express it more fully. "† Thus " says Rabbi Eleazar the Caparnaithe: 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

Day
"Day of Judgment: Who is blessed for ever. With Him is no Injustice nor Forgetfulness, 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, namely the holy GOD, who is blessed for ever. It is scarce possible to make a Form of Words more exprès than these, but especially 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 believing a Resurrection.

Another Testimony, and frequently quoted by the Rabbi’s, as a Proof of a Resurrection, 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 Quotations of the same Import, from all the Jews Authors; but these two Testimonies, out of
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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: "Thou 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 Happines 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.
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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 lasting in the World to come, when GOD shall raise it from the Dead, that 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 Commands. Rabbi Pinhas carries the Matter so far, as to preferr 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 Manifestation
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nification 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 themselves the Honour and Worship due to GOD only: For the entire Destruction, and Confusion, therefore, of the Kingdom of Satan and of his Angels, GOD will make a full Revelation of His Majesty and Power, in the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Restitution 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 Shadai, wherein all the Sons of Men shall obey 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 necessary
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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 Is-
rael, 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 Obje-
tions of former Hereticks, and many Christians

* R. Moses Gerundensis, & R. Hasday, alique plures sapi-
entissimi viri, observarunt aliam insuper causam resurrectionis
mortuorum. Sic enim inquimt, caus anima & corpus simul
virtutis vel vitii operam dederint, injustissimum foret, si anima
sola in mundo animarum penam vel premium operum suorum
consequeretur. Quare necesse est, ut denuo in resurrectione
mortuorum in unum coalectant & conjungantur: sic ut quem-
admodum Daniel inquit, Hic ad vitam aeternam, ille ad
pudorem & opprobrium sufectur. Menas, Ben Israel, Cap.
20, de Resurr. Mort.
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unwarily giving into their Opinions, it is most certain the Jews believe'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, believe'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
who hath spoken with any tolerable
Clearness and Perspicuity on this Point;
but there appears to be something intricate and confused in all their Discourses.
Thus some have thought the Garden of Eden was the promised Happiness; and that to be a Place where they did eat and drink without any bodily 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 understood in a literal Sense. A third Sort did believe, a carnal Resurrection of the Dead would be the Reward of their Obedience; 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 Children, fruitful Harvests, Victory over Enemies, and Health of Body, to be the promised Happiness of Obedience. But a fifth Party have joined the two Opinions of a Resurrection from the Dead, and the Coming of the Messiah, believe the Messiah will come, and the Dead rise, and go into Paradise.
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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 Contraintr 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 Tefhuba, Yet tho'
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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 Happines. I shall end this Account of the final Causes of a Resurrection, namely the Recompence of Obedience, with an excellent Quotation from R. Saadiah 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 mention'd in that Chapter, the greatest Share of them ought to be given to Moses. Which

*Levit. xxvi.
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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. Saadia, 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 immer's'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 Plaftick Dew, or Bose 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 expe...
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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. Though 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 consider, 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 Egyptius, and R. Moses Gerundensis, 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 Teshua, Cap. 8.
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and Soul, and so shall eternally enjoy the Reward and Recompence of their Actions. But R. Josephus Albo, upon Consideration 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 reconciled; 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 therefore 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 common 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, Marrying, 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 incomplete
complete Happiness, or Misery, after Death, till the general Resurrection; the Reign of the Messiah always, thro' a great Mistake, joint 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. Judah 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 Paradife, 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 Bun- dle 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 Ex- pressions in Scripture, which allude to this generally received Opinion. The famous
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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 Rambam 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,
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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 Tesbuba. 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 ארקו Arko, or the lowest Hell, from which there was to be no Redemption. Thus Maimonides in his Tesudi 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.

Quamquam enim saniores Judai Paradisì vocabolo non abstineant in designandâ felici beatarum animarum conditione, quinimo etiam ad horum terrestrem Edenis luculentis verbis alludant. Nibilo tamen minus certum est figurâe locutos reverâ de Cælo, Paradiso supériore intelligi debere. Quippe beata illi conditioni non tantum lucem, fudam tranquillitatem, festivitatem, verum ævi futuri nomen et regni tributum legas cum bea-
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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 Kingdom shall be Zion, and he will fill the remotest 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 Success, 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 Condition of Things, and those under the Messiah; but that the Kingdoms will be subdued 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 sometimes 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 Marriages 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 already 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 suppos'd to succeed the Reign of the Messiah upon Earth) and the consummate Happiness, was much after the same manner conceived 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 phrased it, Corruption might inherit In-corruption. 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 Tan-cum: "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 corporal sensual Pleasures, wherein they seem'd
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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 subjervient 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 "whole Souls shall return into their Bodies, "shall eat and drink, marry and beget Child- "dren; but after a long Life, of equal Du- "ration
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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 or earthy Body, and made like to the Angels of the Ministry." The Felicity of this State he speaks of, in his Tesbuba, 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
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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 displeased 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 God 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
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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 ofSouls, 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 express 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


* "fame
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"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 explicit: And again the same Author says, "Nothing can properly be called a Resurrection of the Dead, but the Return of the very same Soul into the very same Body, from which it was separated."

Menasseh 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 Crafts, 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-mentioned 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
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Concerning the Resurrection, 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 Crisis 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, lightsome, and of the same Nature with Celestial 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
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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 \( \text{ΑΜΕΤΕΥΨΧΩΜΙΣ} \), or Transmigration of the Soul into another Body; this had been a Dogma of the old School, and Italic 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 \( \text{Ὑσων και ἀνάγεσιν} \), 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
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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, afferts 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 Paraphраст 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-

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* Heb. לַאֲנַיְתוֹ Chal. לַאֲנַיְתוֹ 

zar,
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 Gomorrah 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,
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rise, that they may be punished for their
Iniquities.

N R 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 Meir 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 ob-

serv'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,
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Dead, as Moses Egyptius declares in his Epistle, 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 Gehazi." 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 Balaam'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 universally of all Mankind: He says, Not many of the Israelites, but many of them who sleep in the Dust; where, by many, must be understood 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, without
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but 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 Sochus, 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 Mifna, 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 Do-
cctor was by a very sinister Interpretation im-
prov'd into an execrable Hereby, 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 irreconcil-
able 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, Abrava-
nel, 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. Abrava-
nel, the subtile Jewish Doctor, interprets
these Words in a Sense directly contrary to
that given them by the Sadducees. He affirms
that דב Paras signifies a carnal Reward, and
there-
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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 & eípostolorum; nempe, serviendum esse Deum, non mercedis gratia, sed ex amore & timore, id quod sapientes Hebraorum sic enunciant:

**Colec Deus ex amore, & colë ex timore. Amorem autem vocant, si non negligas quod ille fieri præcepit; timorem, cum vitas quod prohibet.** Fagius Comm. ad Pirq. Aboth.

E 2.  
Wor-
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 abstain 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 worshipped after this Manner, because he who serves GOD thus, pays Obedience 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 arrived to a more full growth of Knowledge. He, who pays Obedience out of Love, doth not
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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 Virtue as a Reward to itself, and the Obeying its Di-rectates, 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 Virtue, 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 E 3 in
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 Metaphorical 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 Rabbins 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 obey'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 Advantage, or to avoid a Punishment, does it
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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: Because 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 Children, Women, and the Vulgar, lay before them Hopes of Reward, and Threats of Pun-
ishment, before they have made a laudable 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 forswake all Worldly Things for its Sake. For this is the Precept
Deut. 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
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one's Love and Knowledge go Hand in Hand together. If his Knowledge be little, his Love will be 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; wherein, 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 cannot act upon so high a Principle, and exclusive of others, as he seems to hint; or whether he afferts 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 mistake. He hath spoke very great Things of the Heroick Vertue of their Law-giver, in his Moreh Nevochim; and whatever Construction these Words are capable of, and after what manner foever we interpret them, it's most certain, Maimonides never intended to countenance the Herefy 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
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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,
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
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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 (faith 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
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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 Impossibilities. 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 themselves, nor to obtain Instruction from others. They think the wise Men, in all their Writings 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 entirely 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 Ignorance. For while they imagine they pay a Deference and Honour to the wise Men, they really highly disgrace them, being ignorant 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
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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 Postillars, 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 understand 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 numerous, is of them, who upon hearing the Sayings of the wise Men, take them in a literal Sense, as thinking they could have no other Meaning than that which is most obvious, 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 perfectly 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 Lift 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 Propriety than the Sun be styled a Species, consists 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 therefore not to be understood in a Literal Sense.

Maimonides hath not only given Rules, but a signal Example for interpreting the Holy
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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 Ifrael 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-
'tion 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
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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 17th 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
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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 afterward, 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 Effects of killing, and of making alive, with respect to different Persons; but speaks it as a Punishment and Reward without Restriction. With these Proofs the Rabbins satisfy'd themselves; to them they seemed 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 appears 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 Saviour's Time they have urged it to prove the
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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 Psalm 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 Menasse 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 renewed; 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 preserving a constant Succession of Generations on the
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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, animadverts 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
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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 superior and jufter 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 meerly 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
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Issory 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 Landscape 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 Isaiah lxiv. 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 Apotheon had its Rise: All the Prophets have
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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 mentioned 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 Infirmity, 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.

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*Rabbi Nissim, and Josephus Albo, and before them R. Jebuda 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 superior 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 possefs'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

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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-
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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, insomuch 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
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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 superno-
natural Things, were the proper Matter of
Revelation, and such as were to be men-
toned 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 Idol-
laty, and vain superstitious Fear of those Ele-
mental and Celestial Bodies, severely prohi-
bited all Worship of the false Gods, accon-
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,
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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 Infirmity 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 mentioned in several Places of holy Writ.

The learned * Rabbi Moses Gerundenses, and Rabbi Joseph Albo, give us an excellent Solution of this Difficulty. That wherever in the Law, as in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, GOD mentions a Reward or Punishment, it is to be understood of general Rewards or Punishments, of Blessings bestowed, or Calamities sent, on the Community of the People, and those must have been necessarily temporal and carnal, such as are frequently described, and not of the private Reward or Punishment of every Individual Person, which must be spiritual and future, 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,

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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 denounced against the Disobedient, have respect to the Community, and to the State of the Jews, and therefore are secular. 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 considered as a Body, and accordingly as the good or ill Actions of such a State do preponderate, so it is made either happy or miserable. And it is for this Reason, the Just are often involved in the Ruins of the Wicked, and the Wicked often protected under the Covert and Shadow of the Just. Agreeable to what is here, and by the most ancient Rabbins said, Moses Ægyptins speaks in his * Jad Chasaka, ' If a Kingdom or Country's good Actions, in the whole, exceed the Impurities and Sins thereof, it is treated as just; but if their Iniquities and Sins preponderate, 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.
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nor 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 necessarily common and general, since no Distinction could be made in these Cases, unless by interrupting frequently the ordinary 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 Pestilence, and the Sword, sweep both away without Distinction. But the dernier Rer-fort, 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 particular Acting, well or ill. Thus is that famous 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
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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 established 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 reached 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 su-

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persede 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 שֵׂרֶשׁ Image,
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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 conveyed 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-

* עניין עלים_CUDA מוכן דמות יהוה ויהוה פעלון נפעל עלי
 unheard מוזנשת וה음וס על הזאורם ושנכה מזוארה
 אלהים יצורים מחשבית לבררkil והרנינו במטלה ויהוה
 רbab D. Kimchi, in Lib. Rad. : other
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Other 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 bestowed 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 merely 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

G 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 Bereshith Raba, that the Soul of Man hath five Names, Nepheš, Ruach, Nesbemah, Kajah, Jechida, from some Places of Holy Scripture which they quote. These Names are given the Soul in different Respects, and according to various Ways of Considering it. It is called Nepheš, because it hath a vegetative Power, whereby it occasions the Growth of Man. It is called Ruach, as having a Locomotive and Sensitive Faculty, by which a Man moves, and hath Sensation. It is called Nesbemah, as having the
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the intellective Faculty, which distinguishes Man from all the mute Creatures: For Nesbemah 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 Je-chida, 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 superior 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...
The Notions of the Jews 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 Compence 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,
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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 Pharaoh'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,
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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 Wildernesses, Deserts 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 tem-
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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 distinguished 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 ever 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 Inheritance, appointed his People the World of Souls, which World is eternal, and whole
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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 Psalm vi. we read; In Death there is no Remembrance of Thee; in the Grave who shall give Thee Thanks? Ps. lxxxviii. Wilt Thou show 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 one
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: Whosoever 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,
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more, than that this Life is the only Stage for Vertue to be exercis'd 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, fo it lies*; in whatever State we are when Death takes us, we must continue in to all Eternity. It is the famous Cabbalistick 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 express'd by these Phrases in Scripture, and the Psalmift 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 Psalmift 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 Conci- liator, 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 Under- standing 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 Op- position 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 thro' before, in the Character of the Atheist, we find this Text, Who knowest 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 be
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 endeavoured 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 discussed 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
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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 reproves 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 with-halden 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 Maimo-
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Nider'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. ' Eli-
phaz 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 Wic-
kedness great? and thine Iniquities infinite? And affirms farther, that all his good Works and Sincerity, on which he pre-
sum'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 Op-
inion thro' the whole Book Eliphaz con-
stantly maintains, that every thing is just and right that happens to Man, although the Imperfections and Reasons may be ut-
terly unknown to us, upon account of which Men may be justly liable to Punish-
ment.

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
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Sinn'd in a State of Pre-existence, and deserved these Calamities, or if he had not, GOD could make him abundant Repance in another Life; and that all Things, even the present Misfortunes, would procure 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 Apprehensions 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 deserveth. 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
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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 superior 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
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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 infinitely 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 Regulation, Rule, and Providence, over all Natural 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 Nature, and that exalted Manner in which they act, to avoid the Error of thinking, that the Dominion, Regulation, and Providence of GOD, is the same as the Government, Regulation, and Providence of Man in their Concerns. And were Man only firmly perswaded 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 thorough Consideration of this Matter, Where-
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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 Mafs of Matter, some unite again with
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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 Resurrection, with these several Bodies? which notwithstanding must be, if the fame Body 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 Loevenhoek's Opinion to be true, that every humane Body hath an original and immutable Stamina, which is only swelled up, and filled by a Quantity of extraneous Fluids and fleshly 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"
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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 Loevenhoek's Opinion deserves, perhaps, a better Name, and seems established 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 Zobar.

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
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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 Objection 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 astonisht 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 Millennium, 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 ON

ATHENAGORAS,
And his REMAINS.

What was the Subject of S. Paul's famous Sermon in the Areopagus at Athens, Jesus and a Resurrection, are the two Points here discussed 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 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-

pressions bold and raised. The Style, indeed, and Expression, of all the Greek Philosophers, differs very much from that of their other Authors, and Athenagoras 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 Mysteries of Christianity; so that whoever engages with him, will not have only to do with a most able Philosopher, but also with a most learned and skillful 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 Christianity turns.” His Discourse on the Resurrection he calls also, a Golden Treatise, and valuable above all Jewels; in which all the

† Nobis prater ea incommoda, id quoque molestiae fuit, quod hic nofier Athenagoras non in Philosophicis Rebus sed in altiflimis Christianitatis Mysteriis philosophetur: Ut qui eum aggrediatur, non minus cum peritiiflimo Theologo, quam prudentiffimo Philosopho negotium habeat, idque in re gravifsimâ, nimium defunctorum Corporum Resurrectione, de quarum cardo ac summa totius Christianae Religionis pendet.

* In Libello veræ Aureo, & super omnia gemmam pretia estimando refutatur omnia quæ Resurrectionem ambigua fàciunt, afferuntur ea quæ incredulis hominibus, velint nolint, Resurrectionis fidem intigunt. Non enim hic Athenagoras nofier verissimilissimus agit, quæ prontitatem credendi, non necessitatem habeant: Sed omnia demonstrationibus communicat.

'Ob-
A Dissertation

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 probable, 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 nothing 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 Resurrection: 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 Reasoning, and gives himself the same Proofs for it, as Athenagoras had done before him.

Some Differences, but of very little Consequence, 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

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 Strokes 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 Sophists 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 Confusion; 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 betrayed into 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 deftitute 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 Impostum. 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 Gamaliel, 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 Læctantius 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.

*Dicit, 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
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And 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 Phrafe 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 Phrafe of the poor Shepherd Amos, and the pompous Eloquence of the Princely Isaiah, 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, faith 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 comprehended..."
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-
certed 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
on Athenagoras.

"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 Wildom of the Father, and
"the Spirit to proceed as Light doth
"from Fire. *

* Athenagoras, in Legatione pro Christianis, communionem Naturae atque Effentiae quae inter Patrem & Filium intercedit, aperissimè agnoscit: Nam quis sit Filius illa
Dei, quem Christiani venerantur, Ethnici Philosphis explicatur, ait: 'Aly' etsy o 'Tes 76 0 06 yev6 T 0 T
Piley, en ideia, x} evyveia, pe3 aiva 76 x} 6 0 0, auva,
auva eyen6io, enos 017 0 T 0 Piley x 76 0 0. 0
r 0 7
r 0 7 0
Patei, x} Piley en y6, evniti x} ywamv
Neuma7. Nis x} yev6 0 ydes na Tse i, e. Filius
Dei est verbum Patris in Idee & Operatione; ab ipso enim
& per ipsum omnia facta sunt; cum sit unum Pater & Filius,
& sit in Patre Filius, & Pater in Filio, Unitate &
Virtute Spiritus. Mens & Verbum Dei, Filius Dei est.
Ecquis Arianorum de Filio Dei sita locutus est? Dicit
Patrem & Filium unum esse, idque non tantum confessu,
quod Ariani contendebant, sed mutua divinorum, sine cir-
cuminsellione, ut Scholastici loquuntur; uta ut Filius sit in
Patre, & Pater in Filio. Dicit Filium esse ipsum Mentem
& Verbum Dei Patris; quod quo sensu intelligendum sit,
intra ostendemus; interim certum est, illud cum Ariano
Dogmate nullo sensu conciliari possit. Neque illud negli-
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gendum quod Athenagoras de creationis opere quod in Scripturis Filio Dei tribuitur, agens, non modo ait autem per ipsum Filium, quod Ariani concedebant, intelligentes nimium per Ipsum, tanquam per Instrumentum quod per se nihil valet agere; sed ait autem ab ipsa, ut causa scilicet efficiente principali, cum Patre conjuncta, condita fuisset univera doceat: idque additâ hac ratione, quod unum sint Pater & Filii, nemo Essentia ac Natura, proindeque Virtute & Operatione: quod Ariane Haereti veluti ex Diometo repugnat. Mox vero ibidem deserte negat Athenagoras Filium in principio ex Patre progressum esse ad condenda Univera aseumyov, us filum, sine Deo creatum: quod Jugulum ipsum petit Ariane Blasphemiae.


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’ ἐκείσασθαι, ἐν τῷ ἐν ἀυτοῖς λογισμῷ, καθηκοντες ἀυτὸς τῇ Θείᾳ Πνεύματος, ἅ ἐνρημώτω ἐξεσφυγμένα, 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
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 Phenomenon? All that the Commonalty gaped for, was τί ναῦν, 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 λογίσμων, being rapt out of their own Reasonings and Conceptions; but never are described as such mere 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.
The Hebrew Word ṭev 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 thoroly, 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 superi-
our spiritual Being, excited; and after such a
Manner combined, as was requisite to give
the Prophet an Apprehension of the Revela-
tion which GOD was then pleased to make
to him: It was the general Opinion of the
Jews, that all Powers in Nature which ex-
ceeded 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 requi-
site 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 Af-
semblage and Combination of the Images
or Ideas in the Mind: Which when the In-
tellect 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, necscio an ab aliis animadversum, Juvenum illas fuiffe proprias, id è celeberrimo illo Joelis loco colligo, Prophetabunt Filii & Filiae vestrae: 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 villis terror, quem etiamnum tantum experiantur qui rem habent cum phantastibus, ut macies illos & pallor occupet, senilisque in vitiolissimam corporis habitudinem conjiciat.

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

--- Nam fiqua Deus sub pedore venis,
Numinis aut Pana est mors immatura recepti
Aur.Presium; quippe stimulo fluituque furoris
Compages humana labat, pulsusque Deorum
Concussit fragiles animas ---

Et Valerius Maximus in Delphico Oraculo: Unde ut certæ consulentibus petuntur fortes, ita nimius Divini Spiritus hausitus reddentibus pestifer fuit. Longe quidem violentior mark,
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... which I think hath been omitted by others, and which I gather from this celebrated Text in Joel: And your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesy; your old Men shall dream Dreams, and your young Men shall seeVisions. 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 Spirits, could not be borne, but in the full Vigour 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,


--- Si foret viridis mibi ---

Callidusque fanguis, peitora 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 Pro-
phets, 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 mar-
ry 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 seve-
ral 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 men-
tion, 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 con-
ceived 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 Exact-
ness, 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,
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Part, or Incident, that it was done in Vision of Prophecy. As when once the Prophet 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 Prophetic 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 beyond all possible Doubt, we have in those Words of Ezekiel. Ezek. viii. 1. I sate in my House, and the Elders of Judah sate before 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,
on Athenagoras.

Valley, which was full of Bones. And in the Vision, in which he was carried to Jerusalem, 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 conceived only as internal Transportations, and especially the last of Shaving himself, because that Action is contrary and repugnant 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 Isaiah to be understood; Like as My Servant Isaiah 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 relates 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 Heaven, 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 Obedience to this Command, the hiding the Girdle, and fetching it again a long while after, is meerly visionary; neither did Jeremiah 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 minute
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 Resurrection, makes use of this Argument to prove the Body must necessarily be raised. 'GOD (faith he) will most assuredly punish the Wicked, and reward the Vertuous; but in order to this He must raise the Body, inasmuch 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, Continence, or the Contraries, 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 composing one Animal; and therefore the Punishment or Reward of Obedience, or Disobedience, ought to be given to Man, that is, Soul and Body both joined together. It is plain, from the whole Scope of his Argument, that he reasons according to his Platonick Notions, (for he was a Platonist) and attributes a vital Energy, a Platrick Power to the Body; for it was the Opinion of Plato, that there was a low kind of sluggish Life in all Matter, and which depended on a great
great Mundane Soul. Concerning this Vegetative or Plastick Nature, thus much shall be laid 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 ἵ μέρος ζυχύς, ἵ μὴ ἄνευ ζυχύς, 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 Director, 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 ἀπαντά τέκνα ἐν συντεταγματικαί, 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 left 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, Πάσα ζωή ἄθανάτος, every Soul is immortal. The great Argument used by Plato, for proving the Immortality
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and Immateriality of the Soul of Man, is the Præ-existence of it: And Aristotle, in order to prove the Corporicity and Mortality of all sentient 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 merely corporeal, cannot be conceived to exist without the Body, as the Power of walking without the Feet:

It is, therefore, impossible that these sensitive 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-

* "Oti μ' ἔχον τε πᾶσα περιτάρχειν, φανερον οὐν ἐκ τοιτων" διων γαρ ἄρχων ἡ ἑυσίζων σωματική, Νικον ὅτι ταύτας αὐνε σώματος αἰσχίνων υπάρχειν, οἰον βαθίζεται ἀνεν πολὺν. ὅσε ἕνθε δὲ πεπληρεῖται ἡ ὁμοιότης τῆς καθ' ἐνοῦν τε ἐκείσεϊς ὡς ἔστα.
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, que 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 concreted 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 Mass 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, quacunque videmus,
Mollia mortali consistere corpore creta.

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

† Principio, Cælum ac Terram, Camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque Globum Luna, Titanique Astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totoque infusa per Artus
Mens agitat Molem, & magno se corpore miscet;
Inde Homino Pecudum, Genus, Vitaq; Volantium.
Or, as the Author of the Treatise de Mundo expresses it; Ἀρχαῖος μὲν ἐν τίς λόγοις, καὶ πάτριος ἐξιν πάσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ Θεοῦ οὕτω διάνεμες ὑπερήφανος ζύγωσις αὐτῇ καθ' ἐαυτῷ αὐτάρχης ἐργαζόμενος τῆς ἐκ τέτοιω 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 Author:'
But the Principle and Power of the Procreator is implanted in the Progeny, and contains His Nature, the Progeny being a Piece pulled off the Procreator. Since therefore, that the World is neither like a Piece of Potter's Work, nor Joiner's Work, but that there is a great Share of Life and Divinity in it, which God from Himself communicated to, and mixed 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 Aristodemus, that that Mind and Understanding 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

* Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἢ σωματικὸν ψυχὴν ἔχεις, ἀλλὰς ὁ ἔθνη- 

μῆς ἢ ἢ ἢ εῷ ἢν ψυχὴν ἔχεις; ἡμᾶς ὅτι γὰρ το 

χίνες το συμβαλεῖς ἐν τῷ 

σῶματί πολλὸς. οὐσὶς ἐκεῖς, χῦ ἔρε θερεύω 

πολλὴν ὑπὸ ὑπὸ ὑπὲρ μεῖκον ἐκεῖς μικρὸ 

εὖμι το σύμφωνοι σοι; Νῦν ὅ ἢ ἢ μὲνον ἔθνη 

πολλὰ ὑπὸ ὑπὲρ ὑπὲρ ὑπὸ μεῖκον ἐκεῖς σωματικῶν;
on Athenagoras. 14.1

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 Tendency to some Actions; and therefore argues, that it is necessary that the Body also should rise, since it was not only an Instrument, but in some sort an Agent, in all good or evil Actions; and it would therefore be unjust, either to punish or reward the Soul only for what was done by it, in and with the Body.
THE APOLOGY OF 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 Erechtheus; nay, Offices and Mysteries are appointed at Athens to * Agraulos and Pandrofos, 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 Pandrofos, 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 Erechthonius 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 Erechthonium, prolem sine matre creatam,
Clauserat Aethoe texta de vinine Cifà;
Virginibusque tribus gemino de Cecropi natis
Hanc Legem dederat, sua ne secreta vidèrent.

——— Commissa duæ sine fraude tuentur,
Pandrofos atque Herse; timidis vocat una Sorores
Agraulos; nodosique manu diducit, at intus
Infantemque vident, apporrectumque Draconem.

Ovid. Metam. Lib. 2.
Athenagoras's Apology

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 Uncleanliness 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 accounts they have been frequently ridiculed; even their Worshipping, in some Sense or other, the most noxious and contemptible Brute Animals. Origen against Celius, gives us a very lively Idea of this Folly, in these Words: Παρ' οῖς περσιόνιν ἐῖ ἢ ἐς καμπέα τερμύλη κυ ἄλος, κυ ποι- πυλαίων μεγάθη τε κυ καλλι, κυ νεό Σαμμάσις, κυ οσκαλά πελικα πελικανοι, κυ ἰρινωκεί μάλα νεσιδαμινες κυ μυ- σιμωτιδες, καὶ ἤς εἰς αυτοι κυ ἢν ὁτερος γενεμινος αθερετ- τος περικυνορευς καὶ ἀλεπος, ἢ θινας, ἢ κερωδελθ, ἢ τεγίς, ἢ κυνω. "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 Ceremo- nies; 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 anything 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 Tyran-
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 mere 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, merely 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 mere 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 Philo-
phy is charged with no Guilt. The Person
who acts illegally, he is guilty, but the Pro-
fession is blameless: And if the Person dis-
prove 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 im-
partial Hearing from you, Mighty Princes;
and that you will not suffer yourselves to be
prejudiced against us by any Byafs from po-
pular Fame. I intreat you, as you are Lo-
vers of Learning and Truth, to give your
Attention, and then neither will you pro-
nounce a wrong Sentence through any Mis-
understanding of our Case, nor shall we be
any more persecuted, being sufficiently clear-
ed 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 al-
most possible to imagine there can be a Sect
of Men so abandon'd to all manner of Wick-
edness, and guilty of what the very Brutes
are
are void of. The Beasts devour not those of the same Species with themselves, restrained by mere 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 Elusinian Mysteries, but took the Statue of Hercules, and contemnously 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 *Phenomena* 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 everySpecies of Beings, depends upon their Causes; the first Number is there, and from thence derived either: 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 numbered 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 between 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, possesses 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,
for the Christian Religion.

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 2 Tetrad, and the Tetrad doubled makes 8. Heroe. 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 plus Plastic Fire, using a

† Laertius, in his Life of Zeno the great Stoick, gives this Account of this Notion: Τὸν ἄγαμον εἶναι μὲν αὐτὸ μεμίμητος ἐνυπὸ γὰρ νῦν
καθιστημένοις ἡ τοιοῦτο οὐδὲ καὶ μὲν οὐδὲ μέλλον, εἰ
dὲ ἐν τῷ πνεύμα, ὡς ἐν πλὴν μὲν ἔχει κακυρίας ὡς ἐν δὲ ἐν τῷ θαυμασθήναι τῷ ἔννοιᾳ

* 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
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 unburst, but their Zeus, or fiery Principle. Thus Plutarch, in his Defect of Oracles, writing of the Mortality of Daemons:

* We know the Stoicks maintain this Opinion, not only concerning Daemons, 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 faptientis, si nee amiecis relinquatur, in custodiam congressus, aut in desertum littus ejectus? Qualis est Jovis cum Resoluto Mundo & Dis in unum confusat, paulisper ceffante Natura acquiescit fibi Cognitionibus fuis 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, be 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: Ταλάς έσεύτε 'Ηερα, άληθινώς άναίσται έσεύτε Ολόγοι, ή 'Αθηναός, ή Άσποδον, ή Τόι, ή Συγγείνι Ανε. i. iii. 13. 'Alas! I am now left all alone; I have neither Juno, nor Minerva, nor Apollo to with me; neither Brother, nor Son, nor Nephew, nor Kinman, to keep me company.
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 indulged the Liberty of Writing and Speaking whatever they please of God, while we are by a Law debarring 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 mere 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 to
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-

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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 Cre-
tor of this World, since he cannot be over
this, nor within it. But where is that Place
where this imaginary Being can exist extrin-
sically 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 Provi-
dence 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 on-
ly, 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 be-
lieve your Majesties, who are such great Lo-
vers and Patrons of Learning, and learned
Men, not to be unacquainted with the Wri-
tings of Moses, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and
of the other Prophets, who, in Extasies, de-
livered such Notions as were inspired into
them by the Holy SPIRIT, who used them
(to make a low Comparison) 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 faith 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 circumferibed 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.
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 the
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 ministering 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 Economy 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
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 Happines 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 practice the Solidity of Vertue: When struck, they strike not again; they prosecute not those who rob them; they are charitable to such as stand in need of their Assistance;
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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 Man-
kind, as not only to love those who love
us, but our most bitter Enemies; (For our
Blessed Saviour faith, 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 A-
theism? These few Arguments, out of a
great many, that I may not be too prolix,
I presume to offer to your gracious Con-
sideration; 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 out-
ward Sacrifices and Ceremonies; these are
they who accuse us of Atheism, who them-
selves
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 Fa-
ther 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 toge-
ther 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, form-
ed 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 Holocaufts,
since GOD wants them not? We must of-
fer an unbloody Sacrifice, a reasonable Ser-
vice; 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 Aristaeus, think him both Apollo and Jupiter; the Tarsians 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 Medea; 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 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, have 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 Diffimilitude 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 preferr 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 dissoluble 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 your-
elves, better than I can do, of the Truths thereof. I shall therefore only hint, that some Men, as Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod, were Contemporary with, or but a very little 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, distributed their Honours and Arts, and described 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 Scythian, Cleanthes of Corinth, and Core. Drawing 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 extremely delighted with the Exactness of the Likeness, and happening to be a Joiner by Profession, cut out the Features, and filled them with Wax. This was the Original of that Art, and the Archetype is still preserved at Corinth. Daedalus and Theodorus the Miletian, 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
*Ephesus*, and that of *Minerva Athena*, or
rather *Athela*, as their Mysticks choose to call
her. *Pythian Apollo* is the Work of *Theodo-
rus* and *Tæclees*; *Delius* and *Artemis* are
made by *Idætæus*. *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 *Æsculapius* in *Epidaurus*; and to con-
clude, 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 Wor-
ship paid to them, all Supplication offer’d
before them, is ultimately referr’d to the
represented Gods; and that there is no o-
ther Way by which we can approach the Di-
vine Natures, forasmuch as the real Sight of

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*Athenagoras’s Apology*
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 pleased 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 Celestial Youths, Call'd Titans, from the fierce Revenge they took On Starry Cælus.

This
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 Ungenerated, 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 Ungenerated; 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 where-in 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
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 Calus. 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 smite'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 Diomede;

Tydeus's great Son gave me this grievly 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 Diomede.

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

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.

Aenæas, 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?

Godess nor Woman never in my Breast
Kindled before so fierce a Flame of Love.
Athenagoras's Apology

I lov'd Ixion's Wife, the Acrisian Maid
Alemene, 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, fate 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 feast'd 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
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 unchangable; 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 fought 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

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* 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 the Principle of theirs, not rightly understood; they being led Corn;
Corn; and then, the solemn εὑρήκαμεν, 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, ἔσωστεῖν, 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 mere 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 Trismegistic Doctrine beforementioned, 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: ἔλληνικὸν ἂ "Ἰσιός ἦν, κεὶ ὁ Τυφῶν πολέμιος τῇ Θεῷ, καὶ δέ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθαντικήν τελευτημένον, καὶ Νιαπτόν καὶ ἀνασφαλον καὶ ἑρμον λάβον ἰν ἡ Θεὸς σωτιδύτι καὶ σωτιθείσι, καὶ μηδενίσωσι τοῖς τελευτημένοις ὡσισίωσι. Ἰῆς 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 disperse the holy Doctrine, (of the simple Deity;) which Ἰῆς 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 Dispersion and Distraction 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, Its makes up whole again, and unites into one. Cud. Intel. Syft. p. 414.
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 failed in, or any Part of it, as the Pilot. Tho' a Ship, however well rigg'd, 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 fail, 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 Demons: Concerning which Demons, he declines giving any Opinion of his own, and advices rather to acquiece in what had been already delivered by other Writers. 'But to speak of the other Demons, 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 Calus 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,
Exigence, 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 faith, 'It is above his Abilities to inform them, after what manner those Demons 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 Demons 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 proper
Atbenagoras's Apology

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 Calus 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 De-mons, 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,
for the Christian Religion.

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 the 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 Virtue 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 Reflection of Truth is from Truth itself: For even the President over Matter

Speaks often Lyes, which bear the Form of Truth.
for the Christian Religion. 197

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: 

Kαθεν ή ἄποτιτλ ή συμμον η χάες ο άν-

θρών τως ἐκ ἑπτεδοκλίτε σύσιν ὁ Πυθαγόρης,

φυγαὶ Θείης, ἤ Ἀλκης Νείκεως, μανουαδοῦ Πέτω.

—Ἀνεσί ἢ ἢ δραχείαν ἐξίν ἑσολομπάνι.

Εἰ φεὶς τα ἀμελεῖ ἡ ἀτέρπεσι ξίνης,

Εὐθα δυνα τας ἤ καὶ ἀλλων ἔνεισ,

χηρῶν.

Εἰς ὅλοι ἐκπέτευσί,

Ἐντὰς λευκά τας ἤ σκότω ἡλάτευσιν.

Ὑ ἠχης τας θεσίτος ή ἢ ἦ Ἀτνς λευκᾶς ξεῖς ἢ

αληθεῖς ἐπείτου λευκᾶς, ὤν ἐπολέκτων τῇ ὁμίῳ

ἀλεξιπτικέος εἰς γυνόν ἐρχετι σώμα, ὦλεῖν —

ἀενονε ἀφείς. Man falleth from his happy State, as Empedocles the Pythagorean says, — by being a Fugitive, Apostle, and Wanderer from GOD, allied 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.

O 3 wander
wander up and down the Earth, and ex-
cite Motions agreeable to their Constitu-
tions, or the Lufts they once pursued, and especially the Prince of Matter, as appears from the Events of Things, op-
poses and thwarts the Goodness of GOD;

*When I consider, Doubt perplexed 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 go-
vern'd 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
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 Worshippers of Dia-

na; 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 when a Daemon 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
Heliopolis, Memphis and Thebes) doth assure us, the Priests informed him they were mere Men. They proved to us, (says he) all they whose Images were there, were just such as they were represented, 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 acknowledged 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, certain Sepulchres are built by the back Wall, for a Memorial of Things not to be named by me. Vaft 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 Roundness 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 carved 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 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 Caistor and Pollux, or Amphirao, 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 prodigal 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, worshipped 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 worshipped 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 Liars, 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 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, Thievery, 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 meere invidious, and designed only to palliate their own malicious
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 Phythagoras, with Three hundred more, were burnt: Democritus was banished from Ephesus; and Heraclitus, 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
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 Lufts Mysteries. But were they, in good earnest, so angry for Incefts and promiscuous Commerces with Women, supposing the Fact true, what will they say to
for the Christian Religion.

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 Ac-
counts are all Forgeries and Lyes of Or-
pheus, 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 or-
der to preserve his Crown. But, cer-
tainly, 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 sus-
pected 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 com-
mit 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 con-
cealed; but, as I declared from the Be-
inning, we have received our Law from

P 3 G O D:
G O D: 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 Virtues. 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, \textit{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 practice So-

\textit{domy},
do my, 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 ourselves, 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 Falseness of that malicious
Charge of Incontinency, and promiscuous Mixtures which
they usually laid upon the Christians, presented a Petition to
Felix the President of Alexandria, defiring 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 Canon's of the
Church. This Fact, (of making himself an Eunuch) though

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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 Retaliuation) 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 heroic 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 inexculcable 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, left 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 Embryo 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 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 incommensurable 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 ταύτα κύκκωτα έξω, Things which are always the same and unchangeable; but also τά μη γινόμενα, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐσία, Things which were never made, but always exist; and sometimes μήτε γίνομενα, μήτε ἐξαλλώμενα, Things that were neither made, nor can be destroyed; sometimes τα ἐκχωρετα κे, Things engenerable, and incorruptible.

Of which Cicero thus: Hæc Plato negat gigni sed sempere effe, & Ratione & Intelligentia contineri: These Things Plato affirmeth to have been never made, but always to be, and to be contained in Reason and Understanding. And though perhaps it may seem strange,
even Aristotle himself also, notwithstanding his so often
clashing with Plato’s Ideas, here really agreeeth in the main,
that the Forms or Species, or the universal intelligible Ef-
fences of Things, which are the proper and immediate Ob-
jects of Science were eternal, and never made. Thus in his
Metaphysics; κατὰ τὰ μόρια τῶν θεών, οὐ\(\text{εξ̄}\) ἡμᾶς, 
no Man ever makes the Form or Species of a Thing,
nor was it ever generated; and again, ὧς σφαίρα ἡ δὲ
ὡς ἡ δύναμις, there is no Generation of the Essence of
a Sphere.” And he sometimes calleth these Objects
of Science, ἀπινινθεν ἡσιαν, or φύσιν, an immutable Ef-
fence, 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 τε δόγμα τῶ-
τοις ὡς ἤδη ὡς ἠλθεάν ἠκούσαν. τά ὡς ὑπὲρ
ὑπὲρλακων ἡδι τα ἁλθεάν μόνον, ἐν τα τῶτοις πολλα ἢ τε: ἀλήθεια φύσις ἐνυπαρξεί — ἢ τε τὰς ἄσωμ ὄραμας τα-
tων κινημάτων ἡ γύνη, κατά τε ἡ μεθαλαλλων ἡ δὲ
ἀληθεύωμον προείη τὸ σάββα πάλι πεπεραλαλόν, ἐκ ἐναχθεῖν ἀληθεύων. 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, ἀνακόσμην αἰτίας ἡλθομεθαλάτων ἡ ἀλλων ἑσιάν
ἐρὶ ἡν ὡς, ἢ τε τὰς ἑσιάς ἐνυπαρξεί, ἢ τε φθαρεί, ἢ τε ὄραμα
το ἱπταν. 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.
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profession 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 TREATISE OF
ATHENAGORAS,
THE 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 choke it. This appears 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; left, if we should use but any one certain Method, the DIS-
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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 Premisses, 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 affirm 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 impiously
Concerning the Resurrection.

oufly 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 Mafs 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 Difsolution 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, wherefoever 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, wherefoever 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-
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Concerning the Resurrection.

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 dis-

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Atbenagoras's Treatise

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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,
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 trials, 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 destroyed 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 al-
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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; insofar much 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, prepared 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 Centaurs and Harpies, &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 hath
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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 Maintainers 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 resolved 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 dif-
dispersed thro' the whole Mafs 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 Infult 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 Rea-
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Reasons shall demonstrate, that it is equally the Object of his Will.

For, whatever God wills not to do, he therefore wills not, either because it is unjust, or unbecoming His own Majesty. Again, it is unjust either with respect to the Person raised, or some one else; but nothing can be plainer, than that no Intellectual Beings can suffer any Injury by the dead Bodies being raised, their Essence still continuing, and no Loss or Dishonour thereby accruing to them: Nor can it be any Detriment to irrational or inanimate Creatures; for after the Resurrection, they will not exist again, and no Injury can be done to what exists not. But supposing they should exist, they would suffer no Injustice hereby; for if now, in the present State of Things, during their being enslaved to the Power of Man, and made subservient to all his Uses and Necessities, they are not injured; much less will they suffer Injustice, when Man is raised immortal, placed in a Condition far above the present indigent State of Life, wherein they will no more be obnoxious to Labour and Hardships: Were they therefore endowed with the Powers of Reasoning and Speaking, would they blame or think irreverently of God, because they were made inferior to Man, and not admitted to be Partakers of the Resurrection, and the Immortality of the Sons of God; for Creatures
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 inferior, to produce a Body mortal and subject to Pains, be not unbecoming GOD, it will be much less so, to renew again the deceased Body, and crown it with Immortality. Thus from the most certain Premisses, and their indubitable Consequences, we have demon-
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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 Premisses, 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

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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 inferior 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 sown 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 Error. 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 and
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and all his Descendants: 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 R 3 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 Descendants. 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 inferior 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,
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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 enslave'd to the irrational Brute, which by its own Nature is incapable of making a true Use of Power and Dominion.

I f 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, Form,
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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 a 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 poured 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 His
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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 established 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
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The 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-mentioned 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.
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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 con-
Atbenagoras's Treatise

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 Premisses 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,
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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 Crises 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 and
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,
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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 similar 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.

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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 Descendants 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 from
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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 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 Premisses. 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.

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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 considered 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, who
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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 Miser-y? 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 Compo-situm, Man. The Body is dissolved, 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 Conscioufness 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 Rea
doning 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 Superior 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 Virtue, 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 to
Concerning the Resurrection. 263 to an Account for their Actions, upon the Supposition of there being no Resurrection, they must be recompensed 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

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Debaftations. 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 dissolvd 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 came under Cognizance.
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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 Vio-
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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 Ufage, 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 practice any such Virtue as Abstinence.

FA R T H E R, this Notion of Souls being separately punished, still labours with a greater Absurdity. A Law is promulgated 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 and
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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 Cotion. 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. The
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 in-
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Infensibility 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 rais'd, 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 Formation
Athenagoras's Treatise, &c.

Mention 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.

H E 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 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 Résort. 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, they
they endeavour to turn some from the Truth. It must indeed be confessed that there are Heretics, who assert our Saviour Jesus Christ had not a real humane Flesh and Body, but appeared 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 Stress 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 Virginity, and abstained from the Marriage-Bed,
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Bed, from the Beginning; and others have from some certain Time lived in a State of Continence. 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
Justin Martyr's Fragment

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, Continence is frequently exercised.

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;
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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 throughly 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 Objects 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 incontrovertible 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-mentioned 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 con-
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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 Crasis 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.
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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
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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-
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 flint 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-
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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, shew-
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
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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, superior 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 Pythagoras.
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,
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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, entitled, Of the Cause of the Universe against Plato, concerning Hades, in which are kept the Souls of the Just and Unjust.

AND 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.


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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
for every one of them, which they believe more excellent than the present: In this Place there is no Labor, 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 threatening them with terrible Faces, and driving them towards the Brink of the lowermost Hell. The presiding Angels drag them to the Brink of Gehenna, 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.
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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, clothed, 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 anew; not such as before, corruptible, but pure,
pure, and no more subject to Corruption.
When its own proper Soul is restored to every Body, and the Soul is clothed therewith, the said Soul will not be grieved, but will rejoice, 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 passed, 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 unhabitable 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 forfake the Vanity of your Philosophy, the Pride of your Pedigree, and the Superfluity of your Riches, and not occupying yourselves about the Sub-
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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 the
St. Methodius's Fragment

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.

HO 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
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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.


ΤΩΝ ΣΗΠΠΟΣ ὑπὲρ Ἡλεσθαι καὶ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ, 
ὅτε ἢ τῇ παιδίῳ αἰτίᾳ· ὡς "Αδε, 
ἐν ὧν συνέχον" ἤυχαὶ δικαίων τε ἐκ 
ἀδίκων.

ΚΑΙ ἢ ἡ Ἰ ν αμύνων τὸ- τ᾽ ἢ ἦ Ἁδὲ 
ἐν ὧν συνέχον ἤυχαὶ δικαίων τε ἐκ 
ἀδίκων, ἀναφαίων ἀπετέλεσαν.

"Ο ἄνθρωπος τῷ ἔτι ἐν τῇ κλίτῃ ἀκαλαύσθαι, χαρίζων 
(a) ἔστιν, ὡς ὁ ὅσος κόσμος ἐν ἑπάλληλος 
φότος τοῖς ἵπποις ἐν τῇ 
(b) χαρίζω μὲ καλάλαμπον, ἀνάσκη 
διωματίστῳ τύχανον. Τάτο τὸ χαρίζων (c) ὡς φρειόν ἀπενα 
μὴν ἄψυχες ἂν ἐκτὸς ἅγιαι 
(c) ἐφόροι, ἢ κατευθύνθαι ἂγιοι ἀρχέο 
τῶν τῶν ἀνταράγματος ἀναβαθμοὶ (d) τάς 
τῆς τestablished pendants κολῆσες.

Εν τῶν τῇ ἱππίῳ τῷ ἀφείσι 
τῆς λύμνης περιεῖς 
(a) ἔστι, ὡς ἐνέπνευ 
(c) καθαρότερα ὑπελήφθω 
ἔστιν τῇ ἐν 
(d) συμβαλόντων ἦμένων ἐκ τοῦ 
(c) ὅποιος κυβριός ἄρτις ἐ 
(f) ἁρωμένοι ἰ 
γι ἢ ἑκάτοι, ἢ Ἰη 
απειθήσασθαι 
(f) τὸ κατασκεύα 
χειρῶν

(a) γρ. ὑπὲρ. (b) γρ. ὅ ἤ ἦν. (c) γρ. ὅ ἦν. (d) γρ. τῶν. 
(e) γρ. κατά, εἰς. (f) ὑπελήφθω. (g) ἁρωμένοι ἰ. Ἰοδίτων.
APPENDIX.

χειρῶν ἁθρότων καλεσκοδισμένα έδώλα, ἅς Θεόν τιμήσανες (g) αύτίοι μιασμάτων υμῖν δόμησιν, πασχεδόνι, οἱ τοί δικαίοι τοίς άφθαρτοι καὶ ἀνεκλείφθες βασιλείας τύχον οἱ, έν τοῖς Ἀθήνης, καὶ σωφρόνοι ἄλλοι τοῖς τύχον τούτοι, (h) καὶ οἱ αὐτίκοι.

Μία γάρ εἰς τότε τοῖς χρειαίοις κάθοδον, ε (i) τῇ σύλλειφα τάρχῳ τοῖς τετράκτισις ὑπὸ πληθυσμούς οἱ καλάθω καὶ τῷ τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς υψώματος ἐξέπληθον, ἦ μὲν ἀδῷ πορόντα (k). άλλοι οἱ μὲ δίκαιοι (k) εἰς θεία φανεράνοις, καὶ τῷ τῇ εἰρήσωνταν (l) καὶ τούτοις υῶμεν, (ν) ήσσονται χρειαίοις.

Σύνετο ἔκαστος πορφιρών ἀλλάς ἐς τῷ ὄροφι πορφύρῳ, κάκεια τῶν (n) βελτίων ἀμαμάλων (ν) ἐς τῷ, καὶ μαμάλω (ν) χαλασμένος (ν) καὶ καὶ (ο) αὐτός, τῇ τε& δουλείᾳ τοίς εἰς τῷ τα&πείραν δικαίους τοῖς ὑμῖς σκόντα νημίας (p) μενεθή, αναμμάλων ἀν ἵππα οὕτω καὶ τῷ τότε τοῖς χρειαίοις ανάπαυσαν, καὶ αυλίνας (q) βιοι πός ένεργό (r) τούτωσι (t) κινηλακούδι κάλτων Αφειώμαι.

Οἱ τούτωσι (e) αύτίκοι (e) αύτίκοι έκάθως εἰσέρχονται ήτοι τοῖς ἄγαλμα καλαθῶν, κατέτα ψια πορφιρών, ἀλλάς μὲ βίας οὶ δέρματος ἐκάθως οίς οἱ εἰρήσωσιν τοῖς εἰσέρχονται (e) εἰς τῷ διατέραν τοῖς (ν) ἐκάθως εἰς τῷ ἀνεκλείφθανοι (ν) ἄνεκλείφθανοι (ν) ἤτοι οὐκ έρήσωσιν τῷ θείᾳ, οἱ τοῖς τοῖς (ν) θείᾳ εἰς τῷ (ν) πορφύρῳ (ν) πορφύρῳ (ν) πορφύρῳ (ν) κατατελισθήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ. (ν) καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ, καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ, καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ. (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ, καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ, καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ, καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ, καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ, καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ, καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ, καὶ (ν) καταπελτήσαν τῷ σεβασμῷ τῇ σεβασμῷ.
APPENDIX.

OultO d spiritate et xiiis annis. (f) In quo tarde appetitam très quadi

utam. (g) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (h) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (i) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (j) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (k) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (l) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (m) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (n) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (o) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (p) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (q) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (r) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (s) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (t) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (u) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (v) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (w) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (x) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (y) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am. (z) In quo tarde appetitam três quadi

am.
(a) Ou Σπιεόν υμείς ταίλιν, εἰ&t ού το λοιπόν [ζέον] ἐκ λειψανοῦ εἶδε εἰ&t ού το λοιπόν [ζέον] ἐκ λειψανοῦ εἶδε. (b) ἀνδροτΟ-ταίλιν, ψυλίν, εἰ&t ού το λοιπόν [ζέον] ἐκ λειψανοῦ εἶδε. (c) Σπιεόν αυλήμας διαιρής διακήθηκει-τΩ-αύτα διαιρής διακήθηκει. (d) Σπιεόν τρικάλων ἀγάλματος, κ. τ. ἄδειμασι (e) Θεος, κ. π. τό τέτων (f) Θεος, κ. τ. τούτων (g) διηναπείκτων εἰς τούτων εἰς αὐθαίρετον; (h) διηναπείκτων εἰς τούτων εἰς αὐθαίρετον; (i) διηναπείκτων εἰς τούτων εἰς αὐθαίρετον; (j) Τύχης τοῦ τελευταίου της, κ. τ. ἄδειμασι, κ. τ. ἀνδρώ-των αὐνέας κ. τ. σετουκήνα.

(2) Τίτοις εἶναι (m) παντελέσεις ἑλληνες (o) καθελθεῖσθαι κ. τ. μαχαίριάς κ. τ. εἰς τέλος, κ. τ. (p) χρυσάτων τῷρα σοφίας, κ. τ. μιν τείλῃ (q) λέξεις ριμάτων ἀρχολείπους κ. τ. μιν (r) ἀπολα-μπάσας κ. τ. εἰς τοῖς θεσπιστικοὶς σφαίρας κ. τ. Θεος, κ. τ. (s) ΛΟΤΟΤ, ἀνθράκιας ἐγκυκλίωσις τάς ἀκόας Θεος (t) πιστοὶ, ἔστρα, κ. τ. τῶν κοινών, κ. τ. κ. τ. μελ-λόνων (u) τούτων ἀγαθῶν, ἀμέτρε τε ἡμειών ἀνα-θάνατον, κ. τ. ἐὰν βασιλέας (x) θέσεται φρενεῖς (y) οὐ καὶ κ. τ. Ἰουνίας τοῦτον (z) ἐὰν ἤπιαν ἀδελφὴν, ἄγεν, ἀπό τοῦ καρδίας ἀνθρώπων ἀνέθη στεναχώς μισθούς κ. τ. οὐκ ἠκούσαν εἰς τοῖς ἀγαθῶν ἀμών. (t) Τίτοις εἶναι (m) παντελέσεις ἑλληνες (o) καθελθεῖσθαι κ. τ. μαχαίριάς κ. τ. εἰς τέλος, κ. τ. (p) χρυσάτων τῷρα σοφίας, κ. τ. μιν τείλῃ (q) λέξεις ριμάτων ἀρχολείπους κ. τ. μιν (r) ἀπολα-μπάσας κ. τ. εἰς τοῖς θεσπιστικοὶς σφαίρας κ. τ. Θεος, κ. τ. (s) ΛΟΤΟΤ, ἀνθράκιας ἐγκυκλίωσις τάς ἀκόας Θεος (t) πιστοὶ, ἔστρα, κ. τ. τῶν κοινών, κ. τ. κ. τ. μελ-λόνων (u) τούτων ἀγαθῶν, ἀμέτρε τε ἡμειών ἀνα-θάνατον, κ. τ. ἐὰν βασιλέας (x) θέσεται φρενεῖς (y) οὐ καὶ κ. τ. Ἰουνίας τοῦτον (z) ἐὰν ἤπιαν ἀδελφὴν, ἄγεν, ἀπό τοῦ καρδίας ἀνθρώπων ἀνέθη στεναχώς μισθούς κ. τ. οὐκ ἠκούσαν εἰς τοῖς ἀγαθῶν ἀμών.
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(1) Μετάνοιαν ἥνων ἀπειθέας, (f) δέλετο άπολλίς

(g) δέ μακελάν, (h) οὗτον πεποιηθέν τά μακαρία τῆς

(i) κρίνει, καὶ δεοσοχής (k) πάθος ἡ μοῖρα τοῦ

(1) λόγου ἐκείνου ἢ παντὸς ἐπικόμου ἐκείνος, (l) παθήν συστηγά, ἀλλὰ μή ΘεόΣ

(2) ισωμένος, ή (1) ἀνθρώπων ἱκνίας, ή αὐτερῶν

(3) οἰκείων βοήθειας, ή εἰλικρίνειας μελανοιας, ή (m) σωκέθες Μελέ-

(4) της (n) καλοράδος. (o) καλῶς μή τῷ μή ἀμετάνητων ἄδαθθων

(5) ή ή τῷ ἀμετάνητως μέλανοιν ἂνπερ ἄλογον τῷ ἔργανοιν

(6) αἰεί, καλῶς ή ή τῇ (p) αἰασφιλίας μή ή νόσον (q) τῷ Θεῷ

(7) τόπα [καὶ τῷ καθόθε εἰς τοῦ αἰώνας έσχατών. Ἰλμ.]

(1) δεῖ διέτα, Langb. (g) οὗτος τοῦ; μακελά νόσῳ πεποιηθέν, Langb. (h) κρίνει, MS. (i) παθήνοις: ἢ ἐστὶ μᾶλαν θύρα, Langb.

(k) παθήν: τροφή, Langb. (l) Sic Langb. (m) σωκέθης, MS. (n) κα-

(1) τής. (o) Mallem κάλλιστον, Langb. (p) αἰασφίλια MS. (q) Supplet.

ex Hoesch.
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Τ῞ ᾿ΕΩΝ Ἱητὸς ἐτυκτὸν ὅσιαν; τίς δὲ σωμάτων ὑπάρχοντες τοῖς καὶ ἀνδρῶν; ικτίον τὰς ἐναρμοσάς καὶ
πληθοῦσας τὰ μέλη; τίς ὁ ἐξώρισθες χυμος, δέοςας αὐτοῖς καὶ
μαθησάμεν ὁμίν ἐκ κερδός σάρκας; μόνῳ—ὁ ἄγιος σώματος τῷ
λοιμοφατῶς ἐδάνα καὶ ἐμφανίζετο, ἀνθρωπον, ἡμᾶς ἐσάρ
τελεομόδωσεν καὶ κηρύσσαν, ὅτε ὦρανον καὶ ἑκάστων
ἀμεροίον ἐν μοίρᾳ: τίς γὰρ οὗτος ὁ θεομηδέλοις μὴ
συμπιεσάρτες τὸ ὕφαθε, καὶ τὴν σωμάτων ἐπικελε
ζώμοναν ἑσυ τὸ ἐμφανισά: ἦ τίς ὁ μέγα τὸ λόγον ἄνθισεν, καὶ εἰς
φόνος ἀνιθανεύ, εἰς μέσαθ—καὶ κάλλιθ—καὶ ῥώμοις ἐκ ἀδενίδ
καὶ βευκεῖ—μελαδάλλον, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς εἰς ἀεισοφένιος, ὥς
ἡμίν θεὸς τῇ σωμαίᾳ ἰδιωμι λαμαδάλλων, καὶ μελα
ζωσάτων τάς ἵδεις; οὖς θεὸς ἀθανασίαν εἰς ἡς καὶ ζωὴς καὶ
ἀθανασίας ἐπέμενεν, ἀθανάτων οὐδὲ τι ἀνθρωπον ἀντιπέφλει
αὐτοῖς, τάς ὑποβάλλεται ἔκει καὶ ὑπὲρι σαγο
σάταις φρένοι ἰδαν γένες, λέγων τὰ ὑπάλλα ἐρέπεκες ἀηδών
τας, καὶ τεινοσεῖς σετάς ὡθεῖσας, καὶ ἐπετάθεσεν τῇ
καὶ ὁράτῳ ἀθανατόσιν, ἀλλὰ ΠΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ ἈΝ
ΘΡΩΦΟΝ ΚΑΤ’ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΗΜΕΤΕΡ’ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘ’ ὍΜΟΓΩΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΑΒΕΝ Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ ΧΟΥΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ἜΠΙΛΑΣΕΝ ΑΤΤΟΝ.—
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