A LARGE COLLECTION OF ANCIENT
Jewish and Heathen Testimonies
To the Truth of the
CHRISTIAN RELIGION,
WITH
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

VOL. III.

Containing the Testimonies of Heathen Writers
of the Third Century, and to the Conversion of Constantine,
the first Christian Emperor.

By Nathaniel Lardner, D.D.

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TESTIMONIES
OF
HEATHEN WRITERS
OF THE
THIRD CENTURY,
AND TO THE
Conversion of CONSTANTIN, the first Christian Emperour.
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To be corrected.

Page 12. for erected read enacted.

P. 16. l. 15. r. supposed to be the spirit of the law.

P. 29. l. 7. for adapt r. adopt.

P. 185. l. 8. for Ctesiphon r. Ctesiphon.

P. 198. l. 2. for opinions r. opinion.

P. 208. l. 6. from the bottom, for improbably r. improbable.

P. 220. l. 9. for Christians r. Christian.

P. 248. l. 15. strike out the full point after centurie.

P. 252. l. 6. after mentiuuntur put a full point.

In the Notes.

P. 73. note (l) l. Δαυδ.

P. 185. lin. pen. l. Ctesiph.


N. B. In the alphabetical Table, in the article of f. L. Mothesim, near the end, for 295. should be read 195.
ADVERTISEMENT.

THE publication of this volume has been deferred beyond expectation. The occasion of it is this.

In the preface to the first volume of this Collection of ancient Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion, I gave an account of several collections of the like kind, published by divers learned men. About two months agoe, when this third volume was finishing at the press, I understood, that there had been lately published another work of the like kind, entitled, A †† Histoire de l'Etablissement du Christianisme, tirée des seuls Auteurs Juifs et Païens, où l'on trouve une preuve solide de la Vérité de cette Religion. Par M. Bullet, Professeur Royal de Theologie, et Doyen de l'Université de Besançon, et Associé de l'Academie des Inscriptions, et des Belles Lettres. qto. à Besançon et Paris. See the Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts, pour les mois de Janvier, Fevrier, et Mars. 1765. à la Haye.
longer for it. But if I live to publish the fourth and last volume of this Collection, I will then give some account of it. And if the work affords any assistance for improving my design, I shall readily embrace them, and as readily acknowledge, how far I am indebted to it.

February 25, 1766.
Testimonies of ancient Heathen Authors to the Truth of the Christian Religion.

C H A P. XXIII.
The Persecution of SEVERUS, AND SPARTIAN's Testimonie to it.

I. The Time of the Reign of SEVERUS, and that for a while he was favorable to the Christians. II. Accounts of his Persecution from Christian Writers. III. How long it lasted. IV. His Edict against the Christians from Spartian, with Remarks. V. An Observation of Balduinus upon this Reign.

THE (a) reign of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS is computed from June 1, 193, to Febr. 4, 211. He reigned therefore seventeen years, eight months, and three days.

(a) Vid. Pagi ann. 211. num. ii, et Basnag. 193. num. xvi.
The Persecution of Severus, Ch. XXIII.

Severus is supposed to have been favorable to the Christians in the former part of his reign. Says Tertullian, in his book to the Proconsul Scapula, which we suppose to have been writ soon after the death of Severus, and the accession of his son, Antonin Caracalla: "And (b) Severus himself, father of Antonin, was favorable to the Christians. For when he came to be Emperour, he inquired after Proculus, a Christian, surnamed Torpacion, and steward to Eubodia, who had cured him, by anointing him with oyl, and kept him in his palace so long as he lived: whom Antonin also knew very well, he having been nursed by a Christian woman. Moreover Severus openly withstood the fury of the people against some men and women of the first quality, whom he knew to be of this sect. And was so far from bearing hard upon them, that he gave them an honorable testimonie." (***)

To which I shall now add from Spartan's Life of Caracalla, that (c) at seven years of age, when he heard, that a boy, his play-fellow, had been severely beaten, because he was of the Jewish religion, he would not for some while after look upon his own father, nor the father of the boy, nor those who had beaten him.

By the Jewish religion, very probably, is here meant the Christian religion.

These

(b) Ipse etiam Severus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit. Nam et Proculus Christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodiae procuratorem, qui eum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requievit, et in palatio suo habuit, usque ad mortem ejus: quem et Antoninus optime noverat, laete Christiano educatus. Sed et clarissimas feminas, et clarissimos viros, Severus sciens hujus sectae suisse, non modo non laeit, verum testimonio exornavit, et populo furenti in os palam reftitit. Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 87.


Ch. XXIII. and Spartian’s Testimonie to it.

These passages, partly from Tertullian, a Christian, and partly from Spartian, a Heathen, are sufficient to shew, that the Emperour Severus was not unacquainted with men, who by profession were Christians, and that they were well known in his familie.

Instead of Eubodia, in Tertullian, it is thought by some, (d) that we ought to read Eubodus or Evodus, freedman of Severus, who, by Dion Cassius (e) is said to have been charged with the education of Caracalla. Who therefore, as is supposed, had given him a Christian woman for his nurse.

II. But however favorable Severus may have been to some Christians, from personal respects; it is certain, that in his reign the Christians underwent many sufferings. And, as that excellent Lawyer Francis Balduinus observes: “That (f) place of Tertullian shews, that Septimius Severus was not always averse to the Christians. Nevertheless that favour for them was rather owing to a personal benefit, than to any regard for their religion. The favour was personal, without restraining the cruelty with which Christians were openly treated. Nor did Severus by any edict forbid the hard usage, which Christians then met with, and of which Tertullian himself is a good witness.”

Orosius says, “that (g) in the fifth persecution, which was under Severus,

---

(g) Quinta, post Neronem, persecutione Christianos excruciatit, plurimique sanctorum per diversas provincias martyrio coronati sunt. Hanc profanam in Christianos et Ecclesiam Dei praesumptionem Severi, coelestis ultio e velligio acta subiequitur. Oros. l. 7. cap. 17. p. 501.
Severus, very many of the saints obtained the crown of martyrdom in several countries.

Sulpicius Severus calls this the sixth persecution, and observes particularly, that Leonidas, father of Origen, then suffered.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius this is reckoned the fifth persecution, and is placed at the tenth year of Severus. In his Ecclesiastical Historie he does not, I think, expressly say, when it began. But he intimates, that it was very grievous in the tenth year of Severus, and afterwards. And, according to him, the persecution was general, and very grievous. So he begins the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical Historie. "And when Severus raised a persecution against the churches, there were everywhere in all the churches glorious martyrdoms of the champions for religion. But especially were they numerous at Alexandria, to which city, as to the noble stadium of God, were brought the most eminent champions from Thebais, and from all Egypt, that by invincible patience under various torments, and divers sorts of death, they might obtain from God a glorious crown." He then relates the death of Leonidas, Origen's father, who was beheaded; and afterwards the deaths of several others, and particularly, (m) Potamiaena, a virgin, who with her mother Marcella was burnt to death, by order of Aquila, the Judge, and as he relates, in a slow and painful manner, scalding pitch having been by little and little poured upon the several members of her body, from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head. Which nevertheless she endured with great patience and fortitude.
Ch. XXIII. and Spartian's Testimonie to it:

He says, that (n) at that time there were innumerable martyrdoms. And soon after, in a following chapter: "At (o) that time " lived Judas, who published a Commentarie upon Daniel's seventy: " weeks, concluding his computation of the times at the tenth year, " of Severus. Who likewise thought, that the so much talked of " coming of Antichrist was then at hand. So strangely did the rais-" ing that persecution disturb the minds of many."

That Commentarie of Judas concluded at the tenth of Severus. But it is likely, that the work was not finished until some while after that year. He therefore had been a witness of the sufferings of his brethren, after the beginning of the persecution, before he published his work.

At this time suffered in Africa, at Tuburbium, or, as others, more probably, at Carthage, Perpetua, and Felicitas, and their companions: of whom (p) notice was taken formerly.

During this reign likewise the Scillitan Martyrs (q) are supposed to have suffered in Africa: though the Acts of their Martyrdom, which we now have, are not allowed by all to be genuine.

Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, who afterwards suffered martyrdom (r) in the time of Decius, was imprisoned (s) now.

Tertullian has mentioned another Martyr, named Rutilius, who suffered in this persecution, though the year is not exactly known: Rutilius (t) had absconded, and fled, from place to place, and had likewise

(o) Cap. 7. p. 208.
(p) See Credib. vol. 4. p. 423. &c.
(s) L. 6. cap. xi.
(t) Rutilius sanctissimus Martyr, cum toties fugisset persecutionem de loco in locum, etiam periculum ut putabat, nummis redemisset, post totam securitatem, quam sibi proflexerat, ex inopinato apprehensus, et Praepti oblatus, tormentis dissipatus, credo pro fugae caestione, dehinc ignibus datus, passionem, quam vitarat misericordiae Dei retulit. De Fuga. &c. cap. 5. p. 693.
The Persecution of Severus,  

Ch. XXIII.

A. D. 202.

likewise given money to some officers to secure himself from suffering. And yet, he was at length apprehended, and through the mercie of God suffered very patiently: though he was at first grievously tormented, and then burnt alive. Tertullian could not avoid speaking honorably of him: though he then condemned both flight in persecution, and pecuniarie redemptions.

And in his book to Scapula (u) he mentions Manilus, an inhabitant of Adrumetum, whom that Proconsul had himself condemned to be devoured by wild beasts.

I do not mention Irenaeus here, as some do, because I do not think he died by martyrdom, as (x) was formerly shewn.

III. Mr. Dodwell (y) computed the persecution under Severus to have lasted two years only. Basnage (z) shews, that it lasted more than six years. Mosheim (a) observes, that some Christians suffered in the beginning of the reign of Caracalla. "They therefore, says he, judge rightly, who think, that this persecution did not end before the death of Severus."

Sulpicius Severus having spoken of this persecution, says, "that (b) from that time to the persecution of Decius, the Church enjoyed peace eight and thirty years, excepting some disturbance given to the Christian Clergie by Maximin." It is hence argued by

Tertulliano, confsit sub Severi filio Caracalla, nonnullis in locis Christianos vexatos esse, recte illi judicare videntur, qui non ante mortem Severi cessasse illud extimant. De Rebus Christianorum, &c. p. 455.

(b) Interjecta deinde annis viii. et xxx. pax Christianis fuit: nisi quod medie tempore Maximinus nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit. Sul. Sever. l. 2. cap. 46. al. 32.

(u) Tibi quoque optamus admonitio-

em folum sibi, quod cum Adrumeti-

cum Manilum ad bestias damnavisse, et

affe vexatio subsecuta est. Ad

Scap. cap. 3. p. 87.


(a) De fine hujus belli silent veteres. Qium vero certis auctoribus, maxime ex

Pa-
Ch. XXIII. and Spartan's Testimonie to it.

(c) Pagi, that Sulpicius supposed, this persecution did not end before the year 211, in which the Emperour Severus died.

It is also supposed by the same learned chronologer, that (d) the ceasing of this persecution, and the peace of the churches are hinted in a passage of Dion Cassius, who relates, that Antonin Caracalla, after killing his brother Geta, and committing other acts of cruelty, coming into the Senate said: Let all hear, what is of great importance, at which all the world may rejoice. Let all exils, whatever be their crimes, and however they have been condemned, be restored. The fame is in (e) Spartan. And (f) Christians may have been included in this act of indemnity.

And that the persecution continued some while after the death of Severus, is argued from Tertullian's book to the Proconsul Scapula, not writ before the year 211 or 212. For at that time the Christians underwent heavy sufferings. By that Proconsul (g) some seem to

(c) Ab anno autem 211. Severium mortuam ad annum 249. quod Decius peractonem insauravit, anni 38. interjiciuntur. Quare Severus usque ad mortem suam Christianos vexavit, vel vexari permitit, quod perinde illis erat. Pagi ann. 207. num. iii.


(f) Quibus est includi Christianos, qui impietatis causa deportati fuerunt, non est negandum. Bajn. ann. 212. num. vii.

(g) ... pro veritate, pro Deo vivo cre-mamur. Nam et nunc a Praefide Legio-nis, et a Praefide Mauritaniae vexatum hoc nomen, sed gladio tenus, sicuta a primordio mandatum est, animadverti in hujusmodi. Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 88. A.

Tillemont, Persecution sous Severi, art. vii. translates: Le Lieutenant, qui com-mandait la legian, qui refudit en Afrique, et le Gouverneur de la Mauritania se cont-netoient de faire decapiter les Martyrs. I rather think, that by Legio is here intended a place, or province, in Africa, so call-

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to have been condemned to the flames. And in some other places there were Governours, who inflicted capital punishments upon Christians: though they did not strive to aggravate their death by exquisite torments.

IV. However, I do not intend to write at length the historie of this persecution. But I have been obliged to take some notice of it, not only upon account of the edict of Severus, but also out of regard to the testimonie of Spartian, a Heathen Author, one of the writers of the Augustan Historie, who flourished in the time of Diocletian, or soon after. He has mentioned not only the time of this persecution, but also the substance and design of the Emperour's edict, more particularly, than any of our Christian Authors.

In the Life of the Emperour Severus, he says: "Having (b) "'passed through Antioch, he gave to his eldest son the manly gown, "'and appointed him Consul with himself. And presently, whilst "'they were yet in Syria, they entered upon their Consulship. After "'that, having enlarged the stipends of the soldiers, he went for- "'ward to Alexandria. In his journey through Palestine, he enacted "'several laws. He forbade under a severe penalty, that any should "'become Jews. He also published a like edict against the Chris- "'tians."

This determines the beginning of the persecution to the tenth year of the reign of Severus, the year of Christ, 202. when he and his

ed. Cellarius may be consulted. Geogr. l. 3. cap. 13. p. 505. though he is not there speaking of a place in Africa. Posterior oppidum suisse, non castra sola aliojus legionis, licet origo et nomen his debeantur.

Ch. XXIII. and Spartan’s Testimony to it.

Son Caracalla were Consuls together. And the design of the edict is represented to be to restrain the encrease of Christianity.

Upon this edict Mr. Mosheim observes to this purpose. “These (i) words, says he, shew, that Severus enacted no new laws against the Christians. Nor did he enjoin, that the religion itself, with the professors of it, should be extirpated. He only intended to hinder the encrease of the Church, and ordered such to be punished, who should abandon the old religion of their ancestors, for the sake of the Christian. They therefore who were Christians by birth, and were such before the time of this edict, had nothing to fear from it. The old laws indeed, particularly the edict of Trajan, which was not repealed, might occasion them some trouble: but this new law of Severus affected not any, who were Christians before. Learned men, he says, are difficultly brought to allow of this interpretation, because they see, that many Christians suffered in the time of this Emperor. Nevertheless it is very certain. For Spartan puts together the two edicts against the Jews and against the Christians. And they were both of the same tenour. Severus never did forbid the Jewish religion, nor

(i) Haec verba docent; Severum non novas in Christianos leges tulisse, non religionem ipsam cum professoris e jure extirpandi, sed modum tantum statuere voluisse incrementis Ecclesiæ, eoque puniri justissi, qui a majorum sacris ad Christiana deficerent. Natisigitur Christianis, illis item, qui ante hoc edictum Christo nomen deduerunt, antiquae quidem leges moslefrae et periculi aliquid parere putuerunt, maxime celebre illud, quod abrogatum per sequentes leges haud erat, Trajanum referiptum. At ex hac nova Severi lege nihil ipsius timendum erat. Verum aegre hoc sibi persuadent viri eruditi... Componit Spartanus edictum adversus Judaos cum edicto in Christianos, hocque ejusdem, cujus illud, formae suffise observat. Atque Severus neque Judaicis parentibus natos Romanam fucipere facra coægit, sed augeri tantum Judaeorum populum ex aliis populis noluit. Igitur nec Christianis, quum idem tantum in illlos, quod in Judaeos, panxerit, iniquorem sefe praebuit. Alias Severi leges in Christianos, praeter illam, cujus Spartanus meminit, tulisse, ab omni alienum eft verisimilitudinie. Mofs. de Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 456.
The Persecution of Severus,

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"compelle men born of Jewish parents to embrace the Roman rites."

"He only forbid the increase of Jews by the addition of other people to them. Therefore neither did he enact any thing more severe against the Christians. For the two edicts were both alike."

"Nor can there be any good reason to believe, that Severus published any other edict against the Christians, beside that mentioned by Spartan."

So says that learned author, upon which I must make some free observations.

First of all Mr. Mosheim seems to say, that Severus erected not any new laws against the Christians. Which is not the truth. For he did enact a new law against them. It is mentioned by Spartan. And Mr. Mosheim himself grants, and allows, and supposes it. And after his manner he explains the meaning and design of it.

Secondly, Mr. Mosheim has no right to diminish the sufferings of the Christians in the reign of this Emperour. He earnestly contends that Tertullian's Apologie was composed in the year of Christ 198. before there was any law of Severus against the Christians: and he has published a long dissertation (k) to prove it. Nor was Mr. Tillemont (l) very averse to that date of the Apologie: though he generally speaks of it, as writ in the year 200. And according to that later date, it was writ before Severus had made any edict against the Christians.

Well, what was the state of the Christians at that time, even before the edict of Severus, which is allowed to be rightly dated at the year of Christ 202. "They (m) underwent, our learned author says, a multiplicity of the greatest sufferings." "From (n) that Apologie of Tertullian it appears, that they were crucified, hung upon..."
“upon stakes, burnt alive, thrown to wild beasts, condemned to the “mines, banished into desert islands.” I have put down no more than
a part of the list of their sufferings, extracted by Mosheim himself
from that Apologie of Tertullian. And moreover, as that learned
man likewise observes, “the (o) magistrates then transgressed the law
“of Trajan. They were not contented to punish those who were
“brought before them. They also sought for them to be punished.”

Such were the sufferings of the Christians then. And were they
abated, and restrained afterwards, when a new edict was published
against them? No, certainly, they were increas’d. “If (p) these
“things were done, whilst the Emperour was as yet no enemy to them,
“and the ancient laws against them were in a manner silent, and those
“which were favorable to them, were yet in being: what may we sup-
“pose to have been done, when Severus was provoked, and not only con-
“firmed the old laws against them, but added also severe laws of his
“own.” They are the words of Mosheim himself. For certain,
the persecution then became more violent, and more general, than it
had been before. As this (q) learned writer himself acknowledgeth.

Never-
Nevertheless he will say something to mitigate the guilt of their enemies. For he says, "that (r) the Christians fomented the persecution against themselves by a custom, which now for some while had obtained among them, of redeeming their lives and safety by presents of money made to the Presidents, or other magistrates."

Undoubtedly such things were done by some, but not by so many, nor so often, as is insinuated by Tertullian: who, when a Montanist, equally (s) condemned flight in persecution, and pecuniarie redemptions. Nor can there be any good reason, why this writer, in accounting for the sufferings of the Christians in this persecution, should forget, as it were, the common hatred and enmity of men toward them, and (t) almost entirely ascribe all their afflictions to the avarice of Governours, stimulated and allured by the forwardness of Christians themselves, to redeem their own, or their friends safety by pecuniarie presents.

(r) Malis his, variis ex caussi natis, ipsi fine dubio Christiani alimenta suppeditabant per confuetudinem, quae ab aliquo tempore, approbantibus episcopis, inter eos invaluerat, salutem et vitam argento magistratibus oblatoredimendi. Praefides enim et magistratus pecuniae avidi Christianos faepe invadebant, et pauperiorem quodam necare jubebant, quo dixiere fortunis suis emungerent, et ecclesiarum thefauris rem suum locupletarent. Ibid. p. 453.


Ch. XXIII. *and Spartian's Testimonie to it.*

I do by no means think, that there was any other edict of Severus against the Christians, beside that mentioned by Spartian. But, possibly (u) he has not fully expressed the whole design of it. There was at the same time an edict published against the Jews. Nevertheless the edict against the Christians might be somewhat different. Whether it was, or not; it is manifest from Tertullian, and Eusebius, and other ecclesiastical writers, that after the tenth of Severus, there was a general persecution against the Christians, wherein many suffered. And though the edict was exactly, as Spartian says, the publication of it would give occasion for Heathens of all sorts, both common people and magistrates, to shew their enmity to the Christians: especially, as the rescript of Trajan was still in force. Nor need it be supposed, that they, who were unfriendly to the Christians, would be scrupulously exact to the terms of the edict, and forbear to prosecute, or condemn any, beside new converts. It is certain, they did not forbear others. For many, who were born of Christian parents, or had been Christians by profession a good while before this edict of Severus, suffered martyrdom in this persecution. Trajan's rescript forbids searching for Christians. Nevertheless, that part of his rescript was oftentimes transgressed, or neglected by Presidents, who published orders, that they should be sought for.

Mr. Mosheim says, that (x) the words of the edict of Severus, as represented by Spartian, shew, that Severus only intended to hinder the increase of the Church, and ordered such to be punished, who forsook the old religion of their ancestors, for the sake of the Christian. They therefore, who were Christians by birth, or were such, before the time of this edict, had nothing to fear from it.

But I very much suspect this observation to be of no moment. For all persecuting edicts may have been in this form. They may have been

(x) See before. p. 11.
been made so, to give them a more specious appearance, and to cover the real cruelty and malignity of them. The severest edicts of the worst persecutors may have been expressed in the same terms, and in the same form, with this of Severus. So says the Emperor Maximin, one of that sort, at the beginning of his letter to Sabinus. "It (y) is well known to yourself, and to all the world, that our Lords and fathers, Diocletian and Maximian, when they observed, "that almost all men were forsaking the worship of the Gods, and "joyning themselves to the sect of the Christians, did rightly ordain, "that all who had forsaken the worship of their immortal Gods, "should be recalled to the worship of the Gods, by public chastisement and punishment."

The letter of this law might affect new converts only, who had forsaken Gentilism, and gone over to the Christians. But that cannot be supposed to the spirit of the law, or the intention of the makers of it.

Upon the whole, I can discern little weight in Mr. Mosheim's observations upon this edict of Severus: and still think, that the common opinion of learned men concerning the persecution of Severus is very right.

An Observation of Balduinus upon this Reign.

V. I have been longer here, than I at first intended. And yet I have still one observation more to take notice of. Balduinus, in the place before cited, says: "Papinian (z) was Prefect of the Praetorium in this

(y) Καὶ παρὰ τῇ ὑπελεγμένῃ κυριακῇ ἐνδών ἀνθρώπων φανερῶς ἐναι πίσωκες, τοῖς ἁριστῶσι ἡμῶν Διοκλετιανῷ καὶ Μακρινῷ τοῖς ἡμετέρων πατήρας, κάθεισα συνείδον γραφῆς ἐκατέρταις ἀνθρώπων παραλεφθέως τοῖς τῶν Θεῶν ἐνθρακάσας, τῷ ἱππῃ τῶν Χριστιανῶν καυτῶς συμμεριζόμενος ὁρθῶς ἀνταποκρίνεται πότας ἀνθρώπως τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν Θεῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν θρακάσας ἀναφορήσατος, προβλήμα κολλήσει τιμωρία ἐν τῶν Θεῶν ἀνακληθήσαι. Epheb. H. E. l. 9. cap. ix. p. 360. C.

(z) Certum temporibus Severi proconsularem eum [Claudium Herminianum] suffel, facile credo: quibus et Papinianus praefectus erat. Sed sape mirari cogor,
Ch. XXIII. and Spartian's Testimonie to it.

"this reign. And he says, he has often wondered, that Papinian
did not take care to restrain the barbarous fierceness of the Presi-
dents, who treated the Christians with so much cruelty: or at least
find out a method to reduce their judicial proceedings to some good
order, and the common rules of equity."

We must therefore suppose, that either Papinius did not under-
stand the principles of religious and civil liberty, or that he was not
able to establish all the schemes of equity, which he had formed
in his mind.

cogor, Papinianum, qui velut summus judiciorum legem, ra-
tune erat Praetor, audirem non suisse,
Ut barbara, illa, feritas praefidum Christianos exagitantium aliquando reprimatur.

Vol. III. D C H A P.
C. H. A. P. XXIV.

DI OGENES LA ERTIUS

I. His Time and Work. II. The Inscription of the Altar to the Unknown God, in Acts xvii. 23. illustrated by a paragraph in this Author. III. Whether he refers to the Christian Eucharist.

IOGENES (a) surnamed LAÆRTIUS, as is generally supposed, from Laërtis, his native place, a town or castle in Cilicia, who wrote of the Lives and Opinions of the most famous Philosophers in ten books, flourished, as (b) Voßius thinks in the time of Antonin the Pious, or soon afterwards. Others (c) have thought it more probable, that he lived under Severus, and his successors, and that his book of the Lives of the Philosophers was writ about the year 210. Where also I shall place him.

II. Says.


(b) Nempe vixit Laërtius sub Antonino Pio, vel paullo post. Voss. ut supra.

(c) Tilmont as above.
II. Says St. Luke Acts xvii. 16...23. Now while Paul waited for Silas and Timothy at Athens, his spirit was stirred within him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry. Therefore disputing in the synagogue with the Jews, and the devout persons: [or proselytes:] and in the market daily with them that met him. Then certain philosophers, of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics, encountered him. And some said: What will this babler say? Others: He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods, because he preached to them Jesus and the resurrection. And they took him, and brought him to the Areopagus, saying: May we know, what this new doctrine is, whereof thou speakest? For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears. We would know therefore, what these things mean. (For all the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing.) Paul therefore standing up in the midst of the Areopagus said: Ye men of Athens, I perceive, that ye are in all things very religious. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription: To the Unknown God. Whom therefore ye worship without knowing him, Him do I declare unto you. After which follows the rest of the Apostle's excellent discourse.

The introduction to this speech was distinctly considered (d) formerly: and the propriety and decency of the Apostle's address to the Athenians were clearly shewn.

I now intend to consider the inscription, to the unknown God, of which (‡) he here reminds the Athenians, and upon which he argues,

(d) See the Credibility of the Gospel-History, Part i. B. i. ch. viii. p. 488...430. the third edition.

(‡) "The Being and Attributes of God appear to have been known to the philosophers and sages of antiquity: and "that only seems to have been unknown to them, which is also unknown to us, "namely, the mode of his existence: "the knowledge of which is either unnes- cesary, or else could not be revealed to such creatures as we are, who cannot com-
A. D. 210.

DIogenes Laërtius. Ch. XXIV.

"Nor, if I mistake not, have now an opportunity to illustrate this text by a paragraph of Diogenes in the Life of Epimenides. Which therefore I shall here transcribe at length, and then explain.

Epimenides is supposed to have been contemporaneous with Solon, and to have lived in the forty-sixth Olympiad, almost six hundred years before the nativity of our Saviour. And Laërtius has given us a letter of Epimenides sent to Solon.++

Diogenes Laërtius, having related some strange things of Epimenides, goes on: "At this time the name of Epimenides was very

"comprehend, or have any idea of spirit."
"... It was in this sense, that God was unknown to the sages of antiquity: and to this unknown God, I doubt not but one or other of them erected the famous altar, which St. Paul took so much notice of, and attributed to the superstition of the Athenians. But in this I cannot help thinking there was some mistake."
"An altar, with such an inscription, could hardly be set up by the priests of that country, because it rather tended to destroy superstition, and subvert their power and influence, than to establish either. Their Gods were local, their names and temples publicly known, and their priests strove who should gain the greatest number of profitable votaries."
"This altar then must surely have been erected by some philosopher, to the One True God, who was known by the effects of his infinite power, wisdom, and goodness: but unknown as to the mode of his existence. The one true God, (whom we now adore,) was neither known, nor worshipped by the ignorant, deceived, Heathen multitude."
"Neither was he ignorantly worshipped by philosophers. For they might, and every one who exercises his reason in the inquiry, may, from the works of creation, trace out the Being and Attributes of God."

The Morality of the N. T. digested under various heads. p. 50. . . . 52.

So says the anonymous Writer of the book just mentioned. I do not perceive what is the mistake, which is here imputed, or intended to be imputed to St. Paul. Nor indeed am I able to understand, or make out a consistent sense in the rest which is here said. However, it may be all clear to some, and important likewise. I therefore thought it not improper, that these observations should be before my readers, in a note at least, that such use may be made of them, as is judged to be reasonable.

†† Diogen. La. l. i. §. 113. p. 72.

(†) Γιγαντείς ταῖς Ἕλληνων ὑπομονήσατο ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ ἀπείρων. Οὐν Αθηναίοι τῷ λαῷ καταχωρίσαννον ἔχοντες Πολιω καθ'
Ch. XXIV. Of the Altar, to the Unknown God.

"great among all the Greeks, and he was supposed to be in great "
"favour with the Gods. The Athenians being afflicted with a pest- "
"tilence, they were directed by the Pyrhian Oracle to get their city "
"purified by expiation. They therefore sent Nicias, son of Nice- "
"ratus in a ship to Crete, inviting Epimenides to come to them. He "
"coming thither in the forty sixth Olympiad, purified their city, "
"and delivered them from the pestilence in this manner. Taking "
"several sheep, some black, others white, he had them up to the "
"Areopagus. And then let them go where they would. And gave "
"orders to those who followed them, wherever any one of them "
"should lay down, to sacrifice it to the God, to whom it belonged. "
"And so the plague ceased. Hence it has come to pass, that to this "
"present time may be found in the boroughs of the Athenians ano- "
"nymous altars, a memorial of the expiation then made."

This paragraph, I think, will mightily illustrate the text above cited from the Acts. But before I make my observations, it may be not amiss to allege the observations of divers Christian interpreters, both ancient and modern.

Jerome in his comment upon the first chapter of Titus, ver 12, says: "The (f) inscription of the altar at Athens was not to the "

(f) Nec mirum, si pro opportunitate temporis, gentilium poetarum veribus abutatur: quot etiam de inscriptione arae aliquaque mutans, ad Athenienses loquitur: Pertanyens enim, inquit, et contemplans culturas vestras, inveni et aram, in qua superscriptum est: Ignoto Deo. Quod ergo ignorantes colitis, hoc ego annuncio vobis. Inscriptio autem arae non ita erat, ut Paulus afferuit, Ignoto Deo, sed ita: Diis Asiae et Europae, et Africae, diis ignotis et peregrinis. Verum quia Paulus non diis indiget, sed ignotis, sed uno tantum ignoto Deo, singulari verbo usus est. &c.
unknown God, as Paul quotes it, but to the Gods of Asia, and Europe, and Africa, unknown and strange Gods.” He speaks to the like purpose in another (g) place: and supposeth, that the Apostle had not quoted the inscription exactly, but dextrously applied it to his own purpose.

Chrysostom in a homilie upon the Acts of the Apostles, speaks to this purpose. “I (b) found an altar with this inscription; to the Unknown God. What is that! The Athenians, who in a long tract of time had received various gods from their neighbours: as the temple of Minerva, Pan, and others from elsewhere, apprehensive that there might be still some other God, unknown to them, who was worshiped elsewhere in other places, for the greater safety erected also an altar to him. But because the God was not manifest, they put upon it this inscription, to the Unknown God. This God Paul says is Jesus Christ, or rather the God of the universe. Whom therefore you ignorantly worship, says he, him declare I unto you.”

So speaks Chrysostom. Nor do I perceive him to have had any doubt about the genuineness of the inscription, as composed in the singular number, to the Unknown God.
Nevertheless Theophylact (i) and Oecumenius (k) after saying the same that is in Chrysostom, add: that the whole of the inscription was to this purpose. To the Gods of Asia, and Europe, and Libya, to the unknown and strange God.

Isidore of Pelusium has a letter upon this subject, which begins in this manner. "There (l) were, as is said, two causes of the inscription of the altar at Athens, to the unknown God. And having taken notice of the second occasion, which was a pestilence, he says, that (m) after their deliverance the Athenians erected a temple and altar, with this inscription, to the Unknown God." Nor do I perceive, that there is, throughout that letter any the least intimation, that there was at Athens any altar inscribed to unknown Gods in the plural number.

There is therefore great inaccuracie in the quotation of Isidore of Pelusium, which is in Mr. Wetstein's New Testament. For (n) there he is quoted, as saying, that the whole inscription of the altar, was to the Gods of Asia, Europe, and Libya, the unknown and strange God. Which indeed is very agreeable to Theophylact and Oecumenius, as just seen. But Isidore says nothing of that kind.

We have seen therefore two ancient Christian writers, Chrysostom and Isidore of Pelusium, in the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth centurie, who supposed, that the inscription at Athens was in the singular number, as St. Paul quotes it.

The opinions of learned moderns have been different. Many maintain the genuinnesse of the inscription, as cited by St. Paul.

But:

(1) δῶμα παντὸς ἀσίαν τί βασιλεία ἐν τῷ ἄρησ αὐτοῦ ἀργαίαν Θεὸν. Μη. Ibid. l. 4. ep. 69.

(m) ... καὶ δεινομάλαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐν τῇ γαρδατίτερῃ, ἀργαίας Θεός. Ibid.
But Le Clerc says, that (o) though the inscription was in the plural number, St. Paul was in the right to allege it in the singular number.

In the year 1724, was published at Cambridge a Latin Sermon upon this (p) subject. I read it, when it came out. But I know not now where to find it. I remember well, that it is a very learned and elaborate discourse. And I made some extracts, which are still by me. But they are defective and imperfect. However, I perceive by them, that the (q) author, Dr. Drake, asserted the inscription to have been in the singular number: though my extracts are not particular enough, to shew how he made it out. But I know, that he argued from the place of Oecumenius, above quoted by me, and likewise from the dialogue Philopatris, which I also shall quote by and by.

Having seen the judgment of learned Christians, ancient and modern, I here intend to propose my own observations.

Diogenes Laërtius informs us, that the Athenians, by the direction of an oracle sent for Epimenides to purify, or expiate their city, when they were afflicted with a pestilence: Epimenides, when he came to Athens, took several sheep, some black, some white, and then let them go, where they would, directing those who followed them, when any one should lie down, to sacrifice it to the God, to whom it belonged. Which in the Latin version, is (r) rendered,


(q) Fatendum tamem est, plures suffe olim Deos, quorum opem auxiliumque anomymis aris invocabant... Hanc autem, de qua speciatim eget Apostolus inscriptionem singularem suisse numero prolata confirmat ipfius Pauli fides, industria, non sequioris aeratis testimonio, non Hieronymi conjecturae posthabenda. Drake ubi supra. p. 5. In Excerptis nostra.

(r) His qui illas sequabantur, ubicunque illae accubuissent, singulas maculant loci ejus proximo Deo.
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To the God next the place. Which translation, as I perceive by my extracts, is disliked by Dr. Drake. He therefore translates in this manner: to (s) the proper God, to whom that affair belonged, to him, whoever he was, who should remove the inflicted pestilence. Dr. Doddridge reciting this paragraph in his notes upon Acts ch. xvii. understands the direction to be, when the sheep lay down to sacrifice them to the God, near whose temple or altar they then were.

There is another sense, which appears to me to be very obvious, and therefore I think to be right. Epimenides took with him up to the Areopagus, several sheep, some black, some white. And when he let them go, he directed, that each one, when it lay down, should be sacrificed to the God, to which it appertained, or belonged, ut eam maestrent Deo, ad quem pertineret. Black sacrifices were offered to some Gods, white to others. Epimenides knew not, by what God the pestilence had been inflicted upon the Athenians. When he was desired to purify the city, in order to its deliverance, he chose out sacrifices of different kinds, black sheep, and white sheep, and led them up to the Areopagus. And from that place, the citadel, or the seat of the senate, and of the Court of Judicature, he sent out the sheep, as in the name of the whole city and commonwealth, to be sacrificed, in order to appease the offended Deity, whoever he was. A sheep with a black fleece, when it lay down, was to be offered to a deity, who delighted in such sacrifices. A sheep

(1) Hujus [Epimenidis] consilio monitos tradit, Athenienses, cum patrios deos frustra fatigarent, sacra ut facerent, aram que construeant τα προσκυνετε Θεο: non, ut male Laertii interpres... tsi ejus proximo Deo: verum Deo convenienti, Deo, ad quem res ifta pertinebat: ei, quisquis tandem is fuerit, qui immittam luem propulsa... Drake, ubi supra, p. 6.

Which seems to me to be much the same with that of Grotius... Sicut Laërtius, originem hujus rei narrans, dicit ab Epimenide monitos Athenienses, ut sacra facerent τα προσκυνετε Θεο, id est, ei Deo, ad quem res esset pertinseret, non addito nomine. Grotius.

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sheep with a white fleece was to be offered to a deity, to whom white sacrifıces were acceptable. By this means he hoped to ingratıate the offended deity, whoever he was.

It follows in Laıtıus. And so the plague ceased. Hence it has come to pass, that to this present time, may be found in the boroughs of the Athenians, anonymous altars, a memorial of the expiation then made.

In the boroughs of the Athenians. So I have translated, κατὰ τὰς δήμους τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Of them Potter speaks in this manner. "These (t) Δήμοι were little boroughs in Attica, several of which were reckoned together in the business of the Common wealth: yet had separate habitations, and distinct rites, and Gods too: for each of them adored peculiar deities. And yet all unanimously agreed in worshipping Minerva, who was the tutelar Goddesse of the whole countrey."

Thus I have explained this paragraph, as I am able. I am now to make some observations. But they will be no more than two only. First, there were several anonymous altars at Athens, and in the adjoyning countrey. We know not how many sheep Epimenides took up with him to the Areopagus, and then let them go away at pleasure. But they would all lye down when wearable, if not before: some, it is likely, in the streets, or other public places of the city of Athens: others in the adjacent countrey. Where they were sacrificıed to the God, to whom they were supposed to appertain, according to their different colours. And the city being hereby expiated, and purifie, and delivered from the pestilence, there was an anonymous altar erected in every place, where a sacrificıe had been made, in memorial of the obtained deliverance. Secondly, all these altars were in the singular number. For each sheep, when it lay down, was to be sacrificıed to the God, to whom it appertained.

Thus

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Thus then, according to this curious historic in Laërtius, St. Paul must have been in the right, when he said, be had found an altar with this inscription: To the Unknown God. And even to the time of Laërtius there were still such anonymous altars to be found in the boroughs of the Athenians.

Let us now observe some other Heathen writers. Where, possibly, we may find some things, confirming these observations, or however at least casting farther light upon them. I shall first quote Pausanias, who flourished and wrote before the end of the second century. Having mentioned an altar of Jupiter Olympus, he says, "and near unto it, is an altar of unknown gods." He does not say, the altar, but an altar. Therefore there may have been several such altars, as Laërtius says. And when he says, an altar of unknown Gods, he need not to be understood to mean, that the inscription was in the plural number. It may have been, and probably was, in the singular number.

In another place Pausanias speaks of (x) altars of Gods called unknown, and of Heroes, and of the sons of Theseus, and Phalerus. The inscription of this altar likewise may have been in the singular number. But as there were several altars at Athens, or near it, inscribed to the unknown God, it was natural enough for some writers to call them altars of unknown gods. So says Grotius: "When (y) Pausanias says, "that there were at Athens altars of unknown Gods, he means, "that there were many altars with such an inscription, to the Un-"

\[ \text{on} \]

\[ \text{(x) Καλεῖται} \text{δὲ Οὐρανία Δίος. Πρὶς ἄνω} \text{τοῦ ἐστὶν ἀγῶνα θεῶν βομβός.} \text{Paus. I. 5. p. 4.} \]

\[ \text{(y) Cum Pausanias ait, aras Atheniān} \text{suiffe θῶν ἄγανων, hoc vult, multas su} \text{iffē aras talis inscriptione Θῶν ἄγανων: quāmquam potuere aliae esse pluraliter inscriptae, aliae singulariter.} \text{Grot. ad Αἰθ. xvii.} \]
 Dio genes Laertius. Ch. XXIV.

A. D. 210.

on in the plural number, whilst others were in the singular." Olearius (z) has expressed himself in the like manner.

The first observation appears to me very right. The second observation, "that there might be also some altars in the plural number, to unknown Gods," is a supposition, without proof, or evidence, so far as I see, and therefore may not be true.

Philostratus records it, as an observation of Apollonius Tyanaeus, "that (a) we are never to speak disrespectfully of any of the Gods: " intimating also at the same time, that there was some special reason to be upon the guard in that respect, at Athens, where are "altars to unknown demons."

But neither does this necessarily imply, that there were altars with inscriptions to unknown Gods in the plural number. It implies no more, than that there were several altars with that inscription to the Unknown God. And farther. We are hereby led to think, that inscriptions, to the Unknown God, were peculiar to the Athenians. There were no such inscriptions any where else.

I come now at length to the Dialogue Philopatris, quoted by Dr. Drake, and others, as a work of Lucian: but I rather think, of some anonymous Heathen Author in the fourth centurie.

Here Critias confirms what he says, swearing (b) by the Unknown God at Athens. And near the end of the Dialogue: "But (c) let us find out the Unknown God at Athens, and stretching our hands "to


(a) ... συγγενήσεως τὸ τῆς οὐκονοματος

(b) Να τὸν άγνώστον ἐν Ἀθήναις. Lucian Philop p. 767. Tom. 2. Graec.

(c) Ημεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις άγνώστον ἐφαρμοζοῦμεν, ὡς προσκυνήσαντες, κακός εἰς οἷον εἰκόνα εἰκόνας, τὸν έν οὐκονοματος. Lucian Philop p. 780.
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"to heaven, offer to him our praises, and thanksgivings, that we are worthy to live under so great an empire, and leave others to trifle as they please."

Which must lead us to think, that the inscription at Athens was in the singular number. There can be no reason assigned, why this author, doing his utmost to expose and ridicule the Christians, should adapt the singular number, if the inscription was plural.

Thus I have now illustrated this text by the testimonies of Heathen authors, who wrote, whilst these altars, with their inscriptions, were in being: Diogenes Laërtius, Pausanias, Philostratus, and the Author of Philopatris. The inscription upon the altar at Athens was in the singular number. Nor does it appear, that there were any in the plural, to Unknown Gods. And this inscription seems to have been peculiar to the Athenians. It does not appear, that there were any altars inscribed to the Unknown God, in any other countreys. But, when I say, these altars were peculiar to the Athenians, I do not intend the city of Athens alone. For there were several like altars in the boroughs of the Athenians, and possibly in some other adjoining places. The altar, observed by Paul, probably, was in some street, or open place of the city of Athens. The Altars, mentioned by Pausanias, were elsewhere. That which I first quoted from him was at Olympia: the other was at Phalerus, as (d) he expressly says, which was the nearest sea-port to Athens, and not far off from the city.

I shall now recite the observations of the late Mr. Hallett of Exeter. Having argued the great ignorance of the Heathen people concerning the Deity, and having alleged several texts from the New Testament to the same purpose, he goes on: "The (e) same St. Paul, when

(d) 'Ὁ δὲ ἐνὶ θεάῳ, καθα τῷ πρὸτεστ.. Pau. p. 4. (e) Mr. Hallett's Notes and Discourses upon texts of Scripture. Vol. i. p. 307... 309.
when he was at Athens, where, if any where, the Heathens should have known better, took notice, that the people had no knowledge of the true God. He found there an altar erected to the Unknown God. Acts xvii. 23. that is, they did not know by what name to call him. This is manifest from the occasion of erecting the altar, which was this. About 600 years before our Saviour's birth, there was a pestilence at Athens. In order to get it removed, upon the advice of the Philosopher Epimenides, (who appears by this to have been as ignorant of the true God, as the Athenian populace) the people sacrificed many sheep, not to any particular idol, but to that God, be he who he would, who was able to remove the pestilence from them. Upon which, it is said, the plague was stayed. In memory of this deliverance the Athenians erected several altars, which the historian Diogenes Laërtius calls Anonymus, because there was no name of any particular God inscribed upon them. The altars were erected, not to the honour of Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, by name, but to that particular God, whoever he was, who had wrought out this deliverance for them. See Laërtius in his Life of Epimenides. If they had known, that Jupiter had removed the plague, they would have inscribed their altars to Jupiter. If they had known, that Apollo had removed the plague, they would have inscribed the altars to Apollo. But while they could not tell, which of all their Gods it was, who had removed the plague, they did not dedicate the altars to any one God by name, but to that God, whoever he was, who had thus delivered them. But still they thought, this God, whoever he was, was one of the idols of the Heathen world. They did not suspect him to be a being of any greater wisdom and power, than their own Jupiter and Apollo. They took their deliverer to be an idol of the same sort and size, as the rest whom they worshiped. But the truth was, (though they did not know it,) that he, who delivered them by his providence from that distress, was the one infinite, supreme God. And therefore St. Paul justly says, that
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"the Athenians worshipped him. For they worshipped him, who removed the plague, whoever he was. But the true God removed the plague. Therefore they worshipped the true God. But still, as the Apostle observes, they worshipped him ignorantly, that is, they were ignorant of his true greatness, majesty, and power, and looked upon him as no greater, than one of their own idols. Which worshipping of him in this ignorant manner, and under this debasing notion, was not much, if any thing, better than their not worshipping him at all. Accordingly St. Paul, in this same discourse, chargeth them, as men, who yet wanted to seek and find out the true God, ver. 27. as thinking, that the Godhead was like to gold and silver images. Ver. 29. and as men living in times of ignorance. Ver. 30. To which we may add what the same Apostle says, 1 Cor. i. 21. that the world, by means of wisdom, that is, of the philosophie of the Heathens, which was accounted wisdom, knew not God. Agreeably to this we may take notice throughout the Old Testament, that the Heathen nations, who heard of Jehovah, did not look upon him as any other than the idol of Je-dea, a being of the same kind with Baal, Chemosh, and the like."

So writes my much esteemed friend the late Mr. Joseph Hallett.

III. In the Life of Pythagoras, among his precepts, Diogenes Laërtius mentions this: "That (f) a loaf should not be broke, because it was ancienly the custom for friends, to meet together at one loaf, as the Barbarians do now. And therefore that should not be divided, which brings them together."

Gregorius Giraldus supposed, that (g) by Barbarians Laërtius here


(g) Gregorius Giraldus, vir doctissimus, in libello de Pythagorae symbolis, quid de hoc symbolo scribat, omnibus in promptu est. Quod autem barbaros Laërtius
here meant Christians, and that he refers to their assemblies, where they met together to partake of the eucharist. But other learned men with more reason, as seems to me, believe, that he here intends such as were properly called barbarians, and that there is here no reference at all to the Christians.

For certain, I lay not any stress upon this passage. I only put it down here, that it might not be suspected to be omitted merely through oversight, and that all may judge of it.

eertius Christianos hoc loco significet, id mihi nullo modo probatur. Neque enim solent a scriptoribus quantumvis Ethnicis hoc nomine appellari. Sed barbaros intelligo vere barbaros, apud quos certum
CHAP. XXV.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

I. His Time. II. Divers Passages concerning the Christians, from his Life, writ by Lampridius, an Heathen Author, about the year of Christ 306. III. Of Mammaea, the Emperor's mother, by some said to have been a Christian.

I. Septimius Severus was succeeded by his son Caracalla: He by Macrinus, he by Heliogabalus, concerning whom I shall transcribe a passage from (a) Lampridius, when I come to the Chapter of the Augustan writers. Heliogabalus was succeeded by ALEXANDER SEVERUS, whose (b) reign is computed from March 6, 222. to March 14. or 19. in the year 235. He reigned thirteen years, and died before he was seven and twenty years of age. Alexander

(a) Lamprid. Heliogab. cap. iii. p. 796. (b) Vide Pagi ann. 235. num. ii. Basu. ann. 222. num. iii. Tillim. L'Emp. Alex-

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Alexander is much commended, as an excellent prince, by (c) Lampridius, as well, as by (d) others.

II. His Life of Alexander is addressed to Constantia. He has in it several passages relating to the Christians, which must be taken notice of.

1. Of this Emperour Lampridius says: "He (e) maintained the privileges of the Jews: He tolerated the Christians.”

2. Of the same Emperour he says: “His (f) way of living was this. Early in the morning, if there was no impediment, he performed some acts of religious worship in his own private chapple, in which were the deified Emperours, and also some eminently good men, and among them Apollonius: and, as a writer of his time says, Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus, (whom he considered as deities,) and the images of his ancestors.”

3. In a following chapter Lampridius says: “this (g) Emperour called Virgil the Plato of poets, and placed his image with that of Cicero, in his second chapple, where also were the statues of A-

(c) Atque haec parva sunt, nisi quod dignum re exhibuit, quem Senatus servavit, quem salum milites cuperent, quem omnium honorum tententia principem diceret. All. Lamprid. Sever. Alex. cap. 2. p. 883.

(d) Judaeis privilégia refervavit: Christianos esse passus est. Ib. cap. 22. p. 914.

(e) Fuit ita moratus Alexander, ita vita atque animo constitutus, ut inter Eth- nicos, paucos aequales habuerit, superiorum forte neminem. Bajnag. ann. 222. num. v.


Ch. XXV.  **Passages concerning the Christians.**

"...chilles, and other great men. But Alexander the Great he placed among the deified, and the best, in his more honorable chapple."

Whereby it appears, that this Emperor had two chapels, one greater, and more honorable, the other less honorable. Christ was in the former. We are likewise to observe, that this was mentioned by a writer of this Emperor's own time. Who, probably, was a Gentil, or Heathen, our author himself being a Heathen, and making his collections from such.

4. Of the same Emperor, Lampridius likewise says: "He (b) had a mind to build a temple to Christ, and to receive him into the number of the deities. Which Adrian also is supposed to have thought of before: who ordered temples without images to be erected in all cities. Which temples, at this very time, because they have no deities in them, are called Adrian's. And he is said to have prepared them for that purpose. But he was forbid by thosc who consulted the Oracles, they having found, that if that was done, all men would become Christians, and the other temples would be forsaken."

What Lampridius here says of the temples built by Adrian, without statues, was considered formerly, in another place, (i) to which the reader is referred. We did not then think it reasonable to believe, that Adrian intended to have those temples consecrated to Christ. Consequently, it may be questioned, whether we ought to rely upon what Lampridius here says of Alexander's designing to build a temple to Christ.

5. Farther, (b) Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitasse furtur, qui templum in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jussisset fieri: quae hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriaei. Quae ille ad hoc paraffe dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab iis, qui consulentes sacra, repererunt, omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templum reliquum deferenda. Ib. cap. 43. p. 993.

(i) See before ch. xi. Vol. 2. p. 117... 120.
5. Farther, he says of this Emperor: "When (k) he was about to appoint any to the governments of provinces, or to other like offices, he published their names, inviting the people, if they had any crimes to lay to their charge, to produce their evidences; at the same time declaring, that if any charged what he could not prove, he should be put to death. And he said, It was a miserable thing, that when the Christians and Jews observed this method, of publishing the names of their Priests, before they were ordained: the like care should not be taken about the Governors of provinces, with whom the lives and fortunes of men were entrusted."

That is a testimonie to a custom in use among Christians, and to the concern they had for the good charcter of those, who were to be ordained to any offices in the Church. It is also an argument, that Christians, and their affairs, were then well known in the world.

6. Afterwards, in the same Life, Lampridius says: "When (l) the Christians had seized a spot of ground, which was public: and on the other hand, the victuallers said, it ought to be granted to them; he gave this rescript, That it was better, that God should be worshiped there in any manner, than that the ground should be granted to the victuallers."

It cannot be determined, whether the Christians intended to raise a church upon that spot of ground, or only to make use of it for a cemeterie, or burying place.

This

(k) Et quia de publicandis dispositionibus mentio contigit, ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel praepositos facere, vel procuratores, id est, rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestissimis, si non probaret, subire poenam capitis. Dicebatque, grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judaei facerent in praedicandis facerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectis, quiibus et fortunae hominum committerentur et capitis. Ibid. cap. 45. p. 997.

(l) Quum Christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occuparent, contra popinarii dicerent, fibi eum deberi; rescriptit, melius esse, ut quomodocumque illis Deus colatur, quam popinarios debeat. Ibid. cap. 49. p. 1003.
Ch. XXV.  *Passages concerning the Christians.*

This Emperor ought to be commended for his moderation, and for the justness of his sentiments. He judged a place, in which God was to be worshiped, though not in his own way, to be better employed, than when put to the uses of luxurie. And we can hence conclude with certainty, that it was then well known, and generally believed, that promiscuous lewdness was no part of Christian worship, or at all practised in their assemblies.

Here Crevier (m) writes to this purpose: "I observed before, that he favoured the Christians, and honoured Jesus Christ in his domestic chappel. It is added, that he intended to build a public temple to him. But this is far from being proved. On the contrary, it seems, as if, how much soever he might esteem the moral precepts of Christianity, he by no means approved of it's religious worship. And this he shewed even upon an occasion, in which he protected it. The Christians being molested by the vintners of Rome, on account of a building, where they used to assemble, the Emperor determined the dispute in favour of the former, by saying, that the building in question had better be used for the worship of the Divinity in any manner whatever, than to be made a tavern. Thus Alexander, loving virtue, esteemed it in the Christians. But he must not be said, to have favoured them any farther."

"If the building, I have been speaking of, was a church belonging to the Christians, which may be naturally enough supposed; this is the oldest testimony we have of any edifice publicly consecrated to the worship of our holy religion, known to be such by the Pagans."

So Crevier. But I think it may be questioned, whether these observations are exactly suited to this passage of Lampridius.

7. Once

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7. Once more. The same writer says of the same Emperour:

"If (n) any went out of the road into the grounds of any private person, according to the nature of the ground, he was to be beaten with sticks, in his presence, or whipped with rods, or fined. And if the quality of the offender exempted him from such punishments, he would severely reprove him, saying: Are you willing to have that done in your own field, which you do in another's?

And he would often use a saying, which he had heard from some Jews, or Christians, and which he well remembered: And when any one was corrected, he ordered the Cryer to proclaim: What you would not have done to yourself, that do not you do to another. Which saying he so highly esteemed, that he ordered it to be engraved upon his palace, and upon public buildings."

Thefe and other things, mentioned by Lampridius, are very honorable to this Emperour.

III. His mother Mammaea also is greatly commended by some Christian writers. Eusebius (o) calls her a pious and religious woman. And Orosius says, the (p) was a Christian. The main foundation of this supposition, is, that as Eusebius informs us, she sent for Origen to come to her at Antioch. Which might be no more than curiosity to see and discourse with a man, who was then in great reputation for

(n) Si quis de vi± in aliqujs poffeflionem deflexiffet, pro qualitate loci, aut futilibus subjiciebatur in conftectu ejus, aut virgis, aut condemnationi. Aut si haec omnia tranfiret dignitas hominis, aut gra-villimiis contumeliiis, quam diceret: Vi

(o) H. E. l. 6, cap. xxii.

(p) Cujus mater Mammaea, Chrifiana, Origenem præbyterum audire curavit. Oros. l. 7, cap. 18.
Ch. XXV.  Passages concerning the Christians.

for learning. Crevier (q) therefore justly observes: “She is said to have been a Christian: but that fact is not sufficiently proved.” And Basnage (r) has offered divers arguments, sufficient to overthrow that supposition.

(r) Ann. 222. num. iv.


CHAP. XXVI.

ULPIAN.

I. His Time. II. A passage of Laetantius concerning his work of the Duty of a Proconsul, in which he says, that Ulpian had collected all the edicts of former Emperour's against the Christians. III. Observations of learned men concerning Ulpian, and his Work. IV. Qu. Whether there remain, in the Pandects, any Laws against the Christians?

A. D. 222.

Omitius Ulpianus, (a) or ULPIAN, was a native of Tyre in Phenicia. After he had distinguished himself, as a great Lawyer, in former reigns, he was made Prefect of the Praetorium by Severus Alexander: but was murdered by the Praetorian soldiers, as is computed, in the year 228. I place him at the year 222, when the Emperour Alexander began his reign.

II. "Lac-

II. "Laëntius (b) among other cruelties practised by worshipers of idols, or Heathen deities, reckons laws of Princes, and decrees of Lawyers, against good men, worshipers of the true God." "Domitian writing of the office of a Proconsul, in the seventh book of that work, put together the wicked edicts, that he might shew, what punishments ought to be inflicted upon those, who professed themselves to be worshipers of God."

III. Herman Witius supposeth, "that (c) Ulpian was very averse to the Christians. But the Emperour was favorable to them. He saw, that Alexander would never enact any laws against them, which should bring them into any danger of their lives. Ulpian therefore put together the laws, which had been made against the Christians in former times, that the Proconsuls might see how they might treat them."

Tillemont (d) thinks, that work was published before the reign of Alexander. Basnage likewise is of opinion, that (e) this work was com-

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(c) Cujus collectionis hanc credibile est fuuisse occasionem. Ulpianus Alexandrum Severum regebat, et ejus nomine Proconsulibus provincias ituris mandata dabat.

Sed quum videret abs Christianis non alienum, ab eorum sanguine certe abhorrentem, vix impelli posse, ut iis externimnandis aliquid ediceret: videtur vetera imperiorum tyrannorum refcripta Proconsulibus objicisse, ut ex iis fuum in hoc generere officium aestimarent. Wis. fe Legion. Fulmin. num lew.

(d) Ubi supra, note (a).

(e) Quae collectanea edidisse existimamus, imperante Severo, cum Papiniano in consiliis fuit Regnante quidem Alexandro, nil perniciei Christianis machinatus est Ulpianus, quos Mammæae, et filio ejus acceptos esse noverat. Ad dominorum ergo suorum studia se se compofuit aulico.
ULPIAN.

Ch. XXVI.

4.2

A.D.
222.

composed some good while before, in the time of Septimius Severus. Nor can he believe, that Ulpian would publish such a thing in the time of Alexander, when it would be far from being acceptable.

Crevier (f) expresseth himself after this manner. "Ulpian has been praised by all the Pagans without exception, and without reserve. The Christians have reproached him with carrying his version so far, as contrarie to the inclination of his sovereign, who did not dislike them, to collect all the edicts, which former Emperors had published against them. Let us pity a blindness, in which he was confirmed even by his regard for the laws, which he had so much studied."

So Crevier. But a part of those remarks depend upon a supposition, that these books of the Duty of a Proconsul were published in the time of Alexander: which, as we have just seen, is far from being certain.

As for Ulpian's having been praised by all the Pagans, (which Crevier repeats after Tillemont,) it is acknowledged, that he has been commended by several Heathen authors, and the confidence placed in him by Alexander, is much to his honour. Nevertheless by (g) Dion Cassius, or by Xiphilin from him, he is said to have killed Flavius and Chrestus, that he might succeed them. And Zoilus giving an account of Ulpian's death, says, "The (b) soldiers were much offended with him. The reason he could not say exactly, because the accounts were different."

IV. There

licus homo. Nec Alexandri Mammæque gratiam retinuisset, si Ecclesiæ, cui favebant, ad sanguinem uisque persecutus suisset. Boshag. ann. 228. num. iii.

(f) As before, p. 46.


(b) Ἐν ὑποβελεῖ γε τῶν συντόκιστων προστάσεως, τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὀπιστοτίαν, ᾿Ελληνίδες διαφωτισθὲν, ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῶν προσπέρασον) ἀναμετίνα. Zos. i. p. 638.
IV. There are in the Pandects several fragments of his, which by some learned men are understood to relate to the Christians. I shall here allege one or two.

1. In a treatise of his concerning Courts of Justice were these words. "They (i) may be reckoned Physicians, who undertake the cure of the body, or of any particular distemper, in the ears, the throat, the teeth; but not, if they use incantations, or invocations, or to use the common word of impostors, exorcisms. These are no sort of medicine, although there are people, who boast of having received benefit by them."

Whether Ulpian here refers to Jews, or Christians, or Heathens, I cannot certainly say. Bingham (k) says: "Some think the order (of Exorcists,) was as old, as Tertullian, because Ulpian, the great Lawyer, who lived in Tertullian's time, in one of his books speaks of exorcising, as a thing used by impostors, by whom, probably, he means the Christians. Gothofred thinks, he means the Jewish Exorcists, who were commonly impostors indeed."

2. From the third book of his work, Concerning the Duty of a Proconsul, are cited these words: "The (l) deified Severus and Antoninus, have permitted those who follow the Jewish superstition to enjoy magistracies. But they imposed upon them some conditions, which did not prejudice their superstition."

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(i) Bingham's Antiquities, &c. B. 3. ch. iv. § 3.

(k) Bingham's Antiquities, &c. B. 3. ch. iv. § 3.

(l) Ejus, qui Judaicam superstitionem sequuntur, D. Severus et Antoninus honoriores diplici permiserunt: sed et necessitates eis impofuerunt, quae superstitionem eorum non laederent. De Decuriosisibus, &c. D. L. l. Tit. 2. l. 3. § 3.
When Ulpian wrote that book of his Work, as Schulting (m) says, Antoninus Caracalla was living. Therefore the Blessed, or deified, is to be understood of Septimius Severus only, and not to be applied to both the Emperors here mentioned.

Whether by the Jewish superstition be here meant the Jewish Religion only, or whether the Christians also were intended, has been doubted.

3. However, it may not be improper for me, before I conclude this chapter concerning Ulpian, to observe, that some learned Lawyers are of opinion, "that (n) in our Corpus Juris, or Collection of ancient Roman Laws, there is not preserved one edict against the Christians, nor any thing, that is against them."

And says Witfius (o) in the place, to which we referred just now: "The books of Ulpian concerning the Duty of a Proconsul are not now extant. But there are in the Pandects many fragments of them: in which however there is not one word about the Christians. From the third book of that work is cited a law of Severus and Antoninus, allowing the Jews to possess magistracies. But it is not at all probable, that Christians are here included. The"

(o) Non extant quidem hi de Officio Pra-
Ch. XXVI.  *Observations upon his Work.*

"The design of Ulpian was to collect the laws against the Christians. The same malignity of temper would induce him to suppress every thing that was favorable to them."

That being our case, we must submit to it. Through a mistaken friendship, and misguided zeal, all edicts against the Christians have been suppressed, and none of them admitted into the Pandects.

Since therefore the collections of Ulpian, so far as they related to the Christians, are entirely lost, we can only make some general reflections upon them. Which every reader is able to do. I have cited the passage of Laëctantius, and have also alleged the observations of divers learned moderns, relating to this subject, and need not add anything more. I shall only say, that if ever the seventh book of that work of Ulpian should be found; it would be a great curiosity, and would afford us a great deal of light and instruction.

Dr. Jortin in his Discourses concerning the Christian Religion, at p. 58. says. "If Ulpian's treatise on the Duty of Proconsuls were extant, we should know, what edicts had been published against the Christians by the Emperors, down to the time of Alexander Severus."

\[CHAP.\]
I. His Work and Time. II. His Account of the Siege, and taking of Jerusalem by Titus. III. His Account of Domitian's Persecution of the Christians. IV. Nerva's favorable treatment of the Christians. V. That Marcia, concubine of Commodus, was friendly to the Christians. VI. His Account of the shower, by which Mark Antonin, and his Armie were saved in Germany.

DION CASSIUS CoclEIANUS (a) son of Apronis, who in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian was Governor of Cilicia, and afterwards of Dalmatia, was a native of Nice in Bithynia. He was made a Senator of Rome in the reign of Commodus,

modus, and had the honour of several considerable posts and employments under the succeeding Emperours. He was twice Consul, the second time with Severus Alexander, in the eighth year of that Emperour's reign, A. D. 229. After which, with the Emperour's leave he retired into his own countrey, and dwelled at Nice. He wrote the Roman Historie in 80 books, from the very beginning to the reign of Alexander. A great part of his work is lost. There is however an epitome of his work from the time of Pompey to the end of it in the reign of Alexander, which was made by John Xiphilin, nephew to the Patriarch of Constantinople. But then, as Dion's Historie is justly admired, notwithstanding some defects; so Xiphilin's Epitome is likewise in good esteem. And in some places we find fragments of Dion himself. And the Epitome oftentimes represents Dion in his own words.

Though Dion's Historie was not published till some time afterwards, I may well place him in the year 230, he having then been from the time of his admission into the Senate, almost forty years in a public character. And he was employed above twenty years in this work, ten years in making collections, and twelve more in digesting his materials, and putting them in order. And it is likely, that his work was published soon after the year 230.

II. I begin my extracts from this author with his account of the siege and taking of Jerusalem, to which a reference was made formerly.

"In (b) the mean time, says he, Titus, who was appointed General in the war with the Jews, endeavoured to gain them by ambaßies and fair promises. When they refused to enter into treaty, he determined to subdue them by the force of arms. For a while they fought with equal success. But having gained some"

†† See vol. i. p. 139.

(b) Dion, lib. 76. p. 746. &c. al. p. 1079...1082.
“advantages over them, he laid siege to JERUSALEM, which was encompassed by three walls. The Romans drawing near attacked and battered them with their engines. And indeed they had a numerous armie, having in their camp large supplies from divers barbarian kings, who joined them as auxiliaries. The Jews like wife were very numerous, having with them the people out of the countrey, and others, who agreed with them in their religious rites, and not only such of their nation as lived in other parts of the Roman Empire, but also people from the countreys situated beyond the Euphrates. And as they fought from the walls they had an advantage in throwing darts and stones. And as often as favorable opportunities offered, they made fallies, and annoyed the Romans, by overthrowing, and destroying their platforms and batteries, and by other ways. Moreover (c) the Romans were in want of water, and were forced to go a great way to fetch it: though sometimes they got none but what was very indifferent. At such seasons, the Jews made excursions, and fell upon the soldiers, as they were dispersed abroad in the countrey. For they undermined the ground, and made passages under their very walls, to come at the Romans. But afterwards Titus stopped up all those passages.”

(c) Tē ἄνδρῃ τι δεῖ χάλασθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῇ ἀνδρὶ ἐκατατάσσεται, ὡς φαίνεται τῷ πορφυρῷ ὕπερ ἐκατατάσσεται. p. 1080.

While these things were doing, many were wounded, and killed on both sides. Titus himself was wounded by a stone on the left shoulder, which weakened his arm ever after. At length the Romans became masters of the outer wall. And then encamping between the two walls, they attacked the inner wall; but with doubtful success. For the besieged being now enclosed in a lesser compass, were the better able to make a vigorous defense. However, Titus now renewed to them offers of peace by heralds, which he sent to them. But they peremptorily refused to accept of them. Moreover, if any of them were taken prisoners, and they who deserted, privately corrupted the water of the Romans, and killed them, when they found any of them alone. For which reason Titus determined to receive no more of them. In the mean time the Romans were greatly dispirited, as is common in long sieges, and suspecting the truth of what was given out, that the city was impregnable, some went over to the besieged: who, though they were themselves in great want of provisions, readily received them, and cherished them, to let the besiegers know, that they also had deserters.

Though the Roman engines battered down the inner wall, yet the Jews were not overcome, but killed many who were striving to get within it. However, at length the Romans prevailed. And thus a way was opened for them to the temple. Nevertheless (d) they did not immediately attack it, being restrained by a certain superstitious respect for it. But in the end they moved forward and took possession of it, Titus compelling them so to do. At which time the Jews of all sorts, the meaner people, their 

Roman soldiers had a respect for the temple. 

(\\textit{De B. I. 6. cap. ii. § 3.})
ders, and the priests, exerted themselves to the utmost: thinking themselves happy in being employed to fight for the temple, or to die near it. Nor were they overcome, though they were few against many, till a part of the temple was set on fire. Then they willingly surrendered: some yielded themselves to be killed by the Romans, some killed each other, others killed themselves, and some threw themselves into the flames. And it appeared to them: not a calamity, but victorie, and safety, to be so happy as to perish with the temple.

Many were taken prisoners, and among them Bargioras their General: who only was put to death at the time of the triumph.

Thus (e) Jerusalem was taken on a Saturday, the day still respected by the Jews above any other. From that time it was appointed, that all who adhere to their religion should annually pay a didrachm to the Capitol of Jupiter. Upon this occasion both the Generals [Vespasian and Titus] received the appellation of Emperor: but neither took the surname of Judaicus, although triumphal arches, and other honours, customarie after great victories, were decreed to them.

Such is the account of this great event, which we have in Dion Cassius. It is indeed short and defective. Nevertheless it is a testimonio to the ruin of the temple and the city of Jerusalem, and the

And, as Mr. Reimar observes, Josephus does not say, that Jerusalem was taken on the Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. And if it had been taken on that Day, he would not have omitted that circumstance. Nec Josephus ea die captam urbem adnotavit, non omnifirus, credo, si ita siueret. Reimar. in Dionis loc. Et supra. Notandum autem est error Dionis, ut aliorum, qui Hierosolyma fere semper Sabbat ho capta tradiderunt, nisi hodiernum perfuadent. &c. Id. ibid.
conquest of Judea under Titus and Vespasian. The account is imperfect. But then we may conclude, that we here have Dion himself and not his abridger, who was a Christian. We must not much wonder at the conciseness. That may be owing to the contempt, which the author had for the Jewish people, who were scorned and despised by the great men among the Romans, and by all Heathens in general. Dion agrees with Josephus in many particulars, which every reader may be able to recollect, by comparing our accounts formerly given from Josephus himself. But he differs from him so much, and is so defective, that we may be apt to think he did not borrow from him. Indeed, I should very much question, whether Dion had read Josephus's seven books of the historie of the Jewish War. If he never read them, it is very likely that he never read the other works of that Jewish historian. It seems to me, that though Dion spent several years in making collections for his large historie of the Romans, he was not very curious, or inquisitive about that part of it, which related to the Jewish people (f). By which means he was led to give the very imperfect historie, which we have seen, of the final period of their common-wealth. It is in this way that I would account for his saying nothing of the miseries of the grievous famine endured by the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem: and his omitting the numbers of those who perished, or were made captives, in the siege, and during the war, which are so particularly mentioned by Josephus. However we see in him, that the several parts of the city were taken, one after another, and that the temple was consumed by fire, and that the Jews were very resolute and obstinate in their defense of themselves. Whence it may be inferred, and

(f) Dion, in his account of the conquest of Judea by Pompey, betrays great ignorance of the Jewish People in several respects. Vide lib. 37. p. 121. &c. al. p. 36. 37. He says, "the Temple, which they had built to their God at Jerusalem was large and magnificent, but open at the top." Which is a great Miftake. Kai adyn thn te phugian ev apxvallaktan- ten, atn tai deon evxvthi te ev apxorphos th. Istorm. p. 122.
Of Domitian's Persecution.

III. We now proceed to another remarkable passage, which is in the historie of the Emperor Domitian. "And (g) in the same year [that is, when Domitian and Flavius Clement were Consuls, or the year of Christ 95.] Domitian put to death, beside many others, Flavius Clement the Conful, although he was his Cousin, and had for his wife Flavia Domitilla, who also was his relation. They were both accused of the crime of impiety. [or atheism.] Upon which same account many others likewise, who had embraced the Jewish customs, were condemned. Some of whom were put to death, others suffered the confiscation of their goods. Domitilla was only banished into Pandateria. Glabrio, who had been Consul with Trajan [in the year 91.] accused also, beside other matters, of the same crime with the rest, and because he had fought with wild beasts, he put to death: against whom he was particularly incensed from a principle of envie. For having sent for him in his Consulschip to Albanum, at the time of the Juvenalia, he made him enter the lists with a great lion. But he was so far from being hurt in the combat, that with wonderfull dexterity he killed the lion."

Who Flavius Clement was, and how he was related to Domitian, was shewn before, in our chapter of (b) Suetonius. Domitilla we suppose...
suppose to have been daughter of Domitilla, Domitian's sister. She therefore was Domitian's niece. Undoubtedly, she (i) and her mother were so named from Flavia Domitilla wife of the Emperor Vespasian, and mother of Titus and Domitian, and of their sister Domitilla, just mentioned.

Some difficulties there are, arising from a comparison of this account of Dion with that of Suetonius, formerly quoted. But they were then considered, and need not to be again stated++ here.

Here are three persons named, as accused of impiety, and suffering upon that account. Two of them were put to death, and one was banished.

Domitilla we conclude to have been a Christian. It is probable, that (k) Clement also was a Christian, or favourer of them. Glabrio's christianity is not so evident. However some learned men (l) have been willing to allow them all three the character of Christians, and martyrs. But (m) Tillemont does not put Glabrio in that number. I likewise think it may be questioned, whether he was a Christian, though accused of that, or Judaism. It is not unlikely, that some designing and malicious people took the opportunity to accuse Glabrio

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(i) Inter haec Flaviam Domitillam duxit uxorem, Latinaeque conditionis, sed mox ingenuam et civem Romanam recuperatorio judiciopronunciatam....


cap. 3.

See vol. 1. p. 372...374.


(l) Vero igitur proximum est, sive de causa Clementem, Domitillam, Glabri onemque damnatos suisse. Bajnag. ann. 95. num. v.

(m) Vid. Domitian. art. xiv. et Note i. sur la persecution de Domitian. M. E. T. 2.

p. 523.
DION CASSIUS. Ch. XXVII.

A. D. 230.

brio of what would at that time, especially, render him obnoxious to Domitian. And the Emperour made no scruple of laying hold of this pretense, to destroy a man, against whom he had a grudge of three or four years standing, ever since the year 92. Nor is this the first instance we have met with of men unfairly charged with Christianity by their enemies. Pliny's letter to Trajan affords some such instances, and there may have been many more.

According to Dion's account, Glabrio was a man, who had indulged himself in the hazardous and unrepeatable diversion of fighting with wild beasts. Which can by no means agree with the character of a Christian. For skill in that exercise he was much celebrated. And Domitian sent for him to Albanum, at the feast of the Iuvenalia, even in the time of his Consulship, to add to the splendour of the shows: and perhaps hoping to have destroyed him that way. But Glabrio was victorious, though the lion was very formidable. And Domitian, instead of being well pleased therewith, was provoked. However, he let him escape at that time. But now, he laid hold of the pretense of irreligion, to put him to death.

Dion Cassius calls Domitilla wife of Clement. Eusebius (n) from Bruttius calls her niece of Clement. Hence some (o) have argued, that there were two of this name, who suffered for Christianity in the time of Domitian, one a virgin, the other a married woman, and banished into different places, one to the island Pontia, the other to Pandateria. I rather think, that (p) there was but one Domitilla, who suffered at this time, the wife of the Consul Clement, and niece of Domitian. Eusebius and Jerome have not mentioned more than one. Which surely they must have done, if there had been two. Domitilla was banished into Pontia, as Bruttius says. It was easie for

(n) H. E. l. 3. cap. 18. p. 89.
(p) Vid. Bajaeæ ann. 95. num. vii. et viii.
for Dion to mistake Pandateria for Pontia. Jerome (q) has particularly mentioned the confinement of Domitilla in the island Pontia. Nor does he call her virgin, as he would have done, if he had supposed that to have been her condition.

Jerome tells us, that Paula, in her voyage from Rome to Jerusalem, near the end of the fourth century, saw the place of her habitation in that island: Where, as he says, she suffered a long martyrdom. Possibly, when other exils were recalled, Domitilla was not. Her near relation to Domitian, whose memorie was infamous, might some way or other be an obstacle.

What we have principally to observe, is the attestation here given by this noble and diligent historian, to the progress of Christianiety, and the sufferings of it's professors. It had now got footing in the Imperial familie. Clement suffered death upon account of it. And his wife, Domitilla, was banished to a remote and unwholsome island, where persons were wont to be sent for state crimes, or other like offenses.

It is generally allowed, that (r) Clement was a Christian, as well as Domitilla. Some have supposed, that (s) his whole familie was Christian. That, I think, is more than we can say. But it is very likely, that some of their servants were Christians. Many were accused, and condemned upon the same account. Some suffered death, others confiscation of goods; others were banished, as Domitilla.


(r) Ipsum etiam Clementem Christianam fuifse, nonnulli colligunt ex Suetonio cap. 15: quia contemptissimae ineritiae hominem appellat: qua notæ Christiani folent inuri. Reim. ad Dionem. p. 1113. §. 82.

(s) ... et totam Clementis familiam fuifse Christianam, verifimillimum est. Id. ib. §. 83.
This is at left (t) the fourth Heathen Author, who has afforded us a testimonie to the persecution of the Christians in the reign of the Emperor Domitian. And though it was but short, it seems to have been felt by many persons.

IV. In the month of September, in the year 96. Domitian was succeeded by Nerva. Of whom Dion says: "He (u) published a pardon for those who were condemned for impiety, and recalled those who were banished." And after the mention of a law of the same Emperour concerning slaves, he adds: "And besides, he forbid the accusing of any men upon account of impiety, or Judaism."

It has been a question among learned men, whether Domitian by any edict put an end to the persecution of the Christians before his death. This (x) passage of Dion has been thought sufficient by some to determine the question, and to assure us, that the persecution did not cease, till after the beginning of Nerva's reign.

We may be satisfied of this passage likewise, that it is not Xiphi-lin's, but Dion's, in his own words, though perhaps contradicted. The stile is the stile of a Heathen, and not of a Christian. And this passage may be supposed to confirm the supposition of the severity of Domitian's persecution, though it was not long. Beside those put to Death, or banished by him, there were others under accusation, or under a sentence of condemnation, who now escaped by the lenity or goodnesse of Nerva.

I may add a short passage from Orosius, a Christian writer, who says,

(u) Kai à Nérvas tis tis khrimiás ìn ìdioîria tòv dà stibès. Ëp ìmpòv, Ëp tov phíugous tòv ìxhyogov...
Ch. XXVII. Marcia friendly to the Chriftians.

says, "that (§) Nerva, by his first edict recalled all such as had "been exiled. And the Apostle John emproving this general indul-
"gence, then returned to Ephesus."

V. I shall take one passage more from this author, concerning Marcia, concubine of the Emperor Commodus. "She (y) is re-
"lated to have had a great affection for the Chriftians, and to have "done them many good offices, the having a great ascendency over "Commodus."

What is here said, may be true. For the Chriftians enjoyed great peace in the reign of this Emperor. And Marcia, though (z) a woman of low condition, had a great influence upon him. She sometimes gave him good advice. And the honours paid to her, were little below those of an (a) Empress. I need not add any other particulars of her historie.

But (b) this paragraph I rather think to be Xiphilin's, than Dion's. The style at left is Xiphilin's. In the other passages before quoted Dion speaks of impiety, or atheism, or Judaism, but never useth the word Chriftians. Another thing, that may make us doubt, whether this

(y) Isopætai de ἡστιν τολλικα τς υπερ των Ἰσραηλων στηθεσας, ή τολλικα αυτου ἕνεργει-

(x) Huic Marcia, generis libertini, formam meretriciisque artibus pol-

(z) Herodian l. i. p. 486. Sylburg.

(a) Haec de Marcia Christianis fave-
te, non Dionis esse, sed Xiphilini, suf-

(b) Neque tamen hodie scio, an apud alios scriptores Christianos merita ejus praedicata legantur. Eoque minus Dioni id tanti poterat videri, quod commemoraret. Reimar. ad Dion. p. 1207. §. 34.
Of the Shower in Germanie, this observation be entirely Dion's, is the phrase, it is related. For at the beginning of the reign of Commodus he says: "These (c) things, and what follows, I write not from the report of others, but from my own knowledge and observation." However, the sense may be Dion's. But I wish we had also his style, without any adulteration.

VI. Dion's account of the extraordinarie shower, by which Mark Antonin and his armie were preserved in Germanie, was observed formerly, together with Xiphilin's remarks upon it. To which (d) therefore the reader is now referred.

(c) Διγω τα ταινα τα τα λυτα, εν ει διαλεγεται τα παραδεισων. ἢ πα τι ει δικτατ ειδω τηνως. Ib. p. 818. al. p. 1205.
(d) Fol. ii. p. 235.
The Persecution of

Maximin the First, or the Thracian.

MAXIMIN the first, or Lucius Maximinus the Thracian (a) succeeded Severus Alexander in the year 235, and died in 238. The (b) excessive cruelty of his disposition is acknowledged by Heathen Historians.

Sulpicius Severus, passing from Septimius Severus to Decius, mentions this persecution, without numbring it. He says, that (c) Maximin persecuted the Clergie of some Churches. Which implies, that this persecution was local only, and not general.


(b) Sed interhas virtutes tam cruderis fuit, ut illum ali Cyclopem, ali Bufiris-dem, nonnulli Phalarim vocarent. Se-
natus eum tantum timuit, ut vota in templis publice privatimque mulieres etiam cum suis liberis faceret, ne ille unquam urbem Romanam videret. Id. ib.

(c) Interjeitis deinde annis 38. pax Christianis fuit: nisi quod medio tempore Maximinus nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit. S. Sev. I. 2. cap. 32. p. 247.
The Persecution of Maximin the First. Ch. XXVIII.

A. D. 235.

"(d) being filled with hatred against the family of Alexander, in which there were many Christians, raised a persecution: appointing, that the Presidents only of the Churches should be put to death, as being the men who spread abroad the doctrine of the gospel. At which time Origen composed his book of martyrdom, which he inscribed to Ambrose, and Protoctetus, Presbyter of the Church of Cæsarea: forasmuch as they were at that time in great danger of suffering death. And they gained great honour by that confession." That book of Origen, which is an exhortation to martyrdom, is still extant. I made several valuable extracts from it (e) formerly. It appears hence, that Ambrose and Protoctetus were imprisoned, though the place is not now exactly known.

Orogius, not very disagreeably to Eusebius, says, "that (f) Maximin's persecution proceeded chiefly from aversion to the Christian family of his predecessor Alexander, and his mother Mammaea: and that his persecution was intended against the Clergy, and particularly, against the presbyter Origen." So Orogius. And some learned men are of opinion, that Origen, though he sent his Exhortation to Martyrdom to the two above named Confessors, retired (g) himself, and lived privately a part of this reign.

It has been argued by Pagi (b) and other learned (i) men, that this persecution did not reach to Africa.

There

(d) "Ος δὲ κατὰ κόσμῳ τὴν παρὰ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ζωὴν ἐν πλανήσει πιείτως συνετέκτη, ὑμνω-μένῳ ὑγιήσας, τῷ τῶν ἐκκλησίων ἀφυεύτως μόνιμοι, οὐκ ἄγετι τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἱστορίου διδα-κτιαν ἀναφεύγαι προσαττοῦ. Η. Ε. I. 6. cap. 28.


(g) See Tilm. in Origene art. 21, and Moshem. p. 469.

(b) Vid. Pagi ann. 235. num. iii.

(i) Basnag. ann. 235. num. v.
Ch. XXVIII. *The Persecution of Maximin the First.*

There was at this time a persecution of the Christians in Pontus and Cappadocia, as appears from (k) Firmilian’s letter to Cyprian. But it is not clear, that it was occasioned by any Edict of Maximin. But the President was bigoted, and cruel, and the Christians were greatly molested by him. However, the neighboring provinces being peaceable, the Christians left their own country, and went thither.

Mr. Mosheim, to (l) whom I refer, has very good observations upon this persecution. He allows, that (m) during that whole reign Christians suffered in some places. There may therefore, as I apprehend, have been more sufferers, than now we have the exact knowledge of.


... 470.

(m) Hinc facile credimus illis, qui per totum illud, quod Maximinus regnavit, triennium vexatos fess Christianos sufer, censent. *ib. p. 468.*
The Emperour PHILIP.

The Question considered, whether he was a Christian.

I. His Time. II. Reasons for this Inquiry. III. An Argument, shewing, that he was not a Christian, and the Judgements of divers learned men concerning it.

The Emperour GORDIAN was succeeded by PHILIP, who took his son into partnership with him. He (a) was an Arab, son of a captain of Arabian robbers. He (b) reigned five years and somewhat longer. His (c) time is computed from March in the year of Christ 244. to July in 249.

(a) Igitur Marcus Julius Philippus Arab Thraconites, sumpto in consortium Philippo filio. Romam vene. VICTOR. de Caesar. cap. 28.

(b) Marcus Julius Philippus imperavit annos quinque... Is Philippus humillimo ortus loco fuit, patre nobilissimo latronum ducitore. VICTOR. Epit. cap. 28. CONF. EUTROP. I. 9. §. iii. et Capitolin. iii. cap. 29. p. 124.

(c) Hoc etiam anno uterque Philippus pater
II. Of this Emperor Eusebius tells the following story. "When 
(d) Gordian had reigned six whole years, he was succeeded by Phi-
lip and his Son. It (e) is reported, that this Emperor, as being 
a Christian, on the last day of the vigils of Easter, desired to par-
take in the prayers of the Church with the rest of the people: but 
that the Bishop would not permit him, till he had made confessi-
on of his sins, and had placed himself in the number of the lapsed, 
and among the penitents. And if he had not done that, he would 
never have been admitted by the Bishop, because of his many 
crimes. And (f) it is said, that he readily complied, and that he 
manifested a sincere fear of God by his deeds."

It is obvious to observe, that Eusebius speaks only upon the ground 
of report, and common fame. Nor does he name the Bishop, nor 
the place, where it happened. Chrysostom (g) is supposed to sup-
ply that defect, as he ascribes a like action to Babylas Bishop of An-
tioch. But then he does not name the Emperor.

I forbear to transcribe the absurd and inaccurate account of the 
same thing in (b) the Paschal Chronicle.

According to the Acts or Passion of the Martyr Pontius (i) Philip 
and his Son were converted by the same Pontius, and baptized by 
Fabian Bishop of Rome. And, fabulous as those Acts may be, Hu-
-et, seems to rely upon them, and believes, that \( k \) those Emperors were baptized by Fabian.

In a chapter, following that before quoted, Eusebius, among other proofs of Origen's great reputation at that time, says, he \( l \) wrote a letter to the Emperor Philip, and another to his wife Severa. Which \( m \) is also mentioned by Jerome, in his book of Illustrious Men. Who likewise there calls Philip the first Christian Emperor, and says, those letters were still extant. Nevertheless I think it does not appear, what was in those letters, nor that ever they were seen either by Eusebius, or Jerome.

In Jerome's Latin edition of Eusebe's Chronicle \( n \) Philip is said to be the first Christian Emperor. And in like manner speak \( o \) Orosius, and some other Christian Authors.

All which has occasioned a debate among learned men of late times, whether Philip was a Christian, or not: Baronius \( p \) Huet \( q \) and (*) some others, taking the affirmative side of the question, others the negative. Tillemont \( r \) says, it is not without difficulties. And Mr. Mosheim, \( s \) has done his utmost to perplex this question. And the more to encrease the difficulty, argues, that \( t \) he might be

\( k \) Sic igitur sentio, Chriſti sacra fabiano Papa initiatum fuiſſe Philippum. Origen. l. i. c. 3. p. 19.

\( l \) H. E. l. 6. cap. 36.

\( m \) Quodque ad Philippum Imperatorem, qui primus de Regibus Romanis Christianus fuit, et ad matrem [uxorem] ejus literas fecit, quae usque hodie exstant. De V. I. cap. 54. de Origene.


\( o \) Hic primus Imperatorum omnium Christianus fuit. &c. Oros. l. 7. cap. 20.

\( p \) Baron. ann. 246.

\( q \) Origen. l. 1. cap. 3. n. xii.


\( s \) De Reb. Christianor. ante C. M. p. 471... 476.

\( t \) Neque defunt argumenta, quae hos Imperatores clam licet et secreto ad sacra Christiana transisse probabile reddant. Sed his rationibus quum aliae possint opponi aequae validae ac specioseae, quae habet illa,
whether he was a Christian?

be a Christian secretly, though not openly. And upon the whole, according to him, it is a point, not to be decided, whether the two Philips, father and son, were Christians, or not.

III. For my own part, I should think, that we might spare ourselves the trouble of inquiring into the privacies of this Emperour, and may (u) do better to determine his character by his public conduct. But without indulging harangue, or complaint, I shall now immediately refer to some ecclesiastical historians, where, so far as I am able to judge, the question is fairly treated, and rightly decided. They are (x) Pagi (y) Basnage, (z) Cellarius, (a) Frederick Spanheim, not forgetting (b) the great Scaliger.

I. My first argument is, that divers ancient Christian writers expressly say, that Constantine was the first Roman Emperour, who made profession of the Christian Religion.

The first to be quoted is Laëntantius, contemporaneus with Eusebius, but rather older, who (c) in his inscription of his Institutions to Con-

illae, quae tot viros doctos exercuit, de Philippi Arabis, ejusque filii religione, in medio relinqui debet. M. M. Infl. p. 110.


(y) Basnag. ann. 244. n. vi. &c.


(c) Quod opus nunc nominis sui auspicio inchoamus, Constantine, Imperator maxime. Qui primus Romanorum principum, repudiatis erroribus, majestatem Dei singularis, ac veri cognovisti et honorasti. Inst. 1. l. c.

(b) Animadversion. in Euseb. p. 234.
Constantin, addresseth him in the character of the first Emperor of the Romans, who had forsaken the errors of Gentilism.

In like manner Sulpicius Severus, who published his Sacred History in the year 400. or soon after. "That (d) says he, was the end of the persecution. From that time there have been Christian Emperours, of whom Constantin was the first."

Theodoret, at the end of his Ecclesiastical Historie, says, that (e) before Constantin all the Roman Emperours were enemies to the Christians.

Chrysoptom says, "that (f) all the Roman Emperours, Augustus, "Tiberius, Caius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and after him all the "rest, were Gentils, till the time of the blessed Constantin. And "all of them opposed the Church, some indeed with greater, others "with less violence, however all of them in some measure. And "as they all lived in impiety, that alone was an encouragement to "the people, to oppose the Christians."

Nor can Eusebius be omitted, who at the conclusion of his Life of Constantin, says, "that (g) he was the only Roman Emperour, "who


(f) Ελληνες ποια βασιλειες Αυγοτος, Τιτερος, Γαλος, Νερος. Ουσιππονεις, Τιτος, εχεινον απατει εις των τη μακαιρα Κωνσταντι-
Ch. XXIX. Whether he was a Christian?

"who hitherto had worshiped the true God with sincere piety, and had embraced and recommended the doctrine of Jesus Christ."

Pagi therefore says, he (b) is persuaded, that all which Eusebius says about the Christianity of Philip, he had received from uncertain tradition.

2. All Heathen writers are silent about the Christianity of Philip and his son.

It seems to me, that (i) Spanheim does rightly insist on this argument, as of no small weight. Nor has (k) Julian in his Cæsars taken any notice of it. If Philip had been a Christian, they would, some of them, have reproached him upon that account, and they would have reproached his Christianity, with the crimes, of which he was guilty. For his treacherie to the Young Gordian was well known, and was very odious, and (l) is spoken of as such.

3. Philip celebrated the secular games at Rome, in the thousandth year of the city, and in the usual manner, with great magnificence: as we are assured by ancient medals, and by Christian, as well as by Heathen writers.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius it is said, that (m) at that time innumerable beasts were slain in the Circus, and there were theatrical

K 2 shews

(b) Verum re maturius examinata nunc non dubito, quin Eusebius, quod habet de Christiana professione Philippi, ex incerta auditione retulerit. Ann. 244. n. v.


(k) Julianus Imp. in Satyrā suā de Cae-
A. D. 244.

The Emperor P H I L I P. Ch. XXIX.

Six weeks in the Campus Martius for three days and three nights. And (n) Orolius acknowledgeth, that the secular games were celebrated by Philip with great magnificence: though he will have it, that all was designed to the honour of Christ.

Capitolinus, (o) one of the writers of the Augustan Historie, is very particular, in representing the great number, and various sorts of beasts, produced to public show, or slain by Philip, upon occasion of this solemnity. And other Heathen authors, as well as ancient medals, bear witness to his celebrating this festival, with great magnificence, as (p) Eutropius, whom I transcribe below, and refer to the (q) Victors.

4. Once more, finally, the Philip were deified after their death, as (r) Eutropius says. Which shews, that they were reckoned to be Heathens. And Philip put Gordian in the number of the gods, as Capitolinus (s) says, in which he acted like a Heathen.

Upon

(n) Ita magnificis ludis augufliflimus omnium praeteritorum hic natalis annus a Christiano Imperatore celebratus est. Nec dubium est, quin Philippus hujus tace devotionis gratiam et honorem ad Christum et ecclesiam reportavit, &c. Oros. l. 7. c. 20.

(o) Fuerunt sub Gordiano Romae Elephanti xxx. et 11. ... tigres x. leones manfueti lx. ... gladiatorum fiscalium paria mille: hippopotamus, et rhinoceros unus ... equi feri xl. et cetera hujusmodi animalia, innumera et diversa: quae omnia Philippus ludis secularibus vel detrit, vel occidit. ... Nam omnia haec Philippus exhibuit secularibus ludis et munerebus atque Circeanibus, quum millefimum ab urbe condita annum in confu- latu fuo et filii fui celebravit. Capitol. Gordinian. iii. cap. 33. p. 133... 134.

(p) His imperantibus, millefimus annus Romae urbis ingenti ludorum apparatu spectaculorumque celebratus est. &c. Eutrop. l. 9. cap. 3.


(r) Ambo inde ab exercitu interfecit: Senior Philippus Veronae, Romae junior. Annis v. imperaverunt, inter Divos tamen relati sunt. Eutrop. l, 9, cap. 3.

(s) Denique Philippus quum eum interfecisset, neque imagines ejus tolleret, neque statuae deponeret, neque nomen abraderet, sed Divum semper appellans etiam apud ipsos milites, cum quibus factionem fecerat, serio animo et peregrina calliditate veneratus est. Capitol. ut supra, p. 128.
Upon the whole therefore I can see no reason to believe, that the
Emperour Philip was by belief or profession a Christian: though he
might be favorable to some, who were so.

As I do not love to be singular, I shall now transcribe the judgements of several learned men upon this point. Says Crevier: "He
(1) is said to have been a Christian. But, if he was, it seems to
me very strange, that none of the Pagan writers, who have spoken
of him, should have mentioned it. Zosimus, in particular, who
is full of venom against Christianity, and who takes a pleasure in
loading Constantine with the most atrocious calumnies, would surely
not have spared Philip. The Christian writers, upon whose au-
thority the notion of this Praetorian Prefect's Christianity is found-
ed, certainly deserve respect. But their accounts are so confused,
so full of circumstances, either palpably contradictory, or abso-
lutely refuted by history, that the weight of their testimony is
considerably diminished. Though Mr. Tillemont inclines to their
opinion, I am not afraid to own, that what he himself has writ-
ten upon this subject, makes me of a different mind. If Philip
did profess our religion, he was certainly a bad Christian. I had
rather believe, that being born in the neighborhood of the coun-
trey, which was the cradle of Christianity, he might thence ac-
quire some tincture of it: and that he favored it, as Alexander Se-
verus had done, but without renouncing his idolatrous supersti-
ton, to which he adhered, when Emperour." And afterwards (u).
The celebration of the secular games, in which all the pomp of
the Pagan superstition was displayed, is a direct proof of the pub-
ic profession which Philip made of his attachment to idolatry. It
is a violation of all probability, to suppose without any evidence,
that the Emperour could celebrate them, without taking part in
the sacrifices that accompanied them, or rather which were the

(1) Historia of the Roman Emperours vol. viii. p. 419.
The Emperour P H I L I P. Ch. XXIX.

A. D. 244.

``essential part of them, and the very foundation of the whole fest-
ival."

Pagi, at the conclusion of one part of his argument upon this sub-
ject, has an observation, which may be reckoned sage and pertinent.
``There (x) is no more reason, says he, to believe what Eusebius
``here says, of the Christianitie of the Emperour Philip, than what
``he says, of Abgarus King of the Edessens, that having heard of the
``fame of Chrifth's miracles, he wrote a letter to him: and that our
``Lord returned him an answer, promising to send to him one of his
``Apostles. Nor is there any more regard to be had to Jerome, when
``he calls the Emperour Philip a convert to Christianitie: than when
``he speaks of the Letters of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul.
``The first Christians, says he, wholly intent upon propagating our
``faith, and being men of great candour, oftentimes too easily ad-
``mitted stories, which were favorable to our religion. Of which
``there are many instances." A remarkable observation of a Fran-
ciscan Monk, but a truly learned man.

Cellarius has an observation to the like purpose. "The (y) more
``greedily

(x) Hic tantum dicam, non majorem
fidem adhibendam Euebio, Philippum
Imp. Christianum facienti, quam eodem
affirmanti Abgarum Edessorum Regem,
auditis Christif miraculis ad ipsum litteras
dediffe, et Christum mutuas a eum literas
scriptas, quibus se misitrum ad ipsum
unum ex Apostolis suis pollicitus est... 
Nec etiam major fides Hieronymi de con-
vernione Philippi Imperatoris loquentis,
quam cum in lib. de Script. Ecclef. de Se-
cea scribat. "Quem non ponerem in catalo-
ge sanctorum, nisi me illae epiftolae pro-
current, quae leguntur a plurimis Pauli ad 
Sencam, et Sencae ad Paulum. Prieres
Christiani fidei noftrae promovendae toti
additi, et summo animi candore praedii-
ti, fefe faepe nimis faciles in iis, quae re-
ligioni favebant, praebuerunt, ut innum-
mera exempla demonstrant. Pagi ann. 
244. num. vii.

(y) Quam cupide autem hoc creditum
a majoribus fuit, tanto id minus fit vero
simile, fi veteres auctores excutiantur.
Qui adfeverant Christianum fuiffe, ideovi
dentur in hac opinionem ingredi, ut mil-
lefirum Urbis annum Christi potius quam
deorum cultori vindicarent. Oros. l. 7.
c. 28. de Conftantino Magno. Primus
Imperator Christianus, excepto Philippo,
qui Christianus annis admodum pauctifmis
ad hoc tantum constitutus fuiffi mibi eft,
qui millesimus Romanus annus Chrifti po-
tius, quam idolis dicaretur. Cellar. Diff.
de primo principe Christiano num. xxii.
p. 322.
Ch. XXIX. Whether he was a Christian?

"greedily this storie was received by our ancestors, the more care-
fully ought we to examine their testimonie concerning it. For
they seem, (some of them at left) to have embraced this opinion
about Philip: being desirous to have it thought, that the secular
games of the thousandth year of the City of Rome were celebrat-
ed to the honour of Christ, and not of the gods." I must not
allow myself to take any thing more from this author: though his
Observations upon the Christianity ascribed to Philip, appear to me
very clear, and solid. And I recollect, that I did before transcribe
some of his thoughts upon this point, at p. 65, note (u).
The Emperour DECIUS.

I. His Time, and Character. II. Accounts of his Persecution. III. A Persecution at Alexandria, before the publication of his Edict. IV. That this Persecution was universal.

We sometimes meet with chronological difficulties, where they might be little expected. Eusebius in his Chronicle says, that (a) DECIUS reigned only one year and three months. And in his Historie, that (b) he and his sons were slain, before he had reigned two years. Which (c) account Baronius follows. But learned men are now rather of opinion, that (d) Decius reached to the third year. And it is computed, that (e) he reigned from July or August 249. to November or December 251.

(a) Romanorum vicefimus quintus regnavit Decius anno uno, mensis iii. Chron. p. 175.
(b) H. E. l. 7. cap. i.
(c) Ann. 254. n. slix.
(e) Vid. Pagi ann. 251. num. xxx. Bas-nag. ann. 249. num. iii.
Ch. XXX. DECIUS. His Persecution.

Eutropius (f) and Victor (g) in his Cæsars, say, he reigned two years: the other Victor (b) says, thirty months. He was born in Pannonia. And, as has been observed, he is the first of the many Roman Emperours, who were natives of Illyricum. His name, as inscribed upon (i) medals, is Caius Messius Trajanus Decius. He has a very good character in the Epitome of (k) Victor, and (l) Zosimus, Heathen authors. But he is little taken notice of by Christian writers, excepting upon account of his persecution. Some of their passages I shall transcribe, sufficient to afford my readers a general notion of it.

II. The Author of the Deaths of Persecutors says, that (m) Decius began to persecute the Christians as soon as he began to reign. But he does not tell us what the edict was, nor the occasion of it.

Eusebius writes to this purpose. “Philip (n) having reigned seven years, he was succeeded by Decius, who being an enemie to Philip, raised a persecution against the Churches. In which Fa-" bian at Rome, having been perfected by martyrdom, he was suc-" ceded by Cornelius in that bishoprick. In Palestine Alexander, “Bishop of the church at Jerusalem, is again brought before the "Go-


(g) Cap. 29.


(k) See note (b)

(l) Asiop μηδε κακασχεις την των εαυτων σοιον. Zos. l. i. p. 644. in.

(m) Exstitit enim post annos plurimos execrable animal Decius, qui vexaret Ecclesiam. Quis enim justitiam nisi ma-" lus persequatur? Et quasi hujus rei gratia provectus esset ad illud principale fatigi-" um, furere protinus contra Deum coepit, ut protinus caderet. De M. P. cap. 4.

(n) H. E. l. 6. cap. 39.
"Governour's tribunal at Cesarea for Chrifi's fake. And having
made a seconſd glorious confeffion is put in priſon, being now ve-
nerable for his age and grey hairs. Having died in priſon, after a
noble and illuſtrious confeffion before the Governour's tribunal, he
was succeded in the bishoppriſck of Jerusalem by Mazabanes. In like
manner Babylas having died in priſon at Antioch, after a public
confeffion of the faith, was succeded in that church by Fabius.
How many, and how great sufferings Origen endured at that time,
imprisonment, chains, fetters upon his legs, his feet stretched in
the ſтокs to the fourth hole, for ſeveral days, menaces to burn
him alive, and other torments, the judge all the while carefully
endeavoring, that he might not dye under them, may be fully
known from ſome letters writ by him."

Origen was then in the sixty-sixth or sixty-seventh year of his age.
But neither his age, nor his learning, nor his many works, nor the
greatneffe of his fame, secured him from a ſhare in this trial. And
Alexander, before-mentioned, Bishop of Jerusalem, was also a truly
excellent and valuable man. They who deſire to know more of
him, may see his historie more at large in another (o) place. Origen
survived that trial, being ſet at liberty, at the period of the perfec-
tion. But he died a few years after.

III. The begining of the Decian perfecution (p) muſt be dated in
the year 249. or the begining of 250. But there was a perfecution
raised againſt the Christianſ at Alexandria in the year 248. whilst
other churches enjoyed great peace under the Emperour Philip.
This perfecution laſted a whole year, and was concluded by nothing
but a ſedition and diſturbance among the Gentils themselves. Of
this we have an account in the fragment of a letter of Dionyſius to
Fabius, Bishop of Antioch. That fragment is preserved in Eufebius,
and as the account is authentic, as well as curious, I am induced to transcribe it here. "The (q) persecution with us, says he, had not it's beginning from the Imperial edict: but began a whole year before. A soothsayer and Poet, such as he was, stirred up the multitude of the Gentils against us, exciting them to contend for the superstition of their country. Being stirred up by him, and having it in their power to do as they pleased, they thought, that religion lay in nothing more than killing us. First of all they lay hold of a man of great age, named Metras, requiring him to repeat some profane words. He not doing as they desired, they laid many blows upon his body with clubs, and pricked him in the face and eyes with sharp reeds, and then leading him into the suburbs, they stoned him to death. After that dragging a faithful full woman named Quinta to their idol-temple, they require her to fall down, and worship it. But she refusing so to do, they tied her feet, and dragged her through the city, which is paved with sharp stones, and having dashed her against milestones, and scourged her, they led her to the same place without the city, and stoned her. They then broke into the houses of many pious men, robbing and plundering them of what they had. If they found anything valuable, that they kept for their own use. But lumber, and utensils made of wood, they threw out in the streets: so that the city looked, as if it had been taken by an enemy. However, many of the brethren retired, and saved themselves by flight, joyfully taking the spoiling of their goods, like to those mentioned by Paul. Nor do I yet know of more than one, that fell into their hands, who has denied the Lord. Moreover at this time they laid hold of an admirable virgin, of a great age, named Apollonia. They struck her upon the cheeks, and beat out all her teeth. Then lighting a fire without the city, they threatened to burn her alive, unless she would joyn with them, in pronouncing certain profane words.

That this Persecution was universal.

Dionysius proceeds to relate the consequences of the imperial edict at Alexandria, and other places in Egypt. Some were overcome by fears of suffering, and sacrificed. Others, (divers of which, are named by him,) patiently and courageously endured various kinds of death, under exquisite torture. But I transcribe nothing more here. But it is observable, that many Christians fell in the time of this Persecution. And when it was over, there were in many places disputes about the manner of receiving such as had lapsed, when they desired to be reconciled to the church.

IV. Sulpicius Severus (r) calls the persecution under Decius the seventh persecution, as does (s) Jerome in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers.

(r) Mox Decio imperante, jam tum septima persectione facvitum in Christianos. S. S. v. l. 2. c. 32, al. 46.
(s) Septima autem persecutione sub Decio, quo tempore Babylae Antiochiae passus est, ducibus Cæsaream, et clausus in carcere ob confessionem Christi, martyrio coronatus. De V. I. cap. 62.
Ch. XXX:  **His Persecution.**

Writers, in the chapter of Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem. Orosius (t) also reckons Decius the seventh persecutor of the church, and says, "That by his cruel edicts he sent many of the saints to receive "crowns from Christ for the tortments, which they endured." In (u) Augustin likewise it is the seventh persecution. There can be no doubt, but (x) it was universal, as it was ordered by an imperial edict.

(t) Idem continuo, in quo se etiam ob hoc Philippus interfecisse docuit, ad persequendos interficiendosque Christianos, septimus post Noronem, serralia dispersit edicta, plurimosque sanctorum ad coronas ad Christi de suis cruciatibus misit. Oros. l. 7. cap. 21.
(u) De Civ. Dei. l. 18. cap. 52.
(x) Vid. Basin. ann. 250. num. iv. v.
CHAP. XXXI.

The Emperor GALLUS.

His Time, and that he was a Persecutor.

A. D. 251. DECIUS was succeeded by GALLUS and VOLUSIAN near the end of the year 251. GALLUS is not mentioned among the persecuting princes by Sulpicius Severus, or Orosius, or Augustin, or the Author of the Deaths of Persecutors. Nevertheless he must have been a persecutor.

Says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, "Decius (a) being slain with his sons, when he had not yet compleated the second year of his reign, he was succeeded by Gallus, at which time died Origen in the seventieth year of his age. And Dionysius in his letter to Hermammon speaks thus of Gallus. But Gallus did not attend to the fate of Decius, nor consider what was his ruin. But stumbled upon the same stone, which lay before his eyes. When his empire was in a happy state, and all things succeded according to his wishes, he (b) persecuted those truly holy men, who prayed to God for his health and prosperity. And with them drove

(a) H. E. l. 7. cap. i. (b) Το ἐν τῇ ἔργῳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ πρῶτος τῷ εὐρήτῳ πρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀνωτέρων,

Ibid. p. 250.
Ch. XXXI. **GALLUS and VOLUSIAN.**

"drove away those prayers, which they offered up for him. Thus he writes of Gallus."

As there is little notice taken of this matter by ancient ecclesiastical writers, Pagi (c) argues, that this was only a local persecution, and that it was felt in few places, except Rome, where Cornelius, and afterwards Lucius, Bishops of that City, were banished by this Emperour. As the conduct of Gallus is so particularly mentioned by Dionysius of Alexandria, I have been apt to think, that some Christians suffered in that city, or in the countrys near it. Mosheim’s (d) observations upon this persecution may be consultted.

(c) A. 252. num. x. xii. xvi. : xxi.
C H A P. XXXII.

The Emperours Valerian and Gallien.

I. Valerian's Time, and Character. II. General Accounts of his Persecution from several Christian Writers. III. How long it lasted. IV. Accounts of this Persecution from Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria. V. The Emperour Gallien's Edict, restoring Peace to the churches. VI. Farther Accounts of that Persecution from Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. VII. The remarkable Historie of Marinus, who suffered martyrdom at Cesarea in Palestine, after the publication of the fore-mentioned Edict of Gallien.

A.D. 253.

Valerian having enjoyed many offices and dignities in the State, with great applause, and (a) been highly celebrated for his prudence, modestie, gravity, and other virtues, was proclaimed Emperour in the year 253. And his son Gallien was taken into partnership with him in the same year. It is not needfull

(a) Trebell, Poll. in Valerian. cap. i. ii. p. 172. &c.
needfull for me to enlarge in his historie. But about the seventh year of his reign, in 259, or 260, at the latest, he was taken prisoner by Sapor, King of Persia: Where (b) he lived the remainder of his days in a miserable captivity.

II. He is reckoned the eighth persecutor of the Christians by (c) Sulpicius Severus, (d) Orosius, (e) Auguſtin. The Author of the Deaths of Persecutors does not mention the number of persecutions. Nevertheless he speaks distinctly of this, and says, “that (f) Valerian shed the blood of many righteous men in a short time.” As does Orosius likewise, and says that this persecution was universal, all over the Roman Empire.

III. The persecution began in the year 257, and ended in other parts of the Empire in 259, when Valerian was taken captive by the Persians: but at Alexandria it continued till the year 261, when Gallien overcame Macrian, in whose power Egypt had been till that time. Then Gallien sent the same favorable edicts to Alexandria, which had been sent before to several other parts of the Empire. Dionysius (g) speaks of this persecution having lasted forty two months, or three years and a half: which ought to be understood of Egypt only, not of the rest of the Empire. In that manner some difficulties

(c) Inde Valerianus octavus ſanctorum hostis. S. Sever. l. 2. cap. 32.
(d) Valerianus liquidem, mox ut arripuit imperium, octavus a Nerone, adigipermortenta Chrifianos ad idololatriam, abneganteque interfici juflit, fufo per omnem Roman i regni latitudinem fanctorum fanguine. Valerianus illicco, nefarii auctortiёdi a Sapore Perfarum rege captus, Imperator populi Romani ignominiоe apud Perfas fervitate confenuit. &c. Oros. l. 7. cap. 22.
(e) De Civ. Dei. l. 18. cap. 52.
(f) Non multo poēt Valerianus quoque non difsimili furore correptus, impias manus in Deum intentavit, et multum, quamvis brevi tempore, juflis fanguinis fudit. De M. P. cap. v.
(g) Ap. Eusēb. l. 7. cap. x. in.
IV. Of this persecution we have some authentic accounts in Dionyſius of Alexandria, Cyprian, and his deacon Pontius, all contemporaries, which therefore cannot but deserve our regard.

Says (k) Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie: "In the mean time Gallus being slain, when he had scarcely reigned two years, he was succeeded by Valerian, and his son Gallien. Here it will be worth the while to attend to what Dionyſius says, in his letter to Hermammon. Concerning this too John had a revelation. For he says: And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies. And power was given unto him to continue forty and two months. It is wonderful to observe, how both these things were fulfilled in Valerian. And it deserves to be considered, what he was before: how mild, and how kind he was to the men of God. For none of the Emperours before him were so favorable and benevolent to them: not even those (l) who are said to have been openly Christians: as he was in the beginning of his reign; and his house was full of pious men, and was a church of God. But his master and the chief of the magicians of Egypt, [He means Macrian, prefently afterwards mentioned by name.] persuaded him to alter his measures, telling him, that he ought to kill and perſecute thoſe men, who oppoſed and obſtructed his incantations, and then he might be happy."

Soon after the arrival of Valerian's edict at Alexandria, before the end of the year 257. as (m) seems most probable, Dionyſius was summoned.

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(h) Ann. 261. n. viii. et seqq.  
(i) Ann. 257. num. iii.  
(k) H. E. l. 7. cap. x.  
(l) Meaning, probably, Severus Alexander, and Philip.  
(m) Vid. Pagi ann. 257. n. iv. Boflag.  
(n) Vid. Pagi ann. 257. n. iv. Boflag.
Ch. XXXII. Accounts of his Persecution from Dionysius.

moned before Emilian, then Prefect of Egypt, of which he writes to this purpose in his letter to Germanus. "I (n) came to Emilian, says he, not alone. I was attended by my fellow-presbyter, Maximus: and also by Faustus, Eusebius, and Chaeremon, deacons, and a brother from Rome, who was then at Alexandria. Emilian did not then say to me, You ought not to hold assemblies. For that was needless. Nor was that his chief concern, but that we should not be at all Christians. He therefore commanded me to forsake that way of worship. For he thought, that if I would change my mind, others would do so likewise. I answered, and as I apprehend, not improperly, though in short, We ought to obey God, rather than men. And I plainly and openly declared, that I worship him, who alone is God, and no other: and that I could not alter my mind, nor cease to be a Christian. After which he ordered us to go to Cephro, a small village, near the desert. But it may be worth the while to transcribe here the very words of both of us from the public register. When Dionysius, Faustus, Maximus, Marcellus, and Chaeremon, were brought in, Emilian the Prefect said: I have not only writ to you, but I have also by word of mouth represented to you the humanity of our Lords, the Emperours, which they shew to you. For they grant to you the privilege of living in safety, if you will turn to that which is agreeable to nature, and will worship the Gods, which are the preservers of their empire, and will forsake that which is contrarie to nature. What therefore do you say to this? I hope you will not be ungratefull to their humanity: forasmuch as they endeavor to bring you to that which is right. Dionysius answered. All men do not worship all the Gods. But they worship such as they think to be Gods. We worship and adore the one God, maker of all things, who also has put the empire into the hands of the sacred and august Emperours Valerian and Gallien. Him we worship, and to him we continually pray, that he will prolong

**Prolong their empire in safety and prosperity.** Emilian, the Governor, then said to them again: "Who forbids you to worship him also, if he be God, together with them who are by nature Gods? For you are commanded to worship the Gods, particularly, those, whom all know to be Gods. Dionysius answered: "We worship no other. Emilian, the Governor, then said to them: I see that you are both ungrateful, and insensitive of our august Emperor's lenity toward you. You therefore may not stay any longer in this city, but shall be sent into Libya, to a place called Cepbro. For I have chosen that place for you, agreeably to the order of the august Emperors. Nor shall it be lawful for you, or any others to hold assemblies, or to meet together in the places called cemeteries. If any one does not go to the place, which I have appointed, or is found in any assembly, be brings danger upon himself: for a needful observation will not be neglected. Depart therefore to the place, whither you are ordered. Nor could I, says Dionysius, obtain the delay of one day, though I was sick. At Cepbro he had a large number of the faithful with him, partly such as came thither from Alexandria, partly such as came from other places of Egypt. "And here, says he, God opened a door to us for preaching the word. At first the people of the place were rude, and ready to pelt us with stones: but afterwards, not a few of the Gentils, forsaking idols turned unto God. . . . And, as if for that purpose God had brought us to them, when we had fulfilled that mini- strie, he removed us. For Emilian, as if desirous to send us into some more uncomfortable place than Libya itself, gave orders for dispersing some others in several villages of Mareotis, and us he commanded to reside in the district of Collutbio, near the great road: that we might be the nearer at hand to be brought to Alex-

Afterwards. "Moreover, says (o) Eusebius, the same Dionysius. 

(o) Ibid. p. 260.
Ch. XXXII. Accounts of his Persecution from Dionysius.

"in his letter to Domitius and Didymus writes again of the persecution in this manner. It is needless to mention the names of all our people that have suffered, since they are many, and most of them unknown to you. It may suffice therefore to assure you, that persons of both sexes, and of every age and condition, and soldiers, and country-people, have been victorious in this combat, and have been crowned, some by scourging, some by fire, others by the sword. Nevertheless in all this space of time, some there are, who do not yet appear to be acceptable to the Lord. Me in particular he seems pleased to reserve for some other season, according to the words of the Prophet: In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I accepted thee. Then after a few words intervening, he says: At present I have only with me, Caius and Peter, deprived of the rest of the brethren. And soon afterwards: Some have hid themselves in the city, that they may privately visit the brethren: as Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius, Presbyters. For Faustinus and Aquila, being much known, travel up and down in Egypt. The Deacons that survive after those who have died of the plague, are Faustus, Eusebius, Chaeremon. Eusebius, I say, whom God has qualified from the beginning, and furnished with great resolution and ability for filling the office of ministration to the Confessors in prison, and for burying the bodies of the perfect and blessed Martyrs, not without the utmost peril. For to this very day the Prefect does not cease to treat our people in the most cruel manner, killing some, and torturing others, and making others pine away in fetters and dungeons: forbidding any to be admitted to them, and strictly inquiring likewise, whether his orders are obeyed. Notwithstanding which, such is the courage and alacrity, with which God inspires the brethren, the afflicted are not without the consolation suited to their exigence. So writes Dionysius."

In these fragments of Dionysius's letters, which Eusebius has preserved, and, as I think, judiciously inserted in his Ecclesiastical History,
florio, we have valuable memoirs of Valerian’s persecution. And we see not only the fortitude of those, who were perfected by martyrdom, but also the resolution and courage, the discretion, and the amiable and friendly tenderness of the Christian brethren, in relieving and comforting each other, which are truly admirable and exemplarie.

In the chapter (p) next following Eusebius mentions three men, and a Marcionite woman, at Cesarea in Palestine, who in Valerian’s persecution were condemned to wild-beasts, and were crowned with martyrdom.

V. Then in the next Chapter he writes to this purpose. “But (q) not long after Valerian being taken captive, and reduced to slavery by Barbarians, his son, who then reigned alone, acted more prudently in his empire. He immediately by edicts put a stop to the persecution against us, and gave command, that the Presidents of our religion should be at liberty to perform the usual offices of their function. The edict is to this purpose. The Emperour, Cesar, Publius Licinius Gallienus, Pious, Happy, Augustus, to Dio-

nylius, and Pinna, and Demetrius, and to the other Bishops. I have directed, that the favour of my indulgence, should be published through out the whole world: that all may depart from the places of worship.

You are therefore empowered to make use of this copy of my edict, that none may trouble you. And that you may perform what is lawfull for you to do, has been already granted by me. And let Aurelius Cyrenius our High-Steward observe this edict now given by me. This, says Eusebius, has been translated from the Roman tongue. There is also another edict of the same Emperour, sent to other Bishops, and appointing, that the places called cemeteries should be restored.”

In his (r) Chronicle likewise Eusebius observes, that Valerian being taken captive by the Persians, Gallien gave peace to the Churches.

VI.

(p) L. 7. cap. xii. (q) Cap. xiii. 
(r) Valeriano in Persas ducto, Gallienus nostris pacem reddidit. Chr. p. 176.
VI. I began with Dionysius, and have carried on the historie of Valerian's persecution from him. But as Cyprian suffered martyrdom in this persecution, dying on the 14. Sept. 253, and there are some authentic memoirs of his sufferings, I shall now allege some things from them also.

Cyprian seems to have been one of the first persons in Africa, who was called upon to make public confession in this persecution. And I therefore immediately take the beginning of the Proconsular Acts of his Passion, which I shall transcribe below in the original, and also translate literally. **The (s) Emperor Valerian being Consul the fourth time,**
time, and Gallien the third time, [that is the year of Christ 257.]

on the thirtieth day of August, at Carthage, in the Secretarie's Office, Paternus the Proconsul said to Cyprian the Bishop: The most sacred Emperours, Valerian and Gallien, have vouchsafed to send to me a Letter, wherein they command, that they who do not observe the Roman Religion, should now perform the Roman rites. I therefore have made inquiry after you. What answer do you make to me? Cyprian the Bishop said: I am a Christian, and a Bishop. I know no other Gods, but the one true God, who made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the things that are in them. This God we Chritians serve, to whom we pray night and day, for you, and for all men, and for the safety of the Emperours themselves. Paternus the Proconsul said: And do you persist in this purpose? Cyprian the Bishop answered: A good purpose, agreeable to God, cannot be altered. Can you then according to the command of Valerian and Gallien, go an exile to the city Cucurbis? Cyprian said: I go. Paternus the Proconsul said: The Emperours have writ to me not concerning Bishops only, but also concerning Presbyters. I desire therefore to know of you, who are the Presbyters, that live in this city. Cyprian the Bishop answered: By your own laws it has been wisely enacted, that informers should not be encouraged. Therefore they cannot be discovered and accused by me. But they will be found in their cities. Paternus the Proconsul said: I now inquire after those, who are in this place. Cyprian said: Since our religion forbids men to offer themselves to sufferings, and since it is contrary to your own laws, they cannot offer themselves. But they may be found, if inquired after. Paternus the Proconsul said: They shall be found by me. And be added: The Emperours have also ordered, that no assemblies should be held in the cemeteries, and that none enter into those places. If therefore any one does not observe this wholesome

Com.  

†ibi praeceptum est. Tune Paternus Proconsul judit beatum Cyprianum Episco- 
pum in exilium deportari. Acta Procon-

Ch. XXXII. Accounts of his Persecution from Cyprian.

"command, he shall be put to death. Cyprian the Bishop answered:
"Do as you are commanded. Then Paternus the Proconsul ordered,
"that Cyprian the Bishop should be carried into exile."

His Deacon Pontius accompanied him to the place of his exile, where he arrived on the thirteenth or fourteenth of September, in the same year, 257.

About the same time many others suffered in Africa, upon account of their profession of Christianity. For we have a letter of Cyprian (t) writ during the time of his being at Curubis, which is inscribed to nine Bishops by name, and beside them, to others, Presbyters, Deacons, and the rest of the brethren in the mines, Martyrs of God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Lord.

Whilst Cyprian continued at Curubis, Galerius Maximus (u) succeeded Paternus, as Proconsul of Africa. He recalled Cyprian from his banishment. Who then went to his gardens, or countrey-house, near Carthage, by orders, as it seems, of the Proconsul.

Moreover, as there were many uncertain reports in Africa, Cyprian (x) had sent to Rome, and received thence some intelligence, which

(t) Ep. 76. al. 77.
(x) Sciatis autem eos venisse, quos ad Urbem propter hoc miseram, ut quomodo docunc de nobis rescriptum fuisset, exploratum ibi veritatem ad nos referant. Multa enim varia et incerta opinionibus ventilantur. Quae autem sunt in vero, ita se habent. Referredi vi Galerianum ad senatum, ut Episcopi, et Presbyteri, et Diacones in continentibus animadvertant: Senatores vero, et viri egregii, et Equites Romanis, dignitate amissa, etiam bonis spoliuntur, et si adeo facultatis Christiani esse perseveraverint, capite quoque multentur: Matronae admissis bonis in exilium relegentur: Caesarianae quincunque vel prius confessi fuerant, vel nunc confessi fuerint, conficiuntur, et vincent in Caesarianas possessiones descripti mittantur. Subjicit etiam Valerianus Imperator orationi suae exemplum literarum, quas ad praefides provinciarum de nobis fecit: quas litteras quotidie speramus venire, ftantes secundum fidei firmitatem ad passionis tolerationem, et expectantes de ope et indulgentia Domini vitae aeternae co-
which might be relied upon, and was to this effect, "that the Em-
peror Valerian had ordered by a Rescript sent to the Senate, that
Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, should be put to death without de-
lay, that Senators, and persons of quality and Roman Knights, should
be deprived of their dignity, and their goods: If after that they
perish in being Christians, they should be beheaded: that Ladies of
quality should be deprived of their goods, and sent into exile: That
the Emperor's freed-men, who have confessed, or shall hereafter
confess, shall lose their goods, which are to be seized by the Treasurie:
and that they be sent chained to the Emperor's estate, and that they
be put in the list of slaves to work there. To his own Rescript the
Emperor Valerian has subjoined copies of letters to be sent to the
Presidents of the provinces: which letters we daily expect, standing
prepared for the trial, and hoping to obtain, through the divine aid
and goodness, the crown of eternal life. We are also assured, that
Xistus [the Bishop of Rome] was put to death in the cemeterie
on the sixth day of August, and with him Quartus. We also
learn, that the Prefects in the city are intent to execute the Em-
peror's orders. And if any are brought before them, they are
punished, and their goods confiscated. These things, says Cypri-
an in this letter to Successus, I am desirous should be made known
by you to my brethren, that all may be prepared for the combat,
that now lies before us."

When those orders for the Governors of the provinces arrived at
Carthage, is not certain: but very probably, before the end of Au-
gust.
Ch. XXXII. Accounts of his Persecution from Cyprian.

Galerius (y) Maximus the Proconsul, who had succeeded Paternus, was at Sexti, a place about six miles from Carthage, for the sake of his health. "On the 13. day of September, [A.C. 258.] an officer with soldiers was sent by the Proconsul to Cyprian’s Gardens where he had been some time, to bring him before him. Cyprian’s cause was deferred for that day. The next morning, the 14. of September, he was led to the Proconsul’s palace, surrounded by a mixed multitude of people, and a strong guard of soldiers. "After some time the Proconsul came out into the hall, and Cyprian being set before him, he said: Are you Thascius Cyprian? Cyprian the Bishop answered: I am. Galerius Maximus the Proconsul said: The most sacred Emperors have commanded you to sacrifice. Cyprian the Bishop answered: I do not sacrifice. Galerius Maximus said: Be well advised. Cyprian the Bishop answered: Do as thou art commanded. In so just a cause there needs no consultation. The Proconsul having advised with his Council, spoke to Cyprian in angrie terms, as being an enemy to the Gods, and a seducer of the people. And then read.”

Of Marimus, a Martyr at Cesarea.

"his sentence out of a tablet: It is decreed, that Thaſcius Cyprian be beheaded. Cyprian the Bishop said: God be praised."

That is the account in the Acts of his Passion, which I have translated literally. And Pontius (z) writes to the like purpose. Cyprian was then led away to the field of Sexti, a large level spot of ground, encompassed with trees, the boughs of which were then loaded with spectators. And in the presence of a great multitude of people Cyprian was there beheaded, according to the sentence pronounced upon him, on Sept. 14. in the year of Christ (a) 258.

VII. I have set before my readers some authentic memoirs of Valerian's persecution from Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian of Carthage. There is another remarkable storie in Eusebius, which must not be omitted.

"In (b) the mean time, says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, when peace had been restored to all the churches every where, Marinus, a militarie man, and eminent upon account of his birth and riches, suffered martyrdom for Christ at Cesarea in Palestine. A Centurion's place was vacant. He put up for that office, to which he had a claim by the order of his promotions. When he was about to receive that honour, another appeared before the tribunal, asserting, that according to the ancient laws of the Romans, Marinus could not be admitted into that office, forasmuch as he was a Christian, and did not sacrifice to the Emperours: and that the Office did of right belong to him. Achaeus the judge, being much moved, asked Marinus, what was his sentiments."

(z) S. Cyprian Vit. p. 9. 10. (b) L. 7. cap. xv. (a) If any are desirous to see the history of this Bishop of Carthage, more at large, they may consult The Credib. P. 2. Vol. iv. p. 737. ... 758.
Ch. XXXII.  **Marinus, a Martyr at Cesarea, in 260.**

"Perceiving, that he confidently affirmed he was a Christian, he allowed him the space of three hours to consider of the matter. When the three hours were expired, he returned to the tribunal. And when called upon again, to deliver his sentiments, he made a profession of the faith with greater cheerfulness than before. Whereupon he was immediately had out to be put to death, and so was perfected."

Eusebius adds. "Then (d) Afturius, who is still celebrated for religious zeal and courage, a Roman Senator, and in esteem with the Emperours, who was present at the death of the Martyr, taking up the body, laid it upon his shoulders, and covering it with a rich cloth carried it off, and interred him in a decent manner."

Mr. Mothim's (e) observations upon this remarkable historie are to this purpose. "Marinus was not condemned by the edict of Valesrian, which had been abrogated by Gallien, but by the ancient law of Trajan. For an accuser was received. The man who confessed himself to be a Christian, was required to renounce the faith. When he would not, he was without delay led out to punishment. In (f) this instance therefore, it is apparent, that the ancient laws of the Emperours against the Christians, still retained their force, though milder laws had been enacted: And therefore under

(d) Ibid. cap. 16.
(e) De Reb. &c. p. 557.
under mercifull Emperours, who were lovers of peace, the Presidents might punish Christians, who were accused, and confessed themselves such. The body of Marinus was carried off by Aſsurius, a Roman Senator, and buried. Nor did he suffer for it. The reason is, that by Trajan's law the Judge had no right to punish any, but such as were accused. And there was no body who was willing, or who dared to accuse so considerable and honorable a man, as Aſsurius was.
CHAP. XXXIII.

AMELIUS.

I. His Historie, and Time. II. His Testimonie to St. John's Gospel, with Remarks.

I. The next testimonie will be the noted passage of AMELIUS, a Platonic Philosopher, fellow-disciple (a) and intimate acquaintance of Porphyrie, who wrote against the Christians. AMELIUS, as (b) Suidas says, was of Apamea. Porphyrie (c) in the Life of Plotinus calls him a Tuscan. But then he expressly says, that (d) when Plotinus died, Amelius was at Apamea in Syria. Which may give occasion to think, that he was originally of that place, though perhaps he was born in Tuscanie. Moreover


(b) Αμέλιος, Απαμέας, ϕιλόσοφος, μαθητής Πλοτίνου, καθόσκαλος Πορφύριος, συγχρονίσας Αμελίος κυρίως Οργίνης. Suid.


(d) Τειτυτόντοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἵκων μὲν ὁ Πορφύριος ἐκ τῆς χαράς της Αμελίως Αμελίως, Αμελίως δὲ ἐν Απαμέας τῆς Συρίας. Id. cap. 2. p. 95.
Porphyry mentions a book of his inscribed (e) to Hesychius of Apamea, whom he had adopted for his son. His proper name, as we also learn from Porphyry, was Gentilian. And he chose to have his surname writ with an R, Amerius, as indeed it is in Eunapius, and not Amelius: the last, in Greek denoting negligence, the former, integrity. According to Porphyry’s account, he was the most (f) studious and laborious of all the disciples of Plotinus, with (m) whom he spent 24 years at Rome, from the third year of Philip to the first of Claudius, that is, from the year of Christ 246, to the beginning of the year 269. Amelius (n) was a diligent observer of the sacred rites, which his master Plotinus regarded very little. I have placed Amelius at the year 263, because (o) Porphyry intimates, that he published little or nothing before the tenth year of Gallien, when he had been eighteen years with Plotinus. This will suffice for his historie.

II. “Moreover, says Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical Preparation, "Amelius (p) a celebrated Philosopher among the moderns, and a great..."
Ch. XXXIII. **AMELIUS.**

"great admirer of the Platonic philosophie, though he has not men-
tioned the Evangelist's name, bears testimonie to his doctrine,
saying, in these very words. And this, plainly, was the Word,
by whom, he being himself eternal, were made all things that
are, as Heraclitus also would say: and by Jove the same, whom
the Barbarian affirms to have been in the place and dignity of a
principle, and to be with God, and to be God: by whom all
things were made, and in whom every thing that was made has
it's life and being. Who descending into body, and putting on
flesh, took the form of man: though even then he gave proof of
the Majesty of his nature: nay, and after his dissolution he was
deified again, and is God, the same he was before he descended
into body, and flesh, and man."

I suppose, that all will agree with Eusebius, and other ancient
Christian Writers, that by the Barbarian Amelius intended the Evan-
gelist John, and that he here refers to his Gospel. He calls him
Barbarian, because, though he wrote in Greek, that was not his
native language, and he was of Jewish, or Hebrew extraction: or,
as Cyril (q) expresseth it, he was a Hebrew of Hebrews, and not a
Greek.

This passage of Amelius is a testimonie to St. John's whole Gos-
pel, which I think, he had read.

1. That he refers to the beginning of St. John's Gospel, is mani-
ifest. See Ch. i. 1...4. and ver. 14.

2dly.

*(q) Βέροσαρον ὃς ἦν ὁμω, τὸ πτερυγιον
Ἰωάννα δοκολέε, σιατι τῆς γλώττας τῆς χαρῆ
τὸ ἐτερέσθρον. Ἐβραῖος γαρ ἦν ἐξ Ἐβραίων, ἐν ἐκ
ἀπογ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς χάρας τῇ γυν. Cyr.

contr. Julian, l. 8, p. 283.*
A.M.E.L.I.U.S.  Ch. XXXIII.

A.D. 263.

2dly. He also says, that the Word, after he had descended into body, and had put on flesh, even then he gave proof of the majesty of his nature. Here Amelius must refer to the great works performed by our Lord, as related in the following parts of that Gospel.

3. Finally, Amelius says, that after his dissolution, he was deified again, and was the same that he was before he descended into body. Here, I think, he had in his eye, John xvii. 5. And now, o Father, glorify thou me with thy own self, with the glorie, which I had with thee before the world was. And ch. xvi. 5. But now I go my way to him that sent me. And none of you affecth me, Whither goest thou? Comp. ch. xiv. 4...8. and xx. 17. and other places.

Upon the whole, I cannot but think, that Amelius had read over St. John's Gospel from the beginning to the end.

This same passage is also quoted at length by (r) Cyril of Alexandria, in his Anfwer to the Emperour Julian.

It is likewise quoted by Theodoret in his work against the Gentils. He introduceth it in this manner. "Plutarch (i) also and Plotinus had heard of the sacred Gospels. This is apparent from "Amelius, who presided in the school of Porphyrie. For he greatly "admirs the Proëm to John's Theologie, saying, in these very "words. And this plainly was the Word.

Here is some inaccurracie. Amelius did not preside in the school of Porphyrie. But he was an eminent man of the school of Plotinus, where Porphyrie was also in great repute.

Theodoret from this passage of Amelius concluded that Plutarch and Plotinus were acquainted with our Gospels. It is, I suppose, no more than a probable supposision. Theodoret might be hence led to


to think as much of Plutarch. But we cannot affirm it. We see no proofs of it in his works. Nor can we certainly say, that Plotinus was acquainted with our Gospels, or had read them. But I suppose, it may be reckoned certain, that he had heard of the Christians, and had some knowledge of them. It is manifest from a passage of Porphyrie in his life of Plotinus, which will be alleged in the chapter of Porphyrie.

And it may be reckoned somewhat remarkable, that from the school of Plotinus we have so many testimonies to Christianity. One of his disciples was Porphyrie, who wrote so learnedly and so bitterly against the Christians. Amelius, just quoted, who had read St. John's Gospel, was another of the same school. And Longinus, from whom we shall also have a testimonie, was well acquainted with those two disciples, and their master Plotinus. I think, it may be hence concluded, that the learned men of that time had some knowledge of the Christians. Their reading and considering the sacred books of the Christians, depended upon their inquisitiveness, and opennesse to conviction, in things of religion.

"Augustin speaks of a Platonic Philosopher, who (u) greatly admired the beginning of St. John's Gospel, and said, It deserved to be writ in letters of gold, and to be set up in the most conspicuous place in every Church." Whether that Platonic Philosopher was Amelius, or another, we cannot say certainly.

Basil, in a homilie upon the beginning of St. John's Gospel. In the beginning was the Word, and the word was with God, and the Word was God. Says: "I (x) have known many, who are aliens from the word..."
"word of truth, and boast themselves of their worldly wisdom, who have admired this text, and have also dared to insert it in their own writings." Basil does not name them. And therefore we cannot say, who they were.

I. Says Suidas: "Longinus (a) Cæsius, a Philosopher, master " of Porphyrie the Philosopher, a man of great learning " and exact judgement in things of literature. He flourished in the " time of the Emperor Aurelian, by whom he was put to death, " as an accomplice with Zenobia, wife of Odenatus." After which Suidas mentions the titles of several of his works, and says, he wrote many others.

Longinus Cæsius. He is generally called Dionysius Longinus.

Suidas says, he lived in the time of Aurelian, who did not begin to reign before the year of Christ 270, and by whom Longinus was put to death. Tanaquil Faber (b) says, that Suidas would have expressed

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(a) Longinus Cæsius, philósoφos, ἅπατερ καὶ ἀδήμος Ἡρωδιαν to philósoφo, ποιήματι καὶ κριτικαῖς γνώμησις. "Η εἷς ἐν Ἕρωδιαν τῷ Καῖσαρι καίτα, ἵστατο πρὸς Ζενοβίαν τῷ ἡτὶ ὀδυσσείᾳ γυναῖκι. Suid.

(b) Tanaquilli Fabri notae ad Suidae testimonium. Vid. Longin. ex editione Jac. Tollii.
pressed himself more accuratly, if he had saied, that Longinus flourished under Gordian, Decius, Valerian, Gallien, and Claudius. For, indeed, the reigns of most of the Roman Emperours about that time were very short. Tanaquil Faber adds: "and (c) therefore Longinus was contemporarie with Origen." Which also is another just observation. Photius saies, that (d) Longinus flourished in the time of Claudius, whose reign began in the year 268. I place him at the year of Chrift 264, the twelth of Gallien. For he did not dye before the year 273. And he could not then be young, as may be concluded from the number of his works. And he is always reckoned one of Porphyrie's masters.

His father's name is not known. "His (e) mother was Fronto-nis, sister of Fronto, of Emesa, the Orator, who was at Rome in the time of the Emperour Severus, and afterwards taught rhetoric at Athens: Where he died, when he was about sixty years of age, leaving (f) Longinus the Critic, his heir." So saies Suidas. Nevertheless Longinus did not lose his parents, whilst very young. They (g) accompanied him in his travels. As we learn from a letter of his to Marcellus, a part of which is preserved in Porphyrie's Life of Plotinus: whom (b) he saw, and continued some while with Ammonius, and Origen: probably, meaning Ammonius Saccas, and our Origen, called Adamantius.

Learned men (i) are not agreed about the place of his nativity. Some

(c) Itaque Origeni συγγενεσ fuit Longinus. Fab. ibid. And Longinus is reckoned by Porphyrie among the other Gentil writers, which had been read and studied by Origen. Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 19. p. 220. C.

(d) .. εν Κλαυδια τους επικαιτον. Phot. cod. 265. p. 1470.

(e) Suid. V. Φροταν, Εμεσμωτη.

(f) Και ἐνεργείας Φροτουδος παιδα ἡ τα Αγγια τον κριτιν ελπιδομα κατελιπον. Suid. ut supr.

(g) .. εν ταυταις μεν ἐσπερης εις εν ἑκειν, ητα ταυτα παιδα τους τον εθνος αμα τοις γενεσυς εκειναν. De Vit. Plot. cap. 20. p. 127.

(b) Vid ib. p. 128.

(i) De patria Longini inter doctos multum
Ch. XXXIV. L O N G I N U S.

Some think, he was an Athenian. Others think it more likely, that he was born at Emêsa in Syria: the place of his uncle's, and probably, of his mother's nativity. His connexions with Zenobia, to whom he was master in the Greek language, and privy-counsellor, are proofs of his being in that part of the world in the later part of his life. And (k) there is a letter of his writ to Porphyrie, when in Sicilie, desiring him to come to him in Phœnicia. In his excellent remaining work, Of the Sublime, he (l) reckons himself among the Greeks. And so he might do, and be born in Syria: the people of that country being often called Greeks by ancient writers.

Eunapius says, "that (m) Longinus was esteemed a living librarie, "and walking Museum. He had a kind of established authority, "to judge of ancient authors. If (n) any man presumed to remark "upon an ancient author, his sentence was not allowed of, till the "judgement of Longinus was known." Porphyrie (o) and Zoistius (p) extol Longinus in the like manner.

I must add, that Longinus is quoted by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation, where (q) he calls him a writer of our time. By Photius (r), in the place before referred to, he is called Longinus.
LONGINUS.  Ch. XXXIV.

the Critic. He is also mentioned by (s) Jerome, and (t) Theophylact: and with a view to his distinguishing excellence, his critical skill, upon whose judgement the sentences of all others depended. Not now to repeat any thing of Suidas. I take notice of this, as a proof of the taste, and candour of our Christian ancestors: among whom, as well as among others, a judgement according to Longinus was a proverbial expression, denoting a right judgement.

Zenobia, Queen of the Palmyrens, who also called herself Queen of the East, contended with the Roman Emperours after the death of her husband Odenatus, which happened in the year 267. In the end she was overcome, Palmyra was taken, and she also was taken prisoner. Aurelian then (u) sat in judgement upon her and her people in a place near the city Emesa. When (x) he determined to give Zenobia her life, and reserve her to do honour to his triumph. Many of her Officers and Counsellours were condemned to suffer death, and among them Longinus, who was supposed to have dictated a letter of Zenobia to Aurelian, writ, as the Emperour thought, in a haughty strain. It is manifest from Vopiscus, that this judgement of Aurelian was disliked by many. However, at this time Longinus shewed himself to be (y) not a Philologer only, but a Phi-
Ch. XXXIV.  **LONGINUS.**

Philosopher, and so (x) died, as to comfort those who bewailed his fate.

II. I now proceed to observe some testimonies in the writings of this great critic.

1. In his treatise of the Sublime, which we still have, but not compleat, he says. "So (a) the Lawgiver of the Jews, who was no ordinary man, having formed a just sentiment concerning the power of the Deity, he also declared it in a suitable manner, thus writing in the beginning of his laws: God said: Let there be light, and there was light. Let the dry land appear, and it was so."

Undoubtedly, Longinus refers to the first chapter of the book of Genesis. And as he was convinced, that *Moses was no ordinary man,* and openly declared his high opinion concerning him, it may be reckoned not unlikely, that he had read over his Pentateuch.

From this passage Casaubon in his notes upon Vopiscus argues, that (b) Longinus was a Christian, or much inclined to be so. But that does not appear. For Longinus (c) swears by the Gods, as other Heathens did. We have proofs of it in some of his fragments, undoubtedly genuine.

2. Beside this, there is a fragment of a work ascribed to him, which was first published by Dr. Hudson, and has been since repeated

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(a) Tzet. 8. 1. 1. p. 659.

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A curious Observation on this Fragment.

3. However, I shall here insert some curious observations upon this fragment, ascribed to Longinus, in which a testimonie is given to St. Paul's abilities as an Orator. I have received them from the learned Mr. James Merrick, without any prohibition to publish them. And I believe, my readers will be pleased with seeing them here.

"I transmit to you, says Mr. Merrick, an observation communed to me in conversation some years since by a very ingenious friend, which may deserve to be considered in any future discourse:"

And (d) for a conclusion of this whole discourse concerning "Greek Orators, and their manner of writing, I now just mention "Demosthenes, Lylias, Aeschines, Aristides, Isaeus, Timarchus, "Iocrates, Demosthenes Critinus, and Xenophon, to whom must "be added Paul of Tarsus, of whom I may say, that he first excelled in an argument, which is not of the demonstrative kind."

This Fragment (e) was received by Dr. Hudson from L. A. Zacagni, who transcribed it from a very good manuscript of the Gospels, preferred in the Vatican Librarie. But Fabricius (f) plainly declares his opinion concerning this last clause, relating to Paul of Tarsus, that it is not genuine. Nor have I any thing to say, in favour of it's genuinenesse. Probably, it was added by a Christian.
quiætio concerning the authenticity of the Fragment. Πηνσωθείης
σ και Κρίδνος, is one of the Orators mentioned in it. By which
person my friend understood Dinarchus to be meant, alledging,
that a Commentator on Hermogenes (Syrianus, if I rightly re-
member,) affirms, that Dinarchus was called Πηνσωθείης Κρίνος,
which name, as the above-mentioned Gentleman supposed, was
designed to intimate, that the eloquence of Dinarchus bore the
same proportion to that of Demosthenes, that barley bears to
wheat. From this curious discovery, (for such it seems) made by
my learned friend, who also added, that bordeacus Rhetor occurs
in Suetonius de Illust. Rhetor, cap. 2. I am inclined to draw this
conclusion, That we owe the words, Πηνσωθείης σ και Κρίνος, if
they originally stood in the Fragment, of which I am speaking,
not to Longinus, but to some less knowing Critic, who having
somewhere met with Πηνσωθείης Κρίνος, was not aware, that it
was a name given to Dinarchus, but thought that it had belonged
to an Orator, whose real name was Demosthenes, and who was
also called Κρίνος, in order to distinguish him from the more ce-
lebrated Orator of that name. If therefore we admit the Frag-
ment as genuine, we should, I imagine, read, Πάνεπχος, σ και
Πηνσωθείης Κρίνος.

P. S. Not having an opportunity of consulting the Comments
on Hermogenes, I have looked into Fabricius's Bibliotheca Grae-
ca, and find there Vol. 4. p. 434. Dinarchus mentioned in the
Index of Authors quoted by Hermogenes, and filed Hordeacus
Demosthenes. Again: in the same volume, p. 467. I find him
mentioned in the Index of Authors, taken notice of in the Com-
ments of Hermogenes (but placed by mistake after Diodorus) by
the title of κρίνος Demosthenes."

Whether this Fragment be rightly ascribed to Longinus, or not,
these observations will be allowed to be curious.
NUMENIUS, (a) of Apaméa, in Syria, says Suidas, a Pythagorean Philosopher. This is the man, who charged Plato with stealing from the writings of Moses his sentiments concerning God, and the original of the world, saying: *What is Plato, but Moses in Greek?*

The same saying is in Clement of Alexandria. "And (b) Numenius, the Pythagorean Philosopher, writes expressly: *What is Plato, but Moses in Greek?*

The same is also quoted from Clement by Eusebius in his (c) Evangelical Preparation.

Eusebius, presently afterwards (d) quotes "the first and the third book of Numenius, concerning What is Good: Where Numenius says..."
Ch. XXXV. \textit{NUMENIUS.} 

"us speaks of the rites and institutions of several nations, particularly the Brachmans, the Jews, the Magians, and the Egyptians: and mentions Jannes and Jambres, two sacred Egyptian Scribes, who, when the Jews were expelled Egypt, being reckoned very skillful in the magical art, were by common consent (e) chosen to oppose Mysacus, [meaning Moses,] who was very powerfull in his prayers with God, that they might remove the calamities brought by him upon that countrey."

Numenius is quoted several times by Origen in his books against Celsus. I shall take notice of those places by and by. He is also quoted twice or thrice by Theodoret. I do not recollect, that he is at all quoted by Augustin in any of his Works, nor by Cyril of Alexandria, in his answer to the Emperor Julian. Porphyrie, as quoted by (f) Eusebius, chargeth Origen with reading, and borrowing from Plato, and Numenius, and Cronius. Porphyrie says, that (g) the Commentaries of Severus, Cronius, Numenius, Gaius, and Atticus, Platonic Philosophers, were read in the school of Plotinus. He likewise says, in the same work, the Life of Plotinus, that (b) Amelius was very diligent in learning the opinions of Numenius, and out of them composed Commentaries of near an hundred books. Finally, Porphyrie in his book, \textit{De Antro Nympharum}, quotes (i) Numenius, and his friend Cronius.

From Macrobius (k) we learn, that Numenius was reproached by some

(f) \textit{De Vita Plotini. cap. xiv.}
(g) \textit{Ibid. cap. iii.}
(h) \textit{Ibid. cap. iii.}
(i) \textit{Numenios ευτεροι έναιριοι Κρονιος. De antro Nymph. p. 263. Vid. et p. 271.}
(k) \textit{Numenio denique inter philosophos occultorum curiosiori offensam numinum, quod Eleusinia sacra interpretando vulgaverit, somnia prodiderunt, vietas fide ipfas Eleusianas Deas habitu meretricio ante apertum lupanar ludere profantes. &c: Macro. Somnium Scip. I. i. cap. 2. p. 9.}
some with having divulged, or exposed the Eleusinian Mysteries: and to be avenged of him, Ceres and Proserpina appeared to him in a very strange manner.

We now return to Origen. Who quotes (l) the first book of Numenius the Pythagorean, concerning What is Good, or Concerning the Good: and (m) a book of his concerning the Immortality of the soul. And still once more, after this manner. "I (n) know also, that Numenius, a skilfull commentator upon Plato, and well acquainted with the Pythagorean doctrines, in many places of his writings has quoted the books of Moses and the Prophets, and has allegorized them in no improbable manner: as in his book called the Epops, and in his books concerning Numbers, and those concerning Place. And in his third book concerning What is Good, he relates a historie concerning Jesus, without mentioning his name, and allegorizeth it: Whether rightly, or not, I do not now say to inquire. He also relates a historie concerning Moses, and Janes, and Jambres. Not that I think this a matter to be much boasted of. Nevertheless we have more reason to be pleased with him, than with Celsus, and other Greeks: forasmuch as he had read our Scriptures, and candidly paid a regard to them, as no contemptible writings, and worthie to be allegorized."

To this passage of Origen there is a reference in Grotius Of the Truth of the Christian Religion, or in the notes upon him. Where it

(m) Ibid. l. 5. p. 269. § 57.
(n) Eyd. 1' i9a 7° Numenius tòw Pàvagò-
...tòλλαξὶ δυχαρίματων αὐτῇ εἰκοι-
θήματο τὰ Μακάτα εὖ τὰ τροπαία, εἰ δὲν
ἀπεθάνατο αὐτῷ προπολοχύνεται, ὡσεὶ ἢ τῷ κα-
λεμένῳ Ἑποτί, εἰ ἐν τοῖς πεδίν Ἀρίθμῳ, εἰ ἐν
tοῖς πεδίν τοῖς. Ἐν ἤδε τίτῳ πεδίν τε γαγαθο
πεπεδνάται ἐκεῖν τῇ ἱπατείᾳ ἰορωπὰ τῇ ἄνθρωπο

 οὔτ᾽ ἐν λίγοι, εἰ τροπολογεῖται αὐτῶν πτολεμάων
 ἵνα ἐπιτυχήσωμεν, ἵνα προπολοχύσωμεν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῷ ἐκεῖ ὕπερ...

 Αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ σφυρο-

 ἱμερίας: ἐποτὶς ἐκεῖνος ἑντὸς μᾶλλον Κάῖλον
 καὶ ἄλλοι Εἰλάντων, βαθμίσασας φιλομαθεῖς εἰ τῷ
 μάθησι εἴσταται, εἰ κυρίωθεν ἢ τῷ τροπολο-

 γόμιν: εἰ δὲ μνῆμα συγγραμμάτων. Ib. l.
 4. p. 198. § 51.
it is said; "that (o) divers Heathen Authors have made mention of "Jesus, as Suetonius, Tacitus, the younger Plinie, and many others. "And Origen, in his fourth book against Celsus, lets us know, that "in Numenius, the Pythagorean, there was a historie concerning "Jesus."

Having now, as I think, paid a due regard to the quotations of Numenius, which are in our early Christian writers; I must take the liberty to say, that the time of Numenius is uncertain. And I cannot but doubt, whether he lived after the coming of our Saviour. Says Tillemont: "It (p) is thought, that we ought to place "about the time of Marcus Aurelius the celebrated Philosopher "Numenius, of whom Eusebius and Theodoret have made great "use in their arguments with the Heathens. Theodoret does in "effect say, that he lived after Christ." Nevertheless that manner of speaking seems to shew, that Tillemont hesitated. For Theodoret speaks plainly enough, if we could relye upon him, as accurate, and well informed. Having quoted Plotinus, he says: "And (q) "many other like things are said by him, and Plutarch, and Nu-"menius, and others of that sect. For (r) these men living after "the coming of our Saviour, have joyned many parts of the Chris-
"tian Theologie with their own doctrines." And Origen likewise in the place before referred to, speaks in this manner. First he quotes Chrysippus, and then adds: "The (s) like things may be

(o) Testantur idem et Pagani . . ut Su-
etonius, Tacitus, Plinius junior, et post hos multi. Historiam quandam de Jefu etiam apud Numenium Pythagoricum exstis-
tisse, docet nos Origenes contra Celsum quarto. Grotz de Verit. Rel. Chr. l. 2, §. ii.

(p) . . . Theodoret dit en effet, qu'il a vécu après Jefus Chrifi. L'Emp. Marc Aurele art. 31.

(q) Gr. Aff. l. 2. p. 500.

(r) Metai ἡδὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν οἷς ἐ-
περάσαντες δυτικ δείκνυσι, τοις Χριστιανικοῖς θεο-
λογίας παλιά τοις ἦκασιν ἄνωτέρω λόγοις. Ibid.

(s) Ἠδὲ ἐν τῇ παρα τοῖς μαρτύρων, Ἰ
χθεὶς ἐν πρώτῳ μαρτυρίων. Ut supr. l. 3, §. 57.
Wine unseen in the later Philosophers, who lived not long ago; as Plutarch, and Numenius in his second book of the Immortality of the Soul.

J. Tollius in his notes upon a Fragment of Longinus, where Numenius is mentioned, supposeth, he lived in the times of the (*) Antonins. And Jonfus likewise thought it probable, that (**) Numenius flourished in the time of Antonin the Pious. And indeed it is ease to shew, as Jonfus has done, that Numenius lived before Origen, and some others, who read him, or have quoted him. But I do not perceive any marks of his real time alleged from any.

I therefore am still in suspense. It is, I think, remarkable, that Suidas, who tells us in whose reigns lived Plutarch, and Dion Cassius, and Dion Chrysostom, and Aristides, and Numenius the Orator, and many others, says nothing of that kind of Numenius the Philosopher. He knew, that he was of Apamea in Syria; but does not mention the name of the Emperor, in whose time he lived. And Numenius, as we have seen, is often joined with Plato, and Cronius. But the time of Cronius is uncertain, so far as I know. Nor have I observed any thing in the quotations of the works of Numenius, made by Eusebius, or others, that can determine his age. For any thing that is observable in those quotations he might live, when Gentilism was at its height, and in all its splendour. He was acquainted with the writings of Moses and the Prophets. But I discern not any references to the Scriptures of the New Testament. That history concerning Jesus, which Numenius had allegorized, as Origen says, without naming him, may have been somewhat different from what has been generally apprehended. Perhaps it related to Joshua, successor


successor of Moses in the government of the people of Israel. For if that historie had related to the Lord Jesus, it might be expected, that we should see it repeated over again in Eusebius, or Theodoret, or some other writer, since Origen. After all, as I apprehend, such a reference as that in Origen, is of little importance. He has not quoted the passage; nor so much as hinted what was the subject of the historie.

I could not omit Numenius, as he has quoted Moses and the Prophets, and allegorized some part of their writings. But I know not when he lived. I put him down here, being desirous to joyn him with Amelius, and Longinus, two learned critics and Philosophers. Numenius, as we learn from Origen, made use of Moses and the Prophets, and allegorized some parts of them. If he had lived after the publication of the books of the New Testament, it is reasonable to believe, that he would have made use of them likewise. As it does not appear, that he took any notice of them, it seems to me probable, that he lived before the rise of the Christian Religion.
C H A P. XXXVI.

The Emperour A U R E L I A N.

I. His Time and Character.  II. How the Christians are mentioned by Him in a Letter to the Senate of Rome.  III. His conduct toward Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch.  IV. His Persecution of the Christians.

A. D. 270.  

I. A U R E L I A N, (a) a man of mean original, but of a severe disposition, and a great captain, having performed good services in the times of Valerian, Gallien, and Claudius the second, was, after the death of this last, proclaimed Emperour in the year 270, and died in 275. Some have ascribed to him a reign of six years. But now it is the opinion of the best chronologers, that (b) he did not compleat his fifth year, and died after he had reigned four years and four months, and some days.

H.

(a) Aurellanus, modicis ortus parentibus, a prima aetate ingenio vivacefimus, &c. Vopisc. Aurelian, cap. 4, p. 429.  
(b) Vid. Pagi ann. 275, num. ii. iii. Basii, ann. 270. num. vi.
II. Flavius Vopisicus, of Syracuse, is the sixth and last of the Augustan Writers, but not the worst of them. For he is generally reckoned as learned a man, and as regular an historian as any of them.

In his Life of the Emperor Aurelian he makes mention of a letter of his to the Senate of Rome, writ, probably, in the beginning of his reign in the year 270. or (c) 271. upon occasion of an incursion made into Italy by some people of Germanie.

"There (d) is, says Vopisicus, a letter of Aurelian concerning the Sibyllin Books, which I insert here, to confirm the account, which I have given. I wonder, that you, Holy Fathers, should so long been stated about opening the Sibyllin books: just as if your consultations were held in some church of the Christians, and not in the temple of all the Gods."

The meaning of the Emperor (e) is very evident. The Christians were reckoned a profane and atheistical sort of men, without temples, without rites and ceremonies, or however averse to all the rites of the public establishment. The Emperor tells the Senate, that they were as backward to open those books, which should inform them, what sacrifices ought to be offered up for the good of the publick, as if they were so many Christians met together, who were averse to all sacrifices, and not the Roman Senate, sitting in the temple of all the Gods, the very place of whose assembly admonished them of their duty, to take in the direction and assistance of the Gods in this difficult conjuncture.

\[Q 2\] This

(c) Vid. Basnag. ann. 291. num. ii.  
(e) Vid. annot. in Vopisci &c. et Basnag. ann. 271. num. ii. et ante Dom. 4. num. x. xi.
This passage affords a good argument, that the true Sibyllin books, which were in the hands of the Romans, and were still made use of by them, were full of Heathen superstition, and not agreeable to the Christian doctrine or worship, as some have supposed. This is manifest from the whole context before and after this letter of Aurelian. There are divers other proofs of it, occurring in the Lives of the Roman Emperours, writ by these Augustan Historians, particularly, in the (f) Life of Gordian the Third, writ by Julius Capitoline, and in (g) the Life of Gallien, writ by Trebellius Pollio.

But that is not now our principal concern. The design of alleging this passage is to shew, that Vopiscus the Augustan Writer, and the Emperour Aurelian, were not unacquainted with the Christians and their principles.

However, there is another thing, which may be observed here: That this passage may lead us to think, Aurelian was not free from superstition. And there are some other things said of him, which may concur to support this supposition. For his mother (b) is said by Vopiscus to have been priestess of the temple of the Sun, which was in the place, where his parents dwelled. And this her son appears also to have had a peculiar respect for that Deity. This is an observation for which I am indebted (i) to Mr. Mosheim. And I have


(i) Vixco inter Imperatores, ante Constantinum M. quisquam superstitionis Deorumque commentitiorum studiofior. Mater ejus facerdos fuerat folis: ... et fili
Ch. XXXVI. *His Persecution of the Christians.*

have brought it in here for the sake of some things, which may follow hereafter.

III. For there are some other things concerning this Emperour in Christian writers, which must now be taken notice of.

Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, was deposed by the second Council held in that city upon his account, in (k) the year 269, and Domnus was appointed in his room. But Paul being supported by Zenobia, kept his seat for some time after that, till near the end of the year 272. or the beginning of 273, when Aurelian was master of Antioch. “Paul (l) therefore, says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie, having fallen from the faith, and from the episcopate, Domnus took upon him the care of the church of Antioch. But when Paul refused to leave the house of the church, a petition was presented to the Emperour Aurelian, and he rightly determined the matter, giving orders, that the house should be delivered to them, to whom the Bishops of the Christian Religion in Italie and Rome should write. Thus, as Eusebius adds, the forementioned person was with great disgrace thrust out of the Church by the secular power.”

IV. Upon that historie, and particularly upon that passage of Eusebius, divers remarks were made formerly (m) which need not to be repeated here. I proceed to the only thing farther to be observed con-

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(l) *H. E.* l. 7, cap. 30 p. 282. D.
(m) See the Credib. as before, p. 623. 627.
concerning Aurelian, that by divers Christian Authors he is reckoned among the persecutors of the Church. Sulpicius Severus quite omits him, in his catalogue. Nevertheless Eusebius, presently after the place just cited, adds. "Thus (n) was Aurelian affected toward us at that time, but in the farther advances of his empire, his mind was altered toward us, owing to the advices of some men about him, so that he raised a persecution against us. Much discourse there was every where about it. But the divine justice arrested him, when he was just signing the edicts against us: so, as it were, holding his hand, that he should not perform what he had designd: and thereby manifesting to all men, that the princes of this world can do nothing against the churches of Christ, but when God allows it for our correction and amendment."

In Jerome's Latin edition of the Chronicle of Eusebius it is said, "that (o) when Aurelian had raised a persecution against us, he was terrified by lightening that fell near him and his companions, and soon after he was slain between Constantinople and Heraclea."

Orosius (p) speaks much to the like purpose, and makes this the ninth persecution.

The Author Of the Deaths of Persecutors, says, "that (q) though..."
Ch. XXXVI. His Persecution of the Christians.

"Aurelian was not ignorant of Valerian's captivity, yet as if he had
forgotten his guilt and punishment, he provoked the anger of God
by his cruel proceedings. However, he was not able to finish
what he designed, but perished in the beginnings of his fury.
And before his cruel edicts had reached the more distant provin-
ces, he was slain at a place in Thrace."

Augustin (r) expressly mentions this among the other Heathen
persecutions of the Christians, and reckons it the ninth.

Mr. Dodwell (s) supposeth, that Aurelian's persecution was only
intended, and not put in execution. And indeed Eusebius has so ex-
pressed himself about this matter in his Ecclesiastical Historie, as has
occasioned some learned men to hesitate about it. But upon more
carefully examining his words, and observing the accounts of other
Authors, learned men (t) have generally, and, as I think, very judi-
ciously, determined, that Aurelian not only intended, but did actu-
ally persecute. But his persecution was short, he having died soon
after the publication of his edicts.

Mr. Motham is of opinion, that many Christians did not suffer at
this time. But (u) considering Aurelian's cruel temper, and how
much he was addicted to the superstitions of Gentilism, he thinks,
that if he had lived, his persecution would have exceeded all the for-
mer persecutions in severity.

The

(r) ... Ab Aureliano nomam. De
Giv. Dei. l. 18. cap. 52.

(s) Intentata enim duntaxat erat ab
Aureliano, non item executioni mandata.
De Paucitate M. §. liv. in.

(t) Non intentatam modo, sed execu-
tioni quoque brevissimo tempore manda-
tam, nobis eft in infixum in animo. &c.
Bofag. ann. 275. n. ii. Et conf. Pagi ann.
272. n. iv. ... xii. et 273. ii.

(u) Aurelianus, qui Claudium excipi-
ebat, A. cclxx. etf Diis immodice servi-
ens, et inique de Christianis sentiens, ni-
hil tamen in eos noxium per quadrienni-
um moliebatur. Quinto vero imperii an-
no, five proprla superflitione, five aliena-
motus, bellum in eos parabat. Quod si
vixisset, ut crudelis erat, ferecifque inge-
nii, Deorumque amicitis et sacerdotibus
obnoxius, praeteritis atrocius futurum su-
The Author of the Deaths of Persecutors before cited, says, that Aurelian provoked God by his cruel proceedings, and calls his edicts cruel, or bloody, cruenta scripta. Possibly, that Author, who did not live very long after Aurelian, had seen some copies of his edicts. If so, I wish he had inserted in his volume one of them, or only the substance of them. It would have been esteemed very curious by some in our times. By such neglects, and such want of accuracie, we suffer greatly.
CHAP. XXXVII.

PORPHYRIE.

I. His Time, and Historie, and Works. II. A passage, from Eusebius, of Porphyrie in his third Book against the Christians, concerning Origen, with Remarks. III. Porphyrie's Objections against the Book of Daniel, in the twelfth Book of his Work against the Christians, extrated from Jerome's Commentarie upon the Book of Daniel. IV. Remarks upon those Objections, and upon the Answers made to them. V. Passages of Porphyrie in the fourth Book of his Work against the Christians, where he acknowledgeth the great Antiquity of Moses. VI. An Objection of Porphyrie against the prohibition to eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Gen. iii. 5. VII. Passages of Porphyrie, containing Quotations of the Books of the N. T. VIII. A Review of his Testimony to the Scriptures of the O. and N. T. IX. Passages of Porphyrie.
Porphyrius, concerning the Christian Religion, and the Affairs of Christians. X. Of the Work ascribed to Porphyrius, and entitled, the Philosophie from Oracles.

I. I HAVE already observed several things relating to PORPHYRIUS in the introduction to the chapter of Celsus: where is a general account of all such Heathen Authors as had writ against the Christians.

Porphyrius's historie may be collected from his Life, writ by Eunapius, and from the Life of Plotinus writ by himself. However, I refer (a) also to divers learned moderns, who ought to be consulted by such as are inquisitive.

Porphyrius was born at Tyre in Phenicia, as we are assured by (b) himself, and (c) by Libanius and (d) Eunapius, who also lays, that he was descended from honorable ancestors. It is computed, that he was born in the twelfth year of Alexander Severus, of Christ 233.

His (e) original name was Meleck, which in the Syriac language signifies


(c) Πορφύριος Τύρος μὲν οὖς οὐκ ἔστι καὶ πρῶτο τῶν ἀρχαίων Φαναίων οὐ πάντως καθέπερ εἶ ὡς ἄλλως. Eunap. p. 16.


(e) Μαγχώς δὲ κατά τινα Σύρων πὶλει ὁ Πορφύριος ἐκκλησία τὰ πρῶτα τίτη δὲ ὑπάρχουσα βασιλικὰ λόγια. Πορφύριος δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχουσα βασιλεία τυχὼν, τινὶς ἱεράς καὶ της ισθήτος παράσπαρου τῶν προσφυγιῶν ἐπιτρέποντα. Eunap. ib. p. 16.
signifies King, and with a Latin termination is Malchus. And sometimes he was called in Greek Βασιλεύς King. Longinus, under whom he studied some time, changed his name into Porphyrìe, signifying in Greek Purple, which was usually worn by kings and princes.

He was at Rome in the year 253, but made no long stay there. He came thither again in the tenth year of the Emperour Gallienus, when he was thirty years of age, as he says (*) himself. As the tenth year of that Emperour answers to the year of our Lord 262, or 263, it is concluded, that Porphyrius was born in the year of Christ 233. At that time Plotinus had a school at Rome. And Porphyrius being much taken with him spent there (f) six years under his instructions. At the end of which term, as (g) he says himself, he had a strong propensity to put an end to his own life. Plotinus perceiving it, told him, that thought did not proceed from reason, but from a melancholic disorder, and advised him to leave the City. Whereupon in the year 268, he went into Sicilie, where (b) he was in the second year of the Emperour Claudius, in the year 270, when Plotinus died in Campania.

How long he stay’d in Sicilie, is not certain. But Eunapius says, he (i) afterwards returned to Rome, where he acquired great fame for his learning and eloquence. Eunapius says likewise, that (k) he lived to a great age. And Porphyrius (l) himself in his life of Plotinus mentions something, which happened to him in the sixtieth year of his age: at which time, probably, he was about seventy years old. There can therefore be no reason to doubt, that he reached to the later part of the reign of Diocletian, and died, as

(b) Porph. de Vita Plotini, cap. 2. 6. 7.
(i) Αυτὸς μὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν Ρώμην ἑπαύλητος.
(l) De Vita Plotin. cap. 23.
may be supposed, in the year of Christ 202. or 203. Eunapius sup-
poſeth, that (m) he ended his days at Rome. Suidas says truly, but
without much accuracie, that (n) he lived in the time of Aurelian,
and reached to the Emperour Diocletian. Nor is Eunapius much
more exact, who speaking of Porphyrie, and some others, says, they
(c) flourished in the times of Galienus, Claudius, Tacitus, Aurelian,
and Probus.

Porphyrie, as Eunapius (p) aſſures us, had a wife, named Mar-
cella, a widow, with five children, to whom he inſcribed one of his
books: in which he says, he married her, not for the sake of hav-
ing children by her himself, but that he might educate the children,
which she had by her former husband, who was his friend. Which
shewed a virtuous and generous dispoſition. Nor indeed do we meet
with any reflections made upon his conduct of life. Cyril of Alex-
andria, in his anſwer to (q) Julian, makes honorable mention of
Marcella, as a woman of a philosophical turn of mind, and for that
reafon esteemed by Porphyrie.

Porphyrie is called Bataneotes (r) by Jerome and (s) Chryſoſtom.
Baronius (t) hence argued, that Porphyrie was a Jew, and was so
called from Batanea, a city in Palestine. Which opinion is rejected
by his learned (u) Annotator. Porphyrie, certainly, was a Syrian,
Ch. XXXVII.  

His Works and Time.

as was shewn above from unquestioned authority. Fabricius (x) suspects, that Porphyrie was born at Batanea, a town in Syria, which might be a colonie of the Tyrians. Heuman thought, that (y) Porphyrie did not put his own name to the work against the Christians, but published it under the borrowed and fictitious name of Batanetes. There are divers other conjectures concerning the original of this appellation, which may be seen in (x) Lucas Holstenius, and (a) Tanaquil Faber, and other learned men. Which of them is right, or whether any one of them be so, I cannot say.

Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical Historie, represents (b) Porphyrie as originally a Christian. But having been beaten by some Christians at Cesarea in Palestine, out of resentment and melancholy, he was induced to renounce Christianity. And afterwards out of hatred against those by whom he had been beaten, he wrote against the Christians. And he seems to intimate, that Eusebius had said as much. But nothing of that kind is now to be found in Eusebius. Nor do the words of Socrates clearly import, that Eusebius had said so. Augustin too (c) has been referred to, as confirming this account. But as Tillemont (d) has observed, the connexion of the discourse shews, that Augustin intended no more, than that this Philosopher was too proud to embrace Christianity. Heuman (e) also has considered this story, and rejects it as a mere fable.

(x) Supicor patriam veram ejus suisse
Bataneam oppidum Syriac, ... Tyriorum


(a) Fab. Ep. 1. ep. 64.

(b) Faellet unus γὰρ ἔλησα ἐν Καππαρικῃ
τις Παλαιστίνης ὁτα των Χριστιανών ἐλησα,
ἐγὼ ἐνεχάθι τὸν ὑγιῆ, ἐν μελαχρονίας τὸν
μὴν Χριστιανισμοῦ ἀντιλετέσθαι. Μόνον ὡς τῶν τυπω-
νοστῶν δυνα, ἐκ τὸ βλασφημα κατὰ τῶν
Χριστιανῶν γράφων ἔξεσται, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ
Πάφραίος ἔξηλεξεν, ἀνακεφάλισα τὴν λέγε
ἀπό. Secret. l. 3. c. 23. p. 200.

(c) Quam [sapientiam] si vere ac fideli-
ter annales, Chrif tum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam cognovifles, nec ab ejus
saluberrima humillitate tumore inflatus va-
x. cap. 28.

(d) Diocletien. art. 28.


If
If Porphyrie had ever been a Christian, it was a thing too remarkable, not to have been often and expressly mentioned by Christian authors, who have had occasion to speak of him. And he would have been frequently called an Apostate, as well as Julian.

Porphyrie, as cited by (f) Eusebius, speaks of his having in his youth seen Origen. Some have hence argued, that Porphyrie went to Alexandria, to see Origen. And it is expressly said by (g) Vincentius Lirinenfis. But it must be a mistake. For Origen left Alexandria before Porphyrie was born, having removed thence (h) in the year 231. But Porphyrie may have seen Origen at Cæsarea, or Tyre, where he reided a good while after he had left Alexandria.

Mill in his Prolegomena, a work, which one would not suspect to have been writ in haste, calls Porphyrie (i) Origen's schoolfellow. Indeed Eunapius makes mention of an Origen, whom (k) he so calls. But it is not our Origen. That Origen published but two books only, as we learn from Porphyrie himself in the (l) Life of Plotinus. Which cannot suit so voluminous an author as our Origen. Moreover Porphyrie, in the place, where he speaks of his having seen Origen, acknowledgeth, that he was then in great repute among the Christians).

Divers other erroneous and groundless opinions concerning Porphyrie have been entertained by some learned moderns. Which may be seen confuted in Pagi, and other authors, referred to by me at the begining of this Chapter.

(f) H. E. l. 6. c. 19. p. 219. C.
(h) See the Credibility, &c. Vol. 3. p. 194. 195.
(i) Sub hoc tempore, seu etiam ali-quanto pofl, Origenis condiscipulus, Porphyrius, libros quodam adversus Christianos edidit. Prol. num. 702.
(l) Vit. Plotin. cap. 2.

** Concerning this point may be seen Va-

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Ch. XXXVII. His Works and Time.

Porphyrie's works were very numerous. There is a large catalogue of them in Suidas, though not compleat. His defects are supplied by Fabricius, and Lucas Holstenius. I shall mention but a few of them.

Beside that inscribed to Marcella already mentioned, and his Life of Plotinus, he wrote Of (l) Abstinence from animals, in four books, still extant.

A Philosophical Historie, or Historie of Philosophers, also in four books, quoted several times by Cyril of Alexandria, in his work against Julian: mentioned also by (m) Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical Historie. From Eunapius we know, that (n) it concluded with the Life of Plato.

And, probably, in the first book of that work was the Life of Pythagoras, which we now have, but not compleat.

Against (o) the Christians, in fifteen books. But there is nothing of this work remaining, excepting some fragments, which it is incumbent on me to collect out of several authors, in which they are to be found. He was answered by Methodius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollonarius of Laodicea in Syria. All which confutations of this adversarie of the Christians are entirely lost.

They were all very prolix, as appear from Jerome's accounts of them. That of Methodius (p) consisted of ten thousand lines, Eusebe's.

(l) Περὶ ἀσκητείας μίλησε Δ. Suid.
(m) Πορφύριος μὲν γερὲ τῷ καρπασαντιτοῦ φιλοσοφοῦ Σωκράτου τῷ βίον ἔκαψείν ἐν τῇ γα- γαμμίῳ διὸν φιλοσοφὴ ισρία. Socr. l. 3. c. 23. p. 197. D.
(n) Τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἰσρίαν, κῇ τῷ τῶν φιλο- σοφῶν ἰδίῳ βίοις, ο же Πορφύριος ο Σωκράτης κα- λεύθη παρ' οῦ μὲν Πορφύριος, ἐν τῷ σωματι- δίῳ πλάτωνα ἐπιλάσθη, κῇ τῇ ἑκατὸν χρόνον. Eunap. Fr. p. 102.
(o) Κατὰ Χριστιάνου λόγους τ. Suid.
(p) See a passage before cited from Jer- ome in the general account of the early adversaries of the Christians, Vol. 2. p. 262. to which I now add here some others.

... et contra Porphyrium, qui codem tempore scribatur in Sicilia, ut quidam putant, libri triginta: de quibus ad me vi- ginti tantum pervenerunt. Hieron. de V. L cap. 81.

Exstant ejus [Apollinar. Laod.] adver- fusi,
febe's of twenty books, or more, Apollonarius's thirty books. And the twenty-sixth book, which was taken up in answering Porphyrie's Objections against the book of Daniel, was very long.

It is generally supposed, that Porphyrie's work against the Christians was writ in Sicilie, as is intimated by (q) Eusebius, and (r) Jerome. And by Cave Porphyrie is placed, as flourishing in the year 270, where I also place him. And I do so partly out of regard to Suidas, who as before seen, says, he flourished in the time of Aurelian: whose reign commenced before the end of the year 270. Porphyrie was then almost forty years of age. At that time he was in Sicilie. But I do not recollect any thing that should determine the exact time, when he published his work against the Christians. For he might reside in Sicilie some while. Nor is there any remaining evidence, that immediately after coming into that island, he set about this work. But we know, that it was answered by Methodius, who (s) is supposed to have suffered martyrdom in the year of Christ 311. or 312. near the end of Diocletian's persecution, if not sooner. Eusebius flourished from the year 315. and after. But when his confutation of Porphyrie was published, cannot be said exactly. I think, it (t) was one of his first works, and might be published, before he was Bishop. Porphyrie's long stay in Sicilie was so well known, or so much talked of, that (u) Augustin seems to have thought it to be his native country.

Porphyrium triginta libri, qui inter cetera opera ejus vel maxime probantur. Id. de V. I. cap. 104.


(r) De V. I. cap. 81.
(t) See Credibility, &c. vol. 8. p. 43.

... praefertim quia nonnullas earum a Porphyrio philosopho propositas dixit. Sed non eum esse arbitror Porphyrium Siculum illum, cujus celeberrima est fama. Retract. l. 2. cap. 31. Tom. i.
Ch. XXXVII. His Works and Time.

Socrates, the Ecclesiastical Historian, has preserved a letter of Constantine written soon after the Council of Nice, which was held in 325. It is to this purpose. "As (z) Arier has imitated the impious and profane, it is but just, that he should undergo the same infamy with them. As therefore Porphyrie, that enemy of true piety, has received a fit reward for his impious writings against religion: so that he is made infamous to all future times, and covered with reproach, and his impious writings have been destroyed; so now it is decreed, that Arier and his followers should be called Porphyrians, that they may bear the denomination of those whom they have imitated. And if any writing of Arier is found, it should be burnt." And what follows.

From which, I think, it may be concluded, that before that time, there had been an order for destroying all the books of Porphyrie against the Christian Religion. But that edict had not its full effect. For Apollinarius, who wrote so voluminous a confutation of Porphyrie, did not flourish till after the middle of the fourth century. And Libanius, who lived at the same time, was (a) pleased to give a preference to Julian's work against the Christians to that of Porphyrie, the Tyrian old man, as he calls him. Which implies a supposition, that he had read what Porphyrie had written upon that subject, or, at least, that it was then extant. And Jerome, in his works, writ in the later part of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth century, has made large extracts out of some parts of that work of Porphyrie. Finally, there was a new edict (b) of Theodosius the Younger in 449, for abolishing the works of Porphyrie. Which affords reason to believe, that they subsisted, and were in being, till that time.

There

(z) Socr. l. 1. cap. ix. p. 32. (a) Vide Socrat. H. E. l. 3. cap. 23. in.
(b) See before. Vol. 2. p. 263.
There is another work, which is now generally ascribed to Porphyry, and is quoted as his by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation and Demonstration. It is entitled, "Of (c) the Philoſophie from 'Oracles.' I formerly declared my opinion (d) concerning it, that it is not genuine. Before we conclude this chapter, we shall have occasion to speak more distinctly about that work.

A Passage concerning Origen.

II. The first passage of Porphyry, which I shall transcribe, will be taken from Eusebius, who, in the sixth book of his Eccleſiaſtical Historie, speaking of Origen, says, that many of the Greek Philoſophers, who were his contemporaries, had made honorable mention of him, and some had dedicated books to him. "But, as he adds, what need I to infift on them, when Porphyrie (e) who in our time, whilst he was in Sicilie, wrote againſt us, and endeavored to disparage our Scriptures, speaking of thoſe who had interpreted them, for want of arguments, betakes himself to railing, and reviles thoſe interpreters, and among them especially Origen: whom, as he says, when he was young, he was acquainted with. "But let us hear his own words, which are theſe. Some, says (f) be, determined not to fee the depravity of the Jewish Scriptures, but to find out a ſolution of objections that may be brought againſt them, have adopted forced interpretations: ſolvent in ſolventes, and ſuch as ſhould not only be a vindication (c)
Ch. XXXVII.  His Character of Origen.

"cution of those absurdities, but afford likewise a recommendation of their own particular opinions. For having given out, that the things delivered plainly by Moses, are types and allegories, and pretending that those writings are inspired, and to be looked upon, as oracles full of hidden mysteries, and having by this means captivated the judgments of men, they with a critical pride and vanity, set forth their expostions. And afterwards, (f) as be goes on: An example of this absurd method may be observed in a man, whom I saw, when I was very young, who was then in great esteem, and is so still, for the writings which he has left behind him. I mean Origen, whose authority is very great with the teachers of this doctrine. For he being a bearer of Ammonius, who was so eminent in our time for skill in philosophy, in point of learning made great improvements by the inscriptions of that matter, but with regard to the right way of life took a quite different course from him. For Ammonius, a Christian by birth, and brought up by Christian parents, as soon as he was arrived to maturity of age, and bad gained a taste of philosophy, returned to the way of life prescribed by the laws. But Origen, a Greek, and educated in the Greek sentiment, went over to the barbarian temerity: to which he was devoted himself, and corrupted himself, and the principles of literature, which he had received: as to his life, living as a Christian, and contrary to the laws: with regard to his sentiments concerning things, and the Deity, a Greek, and joining Greek sentiments with their absurd fables. For he was very conversant with Plato, and Numenius, and Cronius, as well as with the writings of Apollonius, and Longinus, as also of Moderatus, and Nicomachus,

(f) Ἀπειράτη γὰρ ὦτος Ἀμμοῦνί...
PO R PH Y R I E.  Ch. XXXVII.

A. D. 270.

"and other learned Pythagoreans. He also read the works of the Stoic Chae-" "remon, and of Cornutus. When he had learned from them the allegorical method of explaining the Greek mysteries, he applied it to the Jewish Scriptures. So writes Porphyrie in the third book of his work against the Christians."

Upon this passage we may make a few remarks.

1. Eusebius supposeth, that Porphyrie's book against the Christians was writ in Sicilie. The same is intimated by (g) Jerome.

2. Porphyrie speaks of his having in his youth seen Origen. Some have hence concluded, that Porphyrie went to Alexandria on purpose to see Origen. But that must be a (h) mistake, as was shewn just now.

3. Porphyrie calls Origen a Greek, and says he was educated in the Greek sentiments, but afterwards, when grown up, he embraced the Christian Religion. All which Eusebius, who must have well known Origen's historic, shews to be false. Origen's father, Leonidas, was a Christian, and a Martyr for the Christian Religion. Certainly, I think, our Ecclesiastical Historian's account may be relied upon, as (i) was formerly observed. This mistake of Porphyrie, in my opinion, affords a good argument to believe, that he was not originally a Christian. If he had, he could not have been so strangely ignorant about Christian affairs.

4. From this passage we can conclude, that in the third book of his work, as well as elsewhere, Porphyrie made objections against our Scriptures, and the Christian interpretations of them.

5. None can forbear to observe Porphyrie's manner of speaking of the Christians, and the Christian Religion. This he calls the barbarian temerity. They who embraced it, acted contrarie to the laws:

(g) ... et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribavit in Sicilia. De V. I. cap. 81.

(h) Vid. Valis. in loc.

(i) See Credib. P. 2. Vol. 3. p. 184. ...
His Character of Origen.

laws: they who forsook it, returned to the way of life prescribed by the laws. This way of speaking seems not so very becoming a Philosopher, who should follow the dictates of reason, whether they have the encouragement of human authority, or not. However, we hence perceive, that Christianity was not so encouraged at that time, though perhaps it was not openly persecuted. And, I humbly conceive, that they who then embraced a life contrarie to the laws, may be reasonably supposed to have been as honest and understanding men, as they who in all things complied with the laws. They who lived a life contrarie to the laws, must have practised some self-denial. Which they would not have done, without some reason for it.

III. I shall now allege Porphyrie's Objections against the book of Daniel, which was in the twelfth book of his work against the Christians.

1. In the first place I shall transcribe a part of St. Jerome's preface to his Commentarie upon the Prophet Daniel, writ about the year 410. or sooner.

"The (k) twelfth book of Porphyrie, says Jerome, was writ a-

(4) Contra Prophetam Danielem duodecimum librum scripfit Porphyrius, non eum ab ipso, cujus inscriptus est nomine, esse compositum: sed a quo- dam, qui temporibus Antiochi, qui appellatus est Epiphanes, fuerit in Judaea: et non tam Danielem ventura dixisse, quam illum narrasse praeterita. Denique quic- quid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiae continere: si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura necierit, esse mentitum. Cui folertiissime respondenter Caesariensis episcopus tribus voluminibus, id est, octavo decimo, et nono decimo, et viceverso: Apollinarus quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est viceverso sexto: et ante hos, ex parte, Methodius. Verum, quia nobis propositum est, non adversarii calumniis respondere, quae longe sermo- ne indigent: sed ea quae a Prophetae dicta sunt, nostris diisse, id est, Christi- anis, illud in praelectione commoneo, nul- lum Prophetarum, tam aperte dixisse de Christo. Non enim solum scribit eum venturum, quod est commune cum ceteris: sed etiam quo tempore venturus sit, docet, et reges per ordinem digerit, et an- nos enumerat, ac manifestissima signa praec-
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Porphyrius

But it was not writ by him whose name it bears, but by another, who lived in Judea in the time of Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes:

and that the book of Daniel does not foretell things to come,
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"but relates what had already happened. In a word, whatever it contains to the time of Antiochus is true historie. If there is any thing relating to after times, it is all falsehood: forasmuch as the writer could not see things future, but at the most only make some conjectures about them. To him several of our authors have writ answers with great labour and diligence, in particular, Eusebius, Bishop of Cesarea in three volumes, the 18. the 19. and the 20. Apollinaris also, in one large book, that is, the 26. and before them, in part, Methodius. As it is not my design to confute the objections of the adversary, which would require a long discourse, but only to explain the Prophet to our own people, that is, Christians: I shall just observe, that none of the Prophets have spoken so clearly of Christ, as Daniel. For he not only foretells his coming, as do the others likewise: but he also teaches the time when he will come, and mentions in order the princes of the intermediate space, and the number of the years, and the signs of his appearance. And because Porphyrie saw all these things to have been fulfilled, and could not deny, that they had actually come to pass, being overcome by the power of truth, he was compelled to say, as he did: and because of some similitude of circumstances, he asserted, that the things foretold as to be fulfilled in Anti-christ at the end of the world, happened in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Which kind of opposition is a testimonie of truth. For such is the plain interpretation of the words, that to incredulous men the Prophet seems not to foretell things to come, but to relate things already past. And though, as before said, it is not my intention to confute all his objections, I shall, as occasion offers, take notice of some of his weak arguments. And it may be proper for us, among other things to observe now, that Porphyrie argued, that the book of Daniel was not genuine, because it was writ in Greek, and therefore certainly was not the work of any Jew, but the forgerie of some Greek writer. This he argued from some Greek words, which are in the fable of Sua-
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Sanna. To which both Eusebius and Apollinarius returned the same answer: That the fabulous stories of Sanna, and Bel, and the Dragon, are not in the Hebrew, and are said to have been composed by a person of the tribe of Levi: whereas the sacred Scripture assures us, that Daniel and the three children, his companions, were of the tribe of Judah. And they said, they were not accountable for what was not received by the Jews, nor was a part of the sacred Scriptures...It ought to be farther observed, that in order to understand the later parts of the book of Daniel, an acquaintance with many Greek historians is absolutely necessary, such as Suctorius, Callinicus, Diodorus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Pessidionius, Claudius, Theon, and Andronicus, surnamed Alipius, whom also Porphyrie says he had followed: as likewise Josephus, and Livie, and Pompeius Trogus, and Justin, who all relate the historie of the last vision, and write the historie of the wars of Syria, and Egypt, that is, of Seleucus, and Antiochus, and the Ptolomees, from the time of Alexander to the Roman Emperor Augustus. And if I also consult these profane authors, it is out of mere necessity, that I may shew the fulfillment of the ancient prophecies, from the writings of Greek, and Latin, and other authors.

From all which we perceive, that Porphyrie's work against the Christians was much labored, and that in this argument he displayed all his learning, which was very considerable. Hence also we can perceive the difficulty of undertaking an answer to him: for which very few were fully qualified: In which none of the Apologists for Christianity seem to have answered expectations. The preface of Jerome to his commentarie upon Daniel, which I have now so largely quoted, is supposal to have been writ about the year 407. as before said. In the preface to his Latin translation of Daniel from Hebrew, computed to have been made in 392. or sooner, he says:

"The (l) objections of Porphyrie against this book are well known from

(l) Quae autem ex hoc Propheta, immo contra hunc librum, Porphyrius ob-
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from Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius, who have writ prolix answers to him. I cannot say, whether they have satisfied the curious reader.

Thus writes Jerome, with great freedom, as may be supposed. In short, Porphyrie was a formidable adversary. The Publick was satisfied with Origen’s one answer to Celsum. For we hear not of any other attempted afterwards. But against Porphyrie, after Methodius, wrote Eusebius, and after him Apollinarius, these two last, especially, very large volumes. And yet all together seem not to have made out a compleat answer.

I now intend to transcribe several articles of Jerome’s Commentary upon Daniel, in which some notice is taken of Porphyrie.

2. Dan. ii. 40. And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things..." Which, " as Jerome (m) observes, plainly denotes the Romans." And afterwards:


Jerome in one place intimates, that very many had writ against Celsum and Porphyrie. Adversum impiiimos Celsum atque Porphyrium, quanti scripserunt nostrorum? Advers. Rufin. l. 3. T. 4. p. 472. But that may be principally intended of Porphyrie, against whom several had writ, as we have seen. And many Christian writers may have, in their works, occasionally confuted Celsum. But it does not appear, that any, beside Origen, had writ against him on set purpose. Nor did Jerome know of any other: as is evident from the manner of his expressi

Vol. III.
But in the end of all these kingdoms, of gold, silver, brass, and iron, was cut out [see ver. 34. and 45.] a stone, which denotes our Lord and Saviour, cut out without hands, that is, born of a virgin, without the concurrence of man. Which, breaking in pieces all the other kingdoms, became a great mountain, and filled all the earth. Which the Jews and the impious Porphyrie refer to the people of Israel, who in the end of the world, as they will have it, shall be very powerful, and break in pieces all other kingdoms, and reign for ever."

3. Ver. 46. 47. Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell on his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded, that they should offer an oblation, and sweet odours unto him. "Upon this place (n) Porphyrie says, it is not reasonable to believe, that a proud King should worship a captive: as if, says Jerome, it were not true that the Lycaonians intended to offer sacrifices to Paul and Barnabas, when they were surprised at the greatness of the miracles, which they had seen. [Acts xiv.] The fault lies in the Heathen people, who reckon every being above them to be a God. The Scriptures are not to be blamed, which only relate things truly, as they happened.
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"pened. And it may be said, that the King himself sufficiently explains the grounds of his worship, and his offering sacrifices, and incense, in his own words, which follow. Ver. 47. The King answered unto Daniel, and said: Of a truth it is, that your God is a God of Gods, and a Lord of Kings, and a revealer of secrets: seeing, thou couldst reveal this secret. Therefore the King did not so much worship Daniel, as God in Daniel, who had revealed those secrets."

And lest that solution should not satisfy, Jerome proposeth another, which I need not mention.

4...ver. 48. Then the King made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts. "Here, says (a) Jerome, the reviler of the Church, (probably, meaning Porphyrie, the same that had been mentioned before:) takes upon him to blame the Prophet for not refusing those gifts, and for readily accepting Babylonish honours: not considering, as Jerome adds, that therefore the King had the dream, and the secrets of it had been revealed to Daniel, that he might rise, and in the place of his captivity, be made Chief of all the Chaldeans, that the Divine Omnipotence might be made known." Jerome goes on to say, "That the like favours had been shewn to Joseph in Egypt, in the time of Pharaoh, and to Mordecai in the time of Aha suerus: that in both places the Jewish people, who were there captives and strangers, might be com-

"forted, and supported, beholding a man of their own nation made "Lord of the Egyptians and Chaldeans."

5. Having recited the first three verses of the fourth chapter, Jerome says: "The (p) letter of Nebuchadnezzar is inserted in the "volume of the Prophets, that the book might not be afterwards "thought to be a forgerie, as a certain sycophant pretends, but might "be known to be the book of Daniel himself."

6. Ch. v. ver. 10. Now the Queen, by reason of the words of the King, and his lords, came into the banqueting-house. "Her, (q) Josophus reckons the grand mother of Belshazzar: Origen calls her "his mother. She therefore was acquainted with the things past in "former times, which the King was ignorant of. Let Porphyrie "then awake, who dreams, that she was Belshazzar's wife: and "ridicules her for knowing more than her husband."

7. Ch. vii. ver. 7. After this I saw in the night-visions, and behold, "a fourth beast and it had ten horns." Porphyrie, says (r) Jerome, "puts the two last beasts, that of the Macedonians and Romans, in "the one kingdom of the Macedonians. And then divides it in this "manner.

(p) Epistola Nebuchodonosor in Prophetae volumine ponitur: ut non fictus alio postea liber, sicut sycophanta mentit, sed ipsius Danielis esse credatur. P. 1087.


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"manner. By the leopard he understands Alexander himself, and "the beast, _divers from the others_, he supposes to mean the four "successors of Alexander: and then he computes ten Kings, till the "time of Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, who were exceeding "cruel. And those Kings he reckons not of one and the same "kingdom, for instance, Macedonia, Syria, Asia, or Egypt. But "out of divers kingdoms he forms one succession of Kings. This "he does, that those words, _a mouth speaking great things_, may be "understood to relate, not to Antichrist, but to Antiochus."

Doubtless, this way of interpretation best suited Porphyrie's notion, that the book of Daniel was not prophetic, but only related events to the time of Antiochus. However, it may not be amiss to consult Grotius, as well as other Commentators upon this place.

8. **...ver. 9. I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another little horn...** And, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things.

"In (s) vain does Porphyrie imagine, that the little horn, which "came up after the ten horns denotes Antiochus Epiphanes. There-"fore let us say, as all the writers of the Church have delivered it "to us, that in the end of the world, when the Roman Empire is "to be destroyed, there shall be ten kings, who will divide the "Roman government among themselves..." And what follows.

Upon this place likewise Grotius might be consulted by such as are curious.

9. **...ver. 14. And there was given him a kingdom, that all people,**

(!) Frutria Porphyrius cornu parvulum, quod post decem cornua ortum est, Epiphanem Antiochum suspicatur... Et ergo dicamus quod omnes scriptores ecclesiasticci tradiderunt: In consummatione mundi...
PORPHYRIE.  Ch. XXXVII.

nations, and languages, should serve him. His dominion is an everlast-
ing dominion . . . and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

"Let (t) Porphyrie answer, to whom among men this can agree:
"or, who is so powerfull, as to break in pieces, and trample upon
"the little horn, which he takes to be Antiochus? If he answers,
"that the Generals of Antiochus were overcome by Judas Maccabe-
"us, he ought to shew, how he came with the clouds of heaven, as the
"son of man: and how he was brought before the Ancient of days:
"and power, and a kingdom was given unto him: so that all people,
"and nations, and languages, should serve him: and his kingdom
"should be everlasting, and without end."

10. Ch. ix. 1. In the first year of Darius, the son of Abafluerus,
of the seed of the Medes, which was made King over the realm of the
Chaldeans. Ver. 2. In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understand
by books.

"This (u) is Darius, who together with Cyrus overcame the
Chaldeans and Babylonians, and not that Darius, in whose second
year the temple was built: as Porphyrie pretends, that he may
bring down the times of Daniel the lower: or he, who was over-
come by Alexander the Macedonian."

This Darius, as learned moderns (r) observe, is the same, who,
by

(t) Hoc cui potefl hominum convenire, respondet Porphyrius: aut quis tam po-
tens sit, qui cornu parvulum, quem Antio-
chum interpretatur fregerit, utque con-
triverit? Si responderit, Antiochus prin-
cipes a Juda Maccabaeo siffle superatos,
docere debet, quomodo cum coeli nubi-
lus veniat, quasi filius hominis: et offe-
ratus vetusto dierum, et detur ei poteflitas,
et regnum, et omnes populi, tribus, ac
linguae serviant illi: et poteflitas ejus ae-
terna sit, quae nullo fine claudatur. P. 1103.

(u) Hic eft Darius, qui cum Cyro
Chaldaeos Babyloniosque superavit, ne
putemus illum Darium, cujus secundo
anno templum aedificatum est, (quod
Porphyrius sulpicatur, ut annos Danielis
extendat,) vel eum, qui ab Alexandro,
Macedonum rege, superatus eft. P. 1107.

See Prideaux Connexion, at the year
before Christ. 612. Vol. i. p. 48. and Lowth
upon Dan. ix. 1.
Ch. xxxvii. His objections against the Book of Daniel.

by Heathen historians, is called Cyaxares, the son of Ašyages. Porphyrion (x) is here much blamed by Grotius, for his insinuation, to the prejudice of the real time of Daniel, writer of this book.

11. Ch. xi. ver. 20. Then shall stand up in his estate a raifer of taxes, in the glory of the kingdom. But within a few days be shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle.

"He (y) intends Seleucus, surnamed Philopater, son of Antiochus the Great, who did nothing worthie of his father, or the kingdom of Syria, and died ingloriously. Porphyrion will have this person not to be Seleucus, but Ptolomee Epiphanes . . against which Jerome proceeds to argue." For this likewise Porphyrion is corrected by (z) Grotius.

12. Upon ch. xi. 21 . . . 24. Jerome remarks. "Such (a) is the order

(x) In anno primo Darii:] id est, Nabonodii, ut supra dictum. Improbe Porphyrion, ut Danielem ferius vixisse imperitis persuasione, hunc Darium eum vult esse, ab quo templum eft restitutum. Gr. in Dan. ix. 1.


(z) Illud, stabit in loco ejus, et Porphyrion refutat, qui haec ad Ptolomaeum Epiphanem Aegypti regem trabebat, et Hebareae, qui ad Tryphonem Antiochi Sedetae tuorem. Gr. ad cap. xi. 20.

(a) Hucusque ordo historiae sequitur, et inter Porphyrion ac noster nulla contentio est. Cetera quae sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis ille interpretatur super persona Antiochi, qui cognominatus est Epiphanes, filius Antiochi Magni, qui post Seleucum undecim annis regnavit in Syria, obtinuitque Judaeam: sub quo Legis percuti, et Machabaeorum bella narratur. Nostrum autem haec omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbitrantur, qui ultimo tempore futurus est. Quumque multa quae postea lectur et expositionem sumus, super Antiochi persona conveniunt, typum eum volunt Antichristi habere: et quae in illo ex parte praeeffertint, in Antichristo ex toto esse complenda. Et hunc esse more scripturae sanctae, ut futurorum veritatem praemittat in typis, iusta illud, quod, in Domino Salvatore, in septuagesimo primo psalm dicitur, qui praenotatur Salomonis: et omnia quae de
order of the historie. Nor is there here any difference between
Porphyrie and our people. The rest, which follows to the end
of the volume, he interprets of Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of
Seleucus, son of Antiochus the Great, who after Seleucus reigned
eleven years in Syria, who subdued Judea: in whose time hap-
pened the percution of the Jewish laws, and the wars of the
Maccabees. Our people suppose, that all these things are pro-
phetical of Antichrist, who will appear in the last days of the
world. As many things in the following part of this book agree
to Antiochus, they say, he was a type of Antichrist: and that
those things, which were partly verified in him, will be more
fully accomplished in Antichrist. This, as Jerome says, is the
manner of Scripture, which before-hand represents in types what
will be more compleatly fulfilled afterwards. So what is said in
the 72. Psalm of Solomon cannot all agree to him. In part, and
as in a shadow, and figures, they are said of him, but are more
compleatly fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour. As therefore our
Saviour had for types Solomon, and other saints; so Antichrist is
to be thought to have had a type of himself in that bad prince
Antiochus, who persecuted the saints, and profaned the temple.
However, says Jerome, let us observe Porphyrie's exposition, as
well as our own. In the room of Seleucus, as he and his follow-
ers say, came up, his brother Antiochus Epiphanes, who did such
and
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"and such things... All these things, which I have thus rehearsed "compendiously, Porphyrie, following the guidance of Suétorius, "has drawn out with great prolixity, in an insinuating manner. "But our people more truly and justly explain this of Antichrist; "who shall appear in the end of the world."

In his annotations upon ver. 21. Grotius (b) expresseth an earnest with for Suétorius, and other writers, made use of by Porphyrie, for explaining what follows. In the mean time, he says, we must do the best we can with what we have.

13. Upon ver. 25. and 26. of the same xi. ch. Jerome goes on: "These (c) things Porphyrie explains of Antiochus... But our peo "ple, according to the forementioned sense... interpret all of An "tichrist."

14. I forbear to take any thing from Jerome's comment upon ver. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33.

15. Ver. 34. Now when they shall fall, they shall be bolden with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. Ver. 35. And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed.

"By (d) the little help Porphyrie supposes to be intended Matta-

(b) Magno velim ad explicanda quae sequuntur Suétorium mihi dari, quo ufus olim Porphyrium. Eum multosque alios cum non habeamus, utendum nobis iis scriptoribus qui refellant, et iis quae ex Porphyrio nobis dedit Hieronymus. Gr. in Dan. xi. 21.

(c) Haec Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adversus Ptolomeum, soris suae filium, profectus est cum exercitu magno... Nostri autem, secundum priorem sententiam, interpretantur omnia de Antichristo. P. 1128.

(d) Parvulum auxilium, Mattathiam...
Porphyrius, Ch. XXXVII.

"Mattathias, of the town of Modin, who rebelled against the Generals of Antiochus, and endeavored to uphold the worship of God. He calls it, he says, a little help, because Mattathias was killed in battle, and afterwards his son Judas, called Maccabaeus, fell also. And his brothers were imposed upon by the treacherie of their adversaries. Read the books of the Maccabees. All these things, as he says, were therefore done, that the pious might be tried, and purified, and made white, to a certain time: because the victory was deferred to another time. But our people explain the little help under Antichrist, after the following manner."

16. Ver. 36. And the king shall do according to his will. And he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper, till the indignation be accomplished. For that is determined shall be done.

"This also says Jerome, we understand of Antichrist. But Por..."
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"Porphyrie, and they who follow him, think it to be said of Antiochus Epiphanes, who set up himself against the worship of God, and arrived at such pride, as to order his own statue to be set up in the temple at Jerusalem. And shall prosper, till the indignation be accomplished. This they understand after this manner. That he should prevail, till God is offended with him, and appoints his death. Forasmuch as the historians, Polybius, and Diodorus, relate, that he did not only oppose himself to the God of Judea, but likewise, that moved by avarice, he attempted to plunder the temple of Diana in Elymais, which was very rich: but was hindered by the guardians of the temple, and by neighboring nations: and that having been agitated by terrifying thoughts and apprehensions he became mad, and so expired. They say, this happened, because he had attempted to violate the temple of Diana. We say, if that was his end, it befell him, because he had exercised great cruelty toward the saints of God, and had polluted his temple. For it is more reasonable to think, that he was punished for what he had done, than for what he had only attempted to do, and then forbore from an apprehension of guilt."

17. Afterwards, in his comment upon ver. 44-45. Jerome again observes what Porphyrie said concerning the death of Antiochus, which he had collected out of divers authors: "Which is, (f) that having interiisse. Et hoc ei accidisse commemorant, quia templum Dianae violare conatus est. Nos autem dicimus, etiam si, accidisset ei, ideo accidisse, quia in sanctos Dei multum exercuerit crudelissimum, et pollsuerit templum ejus. Non enim pro eo quod conatus est faceret, et aucta poenitentia defivit implere, sed pro eo quod fecit punitus esse credendus est. P. 1131.

(f) Et in hoc loco Porphyrius tale nec cicio quid de Antioco socrmat. Pugnans, inquit, contra Aegyptos, et Libyss Aethiopique pertransitiis, audiet sibi ab Aquilone, et ab Oriente proelia concitari: unde et regrediens capiet Aradios refilentes... Et veniet, inquit, ubique ad summatem ipius montis, in Elimaiide provinciis, quae est ultima Perfarum ad Orientem
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"having gone into the East, when he came into the province of Elimais, the remotest country of the Persians lying that way:

when he attempted to plunder the temple of Diana, which had in it abundance of rich offerings, he was put to flight by the barbarians, who greatly respected that temple, and died overwhelmed with grief in Tabes, a city of Persia. This he writes by way of argument against us in a very artful manner. And if he could shew, that those things are said, not of Antichrist, but of Antiochus; what is that to us, who do not attempt to prove the coming of Christ, nor of his opposite, Antichrist, out of every text of Scripture? Allowing these things to be said of Antiochus, what prejudice is that to our cause? Rather let him set aside doubtfull things, and keep to such as are clear. Let him say, who is that stone, which being cut out of the mountain without hands, should encrease to a great mountain, and was to fill the whole earth, and to break in pieces the fourfold image: and who is that Son of man, who is to come with the clouds, and to be brought before the

tem regio: ibique volens templum Dia-
nae spoliare, quod infinita donaria habe-
bat, fugatus a barbaris eft, qui mira ve-
neratione fanum illud sulpiciebant, et mortuus eft moerore conceptus in Tabes, oppido perfidis. Haec ille in fugillatio-
nem nostrf, artificiosissimo sermonem com-
pofuit. Quae etiam fi potuerit approba-
re, non de Antichristo dicta, fed de An-
tiocho: quid ad nos, qui non ex omnibus Scripturarum locis Christi probamus ad-
ventum, et Antichristi mendacium? Po-
ne enim haec dici de Antiocho, quid noc-
cet religioni noftrae? Numquid et in su-
periori visione, ubi in Antiocho prophetia
confummata eft, aliquid de Antichrifo
dicitur? Dimittat itaque dubia, et in ma-
nifeslis haeret: dicatque, quis fit ille

lapis, qui de monte absciffus fine mani-
bus, creverit in montem magnum, et or-
bem impleverit, et quadriformem imagi-
nem contriverit: qui fit ille filius homi-
nis, qui cum nubibus venturus fit, et flat-
turus ante vetuatum dierum, et dandum

ei regnum, quod nullo fine claudatur: omnefque populi, tribus, ac linguae ipsi

servatur sint? Haec quaef inuersa sunt praeterit, et de Judaeis afferit prophetati-
ri, quos ufque hodie servire cognoscimus.

Et dicit eum, qui sub nomine Daniauis

scriptum librum, ad refocillum speum su-
orum fulle mentitum. Non quo omnem

historiam futuram nosse potuerit, sed quae

da memoret. Noftri autem extre-

mum-visionis hujus capitulum super Anti-

christo hic exponunt. P. 1133.
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"the ancient of days, to whom was to be given a kingdom that has no end: and whom all peoples, and nations, and tongues, should serve. These things, which are manifest, he paffeth over, and affirms they relate to the Jews, whom nevertheless we know to be still in bondage. And he likewise says, that he who wrote the book in the name of Daniel, told lies to please and comfort his own people. He pretended to prophesy, but indeed only wrote historie."

Jerome then proceeds to shew, how our people, as he says, explain the last paragraph of this vision concerning Antichrist. And then he concludes his observations upon this chapter. "This (g) says he, I have now shewn with some prolixity, that I might expose the folly of Porphyrie, who either was ignorant of these things, or pretended not to know them, and likewise to shew the difficulty of the sacred Scriptures, which many people, and even such as are very unskilfull, pretend to understand, without the grace of God, or an acquaintance with the doctrine of our ancestors."

Concerning the death of Antiochus, they who have opportunity may do well to consult 1 Maccabees ch. vi. and 2 Macc. ch. ix. and Josephus in his (b) Antiquities. To whom might be added (i) Polybius, not forgetting (k) the Connexion of that learned modern writer Humphrey Prideaux.

18. The beginning of the twelfth chapter of the book of Daniel is in these terms. And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince that standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be...
a time of trouble, such as never was, since there was a nation, even to that same time. And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame, and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.

"Hitherto (1) says Jerome, Porphyrie has writ with some sort of reserve and modestie, and has imposed upon unskilfull people among us, and the ill instructed on his own side. But what can he say upon this paragraph, in which the resurrection of the dead is spoken of... There is nothing, which the perverseness of men may
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"may not do. His explication is this. And this also is writ of "
Antiochus, who when he went into Persia, he left an armie with "
Lyfias, who was Governour of Antioch and Phoenicia, that he "
might fight with the Jews, and destroy their city Jerusalem: all "
which things are related by Josephus, the Jewish historian, shew- "
ing, that there was then such distresse, as never had been before. "
But the Jews overcoming, and the Generals of Antiochus being "
slain, and himself having died in Persia, the people of Israel were "
delivered: even all they who were written in the book of God, that "
is, who had valiantly stood up for the law. On the contrarie, they "
were blotted out of the book, who had apostatised from the law, and "
joined the interest of Antiochus. Then, says he, they who, as "
it were, slept in the dust of the earth, and were covered over with "
the weight of affliction, and were, as it were, buried in sepulchres, "
rose out of the dust of the earth to unexpected victorie. The keep- "
ers of the law lifted up their heads out of the ground, rising to "
eternal life: and the apostates from it to everlasting contempt. The "
masters and teachers, who understood the law, will shine as the "
firmament, and they who had exhorted the lower orders of the "
people to keep God's ordinances, will shine as the stars for ever "
and ever. He also allegeth the historie of the Maccabees, in which "
it is said, that many of the Jews fled into the deserts, and hid "
themselves in caves, and holes of the rocks, and after the victorie "
came out. This, he says, is expressed metaphorically, as if it were "
a resurrection from the dead."

But Jerome says, that the tribulations here spoken of are better understood of the times of Antichrist.

Grotius, however, does not altogether reject Porphyrie's interpretation.

3 Et multi de his qui dormiunt in terrae multi qui ebarunt in pulvorum bums ex- pulvere evigilabunt. Bene vertas: Et surgent. Id est, qui ob religionem ejecti urbe,
And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand, and his left hand to heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, that it shall be for time, times, and a half.

Upon which Jerome observes: "This (m) time, and times, and half a time, Porphyrie interprets, as meaning three years and a half. Nor do we deny this to be agreeable to the style of Scripture. And Porphyrie, referring this to Antiochus, says, that by his means the temple was deferted for three years and a half. But says Jerome, Josepbus and the book of Maccabees, mention no more than three years, during which space the temple was defiled, and the image of Jupiter stood there by the order of Antiochus Epiphanes. Therefore, as Jerome adds, that space of three years and a half relates not to Antiochus, but to Antichrist." Of this I may take some farther notice hereafter. At present we proceed.

urbe, oppidis, vicis et villis, non habuerunt ubi caput reponerent, (ut Christus de se loquitur, Lucae ix. 58.) redibunt in urbe et alia loca habitata. Reddendum est Porphyrio quod ei debetur testimonium: Est enim hunc locum optimo interpretatus de iis qui ob legis cultum diu ex torres ad sua reidi : sic tamen ut voces mira arte et mira arte interratae, ut resurrec tionis mysterium, quod aperte ante Evangelium revelari non debuit, innuant potius quam explicent. Nihil potuit dicere verius.


(m) Tempus, et tempora, et dimidium temporis, tres et semis annos inter pretatur Porphyrius: quod et nos juxta scripturam sanctarum idiom non negamus. Si itaque superiora referit Porphyrius ad Antiochum, et ad tres et semis annos, quibus templum dicit deservitum. ... Legimus in Machabaeorum libris. Josepbus quoque in eadem confentit sententiam, quod tribus annis templum pollutum fuerit in Jerusalem, et in eum Jovis idolum feterit sub Antiocho Epiphanes. ... Sub Antichristo autem non tres anni, sed tres et semis, hoc est, mille, ducenti non ageta dies, desolationis templi fanæti, et eversionis futurae esse dicuntur. P. 1136. et 1133. bis.
20. Same ver. 7. And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the
power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.
"That (n) is, says Jerome, When the people of God shall be dif-
perfed in the persecution of Antiochus, as Porphyrie will have it:
or, in the time of Antichrist, as our people truly shew, then all
these things shall be fulfilled."††

21. Ver. 11. And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be ta-
ken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall
be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.
"These (p) thousand, two hundred and ninety days, Porphyrie
says, were fulfilled in the time of Antiochus, and in the desolati-
on of the temple: whereas Josaphus and the book of Maccabees,
as before said, mention three years only. Whence it is manifest,
that the three years and a half are to be understood of the times
of Antichrist, who will persecute the saints for three years and a
half, that is, a thousand two hundred and ninety days."

So writes Jerome, not considering, that three years and a half,
computing 360 days to a year, make no more than twelve hundred
and sixty days. To which are added thirty days in the number, one
thousand,

(n) Quando, inquit, populus Dei dis-
perus fuerit, vel Antiocho persequente, ut
vult Porphyrius: vel Antichriollo, ut nostr-
tri verius probant, tunc haec omnia com-
plebuntur. P. 1133. bis.
†† Et cum completa fuerit dispersio ma-
num populi sanctii.] Id est, cum maxime
extra urbes et vicos per agros sparci erunt
pii Judaei. Vide 1 Maccab. ii. 29. 2 Mac.
viii. 1. Grot. in loc.
(p) Hos mille, ducentos, nonaginta
dies, Porphyrius in tempore Antiochi, et
in desolatione templi dicit completos :
quem et Josaphus et Machabaeorum (ut
diximus) liber, tribus tantum annis fuisset
commemorant. Ex quo perspicuum est
tres ipfos, et semis annos, de Antichriollo
dici temporibus, qui tribus et semis annis,
hoc est, mille, ducentis, nonaginta die-
bus sanctos persecutionus est... P. 1133.
bis.
thousand, two hundred and ninety days. Which, possibly might be
accounted for, without any very great difficulty.

22. Ver. 12. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand
three hundred and five and thirty days.

"Porphyrie (q) says, that the five and forty days over and above
the one thousand two hundred and ninety, shew the time of the "
victorie gained over the Generals of Antiochus: when Judas, the "
Maccabees, fought valiantly, and cleansed the temple, broke the "
idol in pieces, and offered sacrifices in the temple. Which might "
be rightly said, if the book of Maccabees had related that the "
temple was polluted three years and a half, and not three years."

So writes Jerome. But this additional number of five and forty
days may be understood to reach to the time of the death of Antio-
chus, when the deliverance of the Jewish people would be com-
pleated, and their tranquility farther secured.

Jerome, as we have seen, insists upon the term of three years,
mentioned by Josephus, and the book of the Maccabees. And in-
deed Josephus, in (r) one place computes the time of the desolation
of the temple, as said by Jerome, at three years. In other places (s) he

[...]
he mentions three years and a half. According to different computations of the beginning and ending of the troubles of the Jewish people, the numbers may vary a little, without any detriment to the true (t) history. Prideaux has shewn largely, as well from the books of the Maccabees, as from Josephus, that (u) the desolation of the temple, happened just three years and six months, before it was again restored by Judas Maccabeus. "And therefore that restoration having been made (x) on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of the Jews, called Cisleu, in the 148. year of the aera of the Seleucidae: it follows, that the time of this desolation must have been in or about the twenty fifth day of their third month, called Sivan, in the aera of the Seleucidae 145. Which answers to the year before Christ 168. Then it was, that by the command of Antiochus, and the wicked agence of Apollonius, the daily sacrifices, whereby God was honoured every morning and evening at Jerusalem, were made to cease, and the temple turned into desolation."

At the end of that period of three years and a half the temple was cleansed, and dedicated by Judas Maccabeus: and an annual feast of eight days was appointed in memorie of that deliverance, as related 1 Macc. iv. 36...to the end, and 2 Macc. ch. x. and by Josephus (y). Which feast was still observed by the Jews at Jerusalem, in our Saviour's time, as we learn from the (z) Gospels.
IV. I shall now make some Observations upon the preceding objections, and the Answers made to them.

1. From what has been now transcribed from St. Jerome we may be able to form some notion of the nature of that part of Porphyry's work, so far as it related to the book of Daniel. We may likewise, be able to discern some defects in the answers, which were made to it by Christian Writers.

Says Dr. Prideaux: "The (a) prophecies of Daniel concerning the Persian Kings, and the Macedonians, that reigned as well in Egypt, as Asia, having been all, according to the best historians, exactly fulfilled, Porphyry could not disprove them by denying their completion. And therefore for overthrowing their authority, he took the quite contrary course, and labored to prove their truth: and thence argued, that being so exactly true in all particulars, they could not be written by Daniel, so many years before the facts were done, but by some one else under his name, who lived after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. For which end and purpose he made use of the best Greek historians then extant. Such were Callinicus Suctorius, Diodorus Siculus, ... and from them made evident proof, that all that is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel was truly, in every particular acted and done in the order as there related. And from this exactnesse of completion endeavored to infer the assertion before mentioned: that these prophecies were written after the facts were done: and therefore are rather historical narratives, relating things past, than prophetical predictions, foreshewing things afterwards to come." ... Jerome (b) and Porphyry agree in their explication of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, till they come to the 21. verse. But what follows thence to the end of the chapter, was all explained by Porphyry:

(b) Ib. p. 207, 208.
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"phyrie to belong to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to have been all transacted in his reign. But Jerome here differs from him, and faith, that most of this, as well as some parts of the viii. and xii. chapters of the same book relate principally to Antichrist: that though some particulars in those prophecies had a typical completion in Antiochus Epiphanes; yet they were all of them wholly and ultimately fulfilled only in Antichrist. And this, as he faith, was the general sense of the Fathers of the Christian Church in his time."

But what need was there to bring in Antichrist, in any answers to Porphyrie, or other Heathen adversaries? Some, as (c) Grotius did, may think this one defect in our ancient Apologists. Those prophecies of Daniel, relating to Antiochus, and the state of the Jews in his time, were punctually fulfilled. Porphyrie himself shewed, that all recorded relating to him, was exactly true. He proved it from the best authors, extant at that time. The Christians might thank him for it, and stand to their point, that all this was not historie, but prophecie, formerly delivered. And historie had shewn the accomplishment. The predictions were so clear, and the fulfilment so manifold, that as Jerome well said in his preface to his Commentarie upon this book, *a determined adversarie was compelled to say, that the book of Daniel was not a prophetic of things to come, but a narrative of what had already happened.* Which kind of opposition, as he added, *was a confession of truth,* and testimony to it. And as all things foretold concerning Antiochus were fulfilled, so likewise were the prophecies of the same book concerning the coming of the Messiah.

(c) Inter Graecos autem ad senfum horum vaticinatorum proxime accedit Polychronius, Porphyrii lector diligentis, et Chrysoformus. Bene autem intelligi haec vaticinia referit plurimum: primum ut eo lucidius appareat Dei providentia et prae scientia: deinde ne prava interpretatio, tempora confundens, impediat Judaeos Messiah temporae agnoscre. Quo vel maxime ii faciunt, qui quae de Antiocho Illustri dicta senfum habent manifestum, ad Antichristum trahunt, ut Hippolytus, multique alii. *Grot. Pr. ad Daniel.*
And if there were in it predictions of things after his appearance, and in late ages of the world, the fulfilment might be safely expected and relied upon.

2. Porphyrius was in the wrong to deny (d) the genuineness of the book of Daniel. Which had been always received by the Jews: as we perceive from the books of Maccabees, and Josephus, and from our Evangelists: not now to mention any later writers. To dispute the real age of Daniel, and the genuineness of his book, is arbitrarie, and unreasonabe: as if a man should deny that Virgil and Horace lived in the time of Augustus, or wrote those works which with general consent are ascribed to them, and received as theirs. The book of Daniel is as genuine, as any of those histories, which Porphyrius made use of in his work against the Christians.

3. Porphyrius, as we have seen in Jerome, said, that the book of Daniel could not be genuine, because it was written in Greek. This he argued from some Greek words in the history of Susanna, and other spurious things, added to the book of Daniel.

Upon this argument I must say, firſt, that it is a very weak argument, because those stories of Susanna, Bel, and the Dragon, never were received by the Jews, nor by learned men among Christians. If Porphyrius did not know this, it shews great ignorance. But

(d) ... cujus ille auctoritatem ut eluderet, scriptos dixit libros post eventum. Quod quam sit impudens, alibi diximus. Græt. Pr. ad Daniel.

A Daniele vero translatio imperii ab Assyris ad Medos ac Persas, (significata,) inde ad Alexandrum Macedonem: cujus deinde ex parte succeffeores forent Lagidae, et Seleucidae: quaeque mala populus Hebraeus ab his omnibus, maxime vero ab Antiocho Illustri, accepturus esse, adeo perspicue, ut Porphyrius, qui historias Graecas, suo adhuc tempore exstantes, cum vaticinis istis contulit, aliter fe expedire non potuerit, quam ut dicere ea, quae Danieli tribuebat, post eventum suſſe scripta. Quod perinde esset, quæ quis neget, quae sub Virgilii nomine exstant, et pro Virgilianis habita sunt femper, ab ipso scripta Augusti sevo. Non enim de illo, quod diximus, magis unquam dubitatum inter Hebraeos fuit, quam de hoc apud Romanos. Græt. de V. R. C. i. i. cap. 17.
secondly, I imagine, he did know this, and that, according to the tradition of Jews, and Christians, before his time, the book of Daniel was written in Hebrew, excepting some parts of it in Chaldee. Consequently, this argument was unfair, and was owing to want of candour: and formed only to impose upon ignorant and uninstructed men. This, indeed, I take to be the case.

4. By the Queen mentioned Dan. v. 10. Porphyrie, as we learn from Jerome, understood the wife of Belshazzar. Which must be a mistake, as is now allowed by all learned men in general, and was shewn by Jerome himself. Says Prideaux: "The (e) Queen that entered the banqueting-house, to direct the King to call for Daniel, could not be his wife. For all his wives and concubines, the text tells us, sat with him at the feast. [Ver. 2.] And therefore it must have been Nitocris, the Queen-mother, a Lady famous for her wisdom, who had the chief management of public affairs, "and is called the Queen by way of eminence." Nitocris, as it seems, was a Lady of too much gravity, and too much engaged about public affairs, to take part in that entertainment.

This then is an error, at the best. But I do not think it to be an innocent error. I rather think it to have been a designed, and willful misrepresentation. When the Queen came into the banqueting-house, she said to Belshazzar: O King live for ever. Let not thy thoughts trouble thee... There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods: and in the days of thy father [or grandfather] light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods was found in him... and what follows, ver. 10...12. This did not please Porphyrie. It afforded an argument for the real age and peculiar wisdom, and prophetic character of Daniel. The real truth therefore did not suit Porphyrie. This therefore I consider, as an unfair argument, and another instance of want of candour. We may be the more

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more confirmed in this supposition, in that, as Jerome says, Porphyrie ridiculed the Queen for pretending to know more than her husband. There is no foundation for ridicule in the historic itself.

5. Ch. ii. ver. 48. Then the King made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts. Here, as we before learned from Jerome, Porphyrie took upon him to blame Daniel for not refusing those gifts, and for readily accepting Babylonish honours. But there is no ground for such a censure. Daniel was guilty of no mean compliances. He ascribed all his wisdom to God. And upon every occasion preserved his integrity, without blemish, and openly professed his zeal for true religion, and the worship of God, according to the directions of the law of Moses. It was not decent for him to refuse the honours bestowed by a great King, when no sinful compliances were exacted, and when he might, in the high station, to which he was advanced, both promote the interest of true religion, and the welfare of his people in a strange country. Daniel does not appear to have been fond of worldly honours. When Belshazzar made him great promises, he answered: Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another. Ch. v. 17. That remark therefore I consider, as an instance of Porphyrie’s malignant temper toward Daniel, and in him, toward Christians.

6. I shall add no more observations here. I have again and again acknowledged, that Porphyrie’s work against the Christians, was a work of great labour, in which he shewed great learning. And it might have been of some use to us now, if it had been preserved. At the same time, it appears to me very probable, that there were in it many mistakes, and many instances of want of candour. And I make no doubt, but that, if it were still existant, it would appear to us very provoking and offensive, as it did to the Christians in former times, who saw and read it.

7. Dan. xi. 38. But in his estate shall be honor the God of forces, or munitions.

In
Ch. XXXVII. **acknowledgeth the Antiquity of Moses.**

In his commentator upon the 30. chapter of Isaiah, Jerome \(f\) blames Porphyrie for rendring this, *the god of the town of Modim*, meaning the god, who was worshiped there. However, curious readers should consult Grotius, as well as Lowth upon that text.

8. Jerome seems to say elsewhere, that \(g\) Porphyrie had writ largely about Daniel’s seventy weeks. If he intends any thing beside what I have already taken notice of, I know nothing of it.

V. Having made such large extraits out of Jerome’s Commentarie on the book of Daniel, for shewing the nature of that part of Porphyrie’s work, I now proceed to other things.

In the first book of his Evangelical Preparation \(b\) Eusebius expos-ing the absurdity of the Heathen polytheism, which had long prevailed in the world, which, as he says, having been first introduced among the Phenicians, and Egyptians, had been propagated among the Greeks, and other nations: This, he says, he will shew, begining with the Phenicians.

“ Their affairs are writ by Sanchuniathon, an ancient Author, older, as is said, than the Trojan times: Who, they say, has writ the Phenician historie with great exactnesse and fidelity. Philo, not the Jew, but Biblius, has translated his whole work into Greek out of the Phenician language. He \(i\) is quoted by that person,

\(f\) Hoc annotavimus, ut quod in Danielis extrema legimus Viphone Deum Maüzim, non ut Porphyrius somniat Deum viculim modim, fed robustum Deum et fortem intelligamus. In Is. cap. xxx. T. 3. p. 252. m.

\(g\) Sin autem supradictos viros, magistros Ecclesiae nominavi, illud intelligant, me non omnium probare sident, qui certe inter se contrarii sunt: sed et differentio-

\(b\) Pr. Ev. l. i. cap. 9. p. 30. 31.

\(i\) Μηκοται τῶν ὅ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς πανημείρος συγκεκρητ. ἐν τοίνυν ὑποθέτομεν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ μακρύντων πρὸς λίγον. Ἰσραηλίτην τα ἁπεί ἔναν ἀληθιστα, ὅτι ὡς δότως ὡς δότως ὡς δότως ὡς δότως τοῦτον τὸ συμ-

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PORPHYRIE

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"person, who in our time wrote against us, in the fourth book of his work, in these very words. Sanchuniathon of Berytus writes the historie of the Jews very exactly, and mentions times and places: taking his accounts from the Memoirs of Jerombal, Priest of the God Jevo. Whom dedicated his historie to Abibal, King of Berytus, by whom, as well as by others, his contemporaries, capable judges of the truth, it was approved. Their age was before the Trojan times, and approaches near to the times of Moses, as is evident from the succession of the Kings of Phenicia. Sanchuniathon, who with great fidelity, wrote their ancient historie in the Phenician language, collecting it partly from the registers of cities, and partly from the records kept in temples, lived in the time of Semiramis, Queen of the Assyrians, who is computed to have reigned before the times of Troy, or about them. The Work of Sanchuniathon was translated into Greek by Philo Byblius." "So writes that person, bearing testimonie to the veracity and antiquity of that historian."

But, as Eusebius adds: "That ancient writer (k) in the progresse of his work, does not recommend the worship of God who is over all, nor of the heavenly bodies, but of mortal men and women: who so far from being respectable for the probity of their manners,

μαθητας, Σαγχυνιαθον ο Βερυτιος, ειπεριος τα ορισματα παρε Ιερομβαλ τι ιερω θει τη Ιωμ ο Αβιβιλ ος βασιλις Ιουδας την εικονα εικονος δια δια των κατι αυτου εικονος της κληρονομης, παραθηκης. Οι δε την χρονια η τή των Τρωικων ιπταιναι χρωνων, υ πεθεν τοις Μαχαις πραξιαξεις, οι ει των Φανηκες βασιλειας μνημον οι διαθηκαι. Σαγχυνιαθον δι κατα την Φανηκα διαλεκτος, μαθητας την παλαιαν εικονα ει των κατα τηλη υπομνηματος, υ των ει των ιερων αναγραφων συμπαραγων υ συγγραφαις, ει και Συμφωνοις γεχοι της Αυθοριας βασιλιδις, η σφη τω Ιμα-


(α) Ο δε προινειν των ειτι παντως Θεων, εδε μεθ τως κατι εραξαν, ουτως ει ενδρευς ζυναδηκα, ουδε των τρωικων οικεως, δει δε αρησθεν ως ει την αεξιων δει αναδειξηται, εν ειδοποιησιν της φιλοσοφιας, φαινεται της μεθοδιας αναξιωτη της περιβολης, η και μεριμνης βιολογης. Και μεριμνης γε των αυτου εικονος ενως, των ειδοποιησιν των θεων παρατιως τως τευματισμοις κατα τη τους αναξιωτης και τως αναξιωτης. Ib. p. 31.
Ch. XXXVII. acknowledged the Antiquity of Moses.

"manners, or the excellence of their virtues, or their great wisdom, which might recommend them to esteem and imitation, that their characters are blenished with the most foul and flagitious vices. And they appear to be the very same, that are now worshiped as Gods in all cities and countries."

The same passage of Porphyrie is quoted again by Eusebius in the ninth chapter of the tenth book of the same work, the Evangelical Preparation. He there introduceth it, and argueth from it after this manner.

His subject in that place is the antiquity of Moses, and the Jewish Prophets. He first refers to his Chronical Canons, where he had already shewed the same thing. "Now, says (l) he, to what was then said, I would add here the testimonie of the most bitter enemie to the Jews and us, that ever was. I mean that Philosopher of our time, who in the abundance of his enmity against us, published a work, in which he reviles not us only, but also the Jews, and Moses, and the Prophets after him, and all in the like manner. For the confession of enemies is always reckoned credible. Porphyrie, then, in the fourth book of his work against us says "in these very words: Sanchuniathon of Berytus writes the history of the Jews very exactly." So quoting the passage before transcribed by me at length. After which Eusebius proceeds: "Upon (m) which we may argue in this manner. If Sanchuniathon flourished in the time of Semiramis, and she lived long before the times of Troy; it follows, that Sanchuniathon was older than the

\[ Y 2 \]

"same

(l) Taũtá µiν δὲν ἀποδεκτικῶς ἔτι ταῖς πο-
νθείαις ἡμῖν χρυσοίς κακίστες ὅτας ἔχοντα συ-
νέισθαι δὲ τοῖς παράδοτος, πρὸς τοῖς ἑρμή-
νευσίς, μέρτρης τῆς Ἑβραίως ἀρχαιότητος ἀρχί-
μας τῇ ψευδών ὑφυσαντικῷ ἕως σωληνιοῦτον Ἐβραίων τῇ ἡμῶν φιλο-
λογίαν ὡς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συνεκτικήν ὑπερβολή

míνες προβεβλημένοι, ὡς μὲν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐν Ἑβραίως, διότι ταῦτα Ἑβραίως, τῇ τὸν Ἐβραίων, τῇ τὸν ἅπαν ἀρχαῖον διότι τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ὑπερβολῶν.

(m) Ἡπ. p. 485.
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An Objection against Gen. iii. 5.

"same times. But he is said to have taken his memoirs from others, who were before his times: and who were not contemporaries with Moses, but only lived near his times. It follows, that Sanchuniathon is still so much later than Moses, as he is later than those of greater antiquity, who only lived near the times of Moses."

This passage of Porphyrie is also cited by Theodoret in his books against the Gentils, and as from his work writ against us. He likewise quotes it in proof of the antiquity of Moses, and that he lived before the times of Troy.

And Eusebius in his introduction to the second book of his Chronical Canon, as we now have it in Jerome's Latin translation, says: "The antiquity of Moses is affected by many of our own writers, and among the Jews by Josephus, and Justus, and among the Greeks, [or Gentils] the impious Porphyrie in the fourth book of his work, which with fruitless labour he composed against us, affirms, that Moses was older than Semiramis."

VI. Severian, Bishop of Gata in Syria, at the beginning of the fifth century, in his sixth homilie upon the Creation of the world, having quoted Gen. iii. 5. For God does know, that in the day ye eat thereof ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil, goes on. "Many (p) say, and especially they who follow that enemie of God, Porphyrie, who wrote against the Christians, and has perverted many from the truth: Why did God forbid the knowledge of good and evil!"
Ch. XXXVII. His Objections against Gen. iii. 5.

"evil! He might forbid evil. But why should he forbid good?"

Severian answers, that God did not forbid the knowledge of good, and that Adam had that knowledge, before he tasted of the forbidden fruit.

VII. I now proceed to passages of Porphyryie, concerning the books of the New Testament.

Mill, in his (*) Prolegomena to the New Testament has taken notice of several texts in the Gospels, to which Porphyryie made exceptions.

1. Matt. i. 11. 12. And Jofias begat Jecbonias, and his brethren, about the time they were carried away to Babylon. And after they were brought to Babylon, Jecbonias begat Salathiel.

Here, as it seems, one and the same person, Jecbonias, ends the second fourteen, and begins the third class of fourteen. Consequently one generation was supposed to be wanting. Porphyryie (q) therefore, as we learn from Jerome, charged St. Matthew with a mistake. But Jerome says, that Porphyryie herein betrayed his own ignorance and unskilfulness.

It is not needful, that I should attempt the solution of this difficulty. It is sufficient, that I refer (r) to some learned editors of the New Testament, or Commentators upon this text.

But we can hence clearly argue, that in Porphyryie's time, the genealogic in St. Matthew was generally received by Christians. Otherwise...

(*) Vid. Prolegom. num. 702. 703.


(r) Mill. in loc. et Prolegom. num. 702. et Vafiien. et Beza. in loc.
wiſethere had been no reaſon, why he ſhould make any remark upon it. For as Jerome observes, Porphyrie mentioned this supposed errour of the Evangelift, as a reflexion upon the Church.

2. Matt. ix. 9. And as Jeſus paſsed out thence, he ſaw a man named Matthew, ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom. And he ſaith unto him: Follow me. And he arose and followed him.

"Here (s) ſays Jerome, Porphyrie, and the Emperour Julian, pretend, that either the historian has told a lye: or else people were very fillly to follow Jeſus at his call: acting as if they were ready to follow any man that beckoned to them. Not considering, ſays Jerome, that before this time many great miracles and signs had been done by Jeſus: of which the Apostles were wit-
neſses, before they believed."

3. Matt. xiii. 35. That it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet, saying: I will open my mouth in parables.

That is a reference to Pf. lxxvii. 2, which is entitled a Psalm of Aſaph. In some copies of St. Matthew, where we have by the Prophet, was read by the Prophet Iſaiah. This gave an occasion to an objection of Porphyrie, which we meet within the Breviarum upon the Pfalter, generally aſcribed to Jerome, but not reckoned his by the Benedicțiın editors. "It (t) is not Iſaiah that says this, but Aſaph, "says that writer. Therefore the impious Porphyrie allegeth this "against us, and says: Your Evangelift Matthew was ſo ignorant "as to say: Which was written by the prophet Iſaiah: I will open "my
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"my mouth in parables: I will utter things kept secret from the founda-
dation of the world."

This various reading was observed by Jerome in his comment upon Matt. xiii. 35. who has considered the difficulty, though he does not mention Porphyrie. He (u) thinks the original reading was thus: That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Ašaph, by whom that Psalm was compoosed. But some transcriber of St. Matthew, not recollecting Ašaph to have been a prophet, and imagining therefore that it was a mistake, inserted the name of Išaiab, who was better known, in his room.

They who are curious, and have leisure, should by all means consult Mill and Wettstein upon Matt. xiii. 35. where they will observe some other quotations of ancient authors, which I have not room to transcribe.

4. Upon Gen. i. 10. Jerome says: "It (x) is to be noted, that all collections of waters, whether they are salt or sweet, are called seas, according to the Hebrew language. Porphyrie therefore without ground insinuates, that the Evangelists, the better to impose a miracle upon ignorant people say, Our Lord walked upon the sea, meaning only the lake of Gennesareth. For all lakes, or collection of waters, are called seas."

This is related Matt. xiv. 25. *Jesus went unto them walking on the sea.* The same expression is used on the same occasion, Mark vi.


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48. and John vi. 19. Jerome says, that Porphyrie upon this account calumniated the Evangelists. Whether he referred to more than one of them, I do not determine. But we shall soon find, that Porphyrie had read St. Mark's, and St. John's Gospels, as well as St. Matthew's.

5. Matt. xxi. 21. Jesus answered, and said unto them: If ye have faith, and doubt not; ye shall not only do this, which is done to the fig-tree, but also, if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, it shall be done.

Here St. Jerome says: "The (y) dogs of the Gentils bark against us in the volumes, which they have left as monuments of their own impiety, saying: It is plain, the Apoftles had not faith, forasmuch as they never removed mountains."

Such observations may tend to produce mirth. But it is very silly to understand such figurative expressions literally.

Jerome does not name the persons to whom he refers. But it is likely, that he means Porphyrie and Julian, they having been both before mentioned in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew. If he does not intend them, there were other writers against us, who had remarked upon this expression.

6. Matt. xxiv. 15. When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel standing in the holy place.

Jerome in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew, lets us know, that Porphyrie in the 13. volume of his work against the Christians, poured out many blasphemies upon that text.

7. Matt. xxvii. 45. Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour.


* De hoc loco, id est, de abominatione desolationis, quae dicit est a Daniele Propheto flante in loco sancto, multa Porphyrius tertio decimo operis sui volumine contra nos blasphemavit. Hieron. in Matt. T. 4. p. 115.
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Upon which text Jerome observes: "They (z) who have writ against the Gospels suspect, that the disciples of Christ, in their account of our Lord's resurrection, have mistaken this darkness, which was only an eclipse of the sun, that happens at certain seasons, in the ordinary course of things: Whereas, says Jerome, an eclipse of the sun can never happen but at the time of new moon. And all the world knows, that at the Passover it is full moon. And that there might be no pretense for saying, that this darkness was owing to the shadow of the earth, or to an interposition of the moon between us and the sun, it is recorded to have continued for the space of three hours."

Here also, it is not unlikely, that Jerome intends the same writers, beforementioned, Porphyrie and Julian:

8. Upon Matth. iii. 3. *This is he that was spoken of by the Prophet Esaias, saying: The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the Lord. Make his paths straight.*

Here Jerome observes, to this purpose. "Porphyrie (a) compares this place with the beginning of Mark's Gospel, in which it is written. The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God. As it is written in the Prophets: Behold, I send my messenger before thy

(z) Qui scripserunt contra Evangelia, suspicantur, deliquium solis, quod certis statutisque temporibus accidere solet, discipulos Christi ob imperitiam super resurrectionem Domini interpretatos: quum defectus solis numquam nisi ortu lunae fieri solet. Nulli autem dubium est, Paschae tempore lunam fuisse plenissimam. Et ne forsan videretur umbra terrae, vel orbis lunae soli oppositus, breves et serrugineas fessisse tenebras, trium horarum spatium ponitur, ut omnis caufantium occasio tolleretur. *ib.* p. 139.

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"thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the Lord. Make his paths straight."

For since this quotation is composed out of Malachi [iii. 1.] and Isaiah [xl. 3.] he asks, how it comes to pass, that it is all said to be taken from Isaiah? To which question, says Jerome, ecclesiastical writers have answered largely. But I am of opinion, that the name of Isaiah has been added through the fault of the transcribers of the Gospels.

Hence, I think, it appears, that Porphyrie had read the Gospels with care, and that he did not overlook any advantage against them. Jerome has considered this point (b) elsewhere. We hence perceive, that at that time the name of Esaias was read in St. Mark, as well as in St Matthew: whereas now in St. Mark, it is in the Prophets. Concerning this various reading, divers learned moderns (c) may be consulted.

Once more. It appears from the homilie of an ancient anonymous writer, that (d) this objection of Porphyrie was in the fourteenth book of his work against the Christians.

9. Jerome, writing against Vigilantius, who disliked the excessive veneration, then paid to the Martyrs, and did not give credit to every miracle, said to be wrought by their relics, useth these expressions: "Unless (e) says he, after the manner of the Gentils, and the

(c) Mill. et West. et Ben. in loc.
(e) Spiritus ille inmundus, qui haec te cogit scribere, sapere hoc villissimo tertius est pulvere: imo hodieque torquetur, et qui in te plagas dissipulat, in ceteris conficitur. Nifi forte in morem Gentium,
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"impious Porphyrie, and Eunomius, you pretend, that these are
"only artifices of the demons, and that the demons do not com-
"plain, but only feign themselves to be tormented."

It is likely, that Jerome here refers to some disagreeable reflexi-
ons, which Porphyrie had made upon our Lord's cure of the de-
omiacs in the countrey of the Gadarens, or elsewhere. See Matt.
33. 34.

10. Theophylačt, in his Commentarie upon the begining of St. John's Gospel, has these expressions. "So (f) that the sophism of that
"Gentil Writer, Porphyrie, falls to the ground. He, endeavoring
"to overthrow the gospel, makes use of these divisions. "If, says
"he, the Son of God be Word, be must be either outward word, or
"inward word. [That is, reason, thought, or speech.] But he is
"neither this, nor that. Therefore he is not Word."

Upon which Theophylačt observes, that such divisions may be
made use of concerning us, and other natural things: but have no
place among things supernatural.

11. In a work of Jerome against the Pelagians we find this pas-
sage. "Our (g) Lord says to his brethren, that he should not go
"up to the Feast of Tabernacles. John vii. 8. And yet afterwards
"it is written: But when his brethren were gone up, then went he up
"also to the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret. ver. 10. He

(f) οὐτὶ διεκτένως τοῦ ἤλλαν \( \omicron \) \( \pi \\omicron \) \( \rho \)

(g) Negat fratribus et propinquis, ire

impiorumque Porphyrii et Eunomii, has
praefligias daemonum esse confingas et
non vere clamare daemonas, sed sua simul-
286.

(f) οὐτὶ διεκτένως τοῦ ἤλλαν Πορφυρίου
τὸ σόφωμα. Εἰσίν τε γὰρ ἑαυτόν ένεχόμενο
τὸ ἵππος ἱλιακότο ένεχόμενο ένεχό-
μενον. Τοῦτο λέγει, οὕτω, ἢ ὅλος τῇ Θεῷ,
ὅτῳ προφητικὸς ἐστί, ἢ ἐνδιάθετος ἀλλὰ μὲν

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"said he would not go: and yet he went. Here Porphyrie barks, charging our Lord with fickleness and inconstance."

We now read in ver 8. I go not yet up to the feast. But from this place of Jerome, as well as from the quotations of other ancient authors, it appears, that the common reading then was: I go not up to the feast. Upon which divers learned men (b) may be consulted. Supposing that to be the true reading, I see not any reason for the charge of inconstance, or of our Lord's altering his intention. The context shews, that he spoke of deferring his Journey to Jerusalem, for a short time: not that he had resolved not to go at all to the feast. He went to the feast. And he always intended so to do. But he went not up to that feast so soon, nor so publicly, as he did at some other seasons. And he assigns the reason of that conduct, which may be seen, ver. 6. and 7.

Acts ii.

12. In his commentarie upon Joel ii. 28...31. Which words are quoted by St. Peter, Acts ii. 16...20. Jerome speaking of the Apostles way of arguing: "Not says (i) he, that they abused the simplicite and ignorance of their hearers, as the impious Porphyrie infinuates."

However, I do not affirm, that Porphyrie referred to this place of the Acts. He might refer to some other. And possibly, often said such things of the Apostles or some of them.

Acts v.

13. In another place Jerome speaking of the charity of the first believers at Jerusalem, and of the behaviour of Ananias, and his wife Sapphira, has this observation: "Lastly (k) the Apostle Peter by no means imprecates death to them, as the foolish Porphyric [or, "as

(i) Non quod abuterentur audientium simplicitate et imperitia, ut impius calaminiatur Porphyrius. In Joel cap. 2. Tom. 3. p. 1359.
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"as in some MSS. Philosopher, calumniates: but by the prophetic spirit declares the judgement of God, that the punishment of two persons might be an instruction to many."

14. Gal. i. 15. 16. But when it pleased God to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Heathen, I conferred not with flesh and blood.

"I know (1) says Jerome in his comment upon this text, that many so understand this expression of the Apostle. And Porphyrie likewise objects, that after the revelation of Christ, Paul did not vouchsafe to go to any men, to confer with them, lest truly, after having been taught by God, he should receive instruction from flesh and blood. But I can never persuade myself to think, that by flesh and blood are to be understood Peter, James and John."

But, notwithstanding that judgement of Jerome, I suppose, that still most will be of opinion, that in the expression flesh and blood, are intended all men, not excluding the greatest Apostles. Compare this with ver. 12. For I neither received it of man. Neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. And see ver. 17. 18. There can be no question made, but that Porphyrie had an eye to these passages of the epistle to the Galatians.

15. Gal. ii. 11. 12. 13. 14. St. Paul says: But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentils... But when I saw, that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all...

In the preface to his Commentarie upon the epistle to the Galatians, Jerome speaks thus of this matter. "The (m) wicked Porphyrie not understanding this, in the first book of his work against us, objects, that Peter was reproved by Paul: that he did not proceed uprightly in preaching the gospel: aiming thereby to fix the blot of a mistake upon the one, and of peevishness upon the other. And hence he argues the falsehood of the whole doctrine, as if it were a mere invention, since the heads of the churches disagreed."

In his Commentarie upon the words above quoted, Jerome says, "that (n) some think, Cephas, whom Paul with flood to the face, was not the Apostle Peter, but another of the same name, possibly, one of the Seventy disciples. They argued, that Peter could not withdraw from conversation with the Gentils, who had baptized Cornelius. They argued likewise from the defense he made of what he had done at the house of Cornelius, when they of the circumcision at Jerusalem contended with him, as recorded Acts xi: 1...18. They also said, that St. Luke in the Acts makes not any

(m) Quod nequaquam intelligens Bata neotes et sceleratus ille Porphyrius in primo operis sui adversus nos libro, Petrum a Paulo objectit esse reprehensum: quod non recto pede incederet ad evangelizandum: volens et illi maculam erroris inurere, et huic procacitatis: et in communi ficti dogmati accurare mendacium, dum inter eos ecclesiasticum principes dis crepens. Pr. in ep. ad Gal. p. 223.

(n) Sunt qui Cephan, cui hic in faciem Paulus refitisse se scribit, non putent Apostolum Petrum, sed aliquem de septuaginta discipulis, isto vocabulo nuncupatum. Et dicunt, nequaquam Petrum a convic tu Gentium se potuisse subtrahere, qui et Centurionem Cornelium baptizaret...
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any mention of this diffension: nor that Peter and Paul ever were together at Antioch. They also insisted, that there would be an advantage given to Porphyrie, if it were allowed, either that Peter erred, or that Paul peevishly confuted the chief of the Apostles. To all which Jerome answers, that he knows not of any Cephas, but him who is mentioned in the Gospels, and in other epistles of Paul, and in this same epistle, and is sometimes called Cephas, sometimes Peter. And after considering the other just mentioned arguments, he concludes. Finally, if because of Porphyrie's blasphemie, another Cephas must be invented, lest Peter should be thought to have erred; innumerable passages must be struck out of the divine Scriptures: which he finds fault with, because he does not understand them.

Jerome occasionally refers to this objection of Porphyrie, in his Commentarie upon the fifty-third chapter of (o) Isaiah.

In a letter to Augustin upon this subject, Jerome tells him, "how (p) he and others had asserted the prudence of the Apostles, and restrained the impudence of the blaspheming Porphyrie, who says, that Peter and Paul had a childish quarrel with one another: and that Paul burned with envy at the virtues of Peter, and had writ in a boasted manner of things, which either he never did: or if so sed offendentes honestam dispensationem, ut et Apostolorum prudentiam demonstrarent, et blasphemantis Porphyrii impudentiam coercerent, qui Paulum et Petrum puerili dicit inter se pugnasse certamine: imo egressi Paulum in invidia virtutum Petri, et ea scriptisse jactantor, quae vel non fecerit, vel si fecerit, procer sitor fecerit, id in alio reprehendens quod ipse commiserit. Ad Augustin. ep. 74. al. 89. T. 4. F. 2. p. 622.

(o) Ex quo, qui dispensatoriam inter Petrum et Paulum contentionem, vere dicunt jurgium suisse atque certamen, ut blasphemantis Porphyrio satisfaciant, et veteris legis caeremonias in ecclesiæ Christi, a stipe credentis Israel afferunt esse servandas, debent et auream in mille annis expectare Jerusalem. ... In Is. cap. liii. T. 3. p. 388.

(p) Ego, imo ali ante me exposuerunt cauffam quam putaverant, non officiolum mendacium defendentes, sic ut scribis,
he did, it was mere peevishness, to blame that in another, which he had been guilty of himself.

Here we might wish to see Porphyrie himself, in his own words. But there seems to have been a reference to several things said by Paul in other epistles, beside this to the Galatians. In the last words of the passage, just transcribed, I think it plain, that there is a reference to what is said by Paul I Cor. ix. 20. Unto the Jews I came as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews: and, perhaps, to some other like texts. And, possibly, he had also a regard to several things done by St. Paul, and related by St. Luke in the Acts: such as his circumcision Timothie, Acts xvi. 1...3; his vow at Cenchrea. ch. xviii. 18. And to what he did at Jerusalem, by the advice of St. James. xxii. 20...28.

Jerome had before spoken of this matter in another place of the same epistle to Augustin: telling him, "that (q) others before him, had explained the conduct of the two Apostles in the same manner that he had done, in answer to the blasphemous Porphyrie, who charged Paul with peevishness in that he presumed to prove the chief of the Apostles, and dispute with him to the face, and tell him, that he was to be blamed, that is, was in an errour: when he who reproved the other, was as guilty himself." By all which, I think, we may perceive the force of Porphyrie's argument upon this point. "He supposed Peter to have taught, for a while at least, a different doctrine from Paul. And thence argued,"

(q) Haec autem. explicationem, quam primus Origenes in decimo Stromateon libro, ubi epistolam Pauli ad Galatas interpretatur, et ceteri deinceps interpretes sunt sequiti, illa vel maxime caussa introducunt, ut Porphyrio respondente blasphemanti, qui Pauli arguit procacita-
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"argued, that the religion taught by them, could not be a revelation from heaven. Or, if Peter did not for a while teach a doctrine different from what himself had taught at other times, and different from that generally taught by Paul, he was guilty of some improper compliance, for which he was blamed by Paul. But that Paul, if indeed he did reprove Peter at Antioch, as he boastingly says to the Galatians ch. ii. he shewed therein pride, and envie, and peevishnesse: and was a very unfit reprover of another, when he had himself been guilty of the same fault, and had often complied in a like manner."

This seems to be the substance of Porphyrie's observations upon this, and some other texts of Scripture. And undoubtedly, he hence argued, that both Peter and Paul were deceivers, and impostors, and that the doctrine taught by them could not be a revelation from heaven.

And it must be owned, that this has appeared a difficulty to many. And the solutions of learned Christians have been different. To me the case seems to be this.

St. Peter never taught a doctrine different from himself, nor from St. Paul. But he was not uniform in his conduct. Once, at least, he complied too far with those believers of the Jews, who were for imposing circumcision, and the other rites of the law, upon the Gentils, as necessary to salvation. As St. Paul says, Gal. ii. 11... *When Peter was at Antioch, he did eat with the Gentils: but when some came from Jerusalem, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing them, which were of the circumcision.* Herein, out of fear of offending others, Peter acted contrarie to his own judgement. Therefore Paul calls it *dissimulation,* and shews the bad consequence of such conduct: and that it implied the necessity of the Gentils being circumcised in order to obtain salvation, and to the having communion with the Jewish believers. *But when I saw, that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel,* I said unto Peter before them.
all: If thou being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentils, and not as do the Jews: why compellest thou the Gentils to live as do the Jews? Literally, to judaize (r) that is, to become Jews, and observe all the rites of the law of Moses, as necessarie to salvation. That never was Peter's doctrine. But it was the tendence of his late conduct at Antioch, for which Paul now reproved him. And undoubtedly, Peter submitted, and acquiesced, and never more prevaricated in his conduct in the like manner. Augustin (s) says exactly, as I have done. And I place his words below.

St. Paul's doctrine was always the same. And his conduct was ever uniform, and consistent. He always said, that circumcision was not necessarie, or available, in any, to justification and salvation. He never said, that it was sinful, or unlawfull in any.

(r) Ti ῥ λόν ἄνανάξειν ἰδαίκεσαν: That word is explained in the 3. vol. of the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. p. 164. To which I would now add Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. cap. 10. "Αὕτως ἐστὶν ἔχειν ἄναξήν καὶ εἰς ἰδαίκεσαν.


Proinde, si potest hoc Apostolorum decretem, Petrus habuit illam in Antiochia simulacionem, quà Gentes cogeret judaizare, quod nec ipse cogerabantur, quamvis propter commendanda eloquia Dei, quae Judaeis sunt credita, non prohibebatur: quid mirum, si constringeret eum Paulus libere afferere, quod cum ceteris Apostolis, etc. Jerofolymis decrevissent meminerat.

Ch. XXXVII. **His Testimonie to the Books of the N. T.**

To the Galatians he writes ch. v. 2, 3, 4. *Bebold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify unto every man that is circumcised, that he is debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you. Whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.* It is plain, that he is here speaking of such, as expected to be justified by the law: who embraced circumcision, as necessary to acceptance with God, and eternal salvation. Such men departed from the grace of the gospel, and could have no benefit by it. They came under an obligation to observe all the rituals of the Mosaic law. And if they did not obey the law in all things, they exposed themselves to a curse, as he shews, ch. iii. 10.

In the second chapter at ver. 6. he says: *For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision: but faith, which worketh by love.* And afterwards, in the same epistle, vi. 15, 16. *For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God.* And 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19. *Is any man called circumcised? Let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? Let him not become circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing: but keeping the commandments of God.*

That was St. Paul's doctrine. And his conduct was agreeable to it. The same was the doctrine of Peter, and of all the Apostles, though Peter once deviated from it in his conduct, as we have seen. What was Peter's doctrine, we learn, (not now to argue from his epistles, as we might) from his speech at Jerusalem: Acts xv. where-in he plainly declares, as Paul does, that the works of the law are of no avail either to Jews or Gentils in point of justification with God. For with these words he concludes that speech. ver. 11. *But we believe, that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we Jews, shall be saved, even as they, the Gentils.* And see before ver. 8, 9.
A. D. 270.

10. and ch. x. 34. 35. and xi. 1...18. And compare this with words of St. Paul. Gal. ii. 15. 16.

Though St. Paul may be thought to have yielded to some Jewish prejudices in the several actions above mentioned, it had no such bad tendency, as the behaviour of St. Peter at Antioch had: as has been well shewn by Augustin in explaining 1 Cor. xi. 20. He says, "that Paul practised some rites of the law, for shewing, that it was not sinful, even under the gospel, for Jews to observe the ordinances, which they had received from their ancestors by means of the law. At the same time he taught them, that they should not place their hopes of salvation in obedience to such ordinances: nor impose that yoke upon the Gentils, as necessary to their salvation."

Augustin has particularly considered all those actions of Paul, which have been looked upon by some, as unwarrantable compliances: to which also Porphyrie may be supposed to have referred—his circumcising Timothie, his vow at Cenchrea, his conduct at Jerusalem. And he well shews, how (u) they differed from Peter's—

(*) Sed ideo susceperat ea celebranda, quam jam Christi effet Apollonius, ut doceret non esse perniciosa his qui ea vel lent, ficut a parentibus per legem acceptarent, cuthodire, etiam cum in Christo credidissent: non tamen in eis non constiterent, quantum a Domine Jefum salus ipsa, qua ipsa sacramentis significabatur, adverterat, Ideoque Gentibus, quod infuetos a fide revocarent one re gravi et non necessario, nullo modo imponenda esse censébatur. August. ap. Hieron. ep. 67. al. 87. T. 4. p. 605.

(u) Ego quidem illud Petrum sic egisse, credo, ut Gentes cogeret judaizare. Hoc enim lego scriptisse Paulum, quem mentitum esse non credo: et ideo non recte agebat hoc Petrus. Erat enim contra evangelii veritatem, ut putarent, quic credebant in Chriftum, sine illis veteribus sacramentis salvos esse non possesse. Hoc enim contendebat Antiochiae, qui ex circumcijonie crediderant. Contra quos Paulus perfeueranter acriterque configuit. Ipsum vero Paulum non ad hoc egisse, quod vel Timotheum circumcident; vel Cenchreis vatum porfolvit, vel: Jerofolymis a Jacobo admonitus, cum eis qui voverant, legitima illa celebranda suscepit, ut putari videretur per ea sacramenta etiam Christi annam salutem dari: sed ne illa, quae pri oribus ut congruebant temporibus, in um...
Ch. XXXVII. His Testimonie to the Books of the N. T.

behaviour at Antioch. What Peter did, implied the necessity of circumcision in order to salvation, which Paul constantly and earnestly opposed. By all his several compliances, just mentioned, he only shewed, that he did not think the Jewish rites evil and sinfull.

I shall now observe only upon the last of those compliances, particularly related, Acts xxi. 17...28. And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James. And the Elders were present. And when he had saluted them, he declared particularly, what things God had wrought among the Gentils by his ministrie. And what follows.

For it had been said at Jerusalem, that Paul, in all countreys where he had been, bad taught, that the Jews ought not to circumcise their children: that is, that it was sinfull, and unlawfull for them so to do. This Paul had never done. And (x) James, and the Elders with him, were persuaded, it was a false report. But for giving satisfaction to all, they advised him to joyn himself with some others then at Jerusalem, who had a vow on them. Them take, say they, and purifie thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their beards, and all may know that those things whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing.

With that advice Paul complied. Nor could it be of any bad consequence, after what had past, as related by St. Luke: “that James and the Elders rejoiced, and praised God for the Apostle’s success among the Gentils, and declared, that no legal services were expected of the Gentils that believed.” After that, what Paul did, only shewed, that it was not sinfull for Jews to practise the rites and ceremonies of the law. Nothing then done by him was any prejudice to the doctrine, always, and every where, taught by him.
him, that the observation of those rites was not necessary to salvation, nor at all available to any, whether Jews or Gentils, to justification in the sight of God. As (y) Augustin says: "The Apostles in their Council at Jerusalem had decreed, that no man ought to compel the Gentils to judaize. They did not decree, that any man should forbid the Jews to judaize: though the Christian doctrine did not require that even of them."

Augustin says again very well. "There (z) was no better way for Paul to confute the false report that had been raised, than for him to perform those things, which he was thought to condemn as sinful: and thus to shew, that neither the Jews were to be forbid them, as evil, nor the Gentils to be compelled to do them, as necessary."

Thus I have represented this case, as it has long appeared to me. And all along I have been supported by observations of Augustin, the fruit of that good sense, which (a) is a distinguishing part of his character. And I persuade myself, that most of my readers will with pleasure read them in his own words, placed at the bottom of my pages. Jerome's solution, propounded by him in his Commentarie upon the epistle to the Galatians, and in his letters to Augustin, though he was very positive, deserves not to be mentioned, nor taken any notice of.


(z) Et ideo illi invidiam et persecutionem molientes concitare, tanquam inimicum legis mandatorumque divinarum eriminabantur: cujus falsae criminationis invidiam congruentius devitare non posset, quam ut ea ipsa celebraret, quae damnare tanquam sacrilega putabatur: atque ita offenderet, nec Judaeos tunc ab eis tamquam nefariis prohibendos, nec Gentiles ad ea tamquam necessaria compellendos. Id. ib. p. 632.

(a) See the Credib. P. 2. vol. x. p. 201.
Ch. XXXVII. Review of his Testimonie to the Scriptures.

This point has detained us rather too long. But I do not see how it could be passed by without notice, or without clearing up a difficulty, which came in our way, and has been supposed to affect the credit of two of Christ's Apostles, and in them also the Christian cause *.*.*.

VIII. We may now look back upon what we have seen in Porphyrie. Whence, I think, it manifestly appears, that he was well acquainted with the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. For we have had before us many of his objections against the book of Daniel, an objection against a text in the book of Genesis. And we have observed plain references to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistle to the Galatians: and in his remarks upon that epistle, probable references to others of St. Paul's epistles. There can be no question made, that in his work against the Christians, many other books of the New Testament were quoted, or referred to by him. It is well, that in the remaining fragments of his work we have evidences of so many references to them, as there are. But it may be remembered, that Jerome, who seems to have had the whole work before him, said not long agoe: "That if because of Porphyrie's blasphemies, another Cephas must be invented, least Peter should be thought to have erred; innumerable passages must be struck out of the divine Scriptures, which he has found fault with, because he did not understand them." The places of Scripture therefore, which Porphyrie had remarked upon, were very numerous. Theodoret observes, that (*) Porphyrie read the Scriptures very carefully, when he was composing his work against us.

IX.

*...* This difficulty was largely considered in the Remarks upon Dr. Ward's Dissertations, p. 157. &c.

(*) Τιτον ακριβως ετυχων αν Πορφυριος μα- 

A.D. 270.
IX. I now proceed to observe some other passages of Porphyrie, concerning the Christian Religion, or the professors of it, and their affairs: where also there may be some references to our Scriptures.

1. Eusebius, in his Evangelic Preparation, has these words: "And (b) that evil demons have had no power of doing anything, since our Saviour's dwelling among men, the advocate of demons in our time somewhere testifies in his work against us, in this manner: And now people wonder, that this disemper has oppressed the city so many years, Esculapius, and the other gods no longer conversing with men. For since Jesus has been honoured, none have received any public benefit from the Gods. So says Porphyrie in those very words."

Here is proof, that the Christians were then very numerous in the Roman Empire. It likewise shews, that Porphyrie adopted the common cant, and was willing to expose to popular reproach, by insinuating, that they were the causies of the calamities that befell the Empire.

This passage is also quoted by Theodoret, in the same terms, in his work against the Gentils. And then he subjoyns: "So (c) says our greatest enemie, Porphyrie." But he does not say, no more than Eusebius, in which book of his work against the Christians it was found.

2. Upon

(b) Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μακάτον θυσίαθεν τὸ εἰρήνης φαίλεις δῖαιμάνια, μετά τὸν τῶν σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς ἀδικῶν πάροδον, εἰ ἄντε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν Δαμιάνου προτόγορος, ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν συγκεκριμένῃ, τότεν τού λόγου μαρτυρεῖ τὸν τρόπον. Νομὶ δὲ θαυμάζοντες εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦτοι καταλήψαν τότε πόλιν ἡ νόος, εἰς λυπησίαν μὲν ἑπτανήμιας, ἐκ τῶν ἐλλατέ διὰ τοῦ ἐρωτέται ὡς τίτι. Ιπποτίδια τιμημάτων ἐυθρημίας τις ἡθοῦ Ἱσαακίας ὁρισάμεν ἐπιστὰ τόπον. Ρ. Εὐ. l. 5. cap. i. p. 181. D.

2. Upon I. iii. 12. As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them. Jerome had this practical reflexion. "Let (d) us also take care therefore, that we be not oppressors among the people: lest, according to the impious Porphyrie, matrons and women compose our senate: and they rule in the churches, and the priestly order be disposed of according to the good pleasure of women."

3. Jerome in his letter to Crespiphon, against the Pelagians, having mentioned divers events and proceedings hard to be accounted for, goes on. "And (e) finally (which your good friend, Porphyrie, useth to object to us,) how came it to pass, that the gracious and merciful God should suffer all nations from Adam to Moses, and from Moses to the coming of Christ, to perish through ignorance of his laws and commands? Forasmuch as neither Britain fruitfull of Tyrants, nor the Scotish nations, nor the barbarous people all around, were acquainted with Moses and the Prophets. What necessity therefore was there, that he should come in the end of the world, and not till after an innumerabile multitude of men had perished?"

4. I shall now make some extracts out of a book or letter of Augustin


(e) Et ad extremum (quod folet nobis objicere contubernalis velfer Porphyrius,) qua ratione clemens et misericors Deus ab Adam usque ad Moysem, et a Moyse usque ad adventum Christi, pasus fit uni-
Porphyrie. Ch. XXXVII.

John xiv.

1. Guet (f) in answer to six questions or difficulties, as taken from Porphyrie, proposed by a Pagan at Carthage, and sent to him by a Presbyter, named Deogratias.

They are a proof of the esteem, which Heathen people then had for Porphyrie's work against the Christians. However, of these six questions three only appear to be taken from Porphyrie. I may therefore for the present confine my self to them, without taking particular notice of the rest. This letter of Augustinus is supposed to have been writ in the year 408.

5. The (g) second question, and as taken from Porphyrie, and supposed to be of great weight, was concerning the time of the Christian Revelation.

"If Christ, as he says, be the way of salvation, the truth, and the life, and they only who believe in him can be saved; what became of the men, which lived before his coming?" which difficulty is there enlarged upon.

Augustinus, beside other things, says in the way of solution, "that (h) there were revelations made to men from the beginning of the world,

(f) Inter haec missae sunt mihi a Carthagina Quæstiones sex, quas propofuit amicus quidam, quem cupiebam fieri Christianum, ut contra paganos solvere tur, praefertim quia nonnullas earum a Porphyrio philolopho propofitas dixit: . . Harum quæstionum disputationes in unum librum contuli, non prolixum, cujus titulus est, Sex Quæstiones contra Paganos expolitae. . . Retr. l. 2. cap. 31.


(b) Et tamen ab initio generis humani, alias occultius, alias evidentius, fict cum congrue temporibus divinius vifum et: nec prophetari definit, nec qui in eum crederent defuerant, ab Adam usque ad Moysen, et in ipso populo Israel, quæ speciali quodam mysterio gens prophetica fuit, et in aliis gentibus, antequam veniferent in carne. Cum enim nonnulli commemorantur in fanctis hebraicis libris jam extemore Abraham, nec e fpirpe carnis eujus, nec ex populo Israel, nec ex adventitias.
Ch. XXXVII. Passages concerning Christian Affairs.

"world, such as were suited to the circumstances of things: and that "all good men, in every part of the world, were accepted, and fav-"ed. In the sacred Hebrew volumes, down from the time of A-"raham, some are mentioned, who had the knowledge of the true "religion, who neither were descended from him, nor were of the "people of Israel, nor engraven in among them. The like may "be supposed of some in other nations, who also would obtain sal-"vation."

6. The third of the six Questions was to this purpose. "The (i) "Christians find fault with sacred-rites and sacrifices, and incense, "and other things, in which the worship at temples consists. And "yet they allow, that this kind of worship began in ancient times, "by the appointment of God, who also is represented as wanting "first-fruits."

This (4) difficulty, as Augustine observes, was founded on what is written in our Scriptures, where it is said. Gen. iv. 4. That Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel

Greek scripturae in populo Israel, qui tamen hujus sacramenti participes fuerunt; cur non credamus etiam in ceteris, hae atque illae gentibus, alias alios suisse, quamvis eos commemoratos in eodem auctoritati-"bus non legamus? Ita falso religionis huj-"s, per quam solam veram salutis verave "raciter proponit, nulli unquam defuit, "qui dignus fuit. ib. n. 15.

(i) Jam videamus eam, quae sequitur quaestionem. Accu-fant, inquit, ritus sac-"rorum, hostias, thura, et cetera, quae templorum cultus exercuit: cum idem cultus ab ipsis, inquit, vel a Deo quem colunt exortus est temporibus princiis, cum inducitur Deus primitiis egisse. ib. n. 16.

(4) Huic respondetur, quoniam, ex il-

lo scripturarum nostrarum loco haec quae velio proposita agnoscitur, ubi scriptum "Cain ex fructibus terrae, Abel autem "ex primitivis ovium obstitisse munus Deo. "Hinc potius est intelligendum, quam fit "res antiqua sacrificium, quod non nisi uni "Deo vero offerri oportere veraces et fa-"crae litterae moment: non quod illo egeat "Deus, cum in eodem ipsi literis apertissi-"me sit scriptum, Dixi Domino: Deus "meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum "nongentes. ... n. 17. ... Quo propoter qui "Christianas litteras utrietque Testamenti "sciunt, non hoc culpant in sacrilegis riti-"bus pagorum, quod constatant templum, "et instituant facerdotia, sed quod haec ido-"litis et demoniis exhibeat. ib. n. 18.
Abel brought of the firstlings of the flock. Which, as Augustin allows, shews, that sacrifices were appointed of old, which were to be offered to God alone: and that they were designed for the good of men, not of God, who needed not any thing, as is plainly declared Ps. xvi. 2. I have said unto the Lord: Thou art my God, thou needest not my goods: or in our version, my goodness extendeth not to thee. Nor, as he goes on, do Christians blame Pagans for their temples, and sacrifices, but because they offer them to idols and demons.

7. The fourth of the six Questions is to this purpose. “Christ (l) threatens everlasting punishment to those who do not believe “in him. And yet in another place he says: With what measure “you mete, it shall be meted to you again. Which is absurd and con- “tradiciorie. For all measure must be limited to time.”

Augustin (m) thinks, this a trifling argument, not becoming a Philosopher. However, he says, it (n) may be depended upon, that the judgement of Christ will be equitable, and that none shall be punished beyond the demerit of their offenses.

If these difficulties are indeed taken out of Porphyrie’s work against the Christians, they serve to assure us, that his objections were very much levelled at our Scriptures, which he knew were in great esteem. And to overthrow them would be overthrowing the faith built upon them.

8. The

(l) Jam nunc deinde videamus, quaie fit, quod de mensura peccati atque supplici cii propo sit, sic Evangelio calumniatus. Minatur, inquit, Christus f sibi non credentibus, aeterna supplicia. Et alibi ait: In qua mensura menti fueritis, remetietur vobis. Satis, inquit ridicule atque contrarie. Nam si ad mensuram redditurus est poenam, et omnes mensura circumscripta est fine temporis, quid si f sibi volunt minae infiniti supplici 

(m) Istam quaestionem a quacumque philoso pho esse objectam atque propositam, difficile est credere. n. 23.

(n) Nunc tamen arbitrator, fatis esse monstratum, non esse contrarium aeternitati suppliciorum, quod in eadem mensura redduntur, in qua peccata commissa sunt. Ib. num. 27.
Ch. XXXVII. **Objections against the Christians.**

8. The (o) fifth and sixth Questions contain also Pagan objections. But as they do not appear to be taken from Porphyrie, I omit them now. Nor do I intend to take them at all, they **•**• being trifling.

9. Pf. lxxxii. 8. **Arise, o God, judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations.**

Here Jerome, or whoever is the author of the Breviary upon the Psalter, in a style and manner, somewhat resembling Jerome's, ex-tols the succeffe of Peter and Paul in preaching the gospel. **“God** **•** (p) sent Moses, I saiah, Jeremiab, and other prophets. And in **•** (p) Judab

(o) Qu. V. Post hanc quaestitionem, qui eas ex Porphyrio proposuit, hoc adjunxit... *Ib. n. 28.*

Q. VI. Postrema quaestio proposita est de Jona, nec ipsa quasi ex Porphyrio, sed tamquam ex irissione paganorum... *Ib. n. 30.*

**•** The sixth Question or difficulty relates to the history of Jonah. Which, as Augustin observes, afforded laughter in conversation among Pagans. Hoc enim genus quaestionis, multo cæhinno a Paganis graviter irrisum animadverti. *Ibid. num. 30.*

(p) Quamdiu Moyfem miseras, quamdiu I s a i a m , quamdiu Jeremiab, quamdiu alios prophetas: notus erat in Judæa Deus, in Israel magnum nomen ejus. In modica terra nominis Dei notitia ferebatur. Misifi Petrum p 1 1 1 a t o m e r , qui dimiserat rete, qui ab opere callofam hæbebat manum. Non misifi oratorem, non misifi philosophum. Misifi hominem ruflicanum, hominem p 1 1 1 a t o m e r . Ifte p 1 1 1 a t o r , ifte ruflicanus de Jerofolyma perrexit Romam, et ruflicanus cepit Romam, quam eloquentes capere non potuerunt.

Rurfum ivit Paulus apostolus, et de J erofolyma prædicavit uque in Illyricum. Deinde dicit, quod de urbe Roma iret in Hispaniam... Ubi sunt, qui prædican t Alexander Magnum Macedonum imperatorem, quod in brevi tempore vicerit tantas gentes? Habuit exercitum, habuit et ingentes turbas. Non tale aliquid potuit, sed modicum quiddam. Ifte vero Paulus quondam per 1 1 1 e c t o r fuit, qui di c e b a t : Et si imperitus s um semone, non tamen scientiâ. Qui folocœfmos facit in loquendo, crucem Chrifti portat, et quasi triumphans omnes capit. Totum or b e m subegit ab Oceano uque ad mare Rubrum. Dicat aliquid: hoc totum lucri fecerunt. Hoc enim dicit Porphyri us. Homines ruflicani et p a u p e r e s, quot i a m nihil habebant, magicis artibus operati sunt quaedam signa. Non est autem grande facere signa. Nam fecerunt signa in Aegypto magi contra Moyfen. Fecit et Apollonius, fecit et Apuleius. Infiniti signa fecerunt Concedo tibi, Porphyri, magicis artibus signa fecerunt, ut divitias accipierent a divitibus mulierculis, quas induixerant. Hoc enim tu dicis. Quare mor-
Judah was God known, his name was great in Israel, a small track of land only. He sent Peter, no philosopher nor orator, but an illiterate fisherman, who went from Jerusalem to Rome, and converted Rome, which the most eloquent men were not able to do. Again he sent out the apostle Paul, and he preached the gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum. 

Alexander the great, King of the Macedonians, with a powerful army did not conquer so many nations, as they did. This Paul, who once was a persecutor, who says of himself, that he was rude in speech, though not in knowledge, who made solemnities in his speech, subdued the whole world. Some one may say, all this was done for the sake of gain. So says Porphyrie. Ignorant and indigent men, because they had nothing, performed some signs by magical art. Which is no great matter. For the Magicians in Egypt, and many others, have wrought signs. Let it be granted. And, as you say, the Apostles wrought signs, that they might enrich themselves with the treasures of rich women, whom they perverted. But then, why did they die? Why were they crucified? Others have wrought signs by magical arts, but they did not die for a dead man: they were not crucified for a man that had been crucified. They knew him to be dead. And did they die without any reason? Our victory is compleated in the blood of the Apostles. Our faith is ratified in their blood. Let us therefore praise God, to whom be glory for ever and ever."

If Porphyrie did indeed cast that reflection upon the Apostles, saying, they were deceivers, who were influenced by worldly views; (of which I think, no doubt can be made:) we have here another proof

proof of his malevolence. And we see the reason, why his work was so offensive to the Christians.

10. Porphyrie, in his Life of Plotinus, writ in his old age, and still extant, says: "There (q) were at that time many Christians, and others, heretics, who had sprung from the ancient philo-

phie, followers of Adelphius, and Acylonius, who deceiving others,

and being deceived, pretended, that Plato had not gone to the

bottom of the intelligible essence. Against them Plotinus often

argued in his disputations, and also wrote a little book, to which

we gave this title: Against the Gnoptics."

Porphyrie says, he gave it that title, because (r) he was the editor of that, and other works of Plotinus. That little book, treatise, or chapter, is still extant among the works of Plotinus. But (s) there is not in it any express mention either of Gnoptics, or Christians. It was writ, whilst Porphyrie was with Plotinus: therefore between the year 263. and 268.

11. Porphyrie's four books, Of Abstinence from Animali, are in-

scribed to his friend, Firmus Castricius, who had forsaken the Py-

thagorean institution, and had begun to eat the flesh of animals. In

his introduction to that work, near the beginning of the first book, are these words. "For, says (** Porphyrie, I do not ascribe this" de-

\[
(q) \text{Tyrannii \delta \kappaατ \αυτω των \χριστιανων
\]

\[
\text{σωλω \μη, \χαι \αλλω \απερηκοι \δε \ει \των \πα-
\]

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\text{λων \φιλοσοφων \αιτημανα, \τι \πετρ \Αδηλ-
\]

\[
\text{φιων \ε Ακυλων- \τοσο \ενω \\
\]

\[
(r) \text{Ibid. cap. 24.}
\]

\[
(i) \text{Est Enneados secundae liber non-
\]

\[
\text{nus, licet in illo ne semel quidem vel
\]

\[
\text{Gnosticorum nomen vel cujufquam ex his
\]

\[
\text{Porphyrio nominatis, mentio occurrit. Fabr.
\]

\[
\]

\[
(**) \text{Ou χερ \ε & ει \αιραιον \ει \της}
\]

\[
\text{διαφορας \λαμαργης, καταφυτις τω ται-
\]

\[
\text{ρτως, \ε μιλων \φιλοσοφων \των, \φασαιμε
\]

\[
\text{αι \ει \ελαττω της \φανη των \παρε των \ιδι-
\]

\[
\text{ων \ενα \ει \τω τωμ \ενωτε, \ει \εω \πρωτον}
\]

\[
\text{καταδεξαςεν, τω \τω \μοριον \υπαινας, \ει
\]

\[
\text{των \ζωω, \ει \με \θε \ενεργη \αποχωρι
\]

\[
\text{το}\
\]

\[
\text{σαλ ει \κρα \\}
\]

\[
\text{A. D. 270.}
\]
defection of yours to intemperance, or gluttonie. Nor do I think 
your disposition to be worse than that of some mean people: who 
having embraced rules different from their former way of life, 
will endure to be torn limb from limb, rather than return to their 
old course: and now abstain from some animals, which they once 
ate greedily, with more care than from human flesh.”

1. This cannot relate to Jews, who always were under a strict 
rule of diet. 2. Therefore, probably, it relates to Christians, who 
had departed from their former way of living, and were then, gene-
raally, mean people, or so esteemed by Porphyrie. They did not ab-
stain from any kinds of animals, but they generally forbore to eat 
bloud, and refused to eat animals that were strangled, from which 
the bloud had not been fairly drained. 3. And they were resolute 
in adhering to the principles, which they had received. 4. If this 
reflexion relates to Christians, (as I think it does) it shews great ref-
sentment, and bitterness of spirit. 5. And it ought to be observed, 
that it is brought in, without any necessity, in a work of Porphyrie, 
unquestionably Genuine. The design of the observation, I suppose, 
is to recommend to his friend openneffe to conviction. He hoped, 
he could not be so obstinate and inflexible in his new opinion, as the 
mean people here spoken of.

12. Thus I have now alleged all such passages of Porphyrie’s work 
against the Christians, as I have met with quoted by Christian writ-
ters, the work itself not being now extant. I may have overlooked 
†‡ some. But I have omitted none, which occur to my memorie.

†‡ Dr. Macknight, The Truth of the 
Gospel Historie. p. 319. 320. says, “Por-
phyrie blames Jesus, as giving encou-
ragement to fraud, by the parable of 
the Steward, who wasted his Lord’s 
goods.” The same observation is also 
in his Harmony of the four Gospels, p. 404.
2d edition. Not having in my papers any 
reference to such a passage of Porphyrie, I 
have writ to Dr. Macknight, entreating 
him to refer me to the place, intended by 
him, where that observation might be 
found.
Ch. XXXVII. Of the Philosophy of Oracles.

I have also just now alleged a short passage concerning the Christians from Porphyrie's Life of Plotinus, still extant: and another from his work Of Abstinence from the flesh of animals, which is also still extant, and unquestionably genuine.

X. There is another work, ascribed to Porphyrie, and often quoted by Eusebius, entitled The Philosophy of Oracles. Lucas Holstenius in his Life of Porphyrie (t) has given an account of all his works, and of this in particular, without any suspicion of it's being spurious. Fabricius (u) likewise still thinks it genuine, notwithstanding the objections of * Fontenelle. Another learned man says: "Some (x) have suspected, but without sufficient reason, this book of Porphyrie to be forged." Dr. Gregory Sharpe also makes use of this work in his Argument for Christianiety, taken from the Concessions of the most ancient Adversaries. He seems not to have had any doubt of it's genuiness. For after having quoted a good deal from it, he says: "I (y) will only make this one observation upon this long quotation from Eusebius: That it contains not only the opinion of Porphyrie, but the testimonie of their Gods, or, if you please, of their Priests, who did not dare to deny the excellence of the character of Jesus. These oracles cannot be called the forgeries of Christians. And whatever may be justly said against those of the Sybil,

* * *

Found. Nevertheless I have not received from him any such reference. I must therefore conclude, that by some means or other, that learned and laborious writer has been led into a mistake. However, I still wish, the place might be found, if there is any such.

(t) De Vita et Scriptis Porphyrii, cap. x. al. ix.
(u) Quare non attentior elegantissimo

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* See Fontenell's History of Oracles Diff. i. ch. iv.
(x) Dr. Jortin. Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Vol i. p. 301. See what there follows the above quotation.
(y) P. 71. 72.
"Sibyl, these must have their weight with all, who regard the authority of Porphyry, or the testimonie of our adversaries."

This work is also approved by (x) Mr. Mosheim and (a) Dr. Chapman.

It is also much approved by Colonia, who, beside other things, says: "Porphyry (b) declares, and makes our greatest mysteries to be declared by the Oracles of Apollo." Again: "He (c) makes the Goddesse Hecate say, and he acknowledgeth himself, that Jesus Christ is a man illustrious for piety, and that he is more powerful than Asculapius, and all the other Gods."

This work is quoted with approbation by many other learned (d) men.

(x) De Rebus Christian. ante Const. M. sec. 2. §. xxxii. p. 293...299.
(a) See his Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury. p. 10. and p. 76.

(b) Porphyre annonce, et fait annoncer nos plus grands mysteries par les Oracles d'Apollon. La Religion Chrétienne autorisée par le temoignage des anciens Payens. P. i. ch. lx. §. vi. p. 342.
(c) Porphyre fait dire à la Dieuë Hecaté, et il reconnoit lui-même, que Jesus Christ est un homme illustre par sa pieté, et qu'il est plus fort qu'Esculape, et que tous les autres Dieux. Ib. §. vii. p. 345.
(d) Says Dr. Doddridge, Course of Lectures, &c. p. 252. "Porphyry also, tho' an inveterate enemy to Christianiety, not only allowed, there was such a man as Christ, but honoured him, as a most wise and pious man, translated into heaven, as being approved by the Gods, and accordingly quotes some Oracles, referring to his sufferings, and virtues, with their subseuent rewards."

And Dr. Macknight, Truth of the Gospel-History. p. 328. "The same Porphyry gives a most honourable testimonie to the character of Jesus, which must not be omitted here. It is preferred by Eufebius in his Demontr. Evangel. p. 134. This now is what Porphyry has said. The respectfull manner, in which Porphyry here writes of our Lord, plainly shews us, that the bitter speeches, which in the passage of Cyril before cited. p. 317. he is said to have uttered, were levelled only against the Christians, and not against their master."

"So then, this justly suspected, and paltry book, has at length gained such authority, as to be superior to the indisputable testimonie of an ancient Christian writer. And Porphyry, it seems, did not write against Jesus Christ, but only against Christians. However, we have been assured, ..."
This work, as I said just now, is approved by the late Mr. Mosheim. It is the consequence of a scheme formed by him concerning (e) a Disturbance caused in the Church by the later Platonic Philosophers. I presume, it will not be disallowed, that I have a great regard for Mr. Mosheim, and have oftentimes expressed myself concerning him with great respect. But I do not adopt this scheme. I think it a chimerical and visionary notion. According to which, there is little or no difference between a Heathen and a Christian, or between Origen, a sincere and zealous Christian, if ever there was such an one, and an excellent Defender of the Christian Doctrine, and an indefatigable Preacher, and Commentator, and Porphyry, a mere Heathen, as is manifest from his Lives of Pythagoras, and Plotinus, and a bitter enemy of the Christians, and Christianity, as we are assured by many ancient Christian authors, and as his own long work against the Christians testifies. If that opinion of Mr. Mosheim should prevail, it would indeed occasion great disorder in ecclesiastical historie, and much confusion in the characters of many ancient Christian writers of great eminence. It may also create much confusion in the characters of divers men of great eminence among the Heathens: who †4 will no longer be allowed to have been what they really were.†4 Quantum vero detrimenti Sophistae

(e) De turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesiam. Diff. ii. inter Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes. p. 85.

†4 Quantum vero detrimenti Sophistae hi, aut Philosophi, Scientiae suae opinione, odioque Christiani nominis inflati, rei Christianae compararent, cum multa ex hoc aevi exempla, tum Julianus postifimum ostendit, qui ab hoc genere deceptus est. Ex his, qui sapientiores videvi volebant, et temperationem quandam confectioni, multi disputationibus et interpretationibus eorum adduci se finebant, ut medium sit quamquam religionem inter veterem ac recentiorem essingerent, Christi.
were, throughout Gentils: but for the future must be reckoned, in a sense Christians, or at least, half Heathens, and half Christians. But upon that I enlarge no farther now. Another occasion may offer to clear up their characters.

As this disturbance, this confusion and mixture of Gentilism and Christianity, is all ascribed to (f) Ammonius Saccas, I must say somewhat farther concerning him, though (g) I formerly said as much as I could then think to be needful.

It is to be observed then, that from (b) Eusebius, we learn, that Porphyrie in his work against the Christians, says of Ammonius, the celebrated Philosopher of Alexandria, master of Plotinus, and other learned men: That having been educated a Christian by Christian parents, as soon as he came to years of understanding, and had a taste of philosophy, he presently betook himself to a life agreeable to the laws. To which Eusebius says: "It is a downright falsehood, to say, he exchanged Christianity for Gentilism. For Ammonius maintained sincerely and uncorrupted the doctrine of the divine philosophy to the end of his life: as his works, which he left behind him still testify, and for which he is in great repute: such as the treatise entitled, Of the Consequent 


(g) Credib. P. 2. ch. 36. vol. 3. p. 114.

(b) H. E. l. 6. cap. 19. p. 220.
Ch. XXXVII. *Of the Philosophy of Oracles:*

sent of Moses and Jesus, and many others, which may be found with
the curious.

From Eusebius, and agreeably to him, Jerome in his book of Ec-
clesiastical (i) Writers, says of Ammonius of Alexandria, *Among ma-
ny excellent monuments of his wit, be composed also an elegant work of
the Consent of Moses and Jesus, and invented the Evangelical Canons,
which Eusebius of Caesarea afterwards followed. This person is falsly
reproached by Porphyrie, that of a Christian he became a Heathen:
whereas it is certain, he continued a Christian to the end of his life.*

Accordingly, it has been of late the General opinion of learned
men, that Ammonius, sometimes called Saccas, was a Christian. But
Fabricius (s) has contradicted it, and well observed, and plainly
shown, that Eusebius has confounded two authors, and has ascribed
the works of Ammonius, a Christian writer, to Ammonius, master
of Plotinus.

Many learned men have been well satisfied with the reasons as-
signed by Fabricius. Mr. Mosheim himself was well satisfied with
them, when he wrote the above mentioned Dissertatio. He (t)
"then made no doubt, that Eusebius was mistaken, and confound-
ed two of the name Ammonius, one a Philosopher, the other a
"Christian writer. Ammonius, he says, was better known to Por-
"phyrie, who had heard Plotinus, one of the principal disciples of

---

(i) De V. I. cap. 55.
(t) Negat quidem Eusebius haec ita se
habere, et Ammonium ad extremum uf-
que spiritum immotum in religione Chri-
tiana perstitisse, prohibet: cui creden-
dum esse potius, quam Euseb. max-
imi nominis viri censent: quos inter ien.
Valeius, Pet. Baylius, et Jac. Espanagi-
us eminent. Ego vero Eusebium errare,
atque duos inter se Ammonios, alterum
philosophum, alterum Christianum scrip-
torem confudisse, nullus dubito: quam
sententiam praeclare confirmavit Jo. Alb.
Fabricius. Notior certe Porphyrio eft
debit Ammonius, qui Plotinum audive-
rat, praeipuum Ammonii discipulum,
quam Eusebio, qui a temporibus ejus lon-
go fatis intervallo remotus est. Mosheim,
“Ammonius, than to Eusebius, who lived a good while afterwards.”

He there adds other reasons for the same opinions.

Nevertheless, undoubtedly, it would be more commodious for the support of the notion advanced by him, to suppose, that Ammonius, from whom all that disturbance proceeded, was a Christian, or a half-Christian, or somewhat like it. Accordingly, Mr. Mosheim, has since altered his opinion concerning that great (u) man. I do not allege his reasons, which appear to me to be of no weight, and tend only to form a character, which never existed any where, and was never heard of before. And is indeed meer invention, without evidence.

Eusebius must have been mistaken. Ammonius, master of Plotinus, could not be the author of the Christian books mentioned by him. They must have been writ by another of that name, which, probably, was not uncommon among the Egyptians. Porphyrie may have been mistaken about his early life. He must have known what was his character, when he taught philosophie in the later part of his life. And it is agreeable to what is said of Ammonius by (x)

(u) Magnis certant argumentis, qui Porphyriio adlentiuntur: quibus ego motus ipse olim affirmare non dubitavi, Ammonium sacra Christiana deferuiffe. . . .

And at p. 126. of the same work he says: Ammonius Harmoniam Evangeliorum composuit. See Mr. Maclain’s version, p. 143. But I must take the liberty to say: It appears to me very strange, that any learned man should be able to persuade himself, that the Harmonic of the Gospels was composed by Ammonius, master of Plotinus.

Ch. XXXVII. Of the Philosophy of Oracles.

Longinus, and (y) Ammianus Marcellinus. Who also is called the (z) Divine Ammonius by Hierocles, another celebrated Philosopher of Alexandria, in the fifth century.

Whence it came to pass, that Eusebius was so mistaken about Ammonius, cannot be said now. But I am persuaded, that he did not learn it from Origen. The conterarie may be perceived from a part of a letter of Origen, preferred in Eusebius: and which, I think, is decisive, and may fully satisfy us, that Ammonius was a Heathen Philosopher. I therefore transcribe it largely. And it follows in course immediately after his remarks upon Porphyrie. "All (a) this I have said for converting that liar, and for shewing Origen's great skill in the Greek learning. Concerning which Origen himself speaks also in a letter, in which he makes an apologie for himself, to those who blamed him for his so much attending to that sort of literature. When, says he, I was wholly employed in reading and explaining the word of God, the reputation of my progress being spread abroad everywhere, there came to me some heretics, and also some others, studious of Greek literature, and particularly of philosophy. I therefore thought it expedient for me to make inquiries into the opinions of heretics, and likewise the sentiments of the Philosophers, who boast much of their teaching the truth. This we did, in imitation of Pantænus, who before us excelled in that knowledge: as (b) also of Heraclas, who is now Presbyter in the church of Alexandria. Whom I found with a master of philosophical learning, under whom he had studiud five years, before I began to be an auditor of


(b) ... καὶ τῆς τῶν τῶν προσθετέρων καθιζών Αλεξανδρίων Ηρακλῆς ὀνομαζόμενης ἡ Ἡρακλῆς περατομένη τῶν προσθετέρων καθιζών, ἔγραμμεν ἐπειδή τοῦ καθιζών τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λόγων κ. Λ. Ibid. p. 221. B. C.
of those discourses, who, though before he had wore the common habit, put on that of a Philosopher, which he still wears. And to this time continues diligently to read the writings of Greek Authors. Thus he speaks, apologizing for his study of the Greek learning.

So writes Eusebius. The master of philosophical learning, on whom Heraclas attended five years, is not named. But he can be no other than Ammonius, of whom we are speaking: as is allowed by (c) Valæius, and cannot be contested by any. And I think, the coherence leads us to suppose him, without hesitation, to have been a Heathen Philosopher. In proof of which therefore I shall say nothing more.

Upon the whole, it appears to me very evident, that Ammonius, master of Plotinus, and other great men, of whom Porphyry speaks, was a Heathen Philosopher. Ammonius, author of divers Christian writings, of whom Eusebius speaks, was a genuine Christian, without any exceptions ever made to his Christianit, that we know of. Nor does it appear from Antiquity, that his faith was corrupted with any mixtures of Heathenish doctrines.***

(c) Eò his verbis colligere est, origenem eodem magistro quo Heraclam usum elli in philosophia. Vocabatur autem ille Ammonius, ut Porphyrus supra dixit. Vir fuit suiperioris philosophorum celeberrimus. Valæ ad Eusebii lecum.

*** Mr. Moheim, as seems to me, is so intent upon his notion of a late, or modern sect of Platonic Philosophers, as to forget himself sometimes. In his Institutions he says, that Celsus, who wrote against the Christians, was not, as Origen thought, an Epicurean, but a Platonic Philosopher, of the Sect of Ammonius. Libro ex instituto Christianos oppugnavit Celsus philosophus, quem Origenes, a quo con-

futatus est, Epicureum facit, nos firmioribus argumentis duci, Platonicum esse, ex Amnonii secta putamus. Instr. H. E. Sec. 2. P. i. cap. ii. p. 75. And to the like purpose in his work De Reb. Christian, ante C. M. p. 255. 256. But how could that be? How should Celsus be a follower of Ammonius, who lived a good while before Ammonius? Celsus lived, and wrote in the second century. Ammonius did not flourish before the third century. Plotinus, as we know from Porphyry, came to study under Ammonius, at Alexandria, in the 28. year of his age, in the year of Christ 232. and said with him eleven years, leaving him in
The design of all these observations is to shew, that Ammonius, called Saccas, was a Heathen, and that from any other character, groundlessly imputed to him, no argument can be formed in favour of the genuineness of the work entitled, the Philosophie of Oracles, ascribed to Porphyrie.

Many learned men, as just seen, have received it, and quoted it, as his. But Vandale (d) considers it as a spurious work. And as it is now a good while since he delivered his opinion about it, I cannot but wonder, that none of the learned men abovementioned, have attended to his argument. I likewise many years ago expressed my suspicions about the genuineness (e) of it. And still it appears to me to have in it plain marks of forgerie. I shall now give my reasons at length, and in such a manner, as to allege those passages of it, which

in the 38 or 39 year of his age, in the year of Christ 242. Vide Perphyr. de Vita Plotini. cap. 3. et Conspexitus Vitae Plotini : ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 4. p. 88. 89. Which plainly shews, that Ammonius did not flourish before the beginning of the third century. Moreover Origen was a hearer of Ammonius. If Celsus also had studied under him, he and Origen might have been fellow-disciples. Or, suppose, that Celsus was a little older, and had preceded him in the same school, Origen could not have been altogether unacquainted with him. Whereas, we have learned from Origen himself, that he knew of two only of that name, one who lived in the time of Nero, the other in the time of Adrian, and afterwards. See the 2d. vol. of this Work, p. 269.

(d) Circa hanc rem tamen, non tam inhi obititur admiratio, . . . Baronium, a-

Vol. III. D d
which are favorable to Christianity, and ought to be alleged as Porphyrie's, if this work could be allowed to be genuine.

1. The first mark of forgerie is in the introduction, in which the author makes professions of veracity in terms so strong, as to raise a suspicion of some bad design.

Eusebius proceeding to quote this book, says, "he (f) will not infift on the testimonie of friends, which might be of little value, but those of strangers, not of our body. And of all the Greek historians, and philosophers that ever were, none can be more fitly alleged here, than (g) that very friend of demons, who in our time has gained so much reputation by the falsehoods, which he has published against us. In the work, which he has writ of the Philosopher from Oracles, he has made a collection of the oracles of Apollo, and the other Gods, and good demons."

"And, says Eusebius, it will be worth the while, in the first place, to observe, how the forementioned person begins his work, confirming the truth of what he says by an oath, in these very words. "For, says (b) he, I call the gods to witness, that I have added nothing to the sense of what has been delivered by oracle. Nor have I taken any thing from it. I have only corrected some literal mistakes, or supplied the metre, when it was defective, or have left out some things not material. But whatever alterations of this kind I have made, I have preferred the sense entire: being more afraid of committing such an impiety, than of undergoing the penalty of saferige."

This asseveration of veracity is abundantly too strong. An honest man can seldom have occasion for such solemnity in his writings.

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<td>(f) Pr. Eu. l. 4. cap. vii. p. 142. 143.</td>
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<td>(g)</td>
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<td>(b) Ib. cap. vii. p. 143.</td>
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Ch. XXXVII. Of the Philoſophie of Oracles.

Nor do I perceive any reason, that Porphyrie should have to prefix such an introduction to any thing he had to say about philosophie, or theologie.

2. Another mark of forgerie is the strict injunction of silence, contained also in this author's introduction to his work.

Eusèbius goes on in the same place. "After (i) that preface to his work, he earnestly requires, and enjoyns, that what he is about to say, should not be divulged. And in these very words, "Thou therefore above all take care, not to publish these things, nor to mention them before the profane, neither for the sake of glorie, or of gain, or any other low advantage. For thereby will accrue danger not only to thy-self for transgressing this precept, but to me also, who have too easily confided in a person not able to conceal such benefits. "But (k) they may be communicated to such as order the course of their life with a view to the salvation of the soul. And afterwards he adds: Thou (l) art to conceal these things, as the greatest of secrets. "For neither have the Gods spoke plainly of themselves in their oracles, "but obscurely."

This strict injunction of silence is another just ground of suspicion. It affords reason to believe, that this work could not bear the examination of the publick. Moreover here is a Christian phrase. It may be communicated to such as order the course of their life with a view to the salvation of the soul. A like phrase, hopes (m) of salvation, occurs in what Eusèbius calls the preface, of which, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted a part, and have taken only the oath of veracity.

D d 2

(i) Ib. cap. viii. p. 144.
(k) ἄντιω σὲ τὸς τῶν φίλων ἐννεαμίνους 144. C.
(l) τὰῦτὰ μοι, ὡς ἐρρίχω ἔπειτα, οὐκ ἔστω μόνος ἐνιαυτὸς τῶν ἐκπεμπτῶν. P. 143. C.
(m) ... ὡς οἱ μοι μείζοι τῆς ἐκπεμπτο-

"For neither have the Gods spoke plainly of themselves in their oracles, "but obscurely."
It is hence plain, that this work was to be communicated to Christians only. But why so, provided these oracles were genuine? For, if they had really been delivered by the Gods, they must have been of as much advantage to Heathens, as to Christians: or rather more to the former, who, as one might think, should have greater regard to what their Gods said, than Christians, who believed those Gods to be no other than evil demons.

3. This book is not Porphyrie's, because it often notoriously contradicts the sentiments, which Porphyrie has delivered in those writings, which are certainly his.

In his work of Abstinence from animals, he starts an objection.

"If (n) animals are not to be killed, we shall be deprived of the benefits of divination, which depends upon searching their entrails.

To which he answers, that a Philosopher, abstained from the world, seldom has occasion to go to demons, or priests, and diviners, and the entrails of animals. He rarely wants advice about marriage, a good servant, commerce. And as for things of religion, he consults his own breast, and goes to God dwelling in him. Concerning (o) such things, as he is most desirous to know, no certain information can be had from diviners, and the entrails of animals."

After such a declaration, it seems improbable, that Porphyrie should consult oracles concerning any point, especially about the Christian Religion, concerning which he had long ago formed his judgement, and had published it to the world in books writ with great diligence and earnestness.

But passing over that, there is an instance of contradiction in the first quotation, which Eusebius makes after the preface to this work. It contains a long oracle in verse, and then the writer's explication, and observations, in prose, according to the usual method of this work.

(n) Miftinentia, c. 1. cap. 51. 52. (o) Πεις ει δε ζηναι, μωρης μην εις...
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In this oracle Apollo himself reckons up the several kinds of deities, heavenly, ærial, earthly, subterraneous, and teaches, what animals, and of what colours, ought to be offered to those several deities, and in what manner. After producing that passage, "now, says (p) Eusebius, compare this discourse with what the same author has said in his books, which he entitles Of Abstinence from animals. For there he very rationally teaches, that sacrifices and incense are not to be offered to the God over all, nor to the divine and heavenly powers next after him. And proceeds so far as to say, that they deserve not to be accounted Gods, who delight in such sacrifices. For the killing of animals is a great and detestable impiety, and therefore not acceptable to the Gods. Whence it appears, adds Eusebius, that his God is condemned. For, as he says, the oracle commanded, animals to be sacrificed not only to the subterraneous deities, but also to the ærial, and heavenly, and ethereal. Thus Apollo directs here. But he [in the other work] citing also Theophrastus to the same purpose, says, that sacrifices of animals ought not to be offered to gods, but only to demons. So that, according to himself, and Theophrastus, Apollo is no god, but a demon. Nor are the other, who are called gods, any better, who are everywhere worshiped with animals by princes and people, in cities and villages." Very right.

Nevertheless the present argumentation is of no weight. There ought first of all to be good proof of the genuinnesse of a writing, that contradicts the sentiments, which an author has advanced in another work, evidently his, and that not by the by only, but on set purpose, and in a long series of arguments, of which he appears to be fully persuaded.

If the books de Abstinentia, &c. are Porphyrie's, (as they undoubtedlly are) and if the sentiments therein taught, contradict those of the Philosopbie of Oracles, this last is not genuine. Indeed, this appears to

(p) Pr. Evang. l. 4. cap. 9. p. 145... 147.
to be the work of some Christian, who intended to decry the Hea-
then worship, and all the whole system of Heathen theologie.

I forbear to allege passages of these oracles at length, in which
the Gods are reviled in a manner very agreeable to the Christian no-
tions of them at that time. But I ought not to omit to observe, that
they are here represented, as acknowledging themselves compelled
to answer the questions put to them. "One says: Hear (q) me
"speaking unwillingly, what necessity obliges me to say." In an-
other of these oracles Apollo says: "This (r) is a powerful and hard
"necessity laid upon me." When they have been brought down
from heaven to answer the inquiries made of them, they (s) earnest-
ly solicit a return, and to be let go away. The Gods of this work
likewise are made to (t) teach the art magick.

But it is time to have done with these absurdities. If Porphy-
rie was not a Christian, but a Heathen Philosopher, and an enemie
to the Christians, this work is not his.

4. In this work are many things very favorable to the Christian
Religion. Therefore it cannot be Porphyrie's, who wrote against
the Christians, and long afterwards lay under great reproach upon
that account, as the worst and most abusive enemie they ever had.

Here I shall produce those passages, which ought to have been
alleged before, if it could with good reason be supposed, that this
work was composed by Porphyrie.

In his Evangelic Preparation Eusebius writes thus: "Porphyrie
"(u) in the first book of the Philosophe taught by oracles, brings
"in

(q) Καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος ἀναγινώσκεις ἐκεῖνος καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσήλθεν, ἀπὸ γὰρ ὧν ἔνθεσαν ἐν αὐτῷ. Pr. Ev. l. v. §. 8. p. 194. B.
(r) "Οὐμεν ἀναγινωσκεις το δι καρτερον, ἢ γεγραμμεν. I b. C.
(s) Γάρ οὐκ οὑτοῦ ἀνακαλω... c. 9. p. 195.
(t) Καὶ ἐντὸς λειτοῦ ἀνακαλω... c. 9. p. 195.
(x) Ο Οὐ δο Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἐκ
λογιον κατατηρήσας εὑρεῖ ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς, τῶν Ἑβραίων γῆς, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ συ-
νοιων βοώμων ἐδοθῇ σοι ἡ πλήρεις ἐπιμελητήρια. x. l. Pr. Ev. l. 9. cap. x. p. 412. 413.
Ch. XXXVII. Of the Philoſophie of Oracles.

In his own God bearing witneſſe to the wisdom of the Hebrews, together with other people, who were renowned for their learning and knowledge. It is Apollo, says Euſebius, that speaks in this oracle, and it follows what had been before delivered concerning sacrifices. And he demands especial attention, as to words full of divine wisdom. The way leading to the Gods is difficult and rough, and the entrance shut with brazen doors. The Phenicians, the Assyrians, the Lydians, and Hebrews, have found out many ways to the seat of the blessed. [All that in verse.] To which the author subjoyns. The way leading to the Gods is shut with brazen bolts, and is rugged and difficult. The Barbarians have found out many paths. But the Greeks have quite wandered out of the way. And (x) they who now prevail have corrupted it. But the God declared, that the finding it out, was owing to the Egyptians, the Phenicians, the Chaldeans, the Lydians, and the Hebrews."

This passage of the author, subjoyned to the oracle, by way of explication, is also cited at length by (y) Theodoret, as Porphyrie's, and from the same work, the Philoſophie of Oracles.

It follows, in Euſebius, immediately after what has been just quoted. "And (x) moreover, in another oracle Apollo says: The Chaldeans only, and the Hebrews, have attained to wisdom, chaſily worshipping the self-exiſtent King, and God."

Upon the foregoing quotations I now make these remarks.

1.) It is very strange, that Apollo should say, the Hebrews had found out some of the ways to the gods, and to happiness: and that, when going to deliver such an observation, he should demand espe-

(x) εἰς Ἀχαλίαν ἵνα, εἰς Ἀχαλίαν.


(z) 'Ετι δὲ προς τότεν εἰς ἵστερ χρήματος ἐξαγαλλομεν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλων. 

Mνεις Χαλαζοὶ σοφίας ἀκοῦ, ὅτι ἐὰν Ἐφραῖος
Ἀποκαθίστα τα χάραξεν σεκαλοὺς βένον ἐγών.

A. D. 270.
Porphyrie.

Ch. XXXVII.

A. D. 270.

It is as strange, that Apollo should say, as he is afterwards made to do, that the Chaldeans only, and the Hebrews had attained to wisdom, chaotically worshiping the eternal King and God. And is this the work of Porphyrie? Is Porphyrie become so fond of the Jews, who, as Eusebius assured us not long ago, in his work against the Christians, equally reviled us, and the Hebrews, and Moses himself, and the Prophets after him. Or rather, is Porphyrie, who wrote against the Christians, and, as is generally said, with great virulence, become himself a convert, and concerned to make converts to Christianity? For, to recommend the Hebrews, and their principles, is, at least preparatory to Christianity. Theodoret therefore having made that quotation, as above observed, and, as Porphyrie's, goes on very rationally. “If (a) our greatest enemy chargeth the Greeks as in error, and ascribes the knowledge of truth to the Hebrews, and the Phenicians, and Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and says, that Apollo has so taught. Why do you not hearken to your own Philosopher, and receive the oracle of the delphic tripod, and learn of the Hebrew Prophets and Apostles? And what follows.” Very just reasoning!

Surely, it is altogether incongruous, to suppose, that Porphyrie should place the Greeks the lowest of all nations in the search of wisdom, and say, that the Barbarians had found out many paths to it, whilst the Greeks had wandered quite out of the way. It is as improbably, that Apollo should give the honour of this invention to the Hebrews, and others, rather than to the Greeks.

2.) This book was writ after the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. For the author, as we have just seen, speaks of the Christian, as the prevailing religion. They who now prevail, have corrupted it: or, according to a different pointing, they who prevail, have

(a) Ἐς δὲ γὰρ τῶν ἡμῶν ἔχουσιν καθύρας ὅτι τοῖς Εβραίοις προσέχεια ἔχουσιν, ... ἐγὼ τοῖς λαίοις τοῖς Φερσαῖοι προσέχειαν μὴ μεῖν ἐλλάδων, ὡς πλὴν ἐδεδυνασθοῦν ... ἢ ἀποτέλεσα παρίσχοι; Gr. Aff. Serm. i, τι διότι μὴ τῷ φιλεῖται πέτεισθε τῷ εἰλο- p. 472.
Ch. XXXVII. Of the Philosophie from Oracles.

have already corrupted it. There is no reason to believe, that Porphyrie lived to the time of Constantine's conversion to Christianity. The composer of this work here forgot the character, which he had assumed. He pretended to be Porphyrie. But did not now consider, that Porphyrie had died, before the Christian could be called the prevailing religion, or the Christians, the men that prevailed. However, it must be owned, that in what the author here says, he is upon his guard, and he casts a reflexion upon these men, as having corrupted philosophie, or the knowledge of wisdom. But it is a thin disguise, easily seen through.

I make no more remarks upon what is already transcribed, but proceed to another passage of this work.

5. In his Evangelic Demonstration, Eusebius expresseth himself in this pompous manner.

"But (b) if none of these things will convince you, hearken to your demons, and gods, speaking in their oracles, who impute to our Saviour, not imposture, as you do, but piety, and wisdom, and ascent to heaven. What more credible assurance can you have of this, than the testimonie of our enemie, who in the third book of his work entitled of the Philosophie taught by oracles, speaks in these very words: It will perhaps seem strange to some, which we are about to say. For the Gods declared Christ to be most pious, and to be made immortal, and they spoke honorably of him. And presently after he says: When we inquired concerning Christ, whether he be a God, the answer was: That the soul is immortal after the death of the body, knows every body, who is favored with wis-

(b) ...'AAA'atys,x2,tº advº Ja- a gear,& rocław,§ 4 favºrºvodovuafrv

Dem. Ev. l. 3. cap. vi. p. 133.

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P O R P H Y R I E. Ch. XXXVII.

A. D. 270.

"Wisdom. But (c) the soul of that man is most eminent for piety. Him therefore he declared to be most pious, and his soul, like the souls of others, after death made immortal, which (d) the ignorant Christians worship. Then, when we asked, why he was put to death, the oracular answer was: The body is always liable to slight torments. But the soul of the pious escapes to the heavenly country. And after the oracle, he adds: He therefore is pious, and is gone to Heaven, as the pious do. Him therefore you are not to blaspheme, but to pity the ignorance of men. Thus writes Porphyrie."

Here the composer of this work was upon his guard. But not so Euæbius, who receives all without hesitation. The author was aware, that what he was about to say was very unlikely. He therefore introduceth it with that preface. It may seem strange, which we are going to say. And he afterwards throws in a reflection upon the Christians, as if they carried their respect for Christ too far. However, he, and his God, bear an honorable testimonie to Jesus, as we have seen.

Porphyrie, in this work, and his Gods, as Euæbius says; impute not to our Saviour, imposture, but piety, and wisdom, and ascent to heaven. But who can believe that, when Porphyrie had writ a large work, the great design of which, in his remarks upon the book of Daniel, and elsewhere, was to prove Jesus an impostor? And is Porphyrie now become an Apostle, preaching to the world Christ's resurrection and ascension?

Eunapius indeed, in his Life of Porphyrie, says, "that (c) he lived to a great age. Whence it came to pass, that he has left many sentiments different from those which he had delivered in works

(c) ... ἀλλὰ ἔφυσεν

Ἄρης ἦν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἰσώτερον ἑαυτῷ.

(d) ἐν σίνδο διήτα τῆς ἀρχαγγέλου.

(e) ... πολλὰ γιὰ τὸν ἔφυστον ἀνθρώποις μάλιστα τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἡμῶν ἐν θρόνες ἀνήλικων ἐγέρσις καθιστή.

Eunap. VII. Porph. ad fin.
Ch. XXXVII. Of the Philosophie from Oracles.

"works formerly writ." But that may relate to some lesser matters only. We still have his life of Plotinus, writ, when he was seventy years old, or thereabout. Where he appears a true Heathen Philosopher.

To me it seems very strange, that any Christian, especially a learned Christian, should call upon Heathen people, as Eusebius here does, to hearken to their demons, and gods, speaking in their oracles. Who might know, from the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as well as from reason, that (f) Heathen Deities were nothing, and had neither power, nor wisdom. If they were any thing, they were evil spirits, and their testimonies were of no value. Our Lord never received the testimonie of men, who were supposed to be acted by demons. St. Paul did not value the testimonie of the young woman at Philippi, who was said to have a spirit of Python, Acts xvi. 16. And I am persuaded, that our Saviour will never thank any of his followers for bringing in demons, or Heathen Deities in their oracles, speaking in his favour. May I not here adopt the language of St. Paul, upon another occasion, and say: What communion has light with darknesse? And what concord has Christ with Belial? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? 2 Cor. vi. 14...16.

6. Once more, this work, of the Philosophie of Oracles, is rarely mentioned by Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. Therefore it was little known, or not known to be writ by so considerable a man, as Porphyrie, who had writ against the Christians.
It is often quoted by Eusebius, as we have seen. It was also known, as it seems, to (g) Julius Firmicus Maternus, about the middle of the fourth century. It is also quoted by Theodoret, about 420. as we have seen: but not very often. It is likewise quoted by Augustin in the fifth century. I shall transcribe him presently, with remarks. But these are a very few only. I forbear to enumerate here the names of the many writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who have taken no notice of this work. But it appears to me a great objection against its genuineness, that it is never mentioned in any of the numerous works of Jerome, or Cyril of Alexandria. Jerome wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, and has often taken notice of Porphyrie: but says nothing of this work. Cyril lived in the fifth century, and published a work against the Emperor Julian in ten books. In that work he has quoted divers of Porphyrie's writings, and made good use of them: his Philosophic Historie, Of Abstinence from animals, and some others. These Cyril quotes often, and largely. But has not once quoted, or named this work, of the Philosophie taught by oracles.

He has, it is true, the verses before quoted from Eusebius, which are likewise partly in Augustin: but not as taken from any writing of Porphyrie, nor as a certain thing, but in this manner. "When, " (b) says Cyril, some body came to the Pythonese at the temple "of Apollo, and inquired which nations were wisest: it is said, the "demon there gave this answer: The Chaldeans only have obtain- "ed wisdom: But the Hebrews worship the self-existent King, "God himself. And Porphyrie makes mention of the Effens of "Judea

(g) J. F. M. de Errore Prof. Rel. p. 432. 433. ed. Gronov. 1709.

“Judea in these words.” Where Cyril proceeds to quote a passage of the fourth book of his Abstinence from animals, cap. 13, though without saying from what work of Porphyrie he takes it. It is plain, that Cyril does not quote that oracle from any work of Porphyrie.

It is likely, that in Cyril's time it was a common story, that the Pythian oracle had some time delivered such an answer as this. But he would not vouch for the truth of the relation. The same is in Justin Martyr's Cohortatio ad Graecos, if it be his. And it is brought in much after the same manner, as in Cyril. “When (i) one, as you say, asked your oracle, who had been religious men, the oracle, as you say, gave this answer:

"The Chaldeans only have obtained wisdom, and the Hebrews worship the self-existent King, God himself."

7. We will now see what Augustin says of this work.

He is shewing, that the God, whom the Christians worship is the true God. “Lastly, says (k) he, He is God, whom Porphyrie, the most learned of the Philosophers, though a bitter enemy of the Christians, and also the oracles, whom he thinks to be gods, acknowledge to be the great God.”

For (l) in his books, which he calls the Philosopie of oracles,

\[\text{Augustin's Account of this Work.} \]

\[(i) \text{Erutui γὰρ τότε, ὡς δὲ τοῦτα ρέον, τῷ ἔρρειν ἡμῖν χρηστῷ, τότε ὡς οὐκ ἔσται οὐδὲ ἔσται γεγονός τοῖς ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἔρρειν ἡμῖν χρηστῷ.} \]

\[\text{Mino Kalaniuo orin lêxh, ἰδ’ ἐπ’ Ἐκράτεις,} \]

\[\text{Aυτογιαίτω ἀνακτά σεβάζωμεν Θεοῦ ἀυτῶν.} \]


\[\text{(l) Nam in libris, quos in logico philosophias appellat, in quibus exsequitur, atque conscribit rerum ad philosophiam pertinentium velut divina responfa, ut ipfa verba e- jus, quemadmodum ex lingua Graeca in Latinam interpretata sunt, ponam. Interroganti, inquit, quem Deum placando revocare posset uxorem suam a Christi- anismo, haec ait veribus Apollo. De-} \]
inde verba velut Apollinis ifta sunt: Forte magis pateris in aqua imprensis litteris scribere, aut ad inflans pennas leves per aeram ut avis volare, quam semel pollutae revoces impiae uxoris fenum. Pergat quomodo vult inanibus fallaciis perseverans, et lamentationibus fallaciis erit mortuum Deum cantans, quem judicibus recta fentientibus perditum, pessimae in specialis errore judicat mortis interficeat. Deinde poit hos verbus Apollinis, qui non fluentem metro Latine interpretari sunt, sub junxit, atque ait: In his quidem tergiversationem irremediabilis sententiae evident a manifestavit, dicens, Quoniam Judaei suscipere Deum magis quam isto...
"down his very words, as they have been translated out of the Greek tongue into Latin. He says, when he inquired, what God he should appease, in order to reduce his wife from Christianity, Apollo answered in verse: Possibly you may more easily write in water, or fly in the air, like a bird, than convert your wife once pol-
lated with impiety. Let him go on, as he will, singing with his fallacious lamentations the dead God, whom the Judges rightly condemned, and the worst death destroyed. Then, after these verses of Apollo, which are not translated into good Latin metre, he subjoins, and says: Hereby he, [the god] expressed their incurable obSimonie. For the Jews may sooner acknowledge God, than obey. Observe, how, to disparage Christ, he prefers the Jews before Christians, confessing, that the Jews acknowledge God.

For so he explained the verses of Apollo, where he says, that Christ was put to death by Judges thinking right things, as if they had past a just judgement, and he had been deservedly punished. Let him see to it, what the lying priest of Apollo said of Christ; and he believed: or, perhaps, he himself pretended, the priest had said, what he did not say. But how he is consistent with him-

blasphemius utuntur. Deinde subjicit ver-
lut deorum oracula blasphemantium Chris-
tianos. Et poët haec. De Christo au-
tem, inquit, interrogantibus, si est De-
us, ait Hecate: Quoniam quidem im-
mortalis anima poët corpus ut incedit, tu
nosti: a sapientia autem absconsa semper
errat: viri pietate praetentissimi est illa
anima. Hanc colunt alia a se veritate:
Deinde poët verba hujus quasi oraculi sua
ipse contextus, piissimum igitur virum,
inquit, eum dixit, et ejae animam, fi-
cut er atiorum piorum; poët obitum im-
mortalitatem donatam, et hanc colere Chri-
tianian errantes. Interrogantibus autem,
inquit, Cur ergo damnatus est? Oraculo
respondit Dea: Corpus quidem debilitan-
tibus tormentis semper obpositum est: a-
nima autem piorum coelestis fede infidet.
Illa vero anima aliis animabus fataliter
dedit, quibus fata non annuerunt deorum
obtinere dona, neque habere Jovis im-
mortalis agnitionem, errore implicari.
Propterea ergo diis exoquis quis quibus facto-
uit non nofse Deum, nec dona a diis ac-
cipere, his fataliter dedit ille errore impli-
cari. Ipse vero pius, et in coelum, fictu
pii, concefrit. Itaque hunc quidem non
blasphemabis, misereberis autem homi-
nus dementiae, ex eo in eas facile prac-
cespque periculum. Ib. n. 2.
"self, or how he makes the oracles to agree, we shall see hereafter:

However, here he says, the Jews, as worshipers of God, judged
rightly concerning Christ, when they condemned him to suffer
the worst death. Therefore the God of the Jews, to whom he
bears this testimonie, ought to be heard, who says: He that sac-
crificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only shall be destroyed.

But let us proceed to plainer things, and let us hear, how great
a God, he says, the God of the Jews is. And therefore let us
observe the question he put to Apollo, Which is the best instruc-
tor, reason, or law: He says, he made the answer in verse, say-
ing these things. Then he puts down Apollo's verses, in which
are these, that I may take what is sufficient: You must worship the
God creator, King before all things, before whom the heaven, and
the earth, and the sea, and things hidden in the deep tremble, and
whom the Gods themselves dread: whose law is the Father, whom
the pious Hebrews adore. In that oracle of his God Apollo, Por-
phyrie declares, the God of the Hebrews to be so great, that the
gods themselves dread him. When therefore that God has said,
be that sacrificeth to other Gods shall be destroyed: I wonder, that
Porphyrie himself did not dread him, and did not fear to be de-
stroyed, when he sacrificed to other gods."

"This Philosopher also says good things of Christ, as if he had
forgot the reproach before mentioned: or, as if his gods blas-
phemched Christ in their sleep, and when they awoke, acknow-
ledged his merit, and gave him due praises. Finally, then, as if
he was about to say something wonderfull, and incredible, he says:
"It may indeed appear strange, which we are going to say. For the
Gods declared Christ to be most pious, and made immortal, and spoke
honorably of him: but, as he says, they said, the Christians were
polluted, and corrupted, and involved in error. And many such
reproaches they cast upon them. Then he subjoins oracles of
the gods, reproaching the Christians. Afterwards, he says, when
we inquired concerning Christ, whether he be a God, Hecate answер-
ed:
Ch. XXXVII. Of the Philoſphie from Oracles.

That the soul after separation from the body, becometh immortal, thou knowest. A soul void of wisdom always wanders. But that is the soul of a man most eminent for piety. This they worship not rightly. Then, after the words of the oracle, he adds himself. Therefore, says he, the oracle declared him to be a most pious man, and his soul, like the souls of other pious men, after death favored with immortality: and that the mistaken Chrifians worship this. And, says he, when we asked, why then was be condemned? The Godiffe answered. The body indeed is ever liable to debilitating torments: but the soul of the pious dwells in the heavenly mansions. But that soul has fatally been the occasion to many other souls, to be involved in error, to whom it has not been given to acknowledge the immortal Jove. But himself is pious, and gone to heaven, as other pious men do. Him therefore thou shalt not blaspheme, but pity the folly of men, because of the danger they are in.

Who is so weak, says Auguſtin, as not to perceive, that these oracles were contrived by a cunning man, and an enemie to the Chrifians? or at left that those answers were given by impure demons, with this view, that because they commend Christ, they may be thought to speak truly, when they blame the Chrifians: and thereby, if possible, shut up the way of salvation, in which all Chrifians are.

Auguſtin has afterwards another quotation from this work, which I shall not transcribe. I only observe, "that Jeſus is there spo-

(l) Quis ita fultus eft, ut non intelligat, aut ab homine callido, eoque Chrifianis inimiciſimo, haec oracula fuiffe conficta, aut confilio simili, ab impuris daemonibus fuiffe reſponfa: ut, ficit, quoniam laudant Chriflim, properea credantur veraciter vituperare Chrifianos:

Vol. III.  F f
That whole quotation is taken from Augustin's large work, Of the City of God, supposed to have been writ by him between the years 413. and 426. He (n) has also referred to this book, as Porphyrie's, in his work of the Consent Of the Evangelists, writ about the year 400. where he speaks too favorably of it. I shall not translate it. But I have transcribed the passage below in Augustin's own words.

I shall now make remarks.

1.) Augustin's quotations of this work are somewhat different from those in Eusebius. Which, perhaps, is owing to the translation. For Augustin intimates, that the Latin translation, which he made use of, was not very exact.

2.) The quotations of this book in Eusebius and Augustin agree in the main. For in both the worship of the God of the Jews is recommended, and honorable mention is made of Christ, as a most excellent man, and gone to heaven.

3.) Therefore this is not a work of Porphyrie. For in his work against the Christians, as Eusebius says, he had equally reviled the Jewish people and us, Moses, and the Jewish Prophets.

4.)

(n) Quid quod ifi vani Christi laudatores, et Christiæae religionis obliqui obtructatores, propter et non audent blasphemare Christum, quia quidem philosophi eorum, sicut in libris suis Porphyrius siculus prodidit, confuuerunt deos suos, quid de Christo respondenter, illi autem oraculis suis Christum laudare compulsi sunt. Nec mirum, cum et in Evangelio legamus eum daemones suisse confessos...
Ch. XXXVII. Of the Philosoplie from Oracles.

4.) Here is a storie concerning Porphyrie’s wife, which we have not found in Euſebius. It is very likely to be a fiction of the writer of this work. For we do not meet with it elsewhere. Nor is the character of this work such, as alone, without any other voucher, to give it much credit. However, agreeably enough to the general design of this work, here is an honorable testimonie given to the Christians, that they were very steady in the belief and profession of their principles.

5.) In this book, as cited by Auguſtin, and also by Euſebius, before, are some reflexions upon Christians. They are spoken of as in error, corrupted, and polluted. These reflexions were inserteed, as seems to me, for a disguise: that the author might cover his real intention. His design was to recommend Christianity. But he had assumed the character of a Heathen, and enemie. The better to keep up that appearance, he casts out reflexions upon the followers of Jesus. However, he does not blame them for believing in Jesus. He recommends him to all, as most pious, and excellent, and gone to heaven. His reflexions upon the Christians therefore, as in error, and corrupted, relate not to the general scheme of Christianity, which was right, but to some opinions maintained by some of it’s professors. And indeed all these reflexions upon Christians, as erroneous, and ignorant, I consider as arguments of the late original of this work: and that it was not composed, till some while after the conversion of Constantine. I am not positive, what opinions the author intends. But he may have an eye to the disputes concerning the Arian, and other Trinitarian doctrines, which must have been controverted in the year 315, or sooner: before which time Porphyrie had died.

6.) The conclusion, to be made from the whole, is, that this is not a work of Porphyrie, a Heathen Philosopher, and enemie to Christianity, but of a Christian, and patron of Christianity.

Augustin himself doubted of the genuineffe of this work, and of the oracles contained in it: though he shews it rather too much re-
Porphyry, when he proceeds to allege it, as an argument in behalf of the true Deity, saying, as above, be is God, whom Porphyry the most learned of the Philosophers, and the oracles alleged by him, acknowledge to be the true God.

Augustin says very truly: It is plain, that it is the work of some cunning man. The self-contradictions, or the seeming self-contradictions, and inconsistencies, are plain proofs of insincerity, design, and artifice.

It is the artifice or forgerie of some Christians, designed, and contrived to serve the interests of Christianity in general, and possibly likewise of some particular notions of the author himself. Augustin, though he suspects it to be a contrivance, imagines, it may be the contrivance, not of a Christian, but of an enemy to Christians. But, so far as can be judged from what we have remaining of this work, it is not the work of an enemy, but of a friend to Christianity. Undoubtedly, it was needful to cover the forgerie of these oracles, and the real character of the writer by some things, that had the appearance of Heathenish. For the assumed character of the writer is that of an Heathen, and an enemy to Christianity. There is no doubt of that. He must therefore say some things to the disadvantage of Christianity itself, or of the professors of it. Accordingly, he has, here and there, blamed the Christians with some freedom, and seeming sharpness. And, now and then, as it should seem from Augustin's account (though that does not appear in Eusebius,) he did also, in an obscure manner, speak disrespectfully of Christ himself. But, that the writer held Christian notions, and designed to favor the cause of Christianity, is evident from his commendations of the Jews, from his recommending the worship of the God of the Jews, as the true and great God: and in that, when he said any thing to the disadvantage of Jesus, he spoke obscurely, when to his advantage, he spoke clearly. So this appears in Augustin's own account. Having shewn what the author had said of the justice of the death of Christ, in ambiguous terms, he adds: but let us proceed to clearer things:
Ch. XXXVII. Of the Philosophie from Oracles.

Where the oracle and the writer plainly commend Christ. And the difference between these passages, in which Christ is reproached from those in which he is commended, is thus represented by Augustin: the former things were spoken by the gods, when asleep, these, when they awaked.

How favorable to the Christian cause, this work was understood to be by Theodoret, manifestly appears from what we quoted from him some while ago, where he calls upon the Heathen people, and asks them: Why do you not hearken to your own Philosopher, and receive the oracle of the Delphic tripod, and learn of the Hebrew Prophets and Apostles?

Add to all this the many quotations of this work in Eusebe's Evangelical Preparation, all, some way or other, on the side of Christianity, and directly, or indirectly, reviling the Heathen Deities, and their worship: and it can be no longer doubted, that the design of this work was to favor Christianity, and weaken Heathenism. Therefore it was not composed by Porphyrie.

Eusebius, as may be remembred, introduceth his first quotation of this work, in his Preparation, after this manner: "But (o) I shall " not now insist upon the testimonies of friends, which might be " reckoned of little value, but of strangers. And who of all the " Greek historians or philosophers can be more fitly alleged, than " he, who in our time gained so much reputation by writing against " us?" And again, in his Demonstration, addressing himself to Heathen people, he says: "What (p) more credible assurance can you " have of this, than the testimonie of our enemy?"

The composer of this work, (whoever he was,) had the same thought. Having formed a design to exhibit a covert testimonie in behalf of Christianity, in the name of some learned Heathen, and to bring into it oracular answers of Heathen Deities; he supposed, that no fitter name could be taken, than that of Porphyrie's: who was in great repute for learning, and had not long since published the

the bitterest invectives against Jews and Christians, and the strongest arguments, that had ever been alleged against their Scriptures. And he hoped, by this work, to overthrow Porphyrie's long work against the Christians, which had done so much mischief.

But it is wonderfull, that Eusebius should be so easily deceived, and adopt the same thought, and be pleased with it.

Upon the whole, this work is the artifice of some cunning, but not wise Christian.

I presume, I have now said enough to justify my not alleging any passages from this work, as testimonies of Porphyrie, or of any other Heathen writer, in favour of Christianty.

And though this argument has detained us a great while, perhaps, the length of it may be excused: when it is considered, how long the genuinenesse of this work has been admitted by learned men with great unanimity, and has been suspected by a very few only. If the several reasons here alleged, are not impertinent, but to the purpose, the whole argument ought not to be charged with prolixity. Learned men, as well as others, are oftentimes hard to be convinced of the falsehood of an opinion once embraced by them. Nor will they yield, till they are overwhelmed by a heap of reasons.

This argument is not very honorable to our Ecclesiastical Historian. I acknowledge it. But I cannot help it. Truth must be asserted. So (q) says the learned and generous Heumann, arguing against such as were unwilling to allow a fault in Socrates, when he recorded the storie of Porphyrie's having deserted Christianty.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Six Writers of the Augustan History.

I. A general Account of these Authors. II. Passages of Spartan concerning Septimius Severus, and Caracalla. III. Passages of Lampridius concerning Heliodorus, and Alexander Severus. IV. Passages of Flavius Vopiscus concerning Adrian and Aurelian.

I. THERE (a) are six Authors, called Writers of the Augustan Historie, who have writ the historie, or rather the lives of the Roman Emperours from Adrian to Carinus. Their names are Aelius Spartanus, Julius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus: Who lived in the times of Diocletian, Constantius Chlorus, and his son Constantine the Great. Some of these Lives are inscribed to Diocletian, others to the forementioned Constantius, others to Constantine. Some are without an inscription. Nor does


A. D. 306.

A general Account of these Writers.
does it appear, to whom they are addressed. Nor is it absolutely certain, to which author every Life belongs. For those, which are generally ascribed to Lampridius, are by some ascribed to Spartan. They all lived much about the same time, under Diocletian and his successors, near the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century. I place them all, as at a mean, in the year 306. But I bring them in here, a little before the true order of their time, partly, that we might not be interrupted in our accounts of Diocletian's persecution: and partly, because the testimonies of these several authors relate to things near the beginning of the third century, or however some good while before the end of it.

Most of their passages concerning the Christians have been already alleged in this work, under the several Emperours, of whom they write. Nevertheless, I have a mind to take here a general review of them all together in this place, adding now one or two, which have not been yet taken notice of.

II. Spartan, in his Life of Septimius Severus, addressed to the Emperour Diocletian, says of Severus: "He (b) forbid under a severe penalty, that any should become Jews. A like edict was published by him against the Christians."

Spartian intends the persecution of the Christians begun in the tenth year of Severus, A. D. 202. mentioned by Eusebius, and other ecclesiastical writers, and of which we gave a distinct account some while (c) agoe.

2. The same historian, in (d) the Life of Antonin Caracalla, son and successor of Severus, says of him: "At (e) the age of seven years,

(c) See before. p. 5 &c.
(d) It is not certainly known, to whom that Life is addressed.
(e) Septennis puer, quum collusorem suum puerum, ob judaicam religionem gravius verberatum audisset, neque patrem suum,
Ch. XXXVIII. Of the Augustan Historie.

"years, when he had heard, that a boy, his play-fellow, had been grievously beaten, because he was of the Jewish religion, he would not for a good while after so much as look upon his own Father, nor the father of the boy, nor those who had beaten him."

It is probable, that by the Jewish is here intended the Christian religion: forasmuch as (f) Tertullian, who lived at that time, says, that Caracalla was nursed by a Christian woman. Of this likewise we took notice (g) formerly.

III. Lampridius, in his Life of Antonin Heliogabalus, [who succeeded Macrinus and reigned from 218. to 222.] addresed to Diocletian, says: "He (h) erected a temple upon Mount Palatin, near the Imperial palace, to the god Heliogabalus, intending to bring into that temple the image of the Mother of the Gods, and the fire of Vesta, and the Palladium, and the shields of Mars, and every object of the veneration of the Romans, that no God might be worshiped at Rome, beside Heliogabalus. He said likewise, that the Religion of the Jews, and the Samaritans, and the Devotion of the Christians, must be transferred thither, that the priesthood of Heliogabalus might comprehend in it the mysteries of all religions." This is the passage, which I promised some while ( ; ) agoe.

(f) Ad. Scap. cap. 4.
(g) See p. 4.

( ; ) See before. p. 33.
This (i) mad Emperor, remarkable for the worst follies and vices, was a native of Emesa in Syria, where the Sun was worshiped under the appellation of Heliogabalus, or Elagabalus, to whom this Emperor himself was (k) Priest.

There is no need to make many remarks upon this story of Lampridius. It shews however, that the Christian Religion, though mentioned last here, as being of the latest original, was then well known in the world, and was so considerable, as not to be omitted in this Emperor’s design of uniting the devotions of all men in the worship of the God, to whom he was Priest.

They, who are desirous to inform themselves concerning the origin of the name Heliogabalus, may consult divers learned men (l) whose works are in every body’s hands.

2. The same Writer, in his Life of Alexander Severus, successor of Heliogabalus, has several passages relating to the Christians: which have been already transcribed with remarks. To which (m) therefore the reader is now referred.

IV. Flavius Popiscus, of Syracuse, is the sixth and last of the Augustan Writers, but not the worst of them. For he is generally reckoned as learned a man, and as regular an historian, as any of them. As was observed (*).

I have already taken from him a large article in the chapter of the

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(i) Vitam Heliogabali Antonini impurissimam, qui Varius etiam dicitus est, non quam in literas misfitem, ne quis fuiffe Romanorum principem sciret, nisi ante Caligulas, et Nerones, et Vitellios, hoc idem habuisset imperium. Lamprid. ibid. cap. i. p. 790.


(m) See before. p. 34. &c.

(*) See p. 115.
Ch. XXXVIII. Of the Augustan Historie.

Emperour Adrian, to (n) which the reader is referred. It is taken out of his Life of Saturninus (o) who was proclaimed Emperour by the soldiers at Alexandria, in the time of (p) Probus, and after a short reign, or rebellion and tyranny, was put to death: and, as (q) Eusebius says, at Apamea.

2. The same writer, in his Life of the Emperour (r) Aurelian, speaks of a letter of his to the Senate of Rome, writ, probably, in the beginning of his reign, in the year 270. or 271. where the Christians are mentioned. The passage was transcribed formerly, (s) with remarks. To which therefore I now refer my readers.

(n) See vol. 2. p. 209. &c.
(o) Fl. Vopisc. Saturninus. cap. 7. 8.
(p) Et ne longius progrediar, dicendum est quod praecipue ad hunc pertinent. Errare quodam scio, et putare hunc esse Saturninum, qui Gallieni temporibus imperium occupavit: quem hic longe alius fuerit, et Probò pene nolente fit occidus. . . Obiessum denique in castro quodam ab iis, quos Probus miserat, invitó Probo esse jugulatum. Id. ib. cap. xi. p. 734.
(s) See before, p. 115.
Two Authors, who wrote against the Christians in the Time of Diocletian's Persecution, one Anonymous, the other supposed to be Hieroeles.

Where also of Apollonius Tyanaeus, and the two Lives of Pythagoras, writ by Porphyrie, and Jamblichus.

I. An Anonymous Author against the Christians. II. Hieroeles, with a large Account of his Work from Lactantius, and Eusebius. III. A great Cruelty of Hieroeles, in the Time of Diocletian's Persecution, when he was Prefect of Alexandria. IV. Remarks upon the Accounts of his Work, as given by Lactantius, and Eusebius. V. That Apollonius was not so considerable, as many learned Men of late Times have supposed. VI. A large Account of the Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus, writ by Philostratus, with Remarks upon
Anonymous Author against the Christians.

Ch. XXXIX.

Upon it, shewing, that it was not writ with a design to oppose the Miracles of our Saviour. VII. An Account of the Lives of Pythagoras, writ by Porphyrie, and Jamblicbus, with Remarks upon them, shewing, that in those Works there was not any Intention to oppose the Christian Religion. VIII. Another Work of Jamblicbus concerning the images of the Gods.


(a) Omitto eos, qui prioribus eam tempore in Bithynia oratorias literas accitus ducerem, contigissetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur: duo exstiterunt, qui jacenti atque abjectae veritati, necio utrum superius, an importunius infultarent. Quorum alter antifitem se philosophiae profitebatur. Verum ita vitiofus, ut continentiae magifter, non minus avaritia, quam libidinis arderet, in viciu tam fumtuoftus, ut in fchola virtutis affertor, et participe, paupertatique laudator, in palatio peius coenaret quam domi: tamen vitia sua capillis, et pallio, et (quod maximum est velamentum,) divitis praegebat: quas ut augeret, ad aemicitias judicem miro ambitu penetrabat. ...Hic vero, qui suas disputationes moribus delinuerat, vel mores fuos disputationibus arguerat, ipse adverfus se gravis cenfor, et accusator acerminus, eodem ipso tempore, quo justus populus nefarie lacerabatur, tres libros evomuit contra religionem, nomenque Christianum. Professus ante omnia, philosophi officium esse, erroribus hominum subvenire, atque illos ad veram viam revocare, id est, ad cultum deorum, quorum numine ac majestate, ut illa dicebat, mundus gubernet: nec pati homines imperitos quemrundam fraudibus illici: ne simplicitas eorum praedae ac pabulofithominibus astutis. Itaque se fulcepiile hoc minus philosophia dignum, ut praefeteret nonvidentibus lumen sapientiae, non modo, ut fulceptis deorum cultibus refanescant, sed etiam ut pertinaci obstinatione deposita, corporis cruciamenta devinent, nec faevas membrorum lacerationes frustra perpeti velint. Ut autem appareret, cujus rei gratia oper illud elaboraret, effusus est in principum laudes, quorum pietas et providentia (ut quidem ipse dicebat,) cum
"mer times in vain opposed our religion. When I taught rheto-
rick at Nicomedia, having been invited thither for that purpose,
and at the same time the temple of God was demolished, there
were two men, who with great pride unseasonably insulted the
injured truth. One of whom professed himself to be a master
of philosophie, but was extremely vicious.... This man, who
overthrew his discourses by his manners, or condemned his man-
ners by his discourses, and thus was a severe censor and bitter
reprover of himself, at that very time, when good men were
unrighteously abused, published three books against our religion,
and the Christian name: professing likewise to act therein the
part of a Philosopher, in delivering men from their errors, and
bringing them back to the way of truth, that is, to the wor-
ship of the gods, by whose power and providence, as he said, the
world is governed: and not to suffer ignorant and unskilfull men,
to be misled by the frauds of others, and that their simplicity might
no longer be the prey and food of cunning men. Therefore he
had undertaken this office, well becoming a Philosopher, not on-
ly to hold out the light of wisdom to those who do not discern it,
Ch. XXXIX. **Anonymous Author against the Christians.**

"but also to persuade them, laying aside all perverse obstinacie, to avoid heavie sufferings, and not give up themselves to torments without reason. And that it might appear with what views this work of his was composed, he enlarged in the praises of the Emperours, whose wisdom and piety, he said, were conspicuous, not only in the affairs of the State, but also, and chiefly, in upholding the religion of the gods: and had taken due care of the welfare of mankind, in restraining an impious and foolish superstitious, that all men performing the legal rites, might enjoy the favour and protection of the gods. But when he came to confute the religion, against which he was arguing, he appeared very contemptible, not knowing what he opposed, nor what to say: so that our people in general, though upon account of the times they might think it best to say little, could not but despise him, and look upon him, as a man, who attempted to enlighten others, when he was blind himself, and to bring others back from error, when he was himself ignorant, and knew not where to set his feet, and to teach others the truth, of which he never had a glimpse himself. All thought it strange, that at this very time he should engage in such a work, when the most cruel measures were taken. Behold then a flattering Philosopher, and a server of the times. However this man was despised for his emptiness. Nor did he obtain the favour he hoped for. And instead of the glory, which he aimed at, he met with reproach and censure."

Upon which I shall make only two or three remarks, and then proceed.

1. This writer is anonymous. Nor do we know, that he is mentioned by any one, beside Laetantius in this place. Some have imagined, that he is the same as Porphyrie: but altogether without reason. Porphyrie is older, and his character very different from that of the person here described. Porphyrie was a man of virtue: and his work against the Christians, so far from being contemptible,
Anonymous Author against the Christians. Ch. XXXIX.

2. Though we have not the work of this anonymous writer, we perceive what was in it. Laëntius, who was perfectly honest, as well as zealous for his religion, may be relied upon for having given a true and just account of the character of the author, and the design and contents of his work. And therefore I have judged it highly proper to transcribe him at length.

This author, by profession a Philosopher, and a teacher of philosophy, represented Christianity to be superstitious, foolish, and also impious, neglecting the deities, by whom, as he said, the world was governed: contrariwise to the established laws, and prejudicial to the interests of mankind, as exposing men to the displeasure of the gods. To cure men therefore of this superstition, (no matter how) was to recommend them to the favour and blessing of those deities. He was also a flatterer, and he expatiated in the praises of the Emperour. But his arguments were very inconsiderable.

3. I must be allowed to transcribe here a paragraph of Mr. Bayle, who was a witnesse of the persecution of the Protestants in his own country in the time of Lewis the XIV.

"The (b) preface of this Philosopher, says he, may enable us to discern the great conformity of Pagan and Christian persecutions. "A self-interested and flattering author never fails to take up the pen against the persecuted party. It appears a fine opportunity to praise his prince. He lays hold of it, and enlarges upon the importance of the service done for God, and the charity of ad-"
Ch. XXXIX. HIEROCLES.

"Giving instruction to the authority of the laws: that enlightening
the erroneous, they may be delivered from the pain, to which
their obstinacy might expose them. The voluptuous Philosopher
of Nicomedia forgot none of these common-places. It may be
said, that he was the original to many French authors, who wrote
during the sufferings of the Protestants. It is easier to depart from
the method of Diocletian’s persecution, than from that of his Pa-
negrius."

II. Of the other writer Laetantius speaks after this manner. "The
(c) other, says he, treated the same subject more accurately. He

(c) Alius eandem materiam mordacius scripit. Qui erat tum e numero judic-
cum, et qui auctore in primis faciendae persecutionis fuit: quo scelere non con-
tentus etiam scriptis eos, quos afflicerat infecutus eft. Composuit enim libellos
duos, non contra Christianos, ne inimici infecutari videretur, sed ad Christianos,
ut humane, ac benignae consilueret putauerit. In quibus ita falsitatem scripturae
facrae argueret conatus eft, tanquam sita effet tota contraria. Nam quaedam cap-
pita, quae repugnare sit videbantur expo-
suit: adeo multa, adeo intima enumer-
rans, ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina
fuiffe videatur . . . nisi forte eum in manus
ejus divinae litterae incidantur . . . Tant-
sum enim absit a divinis litteris repugnantia,
quod ille absit a veritate. Prae-
cipue tamen Paulum Petrumque laceravit,
ceteroque discipulos, tanquam fallaciae
seminatores: quos eodem tamen rudes,
et indoctos suiffe, teftatus eft. Nam
quo8dam eorum piscatorii artificio secuisse
quaestum: quafi aegre ferret, quod illam
rem non Aristophanes aliquis, aut Aristar-
chus commentatus sit. *ib. cap. 2.*

Absuit ergo ab his fingendi voluntas, et
affectia, quoniam rudes fuerunt. Aut
quis posset indoctus, apta inter se, et co-
haerentia fingere. Cum philosophi doc-
tissimi, Plato, et Aristoteles, et Epicu-
rus, et Zenon, ipsi sitae repugnantia et
contraria dixerint. Haece eft enim men-
dactorum natura, ut cohaerere non pos-
fint. Illorum autem traditio, quia vera
eft, quadrat undique, ac fibi tota contentit: et idea persuadet, quia confianti rat-
one suffulta eft. Non igitur quaestus et
commodi gratia religionem iftam commen-
ti suffulta: quippe qui et praeeptis, et re ip-
fa, eam vitam secuti sunt, quae et vulpa-
tatibus caret, et omnia quae habentur in
bonis spernit: et qui non tantum pro fide
mortem subierint, sed etiam moriturus
effe et feriet, et praedixerint: et po-
stea universalis, qui eorum disciplinum fe-
cuti

H h
was then one of the Judges, and a principal adviser of the persecution. And not contented with that piece of wickedness, he also pursued those with his writings, whom he had brought into trouble. For he composed two books, not entitled against the Christians, least he should seem to bear hard upon them, but to the Christians, that he might be thought to advise them in a kind and friendly manner. In which books he endeavored to shew, that the sacred scriptures overthrow themselves, by the contradictions, with which they abound. He particularly insisted upon several texts, as inconsistent with each other: and indeed, on so many, and so distinctly, that one might suspect, he had some time professed the religion, which he now exposèd. However, the sacred scriptures may have by some accident or other fallen into his hands. But the scriptures are as far from inconsistencies, as he was from the truth. But he chiefly reviled Paul and Peter, and the other disciples, as propagators of falsehood: who, nevertheless, as he says, were ignorant and illiterate, and some of them got their livelihood by fishing: as if he was displeased, that some Aristophanes or Aristarchus had not handled the subject."

"But it hence follows, that they were not cunning and designing men, being entirely unacquainted with the arts of deceit. And how
Ch. XXXIX. HIEROCLES.

how should unlearned men, of their own heads, contrive a plausible story, in every part, and throughout consistent, when the most learned Philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno, have delivered inconsistencies, and contradictions. For this is the nature of falsehood, that it cannot hold together. But the doctrine of Christ's disciples being true, it is all of a piece, and consistent throughout: and therefore it satisfies, and gains followers, because it is built upon solid reason. Nor did they invent this religion for the sake of any worldly profit whatever. For the precepts of it give no encouragement to voluptuousness, and in their whole conduct they shewed a contempt of those things which are most valued. Nor did they only lay down their lives for the truth, but knew beforehand, that they should do so, and also foretold it. And plainly declared to all others, who embraced the same doctrine, that they must expect the like sufferings. But he says, that Christ was banished by the Jews, and after that got together nine hundred men, and committed robbery. Who can withstand such an authority? By all means let us believe him. For, perhaps, some Apollo told it him in his sleep. Many robbers have been executed in all times, and are executed daily. You have condemned a great many. But who of them after crucifixion has been esteemed as a god, or even as a man? But possibly you have the more easily believed this, because your people have deified the murderer Mars. Which however you would not have done, if he had been crucified by order of the court of Areopagus. Moreover, as Laëntius goes on to say, this writer endeavors to overthrow Christ's miracles, though he does not deny the truth of them. He aims to shew, that like things, or even greater, were done by Apollonius. It is somewhat strange, that he omitted Apuleius, of whom many wonderfull things are commonly said... Christ, it seems, must be reckoned a magician, because he did many wonderfull things. But Apollonius is more able, because, as you say, when Domitian would have put him to
Hierocles. Ch. XXXIX.

A. D. 303.

"to death, he escaped: whereas Christ was apprehended, and crucified."

More follows concerning Apollonius. But I think, I need not proceed any farther.

Laætantius has not told us the name of this writer. But from the author of the Book of the Deaths of Persecutors, different \(d\) from Laætantius, but contemporarie with him, we learn, that \(e\) he was Hierocles, at first Vicar, afterwards President in Bithynia, of whom he expressly says, that he was a persecutor, and an adviser of the persecution.

Hierocles is also mentioned by \(f\) Epiphanius, as Prefect at Alexandria in the time of Diocletian's persecution.

Against his work Eusebius of Cæsarea wrote an answer, still extant. Of which I shall now give an account. By which it will farther appear, that Laætantius and Eusebius speak of the same author, and the same work.

Eusebius, at the beginning, tells his friend, to whom he addresses himself, "that \(g\) Hierocles had made a comparison of our Saviour our and Master with Apollonius of Tyana, giving the preference to the\)
Ch. XXXIX. **HIEROCLES**.

"the later. To this part he intended to confine himself. For, "

says he, As for the rest of his work, which he calls *Philaletes*, or "

*Lover of truth*, I do not think it needfull to take much notice of "

it: it not being his own, but shamefully borrowed from others, "

and had been already fully answered by Origen in his answer to "

the work of Celsus, called the *true word*." "

Referring therefore, says Eusebius, to that work of Origen, such "

as are desirous to inform themselves more particularly of our reli-"

"gion, we shall at this time examine the comparison made of Jesus "

Christ and Apollonius by this Philalethes."

"He (b) admires then, and extols this man, as if by some divine "

and hidden wisdom, and not by magical arts, he had performed "

great wonders, saying in these very words: *They are continually "

crying up Jesus, for opening the eyes of the blind, and other like "

works. And presently after he adds: But it ought to be considered "

upon how much better grounds we receive such things, and how much "

more reasonably we judge of divers excellent men. After which pas-"

"sing over Aristeas of Proconnesus, and Pythagoras, and other an-"

"cents, he goes on. *In the time of our ancestors, in the reign of "

Nero, flourished Apollonius of Tyana, who (i) having, when very "

young, "


(b) Οὐσιδῆς ὃς ὑποκείεται ὅτι τῷ "

χειρῆτω σοφία, ἵνα ἧς χρονεὶς σφημασι "

tεθεωμεταρχεῖναι φάντασαν αὐτῷ. ... Ἀκο "

δὴ οὐκ ἐφεξεκαλείς συλλαμβάνεις. Ἀλλὰ οἴ "

χάρα τῷ βρόλλῳ, σφημασιόν τὸν Ἰσσων, ὡς το "

φοῖλος ἀπακλῆσαι παρασχέσαι, καὶ τὰ πα "

κέντα σφαντα βουμασία. Εἰτὸν ὁμοία "

παράγει ὁποίο, ἐπιλέγει. ἅπαξ ὑπείρασμα ὃ "

μὴ ὅσον βάλτον ὃς συνετέρων ἡμᾶς εἰσέχ "

εθεῖα τὰ παρασκέψαι, καὶ ἐν περὶ τῶν ἐνεργῶν ἱ "

κρίμα ἀπάντων. ..., Ib. p. 512. B. C. "

(i) "Οἱ ... ἀρὴ ἠπέρ ..., ἑκάστῳ τῷ ρίλα "

θράχυν Ἀλκήνων, χολλαὶ ὑπαματά ἑπαρ "

ζητοῖ ὡς τὰ πλῆθος παρῆς, ἦμῖν τοις ὕμνο "

μοὶ. Εἰς τὰ κατακλέψεϊ ἀκά τοῖς ἀρχήμεν "

τὰ παροδάκτες. Μὴ γὰρ ὡς ἐπιλέγει τῶν ἐν "

τά λίγον. Τόδε ἐν ἐνκα τῶν ἐρωτῶν ἦ "

τῶν ἐν ζῶν συρχόμεν τὸν ἐμετίτο ἄριστον ὑπ "

καλαίς ὃ ἐκάστῳ κρίνων, καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰωνίω "

κρύπτομα. Ἠπερ ἡμῖν μὲν τὸ τοσοῦτον πεπο "

κότι, ὡς ἄλλης ἰχνειρήμον οὕτως ἄκρη "

χρησμαία ὃ ἐδὲ ἐλέγας τὴν τῆς τῶν ἰσ "

σων θέου ἀναγράφομαι. Τότε ἐνεργείᾳ μὲν "

τῆς πάντων κἂν ἑικάστῳ λογίσασθαι ἢ, ἄτο "

τε.
HIEROCL. Ch. XXXIX.

young, sacrificed at Aegis in Cilicia, to that good god Aesculapius,
broth many and wonderfull works: some of which I shall mention,
mitting others. Then he recites his extraordinary works from
the begining." [It were to be wished, that Eusebius had not abridged, as he does here. It would certainly have been a great curiosity to have had that passage at length, to see what works Hierocles ascribed to Apollonius.] "And afterwards says: in these very words. To what purpose have I mentioned these things? That all may perceive our just and reasonable judgement, and the levity of the Christians: forasmuch as we do not esteem him who did these things a god, but a man favored by the gods: [as if the Heathen people were very scrupulous of giving the title of deity to none, but such as well deserved it, when they had such a rabble of paltry deities, young and old, males and females, good and bad. Moreover, if Philostratus may be relied on, Apollonius himself was called a God by many, and in his life-time: and he accepted the title, saying, that every good man is honoured with it. Πάλιν ἄρητον, τῷ χάριν ὑπὸ ἄνθρωποι Θεῶν σε δομαζομένων; Ὅτι πάντες, ἄνθρωποι, ἄγαθοι νομίζομεν, Θεῖοι ἐστὶν τιμῶμεν. App. Vit. l. 8. cap. v. p. 325. in.]

Whereas they for the sake of a few tricks call Jesus god. [The works of Jesus were not a few, but numerous, great, truly wonderful, and conspicuous beyond all contradiction.] "It is also reasonable to think, that the actions of Jesus have been magnified by Peter and Paul, and others like them, ignorant men, liars and impostors. But the things of Apollonius have been writ by Maximus of Aegis, and Damis, a Philosopher, who conversed with him, and Philostratus the Athenian, men of great learning: And being lovers of truth and
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"and friends to mankind, they were unwilling, that the actions of so great a man, dear to the gods, should be bid. So writes Hierocles in his work against us, entitled by him Philalethes. The case is this. Damis, who was very conversant with Apollonius, was a native of Assyria. There he became acquainted with Apollonius, upon his travelling into that country, and afterwards wrote the history of what happened after his acquaintance with him. The history of Maximus is very short and imperfect. But Philostratus of Athens having met with these and some other histories of Apollonius, as he says, composed a history of his life from his birth to his death."

That Eusebius there gives a true account of the Work of Philostratus, may be perceived by any, who (k) will look into the introduction to it. And yet he omits one particular in that introduction, which may be justly reckoned to render the truth of Philostratus's history suspected. For having mentioned Maximus and Damis, as observed by Eusebius, he adds: "For (l) there is no regard to be had to Moeragenes, who wrote four books concerning Apollonius, but was unacquainted with many things concerning him." Which may induce us to conclude, that in those books were some things not very much to the honour of Apollonius. And Philostratus does himself afterwards quote (m) Moeragenes for an account of the writings of Apollonius. Therefore, Philostratus as it seems, put together what he thought to be to the advantage of his hero, and omitted other things.

"However, omitting other things, says Eusebius, "we shall conclude ourselves to the history writ by Philostratus, by which we shall clearly shew, that Apollonius was far from deserving to be compared with our Saviour Jesus Christ, as is pretended by the author...

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(k) Philost. de Vit. Apol. l. 1. c. 3.
(l) Οὐ γὰρ Μοραγένης τι προσέχειν, μηκέτι μὴν ξωθίσατη τὸ Απολλόνιον τίτταρα, θελ-
(m) Vid. ib. l. 3. cap. 41.
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“author of Philalethes.” Whereupon he proceeds to examine the Life of Apollonius, writ by Philostratus in eight books, upon each of which he makes remarks.

And though this answer of Eusebius to Hierocles is short, I suppose, it was sufficient, and such as was suited to the circumstances of things at that time. The greatest part of the objections in this work of Hierocles were trifling, and stale, such as had been already answered by Origen, and other learned Apologists, and which all Christians in general were able to confute. All (n) that was new in Hierocles was a comparison of our Saviour with Apollonius. This had never been attempted by any before. To that therefore Eusebius confined himself, as before said.

A Cruelty of Hierocles, when Prefect of Alexandria.

III. Eusebius has recorded a great cruelty of this Hierocles, when Prefect of Alexandria, though he has not expressly named him. It is in his book of the Martyrs of Palestine, where he writes of the sufferings of Christians in that country. But having in the fourth chapter of that book related the grievous sufferings of Apphianus at Cesarea, a young man, about twenty years of age, of a good family, and a liberal education, he is led in the following chapter to relate the martyrdom of Aedesius at Alexandria, though it did not happen till some while afterwards. “For (o) Aedesius was brother of Apphianus, not only in a religious sense, but also by nature, as he had the same father. And he had made greater progress in learning, than his brother. He also led a philosophical life, and wore their cloak. He being at Alexandria, and beholding the judge insulting the Christians, who were brought before him in the most opprobrious manner, though they were men of great gravity:

(n) Μεν η δ’ εν είς τον μι ποι Απόλλωνι, καθ’ εγγυμάτια, κατ’ ημον τιμής τινα προς τινα μετάβα. Euseb. ib. p. 512.


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"and also delivering women, some of which were devoted to vir-
ginity, into the hands of bawds to be abused by them, he was "exceedingly provoked, and (p) going up to the judge, reproved "him in word and deed. For which he was condemned to the se-
"verest torments, and then thrown into the sea."

It is supposed, that (q) Aedesius struck the judge. For which he has been censured by some. But I think it must be acknowledged, that the provocation was very great. And when a magistrate de-
parts from his dignity, and reviles prisoners at his bar, and condemns virtuous and modest women to the stews for prostitution: and thus acts contrarie to all the laws of decency and good manners, as well as of strict justice, he forfeits the respect, that would be otherwise due to him.

For certain these are strange things in a man of letters, as Hiero-
cles was: whose (r) learning is readily acknowledged by Eusebius in his confutation of him. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that a man of an honorable familie, and a liberal education, as Aedesius was, should think he had a right to expose a magistrate, whose proceed-
ings were so extraordinarie.

There was another of this name, a Platonic Philosopher, who taught at Alexandria in the fifth centurie, and wrote of Providence and Fate, and likewise a Commentarie upon the Golden Verxes of Pythagoras, as they are called. These two were confounded by many learned men for some time. But that (s) mistake has been since

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since corrected, and it is now universally allowed, that Hierocles, Governour of Bithynia, and Prefect of Alexandria, who wrote against the Christians, and was answered by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Hierocles the Platonic Philosopher of Alexandria, were two different persons.

IV. It is now high time, that we should make remarks upon the accounts of the work of Hierocles, which we have seen in Laëtaniius and Eusebius.

1. Hierocles had read the scriptures of the New Testament, if not of the Old likewise. He observed, particularly, upon a great many passages of the books of the New Testament, endeavoring to shew them inconsistent with each other. This shews, that those books were now well known, and that they were greatly respected by Christians. If therefore the credit of these books was overthrown, the Christian religion must fall with it. In (t) the Imperial Edict for Diocletian's persecution, in 303. it was expressly ordered, not only that the Christian churches should be demolished, but also, that their scriptures should be burned. And this was the first time, that any such order was published by any of the Heathen persecuting Emperours. And it is a proof, as was before observed, that the Heathen people were then sensible of the importance of those scriptures, which the Christians made use of, as the ground of their religion, the rule of their conduct, and the great support of their steadiness and zeal.

2. Hierocles bears testimonie to the existience of the several parts of the New Testament, the Gospels and the Epistles. For, as Laëtanius says, be reviled Peter and Paul, and the other disciples: who, as he says, were ignorant and illiterate, and some of them got their livelihood by fishing. And, as quoted from Eusebius, he says: It is also reasonable to think, that the works of Jesus have been magnified by Peter and Paul, and the others, like them, ignorant men, liars and impostors.

Here is a testimonie to the genuinnesse of the Scriptures now received by us. Here are references to fix at least of the eight writers of the books of the New Testament. Peter and Paul are expressly named. And there are references to the Gospels of the four Evangelists. The books now received by us therefore are the same, which were received by the Christians of that time: and were received by them from their ancestors, and were respected by them, as genuine and authentic.

3. Hierocles did not dispute the genuinnesse or antiquity of the writings of our Apostles and Evangelists. But he endeavored to disparage them, calling them illiterate, liars and impostors. This last charge is manifestly false, their writings having in them all the marks of truth and credibility, that can be wished for, or desired. But some of the writers, as we own, were unlearned. But Paul was learned, both in Jewish and Greek learning, and knew the world. Nor was Luke altogether illiterate. Barnabas, who joined the Apostles, soon after our Saviour's resurrection, was a Levite, and a man of good understanding, and very remarkable for his generosity. Jesus in the time of his abode on this earth, notwithstanding the meaneness of his outward circumstances, had some affectionate and respectfull friends and followers of great distinction, attracted solely by the excellence of his words, the greatnesse of his works, and the amiablenesse of his conduct. Such were Jairus, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea: And among the rulers many believed on him: but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should
Hierocles did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles, such as giving sight to the blind, and other like works, recorded by the just mentioned writers. But he endeavored to disparage and depreciate them by ascribing them to magical arts. Which is altogether unreasonable, because the works are such as could be done by the power of God only, to which they are always ascribed by the historians. He likewise insinuated, that there might be reason to suspect, that the Evangelists had magnified our Saviour's works beyond the truth and reality. Which insinuation is also unreasonable: For as much as the historians of the Lord Jesus have not particularly recorded all the great works done by him, but have quite omitted very many, and contented themselves with a general mention or reference to others.

There is another great advantage, which the historians of the Lord Jesus have over Philostratus, on whom Hierocles relied for the accounts of Apollonius, that they were all contemporaries with Jesus, and most of them his hearers and eye-witnesses: whereas Philostratus did not write till more than a hundred years after the death of Apollonius. But of that more hereafter.

By Laetantius we are told, that this writer, meaning Hierocles, gave out, that Jesus had been expelled from Judea, and after that
that committed robbery, accompanied by a band of nine hundred men. If this be true, (nor is there any reason to doubt it;) it shews, that Heathen people at that time made no scruple of inventing lies to the disparagement of our Saviour. And though those stories were quite groundless and very improbable, they might be regarded by many ignorant and prejudiced people, who had never read the scriptures, and had heard, that about our Saviour's time, and before the destruction of Jerusalem, there were many robbers in Judea.

6. Beside other just observations in Laetantius, one is this, that the respect shewn to Jesus by vast numbers of men, though he was crucified, is a demonstration, that he was not a man of a bad character. Robbers, and other malefactors, who suffer for their crimes, are never deified, nor much respected after their death.

7. We are assured both by Laetantius, and Eusebius, that there was in Hierocles, a comparison made of our Saviour and Apollonius, with a preference of this later. And by Eusebius, we are expressly assured, that Hierocles was the first who had formed such a comparison. This ought to be particularly attended to by us, and will engage us in some farther observations, which shall be reserved for another section, that I may not too much prolong this.

V. Says Cudworth (x) in his Intellectual System: "It is a thing highly probable, if not unquestionable, that Apollonius Tyanaeus, shortly after the publication of the gospel to the world, was a person made choice of by the policy, and assisted by the powers of the kingdom of darkness, for the doing some things extraordinary, merely out of design to derogate from the miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to enable Paganism the better to bear up against the attacks of Christianity."

So Cudworth. And I suppose, that many learned men of late times may have expressed themselves in a like manner. But I cannot

(x) B. i. ch. iv. p. 265. 266. ed. 1678.
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not assent to them. With due submission, I do not think, that Apollonius was a man of so great importance, as is here supposed. For it does not appear, that any adversaries of the Christians, either Celsus, or Porphyrie, or any other, before Hierocles, at the beginning of the fourth century, under Diocletian's persecution, ever took any notice of him in any of their arguments. Nor do I know, that he has been once mentioned by any Christian writers of the first two centuries.

When I first met with that observation of Cudworth, I was very much surprized, considering the silence of all early antiquity. If this observation were right, I should have expected to find frequent mention of Apollonius in the historie of St. John, and the other Apostles of Christ. But there is none. We had in that space of time divers learned men, some of them, as eminent for extensive literature, as any men that ever lived: as Justin, Tatian, Bardeanes the Syrian, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Julius Africanus, Tertullian, Minucius Felix: not to insist upon Clement of Rome, Ignatius, or Polycarp, or the histories of them. Of all these we have some remains. They lived in the first two centuries, or at the beginning of the third. But of Apollonius they have not taken any the least notice.

The first Christian writer, who has mentioned him, so far as I can recollect, is Origen in his books against Celsus, writ not long before the middle of the third century. Where he says: "He (y) who would know, whether Magick has any power over Philosophers, may read the Memoirs of Moeragenes, concerning Apollonius of Tyana, both (z) a Magician, and a Philosopher. In which Moeragenes, who was not a Christian, but a Philosopher, says, that some, and no inconsiderable Philosophers, were taken by the magical art of Apollonius, and came to him, as to a magician. [γρατα]

Among them, I suppose, he means Euphrates, and a certain Epicurean. But we can affirm upon the ground of our own experience;

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"perience, that they who worship the God over all through Jesus Christ, and live according to the gospel, and pray as they ought to do day and night, have no reason to fear any thing from mankind, or demons." So Origen is led to speak in answer to some things in Celius. But it does not appear, that Celius had at all mentioned either Apollonius, or his historian.

Apollonius is mentioned by (a) Lucian. But what he says of him, is far from being to his advantage. He is also mentioned by (b) Apuleius, who was contemporaric with Lucian. Nor (c) is there any older author now extant, where he is mentioned. Which must be reckoned an argument of his great obscurity, till he was set up by Philostratus.

After that time Apollonius is taken notice of by many: as (d) Arnobius, and LaCtantius, and Eusebius, who were led to observe upon Hierocles, whose whole book against the Christians was founded upon the memoirs of Philostratus. He is afterwards mentioned by Augustin, and other Christian writers. And he is mentioned several times by the writers (e) of the Augustan Historie, who flourished in the time of Diocletian, or soon afterwards, and by (f) Dion Casius, and (g) by Eunapius, who commends the historie of Philostratus, but says, that instead of entitling it the Life of Apollonius, he might have called it the Peregrination of a God among men.

I must

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(c) Ante Lucianum vix reperies, qui ejus meminerit. Eruditis certe Philostrati enarrator Lucianum cum Apuleio coae.


(d) Amob. l. i. p. 31.


(f) Dion. in Domitian. l. 6. p. 1116. Reimar. Et in Caracalla. lib. 77. p. 1304.

(g) Αλλα το μην ει τετελον ο Απολλος ισπανής πολεματις, βλεπετα τον Απολλωνια το βελιτσα, διον επιδενηθης ει ανθρωπος Θεοι καλεσι. Eunap. Pr. p. 11.
I must stay here to add, That we have a kind of positive evidence, that Celsus took no notice of Apollonius, though he did speak of several others of a like character. "There (b) were miracles wrought everywhere, or however in many places, says Origen. Celsus himself presently afterw of Lucan in Asculapius, who performed cures, and delivered out oracles in all cities consecrated to him, Epidaurus, Cous, Pergamus; and Aris The facts, and Clazomenius, and Cleomedes. But among the Jews, who esteemed themselves consecrated to the God of the universe, there was, it seems, no miracle, no prodigie, to eflablish their faith in the creator of all things." For certain Apollonius was not mentioned by Celsus here. Probably therefore he was not brought in by him anywhere.

The silence of Celsus about Apollonius must be reckoned good proof, that in the middle of the second century, Apollonius was not a man of much consideration among the Heathen people.

VI. Since therefore Apollonius is very much, if not entirely indebted to the memoirs of Philostratus, for his great reputation in the world; it is very fit, that we should consider that work distinctly.

I propose, then, to consider these several things.

1. The time and occasion of writing it. 2. it's veracity, or credibility. 3. it's importance.

1. The time and occasion of it.

It (i) was composed about the year of Christ 210, at the desire of the Empress Julia, wife of Septimius Severus. Says Philostratus himself, in the third chapter of his first book. "There was one Damis, a man not unskilful in philosophie, a native of the ancient Ninive. He was much conversant with Apollonius, and attend-
ed him in his travels, and wrote down his sentiments, and sayings, and divinations. A friend of Damis brought his memoirs, hitherto unknown, to the Empress Julia. She was herself a friend to literature. And as I was in her family, she commanded me to digest these materials into proper order. I also met with the book of Maximus of Aegis, which contained an account of what happened to Apollonius at Aegis. There is also extant the last will and testament of Apollonius, whence it may be learned, that he philosophized under a divine impulse. Moeragenes composed four books concerning Apollonius. But no regard is to be had to him, forasmuch as he was ignorant of many things relating to him. Thus I have shewn, whence these collections were made, and how I have digested them. And I cannot but wish, that this work of mine may be honorable to him, of whom I write, and useful to such as are lovers of good letters. For, certainly, they may hence learn things, which they knew not before.

That may suffice for shewing the time and occasion of this work of Philostratus, the Life of Apollonius.

2. Hence we may be able to judge of the truth or credibility of what is here related. It \( k \) must be all uncertain, and deserving of

\( k \) Quicquid igitur de iis furtur, id deploratae hujus hominis fidei innititur: Haec vero sunt, quae de illis habet. Damidis quemdam familiarem in lucem eos primum protraxisse, ac Juliae Augustae obtulisse. Hanc cum ars dicendi studiosa esset, sibi id laboris imposisse, ut quae agrelli et incondita oratione Damis prodiderat, expoliret, et meliori ordine digereret. Fecisse id opere, quod De Vita Apollonii hodie adhuc tenemus. Ex his statim intelligitur, cum ante Severi temporae volumen hoc nulli visum fuerit, nullam etiam Apollonio parere exstimationem potuisse. Deinceps vero actum esse de omni ejus auctoritate ex hac ipfa narratione constat. Quis Damidem illud consignasse, auctore est ? Obscurus qui dam homo, cujus nomen necit, tacet Philostratus, qui Damidi tamen se familiarem gloriatatur. Quis praeter hunc ? Nullus plane ... Sed quis rustico labori exornando praeficitur ? Philostratus, rhetor, ex eorum nimium ordine, quibus omnia faciata et simulata erant. Egregie fane! Mostra. Diff. de exstimatione Apol-
of very little credit. Philostratus's principal author, Damis, is an obscure person. His memoirs were unknown, till brought to the Empresse Julia. His friend, who is said to have brought them to her, is not named. Though Moeragenes had published four books concerning Apollonius, Philostratus determined to pay no regard to them: very probably, because they were not favorable to his hero. And he concludes with saying, "That the curious may hence learn what they knew nothing of before." But how can things be received, which were not known, till more than a hundred years after the death of the person spoken of.

That Philostratus's historie is not writ with impartiality, and that he forbore to insert things not favorable to Apollonius, is manifest upon divers occasions. According to Philostratus, Vespasian met with Apollonius, Euphrates, and other Philosophers, at Alexandria, in his way to Rome, after he had been proclaimed Emperour. At (l) his desire Apollonius gave him good advice for the right management of himself in his high station. Vespasian then asked the advice of Euphrates also. "Who declared his assent to what had been already said by Apollonius. Nevertheless (m) says he, o Emperour, I may add this: Approve and cherish the philosophie, which is agreeable to nature: and avoid that, which boasts of commerce "

pollonii Tyanaei. §. ix. apud ejusdem Commentationes et Orationes varii argumenti. Hamburg. 1751. 8vo.

Alius certe dixerit, quis qualis, ater, an albus fuerit. [Apollonius.] Mihi omnibus solicite ponderatis, collatique pro quavis sententia argumentis, id unum perpicuum effe fateor, talem, quam Philostratus fingit, non fuisset. Id. ib. §. i.

Si Moeraginis de vita ejus narratio exflaret, quanti apud multos vivus fuisset habitus, curatius narrari possit. Periit ea, quam Origenes suo adhuc tempore legit, eorum fine dubio, qui famae hominis consultum cupidabant, studio... Unnicus igitur nobis hodie Philostratus reflat, ex quo quae ad vitam ejus pertinent, haurienda sunt. Id. ib. §. ii.


(m) ...philosophiae vel, ε μαθητη, (του γεφατην προσωποιται) την μεν κατα φιλαν επαίνης αν πάντι την είκον τη διαφορα ρησισμων αερατει. κ λ. Cap. 37.
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"with the deity." Which, as Philostratus says, was designed against Apollonius, and was the result of envy.

When Vespasian was gone from Egypt, Apollonius and Euphrates quarreled more openly. "But says (n) Philostratus, I must dismi the affair. It is not my design to blame Euphrates, but to write the life of Apollonius, for the sake of those who are as yet unacquainted with it."

Euphrates is several times mentioned by Philostratus. But it has been observed by learned men, that Euphrates has a good character from (o) the younger Plinie, and (p) from Epictetus, who have never mentioned Apollonius, and from (q) Eunapius. Eusebius (r) has made good remarks upon the differences between Apollonius and Euphrates: and fails not to observe, that Euphrates was in his time a very celebrated Philosopher, and was still in great esteem.

3. From what has been already said, we may be able to judge of the importance of this work. A history that is false, or uncertain, and not to be depended upon, cannot be of much value. Nevertheless we must bestow some observations upon this point, out of deference to the opinions of some learned moderns.

Dr. Cudworth, as before cited, goes on, at p. 268. "For among the many writers of this Philosopher's life, some, and particularly Philostratus, seem to have had no other aim in their undertaking, than only to dress up Apollonius in such a garb and manner, as might make him best seem to be a fit correlative with our Saviour Jesus Christ, both in respect of sanctity and miracles... And it is well known, that Hierocles, to whom Eusebius gives the character of a very learned man, wrote a book against the Christians, the chief design of which was to compare this Apollonius Tyanaeus with, and to prefer him before our Saviour. And that this was

(n) Cap. 39. (q) De Vit. Sophist. in Pr.
(p) Arian. Epist. 4. c. 8.
was the use, commonly made by the Pagans of this historie of Philostratus, appears sundry ways. Marcellinus, in an epistle of his to St. Augustin, declares this, as the grand objection of the Pagans against Christianity, and therefore he desires St. Augustin to answer the same: Nihil (s) aliud Dominum, quam alii homines facere potuerunt, fecisse mentiuntur Apollonium sicutem sunum nobis, et Apuleium, aliosque magicae artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt exstitisse miracula." So Cudworth, and in like manner many other learned men.

But whereas Cudworth supposed, that among the many writers of this Philosopher's life, some, beside Philostratus, wrote with that view; it is said, without ground. There were not many writers of this man's life. Nor are any of them come down to us. Hierocles, in his comparison of our Saviour with Apollonius, made use of Philostratus only.

The question is, whether Philostratus designed to set up Apollonius, as a correlative with our Saviour. It has been the opinion of Cudworth, and of (t) divers other learned men of late times. Nevertheless I do not think that to be clear. My late learned friend, Mr. Michael de la Roche, used to say, that Philostratus said nothing more in the Life of Apollonius, than he would have said, if there had been no Christians in the world. Whether he any where published this his opinion in any of his Literary Memoirs, I cannot say * * *.

But

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Videtur nobis quoque, ut viris docif silsimis viis eff, fabula haec esse a Philostrato centum post annis, ea de cautla conscripta, ut haberent Ethnici, quem Jesu Christo, cujus doctrinam et discipulos invalefcre in dies, non fine invidia videbant, opponerent. Cleric. ib. An. 85. n. i. et ii.

* * * Since writing what is above, (and indeed a good while since,) I have accidentally observed this paragraph in Mr. La Roche's New Memoirs of Literature. Vol. i. art. xiii. p. 99. "It is commonly believed, that Philostratus wrote the "Life
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But I had this thought from him in our correspondence together. At first it appeared strange to me. But upon farther consideration, and upon reading Philostratus again, I have embraced the same opinion: and am now confirmed in it. Hierocles made use of the work of Philostratus in forming his comparison of Christ and Apollonius. And many Heathen people afterwards were willing enough to set up Apollonius against our Saviour. But it does not clearly appear, that Philostratus had any such thing in view.

Huet specifies several ends and views, which Philostratus might have in composing that work. He (u) allows, "that it has no foundation in truth. His chief design in writing was to please Julia and Caracalla. Julia was a Lady of a philosophical temper of mind. She was desirous to know the history of the ancient Philostratus, to draw up a parallel between his miracles and those of Jesus Christ. I read that Author long ago, that I might be able to judge, whether that opinion was well grounded. But after reading of Philostratus, I was fully persuaded, that he never designed to draw up such a parallel. It is no difficult thing to prove it, and to shew what gave occasion to the mistake just now mentioned." That is the whole of what he says.

(u) *Nullis ergo ac solidis incumbit fundamentis tota haec Philostrati moles, fed caduca, et in ruinam prona eft: cujus ad speciem exstruendae cauflam hanc habuit precipuam, ut Juliae et Caracallae gratificaretur.... Juliam vero philosophiae deditam suisse memorant idem Dio et Philostratus, Sophistarumque, Rhetorum ac Geometrarum choro plerumque dignata erat.... Quamobrem et de praeorum philosophorum moribus ac studiis educeri se vo- lebat, atque hanc Apollonii potissimum historiam a Philostrato tradi literis optavit, eique Damidis commentarios soppeditavit. Altera Philostrato accedit caufa cincinnandi hujus operis, vana nimirum collectae per otium eruditionis exproemendae ac oſtentandae cupiditas. Quorum enim ambitiſi illi excurſus, et importuna difertationes, de rebus ad Apollonium baudquaquam pertinentibus: de Pantheris Armeniis, de elephantis, de martichora, de gryphibus, pygmaeis, &c. &c. Id praeterea specſaſfe ſe in primis videtur Philostrati, ut invaleſcentem jam Chriſti ſidem ac doctrinam depremeret, ſoſſo hoc omnis doctrinae, fanſtatis, ac mirificae virtutis foeneo ſimulachro. Itaque ad Chriſti exemplar hanc expressit effigiem, et pleraque ex Chriſti ſeſa historia Apollonio accommodavit, ne quid Ethnici Christianiſam invideſe poſſent. *Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. 9, cap. 147. §. iii. p. 66*
HIEROCLES. CH. XXXIX.

A. D. 303.

lophers, and particularly of Apollonius. And for that end the furnished Philostratus with the memoirs of Damis. In pursuit of this design, he also gratified his own vanity, and laid hold of every opportunity for shewing his learning, making digressions concerning a great variety of subjects, not at all appertaining to the historie of Apollonius. He also aimed, Huet says, and thinks that to have been his principal design, to obstruct the progress of the Christian Religion, by drawing the character of a man of great knowledge, sanctity, and miraculous power. Therefore he formed Apollonius after the example of Christ, and accommodated many things in the historie of our Lord to Apollonius.”

The several views and ends first mentioned are very conspicuous in this work. But I cannot clearly discern the last. And I shall assign my reasons. Philostratus was a Pythagorean, or however assumed that character upon this occasion. And he designed to extoll Apollonius, and recommend him to esteem, as a wonderfull man, and a follower of Pythagoras. Philostratus, as other writers generally do, declares his design at the begining of his work, and to this purpose. “They (x) who admire Pythagoras of Samos, say of him, that he wore no cloathing taken from animals, and that he for- bare the use of animals in food, and sacrifice, offering up only cakes with honey, and frankincefe, and hymns. And they say, that he conversed with the gods, and from themselves knew what things were most acceptable to them, and what were displeasing. And many other things are said of him by those, who philosophize after the institution of Pythagoras: which I must forbear to re- late, as I must hasten to the historie, which I have undertaken.”

“For (y) Apollonius, who lived not very long ago, nor yet very lately, attempted the like things in a more perfect manner than Pythagoras.”

Huet

(x) De Vit. Apoll. i. cap. 1.
(y) Acta αὐτοῦ άπειρωμένα τῷ σαριφ
Ch. XXXIX. HIEROCLES.

Huet (a) has in one place expressed himself after the same manner that I have done upon a view of this work of Philostratus. His words, which I have placed below, are very remarkable.

And Eunapius, who was as likely to understand the design of Philostratus, as any modern, speaks also to the same purpose. In the preface to his work, speaking of such as had writ the Lives of Sophists and Philosophers: "And (a) Apollonius of Tyana, says he, "was a Philosopher, indeed, but more than a Philosopher, being "somewhat between the Gods and man. For following the philo-

"sophie of Pythagoras, he raised the reputation of it, as truly di-

"vine and excellent. Philostratus of Lemnus has writ his historie "in several books, calling his work the Life of Apollonius: which "might have been more properly entitled, The Peregrination of God "among men."

Apollonius is drawn by Philostratus in resemblance of Pythago-

"ras, not of Jesus Christ. "When (b) he was sixteen years of age, "he determined to follow the institution of Pythagoras, higher "powers instigating him thereto. From that time he forbore the "food of animals, and wore linen garments, not admitting such as "were made of wool, taken from animals, and wore long hair."

How strictly he professed to observe the Pythagorean discipline, eve-

"ry

(a) Mihi vero rem introspicienti Pytha-

goricae philosophiae penitus videtur addic-

tus fuiffe Philostratus. Ex qua disciplina quicunque prodierunt, quod jam supra

monui, in baukatastolias et paradoxeoias fuerunt pronoii, nihil non et fingere promti et credera. Tectis aureum Pythagorae semur, tectis et Abaridis sagitta, et quaececumque de Epimenide, et Empedoc-

cle, allisque ex Italic schola profectis memorantur. Vel primum legatur Philo-

strati caput, ex quo, velut ex ungue leo-

nem, hominis propeium in Pythagorae deliramenta animum et superstitiosam cre-

dulitatem deprehendias. Huet. ib. n. u.

(b) De Vit. Ap. l. i. c. 7. 8. p. 9. 10.
Hierocles. Ch. XXXIX.

A.D. 303.

—Try where, and in all things, may be seen l. 1. cap. 32. if Damis may be relied upon. Pythagoras was a great traveller. According to Philostratus, Apollonius visited many parts of the then known world, Europe, Asia, and Africa. He (c) also observed the Pythagorean five years silence, notwithstanding the great difficulty, with which it was attended. A plague broke out at Ephesus. Apollonius was at Smyrna. The Ephesians sent to Apollonius to come to them, expecting help from him. "He (f) said to those about him, Let us not delay the journey. And he was at Ephesus: therein imitating, as I think, says Philostratus, Pythagoras, who was at the same time with the Thurians, and at Metapontus." Porphyrie's account in his life of Pythagoras, is to this purpose: "That (g) in one and the same day Pythagoras was at Metapontus in Italie, and at Tauromenium in Sicilie, and conversed with his friends in both places. Almost all agree in asserting this." Διασεβαίτωσι σχεδον ἄπαντες. Another like storie is afterwards told of Apollonius (b) by Philostratus.

It is manifest therefore, that Philostratus compared Apollonius and Pythagoras. But I do not see, that he endeavored to make him a rival with Jesus Christ. Philostratus has never once mentioned our Saviour, or the Christians his followers, neither in this long work, nor in the Lives of the Sophists, if it be his, as (i) several learned men of the best judgement suppose. Nor is there any hint, that Apollonius any where in his wide travels, met with any followers of Jesus. There is not so much as an obscure, or general description of any men met with by him, whom any can suspect to be Christians.

ans of any denomination, either catholics, or heretics. Whereas, I think, that, if Philostratus had writ with a mind averse to Jesus Christ, he would have laid hold of some occasion to describe and disparage his followers, as enemies to the gods, and contemners of their mysteries, and solemnities, and different from all other men.

Nor is there any resemblance between Jesus and Apollonius. Apollonius travelled from Spain to the Indies, *a Gadibus ad Gangem*. Our Lord never travelled abroad. He never was out of the small tract of the land of Israel, excepting when he was carried into Egypt, to avoid the design of Herod upon his life. And he ate, and drank, and dressed, like other men, without any affectation of austerties, like those of the Pythagoreans. Nor was John the Baptist, the fore-runner of Jesus, like them. There was somewhat austere in his character. But he likewise ate animal food, and wore animal clothing. *He bad his raiment of camels hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins: and his meat was locusts, and wild honey.* Matt. iii. 4.

Nor has Philostratus told any such wonderfull works of Apollonius, as should make out any tolerable resemblance between Jesus and him, in that respect.

Huet is the person, who has taken the most pains to shew this. He (k) affirms, that Philostratus transferred many things from the historie of Christ into his life of Apollonius. And he has alleged a great number of particulars. But to me they appear so slight, and so inadequate to the purpose, as to deserve little regard.

For instance, "of (l)our Lord it is said Luke ii. 52. that he was "created in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men."

And

(k) *Ex historia Christi pleraque in fuam Apollonii vitam transfult*. Huet. ib.
Hierocles. Ch. XXXIX.

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“And Philostratus says, that Apollonius in early life, as he grew up, gave proof of great ingenuity, and a strong memorie, and was much taken notice of.”

But, first of all, what is there extraordinary in this? Has not the like been said of innumerable men, who have afterwards made a figure in the world? And, secondly, here is an imitation of Pythagoras, of whom the same is said by the (m) writers of his life.

Again. “Jesus (n) ascended to heaven. Nor would Philostratus, says Huet, have his Apollonius inferior to him in that respect.”

Nevertheless here is no resemblance at all. Nor can there be any. According to all the Gospels, Jesus was publicly crucified at Jerusalem. And it was in all the ancient Creeds, received by all Catholic Christians in general, that Jesus suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried: the third day he rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven. But Philostratus did not know, when, or where, or how Apollonius died, nor at what age. How is it possible then, that there should be here any resemblance? “Concerning (o) the manner of his death, if indeed he died, there are various reports. But Damis says nothing... Nor does Damis inform us of his age. But some say, he lived to be eighty years old, others more than ninety, some more than a hundred. Some say, he died at Ephesus, others say he died at Lindus, others at Crete, and that having gone into the temple there, he disappeared in a wonderfull manner: and that there were heard virgins singing this ode: Come from the earth: come to heaven: come.” So writes Philostratus.

Surely,

(n) Ιησοῦν ἀσκεῖται ἐν καλεῖον: nec hac parte inferiorum esse Apollonium suum vo-
(o) Πρὶ γὰρ ἥπερ προεἰσῆσθαι ἐν ἑτελείαι, ὡς ἑτελείαι, πλὴν μὲν λόγοι. Ἀκμάῖοι δὲ οἶδα ὅταν... Philol. 1. 8. cap. 29. 30.
Surely, this is all uncertainty, and nothing to be depended upon. As (p) Huet himself, and (q) other learned men of the best note, have acknowledged.

But though this is all uncertainty, and here is no resemblance of Jesus Christ; here is an imitation of the writers of the life of Pythagoras. Who either give no account of his death, or say, there (r) are different accounts in several authors of the manner of his death. And some said, he (s) died in the eighty year of his age, others in the ninetieth year. And some said, he (t) lived to be almost a hundred, others, that (u) he reached to the hundred and fifth year of his age.

Upon the whole, I do not see any reason to believe, that Philostratus had read any of our Gospels, or any other of the books of the New Testament, or that he anywhere makes any references to the history of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Before I proceed any farther, I would just observe here, that (x) Photius has two articles concerning this work of Philostratus, entitled the Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus. One of which is a general account

(p) ... nec uspiam poetae comparuisse. Quae quam inconcinne et absurd in conficitant sunt, clarissime patet acuisit ea, quae a Philostrato praemissa sunt. Nam quo actatis anno deceferit Apollonius, ignorari ait. ... discrepantes quaeque esse de loco obitus ipsius sententias, Ephesi aliis, aliis Lindi, aliis in Cretas interisse narratis, sepulchrum vero eurus nullibi gentium repertir. Huet. ib. p. 662.


(s) Ο γὰρ Πυθαγόρας, ὁ μὲν Ηρακλείδης ἀφοιν, ὣς ἐνεποιήσεται ἔτη ἡμέρας ... ὅπερ ἡ Πλάσις ἔννοια. Huet. ib. p. 662.

(t) ... τὸ πῶς ταῖς ἔτη ἐτησίως ζῇ. Jambl. Vit. Pyth. cap. 36. num. 265.


(x) Phot. Cod. 44. p. 29. et 241. p. 926.
account of the work. The other is a copious abridgement of all the eight books of it. But I do not recollect, that he any where hints it to have been his design to oppose Apollonius to Jesus. However in the first article he gives the true character of it, representing it to be extremely (y) fabulous.

Jerome (z) likewise has given a particular account of Philostratus's eight books of the Life of Apollonius, whom, as he says, the vulgar called a Magician, the Pythagoreans a Philosopher. But he gives not any hint, that Philostratus had designed to set up Apollonius in opposition to our Saviour.

And beside that every thing is uncertain, and nothing related in a credible manner, and upon good authority, as was formerly shewn; the things, ascribed to Apollonius by Philostratus, are not so extraordinary, as some imagine. Some (z) cures of demoniacs, and others, are inserted after a sort in this historie of Apollonius: but not one instance of a miraculous resurrection is asserted by him. Something of this kind he attempts in one (a) place. But after all, it was not certain to those who were present, that the young woman was dead. Nor does Philostratus affirm it. For there were, it seems, some signs of life in

(y) Tua ta me no peri xeunto anaplastei. p. 29. 
(z) L. 3. cap. 38. 39. l. 4. c. 20.
(a) L. 4. cap. 45.
in the person, who had been supposed by some to be dead. Upon
which story Eusebius has made good remarks. Who says, "as (b)"
it was not credited by Philostratus himself, we need not much
mind it. For in reasoning about it, he supposeth, that there were
some remains of life, the maid still breathing, and having a dew
of sweat upon her face. And moreover, as this is said to have
happened at Rome, if it had been true, it would, undoubtedly,
have come to the knowledge of the Emperor, Domitian, and
his courtiers, and to the Philosopher Euphrates, then at Rome,
and would have been particularly taken notice of, either in fa-
vour of Apollonius, or to his disadvantage. Neither of which hap-
pened."

Of this Eusebius takes notice again afterwards, saying. "As (c)
for the young woman brought to life from the dead, or rather
still breathing, having in her symptoms of life, according to
the historian himself, it cannot be reckoned a miracle. Nor, as
before said, would so great a work have been buried in silence,
if it had been performed at Rome itself, where the Emperor
then was."

Some will ask here, how then came it to pass, that many Hea-
then people were disposed to equal Apollonius to Jesus, or even to
prefer him before our Lord! I answer, the reason was, that they
were

(a) Τὸ γε μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίαν πόλιν με-
tὰ ταῦτα κηρύ, ἦτα δὲ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ
διευθυνός χειρὶ ἅγιον, ἀναστάτωσεν καὶ ἀνέ
δειξα τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ παραπτωμέν. Εἰ διαγρα-
μὸ μένοι ἀμφιβάλλει, μὴ ἔστω σπουδὴ τῆς
τύχης ἐνυπόρχων τῷ σαι, τὸς φασινοῦ-
tας ἐκλήθη. Ἀνέστησιν γὰρ φεύγον ὡς 
φανα-
ζοὶ μὲν ὁ ζεύς, ὁ ἄρα ἐκτρέφει ἀπὸ τὰ προϊστάμενα.
Καὶ γὰρ δὲ καὶ ἀναπλάσθη ἄρτι τοῖς δὲ ἐν' ἀυτῷ
Ῥώμην ἐπιστράτευσεν, ἐκ τῶν ἠλπίσθην 
vοίλαι τε 
πετοῦτο, ὡς τὰς μετὰ ἀυτὸν ἐκπαιδεύχειν,

(b) Τὸ γε μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίαν πόλιν με-
tὰ ταῦτα κηρύ, ἦτα δὲ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ
διευθυνός χειρὶ ἅγιον, ἀναστάτωσεν καὶ ἀνέ
δειξα τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ παραπτωμέν. Εἰ διαγρα-
μὸ μένοι ἀμφιβάλλει, μὴ ἔστω σπουδὴ τῆς
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ζοὶ μὲν ὁ ζεύς, ὁ ἄρα ἐκτρέφει ἀπὸ τὰ προϊστάμενα.
Καὶ γὰρ δὲ καὶ ἀναπλάσθη ἄρτι τοῖς δὲ ἐν' ἀυτῷ
Ῥώμην ἐπιστράτευσεν, ἐκ τῶν ἠλπίσθην 
vοίλαι τε 
πετοῦτο, ὡς τὰς μετὰ ἀυτὸν ἐκπαιδεύχειν,

(c) Τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀναβολῆς κήρυ, ἦτα
ἐμαυτὸς ὑπερήχει, σαβεία τυχεῖ κατὰ τὸν συγ-
γεγογέν, ἦ ἐμάθη ἐπὶ τὰ προϊστάματα 
τῆς θεοματοστούιας. Ὄν γὰρ ἄν
ὡς ἄν ἐμαῑν, ἕνεκα τοῦ πολιτῶν συγ-
γεγογέν, τῶν Ρωμαίων, βασιλέως ὡς ἰδιώ-
τος ἐγερμένον. Ἰβ. ἡ 534. D.
were willing to lay hold of any thing that offered, to save the sinking cause of Polytheism, and the rites belonging to it: as shipwrecked men catch at every twig or straw that comes in their way, to save themselves from drowning.

This observation may be illustrated and confirmed by an argument of Origen with Celsus.

"Now, says (d) Origen, let us observe some of the strange things alleged by Celsus, which, though in themselves incredible, are believed by him, if we may credit his word. Such are the stories which he alleges, first concerning Aristotle of Proconnesus, who after he had wonderfully disappeared from the eyes of men, was afterwards seen again, and visited many parts of the world, and related the wonderful things he had seen." "Afterwards (e) he insists upon the history of Clazomenius, of whom it is said, that his soul often left the body, and wandered about without the body." "He (f) also speaks of Cleomedes of Astipylea, letting us thereby know, that he was not unacquainted with the Grecian histories. Who, as he says, when he was shut up in a chest, held it fast. Never the less, when it was opened, he was not found in it, having escaped by some divine power."

If Celsus, an Epicurean, when arguing against the Christians, could lay hold of such things, and speak of them, as true, what might not other prejudiced and ignorant men do? For these things must have been looked upon as fabulous by all wise men, when they had no particular interest to serve. Plutarch having related, how Proculus said, and swore, that he had seen Romulus after he was dead, goes on: "This (g) is like some of the Grecian fables of Aristotle the

(e) Ib. num. 32. p. 125.
(f) Ib. num. 33. p. 130.
(g) Φωνεῖ μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκλίπωσιν, πα- 

Plutarch sub fin. Vit. Rom.
Ch. XXXIX. HIEROCLES.

"Proconneian, and Cleomedes the Aelypaleian. For they say, that
Aristéas died in a fuller's work-house: and his friends coming to
him, his body vanished: and that some presently after coming from
a journey, said, they met him travelling to Croton. And that
Cleomedes, being an extraordinary strong man, and with all crazed,
committed many desperate freaks. At last in a certain school-
house, striking a pillar that sustained the roof, with his fist, broke
it in the middle. So the house fell, and destroyed the children in
it, and being pursued, he fled into a great chest, and shutting to
the lid, held it so fast, that many men with all their strength
could not force it open. Afterwards breaking the chest to pieces,
they found no man in it... Many such improbabilities do your fa-
bulous writers relate." So says Plutarch.

As Celsus, and possibly some others, for want of better, laid hold
of old Greek stories to oppose to the miracles of Jesus, and the Jew-
ish Prophets: so many Heathens in later times might endeavor to em-
prove the historic of Apollonius, in opposition to Jesus and his follow-
ers: though Philostratus had no such thing in view, no more than the
first inventors of the old fabulous stories among the Greeks.

One thing here offers itself to our observation, for shewing the
temper of the Heathen people in this point, which therefore cannot
be omitted.

For in the time of Augustin, many Heathen people, and those of
no small consideration, ascribed not only to Apollonius, but to Aplu-
leius of Madaura, likewise many miracles. Says (b) Mr. Bayle,
"nothing can more sensibly demonstrate the absurd credulity of the
Pagans, than their saying, that Apuleius had done so great a num-
er of miracles, that they equalled, or even surpassed those of Je-
sus Christ. Undoubtedly there were many people, who took for
ture historic all that he relates in his Golden Ass: though him-
sself published that book as a Romance, or a Miletian fable, as he
"calls

(b) Apulée.
"calls it in the (i) introduction." And as the same Author goes on. "It (k) could not be easily believed, that any had formed such a notion, were it not, that it is attested by men of good credit: and that (l) the great prelate Augustin was earnestly entreated to confute it. Nay, says Bayle, these pretended miracles were talked of long before Augustin. For Laëntius (m) wonders, that the Author, of whom he is speaking, did not joyn Apuleius with Apollonius of Tyana. For of him also many wonderfull things are related." So Mr. Bayle.

And I think it does appear from Laëntius, that in his time many wonderfull things were ascribed to Apuleius, and believed by some: but, as it seems, they were mean and vulgar people only. For which reason Hierocles, of whom he speaks, did not bring them into his argument against the Christians. He was wiser, than to do it. But things were altered before the time of Augustin. The Christian Religion had made farther progresse in the world, and the necesseties of the Heathen people were encreased. And they now added the miracles of Apuleius to those of Apollonius, to strengthen their cause, though there was no ground for either. It is manifest from the letter of Marcellinus to Augustin, that the works, then ascribed to Apuleius and others, were a real and weighty objection against Christianity, in the minds of some Heathen people of note, and who were well disposed to it. With how little reason, we can now easily discern. But such cases as these are continually happening.

(i) At ego tibi ferme ne morte Milesei variar fabulas conferam. Apul. in prol. Afr Mai.

(k) Apule note (L).


Ch. XXXIX. **Hierocles.**

ing in this world of ours: owing to want of carefull and impartial examination, the great source of ignorance and error in all sorts of people in all ages.

We have now finished our digression, and return to Philostratus.

Apollonius pretended to know the thoughts of men, and to foresee futurities. Nevertheless, as Tillemont (n) observes, "he (o) composed a very long apologie for himself with a design to deliver it to Domitian: but his pretended prophetic spirit did not advertise him, that Domitian would not give him time to pronounce it, and that the pains he was at in composing it would be useless."

A man, (p) who had lost an eye came to a temple of Aesculapius, where also Apollonius was, hoping to have his eye restored to him. But understanding, that his affliction was the punishment of his intemperance, the Priest and Apollonius agreed to dismiss him, as a profane wretch, unworthy of cure. May it not be reasonably suspected, that the cure was above their ability?

We are indebted to Eusebius for his account of the work of Hierocles, and for his remarks upon Philostratus. Nevertheless it is somewhat unhappy for us, that he did not transcribe at length that passage of Hierocles, where (q) he enumerated the wonderfull works ascribed to Apollonius. That passage might have enabled us to judge better for ourselves, and to form a distinct notion of Hierocles's argument, and what were the actions of Apollonius, upon which he chiefly relied. However, as we still have the work of Philostratus, we can be assured, that nothing more than human was credibly related

(o) Philof. de Vit. Apoll. l. 8. cap. 7. p. 327...353.  
(p) Vit. Apoll. l. 1. cap. x.  
(q) ἔστα καταλέγειν ὑπὸ πρῶτα ἀφέμιν νοὸν ἀπαθήξα. Contr. Hier. p. 512. D.
lated of him. And I have endeavored to supply the above mentioned
defect by divers quotations, and observations. To which, I shall
add a few more, though to some they may appear unnecessary.

"A (r) plague broke out at Ephesus. And no remedie offering,
says Philostratus, they sent messengers to Apollonius at Smyrna,
who presently came to them. And gathering together all the Ephe-
sians in general, he bid them be easie: for he would stop the plague
that very day. Having thus said, he invited the people of every age
to the theatre, where now stands the statue, in memorie of their de-

erance. Here was seen an old man in the shape of a beggar, winking
with his eyes, and a scrip by his side, where he put pieces of
bread, with ragged clothes, and sorrowfull face. He bid the Ephes-
sians to surround him, and to throw stones at that enemie of the gods.
The Ephesians wondered at what he said, and thought it inhuman
to kill a stranger, who earnestly importuned their mercie. But he
renewed his orders to the Ephesians, and that they should not let
him escape. Some then began to attack him. Whereupon he,
who before seemed to wink, looked fierce with eyes full of fire.
Whereby the Ephesians perceived it to be a demon. They there-
fore went on casting stones at him, till they had raised a great
heap upon him. Soon after Apollonius directed them to remove
the stones, that they might discern the wild beast, which they
had killed. When that was done, the person, who they thought
they had killed, was vanished. But a dog, in shape like to a
maffiff, in size equal to a very great lion, appeared overwhelmed
with stones, and foaming after the manner of mad dogs. Which
is the form of the averting statue. Moreover a statue of Hercu-
les stands in the place, where this speétre was Stoned."

There is no need of remarks upon so silly a storie of our great
Rhetorician. Justly does Eusebius say, that Philostratus's accounts
of Apollonius's miracles are inconsistent, ἀνύγατα, and therefore al-
together incredible.

But

(r) Vit. Ap. l. 4. cap. x.
But it was necessarie, that some miracle of this kind should be acribed to Apollonius, in order to make out a resemblance with Pythagoras, of whom, among other things, are mentioned (t) the sudden removals of plagues.

However, I shall observe a few more passages in this work of Philostratus.

"When (t) Damis first met Apollonius in Assyria, he said, he believed he could be of use to him, as he knew the road to Babylon, and understood the languages of those barbarians, the Armenians, the Medes, the Persians, the Caduśians. Apollonius answered, "my friend, I understand them all, though I have learned none of them." At which Damis was much surprized. But A-pollonius proceeded: "Do not wonder at that, my friend, that I know all the languages of men. For I know their secret thoughts. Da-mis then worshiped him, considering him as a demon, and con-tinued with him, improving in wisdom."

Upon which Eusebius (u) observes, "that according to Philostratus, Apollonius (x) was a very forward child, taking learning very well, and having a good memorie: and that at the fourteenth year of his age he was carried by his father to Taršus, to be there instructed by Euthydemus the Phenician, who was a good Rhetorician. Where he was also instructed in the philosophie of Pla-to, and Chryſippus, and the Peripatetics, not neglecting entirely that of Epicurus. But the Pythagorean doctrine he most appro-bed. In all these things, says Eusebius, this man was instructed, who is said to have learned no language, and to have known the thoughts of men by a divine power." A just observation.

I shall now take another passage from the first book of the Life of Apollonius. "That (y) my historie might be the more compleat, "

\[(t) \ldots \varepsilon \lambda o i m a i \, \alpha p o t e f o s i \, s u n \, \tau \acute{e} x e r\]
\[(u) \text{Contr. Hierocl. p. 518.}\]
\[(t) \text{Jamb. Vit. Pythag. cap. 28. num. 135.}\]
\[(t) \text{Vit. Ap. l. 1. cap. 19. p. 23.}\]
\[(u) \text{Contr. Hierocl. p. 518.}\]
\[(u) \text{Contr. Hierocl. p. 518.}\]
\[(x) \text{Philol. l. 1. cap. 7.}\]
\[(y) \text{L. 1. cap. 20.}\]
"says Philostratus, I once intended to omit nothing related by Dami
mis, and to give a particular account of what passed among the
Barbarians. But my design leads me to higher and more won-
derfull things. Two things, however, there are, which cannot
be omitted. One is the fortitude of Apollonius in travelling a-
mong barbarous people, whose country abounds with robbers, as
having never been under the Roman Government: the other is
his wisdom, whereby, after the manner of the Arabians, he at-
tained to the knowledge of the languages of brute animals. This
he learned among the Arabians. For this science is common a-
mong the Arabians. And they attend to the voices of birds, with
the same respect as they do to oracles."

But what is there wonderfull in all this? The celebrated fortitude
is merely human. And the interpretation of the languages of brutes
is all conjecture. And any man who undertakes it, may ascribe
what meaning he pleases to their sounds, without being confuted by
any. Nevertheless such pretensions can expose men to laughter
only.

Upon which Eusebius (z) remarks after this manner. "So that
to all the forementioned masters, must be added the wise men of
Arabia, who taught him the art of divination, and enabled him
to understand, that (a) sparrows by chirping call others to partake
of food with them, an observation delivered by him with the ad-
miration of many. And in like manner, when in his journey to
Assyria, he espied a lioness just dying with eight whelps, by the-
name learning he understood how long he should stay with the
Persians."

I shall here refer such readers as are curious, and have leisure, to
some chapters of Porphyrie (§) in his work, concerning Abstinence
from the flesh of animals. Where he speaks of some men having
attained

(z) Ut supr. p. 518.  (a) Vide Philost. l. 4. cap. 3.
(§) De Abstin., &c. l. 3. §. 3. 4. 5. &c.
Ch. XXXIX.  

Hierocles.

attained to the skill of understanding the languages of animals, and then of animals understanding each others languages.

The story of the lioness, to which Eusebius refers, as it stands in Philostratus, is to this purpose. "As (b) Apollonius and Damis were travelling, a lioness was killed near them in hunting, which was of an uncommon size, and when opened, had eight whelps. Apollonius therefore, after observing the wild beast, and after having meditated a good while, said: O Damis, the time of our stay with the King will be a year and eight months. For he will not let us go sooner. Nor will it be easy for us to leave him before that time. From the whelps the number of the months is to be concluded, as the lioness herself denotes a year." Wonderfull mysterie, truly!

This story brings to my mind what is said by Laërtius (c) of Empedocles, "an ancient Pythagorean Philosopher: who, when the Etefan winds were very violent at Agrigentum, so as to destroy the fruits of the earth, he ordered some asles to be flayed. And having made bottles of their skins, they were placed at the tops of the hills for stopping the winds. And the effect being answerable, he obtained the name of Averter of winds."

Menage, in his notes, says, "nothing (d) more silly could possibly be invented." But yet it is mentioned with tokens of approbation and credit by Porphyrie (e) and Jamblichus (f) in their Lives of Pythagoras, and by Philostratus (g) in his Life of Apollonius. And indeed, I think, it as likely a method for stopping a plague, as that taken by Apollonius at Ephesus, before mentioned.

Upon the whole, this work of Philostratus appears to me throughout Pythagorean. As Jamblichus himself says, in his Life of Pythagoras:

(b) De Vit. Ap. l. 1. cap. 22.
(c) Diog. l. 8. §. 60.
(d) Nihil ineptius fingi potest eo quod referit hic Laërtius, Empedoclem excori-atis compluribus asinis, et eorum pellibus oppositis auroto, exclusisse ventum, et si-
mul peßem, quam, perniciosi iti flatus Agrigentinis inducebant. Menag. in loc. p. 379.
(e) . . . num. 29. 30.
(f) Cap. 28. num. 136.
(g) L. 8. cap. 7. §. 8. p. 339.
HIEROCLES. Ch. XXXIX.

A. D. 303.

Pythagoras: "Hence (b) it comes to pass, that all Pythagoreans in general readily assent to such things, as are related of Aristocles the Proconian, and Abaris the Hyperborean, and all other such like things. They assent to all these stories. And they invent many other themselves, as thinking nothing incredible, which is said of the Deity. . . . Nor do they think, that they therefore are weak and silly, but others are so, who disbelieve them. For to say, "some things are possible to the gods, others impossible, is the principle not of wise men, but of ignorant pretenders to science."

A very fair, and honest confession!

My advice therefore, with which I would conclude this section, is, that they who are desirous to understand the history, which Philostratus has left us of Apollonius Tyanaeus, should read the Life of Pythagoras writ by Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrie, Jamblichus, and the Anonymous author in Photius, and the Lives of Empedocles, and other Pythagoreans, in Laërtius: Observing likewise the stories relating to these men, found in Plutarch, Aelian, and other ancient authors.

Let me however add an observation from Chrysostom. "Jesus Christ, (++) says he, not only prescribed a rule of life, but also planted it everywhere throughout the whole world. How many things have been said of Apollonius Tyanaeus! but that you might be satisfied, they are all falsehood, and fiction, and nothing true: they are extinct, and come to an end."

I have now enlarged upon this point, and have said a great deal of

(++) τὸ δὲ χριστὶ ἐν ἑσφαλῇ πολιτείᾳ μίνῳ ἕλλα χαῖται τῆς δικαιίως σωτῆρα κατεργισμένης. Πίσα λέγεται Ἀπολλόνιος ὁ ἢν

Ch. XXXIX.  Of the Lives of Pythagoras, &c.  271

of Apollonius, and the historie of Philostratus, and some things very different from the general apprehensions of learned men in our time. Nevertheless, if I am not mistaken, I have said little more than was said long agoe by Dr. S. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, in his Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and of the Christian Religion. And I therefore intend hereafter to transcribe his observations upon this subject, as an appendix to this chapter.

VII. As I have been led to say so much about the Life of Apollonius, writ by Philostratus; I shall take this opportunity to consider two Lives of Pythagoras, writ, one by Porphyrie, whom we have placed at the year of Christ 270. the other by (i) Jamblichus, of Chalices, a disciple of Porphyrie: who, as (k) Fabricius says, lived in the time of Constantin, and probably, died before the year 333. I therefore place him at the year 313. I speak of these writings together, and in this place, for the sake of brevity, that I may not be obliged to make distinct articles of works, that are of little importance to us.

Here I shall transcribe at length the observations of Mr. La Roche, referred to (l) before. “I am by no means, says he, of Mr. Kufter’s opinion in his (m) note upon Jamblichus. I think, he did not design to oppose the pretended miracles of Pythagoras to those of Jesus Christ. Nor do Rittershusius, or Lucas Holstenius in their


(k) See above, p. 252.

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"their notes say, that Jamblichus, or Porphyrie had any such intention. There is nothing in Jamblichus, or in what remains of Porphyrie's Life of Pythagoras, but what they would have said if there had been no Christians in the world. The same may be said of Philostratus, in the Life of Apollonius. I wonder the learned Dr. Gale should suspect in his notes upon Jamblichus de mysteriis p. 244. (n) that Jamblichus did indirectly reflect upon the incarnation of the Θεουργος."*

I am of opinion, that this last observation, as well as the others, is very right. But what I add farther shall relate to the two Lives of Pythagoras, writ by Porphyrie, and Jamblichus. And that they had no intention to oppose Pythagoras to the Lord Jesus Christ, appears to me very evident for these two reasons.

First of all, they have said nothing new of Pythagoras, nothing, but what had been often said of him before the appearance of the Christian Religion in the world. As Josephus says, "many (o) authors have writ the historie of Pythagoras." So it appears from the two writers of his Life above mentioned, and from Diogenes Laërtius, who expressly quote many authors by name for what they say, and seem also sometimes to refer to traditionarie accounts.

And

(n) Suspicor interim Jamblichum per haec jamdandum oblique notasse ἐνδύσασσαν τὰ ὑπάρξαιν. Gale.

** * Since writing what is above, and indeed, since finisshing this whole chapter, as I was revising it, I have observed, that Mr. Mosheim also went into the common opinion concerning these two Lives of Pythagoras. I shall therefore here tranfcribe what he says: But I do not think it needful to add one syllable to my argument, as already finisshed. Pythagorae vitam hoc saeculo Porphyrius, sequenti Jamblichus, uterque eo fine dubio confilio exaravit, ut par Christo rebus omnibus, maxime miraculis et praeceptorum sapientia, philoſophus ille videtur. Demonstratum hoc dedit in adnotationibus ad Jamblichii vitam a fe editam Ludolphus Kufterus, et videbit facile, cui placebit cum Servatoris noftri historia utramque vitam conferre. Non agnus agno similior eſt, quam ChristoPythagoras, si vera forent quae de hoc duuum virorum illorum scripta reliquerunt. Mosheim. de Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 562.

(o) ... αὐτῶι δὲ τὰ μνήμει ἀυτοῖς ἱστοριοῦσαν. Contr. Ap. i. i. cap. 22.
Ch. XXXIX. writ by Porphyrie and Jamblichus.

And Origen observes, "that (p) many strange things were said of Pythagoras, who shewed his ivorie thigh at the assemblie of the Greeks, and pretended to know the shield, (hung up at Myce- nae) with which he had fought, when he was Euphorbus, and is said to have been seen on one and the same day in two cities." So writes Origen. And they were old stories long before his time.

Kufler (q) was of opinion, that in his Life of Pythagoras, Jamblichus borrowed from Porphyrie, without naming him. And he wonders at it. Vossius (r) was of the same opinion. And other learned men, I suppose, have formed the same judgement. Nevertheless I must take the liberty to say, that I cannot see any good ground for that supposition. And I am of opinion, that they both found the same stories in writers more ancient than themselves: whom they both transcribed, and sometimes almost word for word.

Secondly, most of the things related by those two authors, are so trifling, and so manifestly fabulous, that I cannot believe, they intended to oppose them to the miracles of Jesus Christ.

The golden, or ivorie thigh of Pythagoras, comes over again and again in (s) Jamblichus. Nor is it omitted by (t) Porphyrie.

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(r) Cum Jamblicho, ob argumenti et materiae similitudinem conjunximus Porphyrium de Vita Pythagorae: cujus similia materiae noscebat (quamvis tacito, quod miror, ejus nomine,) identidem compilavit. Kufl. Praef in Jambl.
(s) Traetarat hoc argumentum ante praecipit unus Malchus, five Porphyrius: ex cujus de Pythagora libro multa, vel iisdem, vel leviter immutatis verbis scriptis Jamblichus. Vess. de Hist. Gr. l. 2. cap. 18.
(t) Jambl. cap. 19. n. 92. cap. 22. n. 135. Vid. et num. 140.
And his solicitous concern to dissuade men from eating beans: which they endeavour to justify by saying, that (u) by their food he endeavored to lead men to virtue. Abaris the Scythian, or Hyperborean, they (x) say, travelled with great ease and expedition over seas and rivers, upon an arrow. "Which, (y) as they also "say, some supposed to have been the case of Pythagoras, when he "was in one and the same day in Metapontus and Tauromenium." This is both in Jamblichus and Porphyrie, in the places above re-
ferred to. And says Porphyrie, " if (z) credit is to be given to "his historians, and those ancient, and of unquestioned authority, "he extended his instructions to brute animals. He laid hold of "the Daunian bear, which had done abundance of mischief, and "having stroaked it a long while, and given it bread and acorns, "he adjured it no more to eat flesh, and let it go. After which it "lived quietly in the woods, and on the mountains, and never "more attacked so much as a brute animal. And when he saw "the oxe at Tarentum straying at will in the fields, and eating green "beans; he went to the herdman, and desired him to speak to the "oxe, not to eat beans. But he said, he did not understand the lan-
guage of oxen. Pythagoras then went to the oxe himself, and "whispered it in the ear. Whereupon the oxe not only left the "field, in which the beans were, but never more ate any." So writes, that great Philosopher, Porphyrie. And to the like purpose Jamblichsu.

(u)... Λεε μίτ εκεν δεχήμενοι εις δε-


(y) Οσπερ ύπερικόσχω Πυθαγόρας τοῖς συ-
πωθεῖσι τοῖς, οὗ τοῖς Μεταποιτίω καὶ του Ταυ-

(z) Εἰ δ' εὖ σειώντων τοῖς ἱστορικαῖς συ-
Ch. XXXIX. writ by Porphyrie and Jamblichus.

The miracles of our Saviour are all great and awful, related by credible witnesses, with all the circumstances of credibility. The trifling and fabulous accounts of Pythagoras cannot be set in competition with them. It is sufficient disparagement to those proud and learned Philosophers, that they gave credit to the Pythagorean fables. We need not reprove them with an intention to oppose them to the miracles of Jesus Christ.

I therefore allege no testimonies out of these two works. I see not in them any references to our Saviour’s miracles, or the evangelical history. They are all over Pythagorean, like the Life of Appollonius, writ by Philostratus: upon which I have expatiated so much, that there can be no need for me to enlarge any farther upon these.

VIII. As I have been obliged to take some notice of these two Lives of Pythagoras, I shall also observe upon another work of Jamblichus, not now extant, entitled Of Images, or as Fabricius (a) calls it, Of the Divinity of Images, of which there is some account in Photius.

Says Photius: “We (b) read the treatise of John Philoponus against the


(b) Aνεργωδὸν Ἰωάννην ταῖς πιθανοῖς καθὰ τῆς σωθῆς Ιαμβλίχου, ἧν ἦτο Ἀρεία παιδί ἀγαλμάτων. Ἐστὶ μὲν ὡς ὁ σωθῆς Ιαμβλίχου θεία τὰ σοφαὶ τὰ ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἐν πνευματικῷ ἀγᾶλματι ἵνα ἢ ἑνεκαὶ ἔνομοι ἀνθρώπων συμβαίνειν ὅταν μᾶλλον ὡς χρῆσθαι αὐθάρτων κρυφὰ σφαξεῖ τεχνοτροφεῖαι, οὔτα τὸ ἀνθρώπου τῷ τεχνῶτε ἐπισφυγμασαν ταῦτα χερσατίας τερίδως ἄνθρωποι, καθεῖν ἐν τῷ γοῦν ἄνθρωποι, εἰ τὸν πνεύμων σοφοῦ ἐνεπληρωμένος ἄλλα ἐν ἕσσα τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ ἀληθείας, εἰ τὴν τεκτωνεῖαν ἑνόμοι μεταφθάνει ἐν ἑράσιν ἐν

Jamblichus of Imagin.
Jamblichus of Images. Ch. XXXIX.

"the work of Jamblichus, which he inscribed Of Images. The design of Jamblichus is to shew the divinity of idols, (for so he calls images,) and that they are filled with the divine presence, and not only such as having been formed by a secret art, and therefore are said to have fallen down from Jupiter: for these being of an heavenly nature, and having fallen down thence to this earth, are always so called: but also such as have been formed by the skill of the founder, or engraver, or smith. All these, Jamblichus says, are supernatural works, and surpass the common opinion of men about them. In support of this, he tells a great many incredible stories: some things he ascribes to occult causes. Nor is he ashamed to assert things, contradiciorie to what is obvious to human sight. The whole work is divided into two parts, one called the greater, the other the less. Both which are confuted by Philoponus."

A wonderful work, truly! Another instance of Pythagorean credulity, and in that respect exactly resembling the Lives of Pythagoras before mentioned. So writes Jamblichus, himself a philosopher, and a disciple of Porphyrie, also a renowned philosopher, and hearer of (c) Plotinus.

Lucas Holstenius was of opinion, that (d) Porphyrie likewise published a work with this same title, Of Images.

Such were the Philosophers of that time. They did little or nothing to improve the sentiments of mankind. They confirmed the prejudices of the common people, and made them still worse, than they otherwise would have been. If any others have since resembled them therein, they are far from deserving commendation.


(c) See before, p. 271. note (i).
C H A P. XL.

Diocletian's Persecution of the Christians.

I. An Introduction to the History of this Persecution.
II. The civil State of the Empire at that Time.
III. General Accounts of this Persecution, taken from ancient Authors.
IV. The Date of it, and the several Edicts then published against the Christians.
V. The Sufferings of the Christians at that Time.
VI. The Edict of Maximian Galerius in their Favour, in the Year 311.
VII. How the Persecution was still carried on by Maximin in the East.
VIII. How Constantine overcame Maxentius at Rome, in 312. and He and Licinius, in the same Year published their first Edict in Favour of the Christians.
IX. Maximin's Letter to Sabinus, in Favour of the Christians in 312.
X. The second Edict of Constantine and Licinius, in Favour of the Christians.
XI. Maximin is overcome by Licinius, published a new Edict in Favour of the Christians, and dies.
XII. Two ancient Inscriptions con-
I. It is not my intention to write at length a history of the persecution, which began in the reign of Diocletian, or to give an account of all, who suffered at that time. But I shall refer to several ancient Authors, who have given a general account of it, and shall take some remarkable events of it from Eusebius, and from Laæntius, or Caecilius, or whoever is the author of the Book concerning the Deaths of Persecutors. I shall likewise take particular notice of the several Edicts, which were then published against the Christians, and the Edicts published in their favour by Constantine and Licinius, and others. To all which may be added some remarks.

Eusebius begins the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical History in this manner. "It (a) is beyond our abilities, fully to declare how great credit the doctrine concerning the worship of the God over all, which had been published to the world by Christ, was in with all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, before the persecution, which happened in our time. However there are these evidences of it. For such was the favour of the Emperours toward our people, that some of them were entrusted by them with the government of provinces, at the same time excusing them from the necessity of offering sacrifices, out of respect to our religion. What need have I to mention the many, who were in the palaces of the Emperours? by whom not only they, but likewise their wives, and children, and servants, were allowed to live openly, according to the principles of their religion: and who were preferred to others for their fidelity. Among these I may particularly

(a) Euseb. H. E. l. 8. cap. i. p. 291. 292.
"larly mention (b) Dorotheus, who was advanced above the most
honorable magistrates and Governours of provinces. To whom
I might add the excellent Gorgonius, and divers others, who at-
tained to the like glorie, and who, like them, strictly adhered to
the doctrine of the word of God. And great respect was shewn
to the Presidents of the churches, not only by private persons,
but also by Procurators, and Governours of provinces. Great
multitudes of men daily embraced the faith of Chriſt. Assem-
blies in the places of prayer were numerous. And not contented
with the old edifices, they erected from the foundation in every
city spacious buildings. Thus they went on continually encrea-
sing, till they had provoked the divine displeasure." For, as he
goes on to acknowledge, this liberty and prosperity had produced
loofneſſe of manners, and careleſſneſſe about their conduſt. And
there were contentions among the Presidents of the churches, and
the people were divided into factions.

Thus writes Eufebius, somewhat oratorically, as must be owned:
nevertheleſs, I believe, very truly. And I have thought fit to take
this his preface for my introduction to the account of this perſecuti-
on. For it is a testimonie to the great progreſſe of the Christian
Religion, and ſhews, what was at that time the ſtate of things a-
mong the profeſſors of it.

II. And as it is needful to have some notion of the civil ſtate of
the Empire at that time, I ſhall here briefly rehearſe some things,
which were formerly ſhewn more at large in another (c) place.

Diocletian, born at Dioclea, an obscure town in Dalmatia, was
proclaimed Emperour on the 17. day of September, in the year of
Chriſt 284. On the first day of April, in 286. Maximian, called

(b) Thoſe two great men had the honour Euſeb. H. E. l. 8. cap. vi. p. 297-
to ſuffer martyrdom in the begining of this
perſecution, being put to death by strangling.

(c) See the Credibility. P. 2. ch. vii. p.

335. &c.
Diocletian's Persecution. Ch. XL.

From the Year 303. to 313.

Herculius, born near Sirmium in Pannonia, who had been Caesar some while before, was declared Augustus, and joint Emperor with Diocletian.

On the first day of March 292. Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius Maximian, were created Caesars by the two fore-mentioned Emperours. And the better to secure the fidelity of the Caesars, new marriages were concluded for them. Constantius, dismissing Helena, mother of Constantine, married Claudia Theodora, daughter-in-law of Maximian Herculius. And Galerius Maximian married Valeria, daughter of Diocletian.

Constantius, the first of the two Caesars, is highly commended by Eusebius: and has likewise a good character in Heathen authors. By Claudia Theodora, whom he now married, he had several sons and daughters.

Under those two Emperours and their two Caesars, in the year 303. began what is called Diocletian's Persecution, which lasted ten years, or more, in some parts of the Empire, before it was extinguished.

In the year 305. Diocletian and Maximian Herculius resigned the Empire, both (d) on the same day, the first of May: the former at a place near Nicomedia, the other at Milan. At the same time Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius Maximian, were declared August and Emperours, and Maximin and Severus Caesars. Diocletian, after that, spent the remainder of his days near Salonae in Dalmatia, and died in 313. Maximian Herculius retired, for the present, into that part of Italie, which was called Lucania.

The

The civil State of the Empire.

The Empire was then divided between Constantius and Galerius and their Caesars. Constantius had for his part Italie, Gaul, Britain, Africa, and the other provinces of the western part of the Empire. Galerius had Illyricum, Thrace, Asia, and the East, with Egypt. Constantius soon quitted Italie, and the other provinces belonging to him, and gave them to Severus, contenting himself with Gaul and Britain. Galerius too kept only Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia, yielding to Maximin the East, that is, Syria, with the provinces depending upon it, together with Egypt.

Constantius died at York in Britain, on July 25, in the year 306. And upon his death-bed appointed his son Constantine, who was with him, his heir and successor, with the style and title, as it seems, of Emperor and Augustus. Immediately upon the death of his father Constantius was so proclaimed by the soldiers in Britain. But Galerius Maximian would allow him no higher title than that of Caesar. Which Constantine accepted of for the present. So, as Eusebius says (e) in his Chronicle, Constantine began to reign in the fourth year of the persecution.

On the 27th day of October in 306. Maxentius, son of Maximian Herculius, who had married the daughter of Galerius, assumed the title of Emperor and Augustus at Rome. And being sensible, that this would displease Galerius, he sends for his father Maximian Herculius, who thereupon resumed the purple. And in this year, or the following, 307. Severus, who, as Caesar had for his share Italie and Africa, was overcome, and put to death.

Maximian and his son Maxentius did not long agree together. Maximian therefore, the better to strengthen his interest, and carry on his own views, goes to Constantine in Gaul. And some time in this year 307, gives to him in marriage his daughter Fausta: Miseria,

(e) Quarto persecutionis anno Constantinus regnare coepit. Chr. p. 180.
nervina, his former wife, by whom he had his eldest son Criphus, being dead, as is supposed. And now, as it seems, Constantine receives the title of Augustus from Maximian.

About this time Galerius makes Licinius, his old acquaintance, a man of mean extraction, Augustus. And now there were in effect six Emperors: Maximian, who, as before said, had resumed the purple, Galerius, Constantine, Maximin, Maxentius, and Licinius.

Maximian Herculeus, after a base and unsteady conduct, was condemned, and put to death by Constantine's order in 310. Galerius died in 311. of a long and grievous distemper, supposed to have been inflicted upon him, as a judgement from heaven, for his inhuman treatment of the Christians. Maxentius was overcome by Constantine, and drowned in the river Tiber on the 27. day of October, in 312. Maximin died in 313. The manner of his death is particularly described in the (f) book of the Deaths of Persecutors, and in (g) Eusebius. I just add here, though it was mentioned before, that Diocletian also died in the year 313.

But before the death of Maximin, in the same year 313. Constantine married his sister Constantia to Licinius. And, as from that time their interests were united, so, upon the death of Maximin, the whole Empire was in their power, and was divided between them.

But their friendship did not long subsist without interruption. For in the year 314. the animosity between them broke out into an open war, and two battles were fought. After the last of which peace was concluded, and a new partition was made of the Empire.

A second war between them began in 323. and was concluded in 324. with the entire defeat of Licinius, who was then reduced to a private condition. And though his life was then given him, at the intercession of Constantia, he was put to death in the year 324. or 325.

(f) De M. P. cap. 49. (g) H. E. l. 9. cap. x. p. 363. C. D. 364. A.
That was the end of those civil wars in the Empire. And Constantine now became sole Emperour of the East and the West. And having reigned above thirty years from the death of his father Constantius, he died on the day of Pentecost, May 22. 337.

III. I shall now observe some general accounts of this persecution, which are to be found in divers ancient authors.

Says Orofius: "The (b) tenth persecution was ordered by Diocletian and Maximian Herculius, the one ruling in the East, and the other in the West. Which persecution was longer and more grievous than any of the former. It was carried on for ten years "without ceasing, with burning down the churches, proscriptions of "innocent men, and slaughters of martyrs." But he presently after says, that (i) in the second year of the persecution Diocletian and Herculius resigned the Empire, leaving the government to Galerius and Constantius.

Sulpicius Severus says, "that (k) in the reigns of Diocletian and "Max-

(b) Interea Diocletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Herculius in Occidente valtari ecclesias, adfigi interficique Christianos, decimo post Neronem loco, praecipserunt. Quae persecution omnibus ferre ante aetis diuturnior et immanior fuit. Nam per decem annos incendii ecclesiare, proscriptionibus innocentium, caedibus martyrum, incefelliliter aet aetis Oros. l. 7. cap. 25.

Per annos decem everiae sunt ecclesiae vestrae, ut etiam tu fateris: dilacerati cruciatibus, exaniti mortibus toto orbis Christiani. Tenemus evidens testimoniaum tuum, nullam superiorem persecutionem adeo vel gravem vel diuturnam suisse. Id. l. 7. cap. 26.

(i) Secundo persecutionis anno Diocletianus ab invito exegit Maximiano, ut simul purpuram imperiumque deponerent. . . &c. Id. ibid.

(k) Post eum [Valerianum.] interjexit annis fere quinquaginta, Diocletiano et Maximiano imperantibus, acerbiffima persecutione exorta, quae per decem continuos annos plebeem Dei depopulata est: qua tempestate omnis fere facro martyrum cruore orbis infectus est: quippe certam tim glorioa in certamina ruebatur, multoque avidus tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quaerebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus adpetuntur. Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exaulerus est: neque majore unquam triumpho vicimus,
“Maximian, began that severe persecution which for ten whole years
afflicted the people of God. At which time almost the whole
world was stained with the precious blood of Martyrs. For then
glorious martyrdom were as earnestly contended for, as Bishopricks
are now sought by ambitious men. Never was the world more
wasted by any war. Nor ever had we a more glorious victorie,
than when we could not be overcome by the slaughters of ten years.
After the end of that persecution there began to be Christian Em-
perorours, which have continued to this time.”

Theodoret (l) says, this persecution lasted nine years. The Au-
thator of the Deaths of Persecutors says, (m) ten years and about four
months: making his computation from the first beginning of it at Ni-
comoedia, to the edicts of Constantin and Licinius, which restored full
peace to the churches.

IV. These are only general accounts of this persecution. The parti-
culars of it, the time, the events and circumstances of it, and the se-
veral edicts, then published against the Christians, or in their fa-
vour, may be seen in Eusebius, and in the Author of the Deaths of
Persecutors, who by many has been supposed to be Firmianus La-
tantius, but I rather think to be Lucius Caecilius, as was formerly
shown at large, and has often been hinted again in several places.

There had been before a persecution in the armie, which began,
as.

B.
(m) Sic ab eversa ecclesia uque ad re-
stitutam fuerunt anni decem, menses plus
fin.
... 98.
as some think, (o) in the year 298, others (p) in the year 301. It is taken notice of by Eusebius (q) in his Chronicle, and by (r) the Author of the Deaths of Persecutors. In his Ecclesiastical Historie (s) Eusebius says, that many militarie men embraced a private life, rather than renounce the worship of the great Creator of all: and that some of them not only resigned their honours, but also suffered death for their resolution in professing the truth.

In the year 303. (t) the persecution became general. For (u) on the 23. day of Februearie in that year, the church of the Chritians at Nicomedia in Bithynia was demolifhed, Diocletian and Galerius being then both in that city. On the next day, Feb. 24. the (x) edict against the Chritians was published. According to (y) the Author of the Deaths of Persecutors, and (z) Eusebius likewise, Galerius was the chief author of this persecution. When the edict had been published at Nicomedia, it (a) was sent to Herculis, and Constantius, to be put in execution by them in those parts of the Empire, which were particularly under their care. Maximian Herculis, (b) in Ita-

(o) Pagi 298. num. ii. et ann. 302. iii.
(p) Itaque ab anno 298. particularis militum vexatio incipere potuit. Ab anno 301. generalis exorfa eft. Bafnag. ann. 301. num. ii.
(r)... datifque ad Praepositos literis, etiam milites cotti ad nefanda sacrificia praecipit, ut qui non paruissent, militiâolvererunt. De M. P. cap. x.
(s) L. 8. cap. iv.
(t) Vide Pagi 302. num. iii. v. Bafnag. 303. num. v.
(u) Terminalia deliguntur, quae sunt ad septimum Calendas Martias; ut quasi terminus imponeretur huic religioni. Qui dies cum illuxisset... ad ecclesiam profectus cum ducibus, et tribunis, et rationalibus venit. Veniebant igitur praetoriani, acie fructa, cum securibus et immisii undique, tamen illud edifitissimum paucis horis solo adefquatur. De M. P. cap. 12.
(x) De M. P. cap. 13. in.
(y) De M. P. cap. 10. 11. 12.

D.
(a) Et jam literae ad Maximianum et Constantium conmeaverant, ut eadem facerent. Eorum sententia in tantis rebus non expefata erat. De M. P. cap. 15.
(b) Et quidem senex Maximianus li-

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Diocletian's Persecution.

lie, readily complied. But Constantius, (c) though he did not dare openly to oppose his colleagues, moderated the persecution within the extent of his government.

When (f) the Praetorian and other soldiers, who were appointed to demolish the church at Nicomedia, had broken open the doors, they searched for the image of the God of the Christians. But found none. However, they found their scriptures, which they burnt.

When the edict was set up the next day, a Christian of uncommon zeal took it down, and tore it to pieces, nor rightly, as Caecilius acknowledges. For which he was put to death, after having suffered great torments. All which he endured with great fortitude. This particular is mentioned, both (g) by Caecilius, and (b) Eusebius.

By that (i) edict, as Caecilius says, whom I consider as author of the Book of the Deaths of Persecutors, "it was ordained, that all men of the Christian Religion should be deprived of all honours and dignities, etc."

beris per Italian paruit, homo non adeo clemens. Id. ib.

(c) Nam Constantius, ne disserente a majorum praeceptis videretur, conventicula, id est, pareties, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est: verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolumem servavit. De M. P. cap. 15.


(f) ... et revulsis foribus, simulachrum Dei quaeritur. Scripturae repertae incenduntur, datur omnibus praedae. Rapitur, trepidatur, discurritur. De M. P. cap. 12.

(g) Quod edictum quidam, esti non recte, magno tamen animo diripuit et conscisit... Statimque producius, non modo extortus, sed etiam legitime coctus, cum admirabili patientia postremo exulatus, De M. P. cap. 13.

(b) H. E. 1. 8. cap. v.

(i) Postridie propositum est edictum, quo cavebatur, ut religionis illius homines carerent omni honore et dignitate, tormentis subjeciti essent ex quocunque ordine aut gradu venirent, adversus eos omnium aetio caleret: ipsi non de injuria, non de adulterio, non de rebus ablatis agere possent, libertatem denique ac vocem non haberent. De M. P. cap. 13.
Ch. XL. Imperial Edicts against the Christians.

"Ties, that of whatever rank or degree they were, they should be liable to torture: that any action might be received against them: and that they, on the other hand, should have no right to bring an action against any, for any violence done to them, or for any goods taken from them. And finally, that they should lose all privileges, and the right of voting."

Eusebius says, "that (l) in the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian, in the month of March, were set up everywhere imperial edicts, appointing, that the churches should be demolished to the foundation, that the scriptures should be burnt: that they who enjoyed any honours should lose them, and that men of private condition should be deprived of their liberty, if they persisted in the profession of Christianity. Such was the first edict, that was published against us. Soon after which, by other edicts it was ordered, that (m) all Presidents of the churches everywhere should be put into prison, and then that they should by all ways imaginable be compelled to sacrifice."

He afterwards speaks of a third edict, to this purpose: "The (n) former edicts were followed by another, in which it was ordained, that they who were in prison should be set at liberty upon their having sacrificed: but that they who refused, should be subjected to all kinds of torments." Whereupon, he says, it is scarcely possible to reckon up the numbers of Martyrs, who after that suffered in every province, especially in Africa, Mauritia, Thebais, and Egypt: from which last many went to other cities and provinces, where they were honoured with martyrdom."

From the Year 303. to 313.

(l) L. 8. cap. 2. p. 294. B.
(m) ... πρώτα μεν ἡ σερών παρασκευασθεί, ἵππας μὲν, ἐκ τῆς ἔνωσις ἐν τῇ ἀλλοιωθείᾳ ἐνσαπενσετον πάνω μας αὐτὸν ἐξαναγκασθείς. Ibid.
(n) Ἀδηνὶ δ' ἐτήνω τὰ πρῶτα γράμματα εἰποκαταλειπτος, ἐν ὧν τῇ καταπλήσιμῇ, θύματα μὲν, ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἐν τῇ ἀλλοιωθείᾳ ἐνσαπενσετον πάνω μας αὐτὸν ἐξαναγκασθείς. Ibid. cap. 6. p. 298. C.
In the third chapter of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, Eusebius has these words. "Afterwards (o) in the second year of this terrible war waged against us, imperial edicts were first brought to Urbanus, Governor of this province, in which by a general precept it was ordered, that all people in every city should be required to offer sacrifice and incense to idols."

This must be a fourth edict. For there were three before this, all set forth in the first year of the persecution. When Eusebius says, that this edict was now, in the second year, first brought to Urbanus: he must not be understood, that no edict against the Christians had been brought to Urbanus before: but no such edict.

This edict, Eusebius supposeth to have been more general, than any of the former. And indeed, he expressly says, at the end of the preceding chapter, "that (p) the first year of the persecution affected the Presidents of the churches only." I do not think that to be exactly true. For Eusebius himself has related martyrdoms of divers others in the first year of the persecution. But we must conclude, from what he here says, that the edict in the second year was expressed in more general and comprehensive terms, than any of the foregoing. Which is a proof of the encreasing rage of the persecutors.

We have now settled the date of this persecution, and have seen the several edicts, which were published at the beginning of it. And in all these four edicts Diocletian must have joyned with Maximian Galerius. For they were published before his resignation, in 305, the third year of the persecution.

(o) Διετέρης ο', ἵπτες διαλαβότος, χ' ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκπαθότος τῇ καθ' ἴδιον πολέμῳ, τῷ ἵπτες ἐξαγιώσας τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Οὐσίου, γραμματίσας τῇ τοῦτος βασιλείαν ἐποιηθήναι, ἵνα δι' ἑαυτοῦ προσάγωμαι πᾶντας παντὶς κατὰ σῶλον τῷ ὦν τῇ ἑαυτῷ τῶν εἰδίκων ἐκκλησίας. De Mart. Pal. cap. 3. p. 321. A.

(p) Ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῇ τράπεζῃ κατὰ μόνωτά τις ἐκκλησίας παρεκμήνειν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ. De Mart. Pal. cap. 2, p. 320. D.
Ch. XL. Sufferings of the Christians at that time.

V. I should now give some account of the many and grievous sufferings of the professors of Christianity at this time. But it must be a summative account only. However, we cannot pass over in silence this affecting scene, in which we behold the grievous sufferings of many innocent and excellent men, and their heroic patience and fortitude under them.

1. At the beginning of his history of the calamities of this time, Eusebius with great grief says, "he (q) had with his own eyes seen the houses of prayer demolished to the foundation, and the divinely inspired and sacred scriptures burnt in the market places."

2. After having mentioned the edict before taken notice of by us, which ordered that all Presidents of churches should be bound, and imprisoned, he says: "There (r) followed a spectacle, which no words can sufficiently express. Great multitudes were thereupon confined everywhere. And in every place, the prisons, which used to be filled with murderers, and robbers of sepulchres, were then filled with Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, and Readers, and Exorcists, so that there was no room left for such as were condemned for crimes."

3. In the thirteenth chapter of the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius rehearseth in a summative manner, the martyrdoms of divers Presidents of the churches: of which he gives a more particular account in some other chapters of the same book, or of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine.

As

(q) ὡς νῦν τὸν κύριον προσωπικόν τὸ ἱερόν ἐν ἑλένθεν αὐτῶν δημιουργεῖ ταφοφόρας μακράς, τὸς ἐντὸς ἑαυτῶν ἐξ ἀναμνήσεως ἀποκαλομάτων αὐτῶν ἀπεθανοῦσαν. H. E. l. 8. cap. 2. p. 293. C.

(r) Ibid. cap. vi. p. 298. B.
Diocletian's Persecution.  

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As the titles of the chapters are supposed to have been drawn up by Eusebius himself, I also transcribe the title of this (c) chapter, which is in these words: Of the Presidents of the Church, who demonstrated the truth of the religion which they preached, by the effusion of their own blood.

"Among those Presidents of the churches, who suffered martyrdom in the most noted cities, the first to be recorded by us in the monuments of the pious, as a witness of the kingdom of Christ, is Anthimus, Bishop in the city of Nicomedia, who was beheaded.

Of Antioch Lucian, a Presbyter of that church, a man of an unblemished character throughout his whole life. He also suffered at Nicomedia, where, in the presence of the Emperour, he first apologised for the heavenly kingdom of Christ in words, and afterwards farther recommended it by deeds. The most eminent Martyrs in Phenicia, and most acceptable to God, were those pastors of the flock of Christ, Tyrannio, Bishop of the church at Tyre. Zeno-bius, Presbyter of the church at Sidon. Silvanus, Bishop of the church at Emesa. Who, with several others, was given to be food to the wild beasts at Emesa itself. And in that way was numbered among the Martyrs. The other two suffered at Antioch, where they glorified the word of God by patience unto death. The Bishop, Tyrannio, was drowned in the sea. Zenobius, a most excellent physician, whose sides were cruelly raked, died courageously under those tortures. Among the Martyrs of Palestine, Silvanus, Bishop of the churches at Gaza, was beheaded, together with nine and thirty others at the mines of brass, which are in Phaeno. Peleus and Nilus, Egyptian Bishops, with divers others, were burnt to death in the same place. Nor (t) can Pamphilus

(t) A more particular account of Pamphilus, who with eleven others suffered martyrdom at Cesarea, may be seen, De Mart. Pam.
Ch. XL. Of the Sufferings of the Christians at that time.

"philus be omitted here, a Prebyter, who was the great ornament of the church of Cæsarea, the most admirable man of our age, whose virtues we have also celebrated elsewhere. Of those who were perfected by a glorious martyrdom at Alexandria, and throughout all Egypt, and Thebais, the first to be mentioned is Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a most excellent preacher of the Christian Religion. And of the Presbyters, who were with him, Faustus, and Dius, and Ammonius, were perfect Martyrs of Christ. Phileas likewise, and Hesychius, and Pachumius, and Theodorus, Bishops of the churches in Egypt. And beside these, many others, eminent men, who have an honourable mention among the churches, which are in those places and countries."

4. The eighth chapter of the same book not being very long, I shall transcribe it entire, as it represents a variety of sufferings, endured by the Christians at that time. "Such was the combat of those Egyptians, who gloriously contended for the faith at Tyre. They also are justly admirable, who suffered martyrdom in their own country. Where innumerable men, with their wives and children, despising this temporal life for the sake of our Saviour's doctrine, underwent various sorts of death. Some of them, after their flesh had been torn off by torturing irons, after having been racked, and cruelly scourged, and a great variety of other tortures, frightful to hear of, were committed to the flames, or thrown into the sea. Some cheerfully offered their heads to be cut off by the executioners. Some expired under their tortures. Some died by famine. Some were crucified: some of them after the usual manner of inflicting that punishment upon malefactors: others after a more cruel manner, being nailed to the cross with their heads downward, and kept alive, till they died by famine on the crosses."
Diocletian's Persecution.  

Ch. XL.

5. Eusebius still goes on in the next chapter, of which also I shall take a part. "But (x) the pains, and tortures, endured by the Martyrs at Thebais, exceed all expression. For they were torn all over their bodies with sharp shells, instead of torturing irons, till they expired: Women were tied by one of their feet, and drawn up on high into the air, by certain machines, with their heads downwards: and their bodies being naked, and wholly uncovered, they were made a shameful, as well as inhuman spectacle to all beholders. Others were bound to the boughs of trees, and so killed. For by certain engines they drew together the strongest boughs: and having fastened the legs of the Martyrs to each of them, they let the boughs return to their usual situation, that the members of the persons, against whom they had invented that torture, might be presently pulled asunder. Such things were done, not for a few days, nor a small space of time, but for whole years together: when sometimes more than ten, at other times above twenty in number, were destroyed: at sometimes not less than thirty, at other times almost sixty. And at other times an hundred men together, with many little children and women, were killed in one day: they having been condemned to various and interchangeable punishments. We ourselves also, when in that country, have seen many suffer in one day. When some were beheaded, others were consumed by fire. Insomuch that the swords of the executioners were blunted, and being useless were broken to pieces. And the executioners being tired, they succeeded each other by turns."

6. In a following chapter. "But (y) what need can there be, that I should mention any more by name, or recount the vast number of the persons, or describe the various tortments of the admirable Martyrs of Christ? But some were beheaded, as it happened to those in Arabia: others had their legs broken, as it happened to

Ch. XL. **Sufferings of the Christians at that time.**

"to those in Cappadocia. Some were hung up on high with their heads downwards. And a slow fire being put under them, they were suffocated by the smock of that combustible matter. Which was the case of those in Mesopotamia. Others had their noses or their ears, and their hands cut off, and the other members and parts of their bodies mangled, as it happened to those in Alexandria. What need I to revive the remembrance of what was done at Antioch: where some were broiled on gridirons, not to kill them outright, but to prolong the pains of their sufferings?"

"These things were done at Antioch. But to hear what was done at Pontus must fill the mind with horror. Some had sharp reeds thrust up the fingers of both their hands from the tops of their nails. Others had melted lead poured upon their backs, whilst it was boiling: which ran down, and scalded the most necessary parts of the body. Others, without commiseration were made to endure obscene tortures in their bowels, and those members of the body, which modesty forbids to mention: by (z) all which these noble and legal Judges manifested their wondrous acuteness: as if they had thought it a part of wisdom and virtue, to exceed each other in contriving new ways of torture: and, as if such inventions were entitled to signal rewards. Nor was there an end put to these calamities, till despairing to add anything new to those already practised, wearied with slaughters, and satiated with the effusion of blood, they betook themselves to what was esteemed by them clemency and humanity, that they might seem no longer to practise severity toward us. Nor was it fit, they said, that the cities should be polluted by the blood of their inhabitants: nor that the government of the Emperors, who were benign and merciful to all, should be blemished by any excessive cruelties: but it was reasonable, that the imperial benevolence should be

(z) ... ἡ σύνομον τῆς τῶν σφαιρῶν ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλήθειας

p. 306. C.
Diocletian's Persecution.  

Ch. XL.

From the be extended to all, and that Christians should not suffer capital pu-
nishments: Forasmuch we were now exempted from it by the
indulgence of the Emperours. From that time therefore it was
enjoined, that their eyes should be plucked out, and that one of
their legs should be debilitated. Such was their humanity, and
that the most gentle punishment, that could be inflicted upon us!
And henceforward, upon account of this lenity of those impious
wretches, it is (a) impossible to reckon up the numbers of those,
who had their right eyes first thrust out with a sword: and then
seared with red-hot irons: and of those who had the flexures of
their left legs seared with irons. After which they were sent to
the brass mines in the province: not so much for the sake of the
service they could do there, as with a view to encrease their mi-

ries."

7. In (b) his book of the Martyrs of Palestine, Eusebius again
makes mention of this. And says: "that Firmilian, President of
the province after Urbanus, inflicted this punishment upon many,
and as by express order from the Emperour Maximin." Nor (c)
has Caecilius, in his book of the Deaths of Persecutors, omitted to
take notice of this cruelty.

8. And in another place (d) Eusebius has particularly mentioned
an excellent man, named John, of whom he says, "He had before
lost his sight. Nevertheless in the confessions, which he had made,
when the flexures of one of his feet were seared, as those of others
were, his eyes likewise, though already deprived of sight, were
burnt with the fearing irons."

9. Once

(a) ιωαννει δωρατος εγνωσον τινω διοκλετίνρ τοις
οισι σαμα κληρον p. 307 A.
(b) De M. Pal. cap. viii. p. 330 B.
(c) Nam sum clementiam specie tenus
profiteretur, occidi servos Dei vetuit,
debilitari judit. Itaque confessoribus effo-
debantur oculi, amputabantur manus, pe-
des detruncabantur, nares vel auriculae
defsecabantur. De M. P. cap. 36. in fin.
318.
Ch. XL. Sufferings of the Christians at that time.

9. Once more under this article, Eusebius assures us, "that (e) armed soldiers invested a town in Phrygia, and set fire to it, and consumed all the people therein, men, women, and children: because all the inhabitants of the place, the Curator, the Duumvir, and the rest of the magistrates, and all the common people, confessed themselves Christians, and would not obey those who commanded them to sacrifice." Laetantius, (f) in his Institutions, representing the great cruelty of this persecution, and the number of sufferers in it, has referred to this among other severities of the Governors of provinces at that time.

VI. In the year 309. Galerius Maximian was seized with a grievous distemper, the symptoms of which are described very particularly, and at large, both in (g) Eusebius, and (b) Caecilius. It continued above a year. And when he was near expiring, in 311. he published an edict in favour of the (i) Christians. It is still extant in Latin in Caecilius, and in Eusebius in Greek, with the Inscription, which is omitted by Caecilius. I intend to translate it from the Greek of Eusebius, and to put the Latin of Caecilius at the bottom of the page.

"Having

(e) H. E. l. 8. cap. xi. p. 304.
(f) Quae autem per totum orbem singuli gesterint, enarrare impossibile eft. Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita, tam varia genera crudelitatis? Accepta enim potestate pro moribus suis quisque faevit. Alii prae nimia timiditate, plus aufti fuent, quam jubebatur. Alii suo proprio adverfus juftos odio: quidam naturali mentis feritate: nonnulli, ut placaret, et hoc officio viam fibi ad altiora munirent: aliis ad occidendum praecipites extiterunt, ficut unus in Phrygia,

from the Year 303 to 313.

The Edict of Galerius in Favour of the Christians.

(f) Quae autem per totum orbem singuli gesterint, enarrare impossibile eft. Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita, tam varia genera crudelitatis? Accepta enim potestate pro moribus suis quisque faevit. Alii prae nimia timiditate, plus aufti fuent, quam jubebatur. Alii suo proprio adverfus juftos odio: quidam naturali mentis feritate: nonnulli, ut placaret, et hoc officio viam fibi ad altiora munirent: aliis ad occidendum praecipites extiterunt, ficut unus in Phrygia,

(g) H. E. l. 8. cap. xvi.
(b) De M. P. cap. 33.
(i) Et haec facta sunt per annum perpetem, cum tandem malis domitus, Deum coacitus est confiteri, novi doloris urgentis per intervalla exclamat, fe restiturum Dei templum, fatifice pro fcelere facturum. Et jam deficiens edictum misit hujusmodi. De M. P. cap. 33. fin."
Having (k) long struggled with his disease, says Eusebius, he in the end, seriously recollecting things within himself, became sensible of the injuries he had done to pious men. And having first made confession to the God of the universe, he called to him the chief officers of his court, and ordered, that they should cause the persecution against the Christians to cease immediately without any delay. And by an imperial edict he directed, that the churches of the Christians should be rebuilt, that they might there perform their usual worship, and make supplications to God for the Emperor. Whereupon edicts were without delay set up in all the cities, containing a retraction of what had been done against us, and conceived in the form following.

"The Emperor Cæsar Galerius Valerius Maximianus, Invincible, Augustus, High-Priest... to the people of the province. "Among (l) other


(l) Inter cetera, quae pro reipublicae semper commodis et utilitate disponimus, nos quidem volueramus antehac juxta leges veteres, et publicam disciplinam Romanorum cuncta corrigere, atque id providere, ut etiam Christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerant, secatam ad bonas mentes redirent. Si quidem quodam ratione tanta eosdem Christianos voluntas invasisset, et tanta stupidia occupasset, ut non illa veterum instituta sequerentur, quae post plerumque parentes eorum constituerant, sed pro arbitrio suo, atque ut hiudem effet licitum, ita fribet leges facerent, quas obseruaret, et per diversa varios populos congregaret. Denique cum ejusmodi nostra juxta exstitisset, ut ad veteranum se instituta conferrent, multi periculo subjugati, multi etiam deturbati sunt: atque cum plurimi in proposito perseverarent, ac videremus, nec Diis eosdem cultum ac religionem debitam exhibere, nec Christianorum Deum observare, contemptionem mitissimae nostrae clementiae intuentes, et confuetudinem sempiternam, quâ folemus cunctis hominibus veniam indulgere, promptissimam in his quoque indulgentiam nostram credimus prorrigendam: ut denuo sint Christiani, et conventicula sua componant, ita ut ne quid contra disciplinam agant. Alii autem epistolâ judicibus significatur; fumus quid debeat observare. Unde juxta hanc indulgentiam nostram, deebunt Deum suum orare pro salute nostrâ, ut reipublicae ac suâ, ut undique pervenat res publica perficet incolam, et securi vive re in sedibus suâ possint. De M. P. cap. 34."
Ch. XL: The Edict of Galerius in the Year 311.

"other things, which we have ordered with a view to the benefit and
"prosperity of the publick, we did indeed formerly strive to correct all
"things according to the ancient laws, and established constitution of
"the Romans. And among other things, that the Christians, who had
"forsoaken the religion of their ancestors, should return to a right mind:
"for as much as by some means such an obstinacie had seized them, and
"such was their folly, that they followed not the institutions of the an-
"cients, which, possibly, some of their own ancestors had appointed:
"but according to their own fancies, and just as they pleased, they made
"laws for themselves to be observed and followed by them: and in ma-
"ny places they drew over multitudes of people to follow their customs.
"Wherefore when after we had published our edict, that they should
"return to the institutions of the ancients, many have been exposed to
"danger, and many have been greatly afflicted, and have undergone va-
"rious kinds of deaths: and forasmuch as great multitudes persisted in
"their opinions, and we have perceived, that they give not due worship
"and reverence to the immortal Gods, nor yet worship the God of the
"Christians: we duly considering our accustomed mildness and humanity,
"with which we are wont to dispense pardon to all men: we have
"thought proper readily to hold forth to them our indulgence: that they
"may at length be Christians, and that they may rebuild the houses, in
"which they have been used to assemble, provided they do nothing con-
"trarie to good government. By another letter we shall make known
"our pleasure to the judges, for the direction of their conduct: Where-
"fore, agreeably to this our indulgence, they ought to pray to their God
"for our welfare, and for that of the publick, and for their own, that
"on all sides the publick may be preserved in safety, and they may live
"securely in their own habitations."

This edict, as (m) Caecilius says, was published at Nicomedia, on

Vol. III.

(m) Hoc edictum proponitur Nicomediae pridie Calendas Maias, ipso octies et
Maximino iterum confilibus. Cap. 35.
Diocletian's Persecution.

Ch. XL.

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The last day of the month of April, in the year 311. It was of benefit to many: Donatus (n) in particular, to whom Caecilius addressteth his book of the Deaths of Persecutors, was set at liberty, after having endured an imprisonment of six years. During (o) which time he had made divers confessions before several Governours of the province, and undergone various tortures. And, to his great honour, he continued steady to the persuasion of his own mind, (p) shewing an example of invincible fortitude.

It is obvious to all to observe, that this edict bears testimonie to the great progresse of the Christian Religion. There were many Christians in the Roman Empire. And they were continually making new converts, and increasing their numbers. Some were unstable. But many others persisted, notwithstanding the sufferings they were exposed to. We seem also to see here a very bad effect of persecution. Some became desperate, and cast off all religion: neither worshiping with due reverence the established, nor any other deities. We have here also evident proof of the strong and prevailing prejudice in favour of antiquity. As the Christians had departed from the ancient customs, they were judged to deserve the severest treatment upon that account, till they returned to them. This alone was reckoned sufficient to cast and condemn them: without weighing the reasons, which they might allege for their innovation.

There are still other remarks, which might be made, and have been made upon this edict, and the accounts given of it by our ecclesiastical historians.

(n) Tunc aperitis carceribus, Donate carissime, cum ceteris confessoriis e custodia liberatus es: cum tibi carcer sex annis pro domicilio fuerit. Id. ib.

(o) Novies enim tormentis cruciatibusque variis subjectus, novies adversariam gloriose confessione vicisti. &c. Id. cap. 16.

(p) Documentum omnibus invictae fortitudinis praebuit. Ibid.


Ch. XL. The Edict of Galerius in 311. in their Favour. 299

"Says Mr. Mosheim: "Eusebius (q) and the Author of the book of the Deaths of Persecutors say, that Maximian, before being published in the Year 303,"

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... lifted this edict, confessed his offense to God, and amidst the pains of his distemper, cried out, that he would make satisfaction for the injuries he had done to the Christians. If that be true, he must have acknowledged, that the distemper, under which he labored, was a just punishment from God for his cruelties against the Christians. But so far is he from doing so, that on the contrary, the edict shews, that the Emperor is so far from confessing, that he had acted unjustly, that he declares that all his sanctions against the Christians were well and wisely ordered. His aim, he says, had been, to effect by his laws, that the Christians, who had forsaken the religion of their ancestors, should return to a right mind. In this last act of his life, therefore, he considered the Christians as labouring under distraction, and did not at all doubt, that the religion of the Romans was much better, and sounder than the Christian. A little lower he expressly chargeth the Christians with folly. Nor does one word drop from him, whereby we should be induced to suppose, that he believed the Christian Religion to be true. He assigns a twofold reason of the change of his mind toward
Ch. XL. The Edict of Galerius in 311. in their Favour.

First of all, he had observed, that the Christians, who had been compelled by force to sacrifice, had thrown off all religion, and worshiped neither Christ, nor the Gods. And he thought, that any religion, though bad, was better than none: and he had rather, that the Christians should follow their own religion, than be without religion. To this reason he adds another, which is his own clemence: for he had been accustomed to hold forth pardon to all men. Therefore Maximian would not be thought to yield to right and justice, but he would display his own clemence. He gave pardon to men, whom he had called fools, and destitute of a sound mind: but he did not shew himself just to innocent and good men. I can easily believe, says Mr. Mosheim, that these reasons were suggested to the Emperour by his friends and counsellors, who were about him. But the last words of the edict, no doubt, open the true reason, which drew it from him, and at the same time declare his mind concerning the religion of the Christians. Wherefore agreeably to this our indulgence, the Christians ought to pray to their God for our welfare, and for that of the publick, and for their own, that on all sides the public interest may be safe, and they may live securely in their own habitations. From these words it appears, 1. that Maximian believed, the Christians had some God. 2. That this God was not the supreme God, maker of all things, whom all ought to worship, but the God of the Christians only, that is, the God of some certain people, as many of the Gods were supposed to be. For at that time the Greeks and Romans, and all other people believed, that there were Gods proper and peculiar to every nation. 3. He believed, that this God, of one nation, had great power, and was able to bestow health, and deliver the publick from many evils. 4. That this God did not bestow such benefits upon any, unless they who worshiped him, asked them of him. Without doubt therefore some of those who attended on Maximian in his deplorable sickness, had informed him, that the god
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How Maximin 
still car-
ried on 
the Perfe-
cution.

... god of the Christians, when he dwelled on this earth, had given 
life to the dead, and health to the sick: and that this his benefi-
cence had not yet ceased: and that there were many instances of 
men, who had been healed in a wonderfull manner by the pray-
ers of Christians. It was not impossible therefore, but that he 
also might obtain deliverance from his grievous maladie, if he gave 
peace to his worshipers, and asked their prayers for him. The 
Emperour, earnestly desirous of life, had a regard to this adviser, 
and thereupon, when prayers and sacrifices to the Gods of the 
Romans had failed of successe, he at length fled to the God of 
the Christians, whom nevertheless he himself would not wor-
ship. Fear of death therefore, and the force of superstition, pro-
duced this edict, not anguish of conscience for the sins, which he 
had been guilty of. However, upon the promulgation of this 
edict, the persecution against the Christians ceased, the prisoners 
were set at liberty, the exils were recalled.

These observations of Mr. Mosheim are uncommon, and, as seems 
to me, curious. I therefore have transcribed them here, supposing 
that my readers may be willing to see them.

VII. At the beginning of the ninth book of his Ecclesiastical His-
torie, Eusebius says: "The revocation, contained in the fore-
said Imperial edict, was published throughout Asia, and in all its 
provinces. But Maximin, who ruled in the provinces of the East, 
an impious man, if ever there was one, and a bitter enemie to the 
worship of the God of the universe, being much displeased with 
it: instead of publishing the edict itself, only (s) sent orders by word 
of mouth to the Governours, directing, that they should forbear 
to give us any disturbance, and no longer persecute us. Which

(r) II. E. l. 9. cap. i. p. 346. &c.
(s) ... λέγω πιστεύει πες εύ διοτι άρ-
κησι, τιν καβ' ήμώ άνδιαν πόλεμον ... άγρα
A. B.

(by) προς ὑμᾶς τοις εὐδ' ἀντίς ἓχει τῆς ἱδήν
Ch. XL. still carried on by Maximin in the East.

ordinance the Governours of provinces were to communicate to each other. And Sabinus, who had the prefecture of the Praetorium, which is the highest office in the Empire, made known the Emperour's mind to the Governours of the several provinces in a letter writ in the Roman language, which we have translated into Greek, and is to this purpose. The majesty of our most sacred Lords the Emperours, influenced by the pious and devout principle, with which their minds are filled, have long since designed to bring all men to the true and right way of living: and that they who have embraced different usages from the Romans, should be induced to give due reverence to the immortal Gods. But such is the obstinacie and perverſeness of some men, that neither the justice of the Imperial edicts, nor the imminent danger of punishment could prevail upon them. Forasmuch therefore, as by this means it has happened, that many have brought themselves into great dangers, our most sacred and powerful Lords the Emperours, agreeably to their innate piety and clemence, considering it to be far from their intention, that upon this account many should be exposed to danger, have commanded us to write this letter to you, and to direct you, that if any of the Chriſtians should be found praſling the worship of their feet, you should not bring him into any danger, nor give him any trouble, nor appoint any punishment to him upon that account. Forasmuch as it has been manifeſtly found by the experience of a long courſe of time, that they cannot by any means whatever be induced to depart from this obstinacie of disposition. You are therefore to write to the Curators, and other magiſtrates, and to the governours of the villages of every city, that they are no longer to concern themselves in this affair.

Here is a remarkable testimonie, from enemies, to the patience and fortitude of the Chriſtians of that time. They were not induced to renounce their religion through fear of sufferings. If some yielded, as undoubtedly some did, many perſevered, and were faithfull to death.

Eusebius
Eusebius goes on, "Hereupon the Presidents of provinces thought, that to be the real mind of the Emperour, which had been communicated to them in the letter of Sabinus. And they accordingly wrote to the officers and magistrates (t) in countrey-places. Nor did they only write these things in their letters, but by their actions also they endeavored to secure a regard to those orders of the Emperour. They therefore presently set at liberty all whom they had confined in prisons for the confession of their faith in God. A like liberty was granted to such as had been condemned to the mines. For they really thought, that to be the mind of their Prince, though it was quite otherwise. However, upon this occasion our places of worship were opened, and the congregations of the faithfull were numerous.... And many were seen returning to their habitations, singing hymns of praise to God, as they travelled along the roads."

"But, says (u) Eusebius, that enemie of good men, and of all goodnese, who ruled in the East, could not endure this, nor suffer this state of things to last more than six months. And trying all manner of ways to subvert the peace, upon some pretence or other, he forbid our meeting in the cemeteries. Then (x) he took care to send ambassies to himself, from the Antiochians, and the people of other cities, in which they ask it of him as the greatest benefit, that no Christians may be allowed to live in their cities. The author of this contrivance at Antioch was Theotecnus, a subtle and wicked impostor, who then had the office of Curator in that city."

"This (y) man forged against us many injurious reports and calumnies, that we might be treated as thieves and the worst of malactors.

(t) ις τοις κατ’ ἀγρίει εἰπετειχίσων. τῆς εἰσερχομένου. τῆς ἐνεχθάμοιν προσβιοντα. P. 349.

P. 348. A.

B.

(u) H. E. l. 9. cap. 2. p. 349.

(x) . . . ἡν ἐνδη τίνος που αντέγραφ ἀνδρών ἀν....

(y) Ibid. cap. 3. p. 349.
"At length he erected an image to Jupiter Philius, and consecrated it with magic charms. And in honour of it instituted many vain and impure ceremonies of initiation, and detestable rites of expiation. And sent some of the oracles of his God to the Emperour himself. And the better to flatter and please the Emperour, he stirred up his demon against the Christians. And gave out, that the God commanded, that the Christians should be expelled out of the city, and the territories belonging to it, as being enemies to him."

In the next chapter (z) Eusebius says, that the like things were practised in some other places: And the magistrates and people in general in the countrieys subject to this Emperour, behaved very uncer-villy and injuriously to the Christians.

"Then (a) having composed some Acts and Memoirs of Pilate and our Saviour, filled with all manner of blasphemie against Christ, by the authority of the Emperour they were sent abroad everywhere into cities and countrey-places, and published all over the Empire. And it was commanded, that they should be set up everywhere in countrey-places and cities, to be read by all men. And that they should be delivered by school-masters to the boys to get them by heart, and to declaim upon them instead of other themes. Whilst these things were doing, a militarie officer, whom the Romans call Dux, at Damasacus in Phenicia, fetched some infamous women from the market-place, whom by threatenings he compelled to declare, and testify in writing, that they formerly had been Christians, and that they were acquainted with their worship, and that in their places of worship, they practised obscene actions, and every thing else, which he required them to say, for defaming our religion. Having inserted the testimonies of those women..."
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"women into the Acts, he sent them to the Emperor. And by his command, those Acts were published in every city, and other place."

In another place (b) Eusebius has observed, that the falseness of those pretended Acts of Pilate was manifest from the date of them. For they placed the suffering of our Saviour under Pilate, in the seventh year of the reign of Tiberius: whereas, says he, it is certain from Josephus, that Pilate was not then come into Judea, and that he was made Procurator of Judea in the twelfth year of that Emperor's reign.

"Moreover, says (c) Eusebius, in the midst of the cities, which never was done before, decrees of cities, and Imperial Rescripts against us were set up to public view, engraven on tables of brass. And the boys in the schools had nothing in their mouths all the day long, but Jesus and Pilate, and the Acts, which had been forged to our prejudice. I think it proper for me here to insert the very Rescript of Maximin, which was engraved in tables of brass. It was conceived in these very words. A copy of the translation of Maximin's Rescript in answer to the Decrees of the cities against us transcribed from the brass table set up at Tyre. Now at length, says he, the impudent confidence of men, having once shaken off the dark mist of error and ignorance, which for a while blinded the minds of men, rather miserable than wicked, may discern, that the world is governed by the indulgent providence of the immortal Gods. It is impossible to say, how grateful, how delightful, how acceptable, your pious resolution for the honour of the Gods has been to us. Nor was it before unknown to any, how great is your respect and veneration for the Gods: which have been manifested not by vain words only, but also by great works. Upon which account your city may be deservedly stiled the seat and habitation of the immortal Gods. And it is evident by many proofs, that she flourished by the advent of the imperial proclamation."

(b) H. E. l. 1. cap. 9. p. 27.  (c) H. E. l. 9. cap. vii. p. 352.
Ch. XL. still carried on by Maximin.

... and presence of the heavenly deities. And now, your city, negligent of your own particular interests, and no longer sending to me... the requests which you formerly were wont to send, conducive to your own prosperity, when it perceived, that the promoters of the detestable vanity began to creep abroad again: and like fire carelessly raked up, it broke out again with redoubled violence: immediately, without delay, you had recourse to our piety, as the metropolis of all religion, requesting redress and assistance. Nor can it be doubted, that this wholesome design has been put into your minds by the immortal Gods, for the sake of your pious regard for them. The most high, and most mighty Jupiter has suggested this petition to you, who presides in your famous city. Who preserves your country-gods, your wives, your children, your families and houses, from destruction. He it is, who has breathed into your minds this salutary resolution: evidently seeing, how excellent, and noble, and profitable it is to worship him, and to perform the sacred rites and ceremonies of the immortal Gods, with due veneration. Who can be so void of all sense and reason, as not to know, that it is owing to the propitious favour and bounty of the Gods toward us, that the earth does not neglect to restore to us the seeds committed to it, and that the hope of the husbandman is not disappointed: and that the aspect of destructive war is not immovably fixed on the earth: and that our bodies are not destroyed by the intemperance of the air, and that the sea is not perpetually tossed, and made to overflow with stormy winds: and that the earth, the mother and nurse of all things, is not rent asunder by agitations within it's own bowels, and mountains swallowed up by vast and unexpected scissions. There is no man, who does not know, that all these, and worse calamities have heretofore often happened. And they have befallen us, because of the pernicious error, and empty vanity of those execrable men, which has so spread, as to cover almost the whole earth with shame and dishonour. Then, after some other things he adds: Let men now look into the open fields, and see the flourishing corn, waving it's full ears. Let them see the meadows,
“meadows, bedecked with plants and flowers, they having been watered with seasonable rain. Let them observe the calm and agreeable temperance of the air. Let all men therefore henceforth rejoice, that by your piety, and respect for the sacred rites of religion, the deity of the most valiant and most potent Mars has been appeased: and that they may now securely enjoy the benefits of a profound and delightful peace. And as many as have forsaken that blind error, and intricate maze of vanity, and are returned to a right and found mind, let them rejoice abundantly: as men delivered from a dangerous tempest, or a grievous disease, and have now before them the prospect of a pleasant and comfortable life for time to come. But if any still persest in their vain and detestable folly, let them be expelled far away from your city and country, as you have desired, that thus, conformably to your laudable care in this matter, your city being purged from all defilement and wickedness, you may, according to your own genuine disposition, with all due veneration and solemnity, perform the sacred rites of the immortal Gods. And that you may know, how grateful this your petition has been to me, and that without decrees, and without petitions, I am of my self forward to encourage well-disposed minds: we permit you to ask the greatest benefit you can ask, as a reward of so religious a purpose. Take care that you ask immediately, and that you receive what you ask. For you shall obtain it without delay. Which benefit, bestowed upon your city, shall be henceforward throughout all time, a monument of your devout piety for the immortal Gods, and shall declare to your children and posterity, that you have received from our hands a recompense of your love and virtue.”

These petitions from the cities to Maximin, Eusebius in a place before quoted, elegantly calls ambassadors to himself, they having been solicited by his agents in those cities. Caecilius (d) also has taken notice

(d) In primis indulgentiam Christiana legationibus civitatum, quae petebant, ne communi tute datam tollit, subornatis intra civitates suas Christianis conventicula ex-
notice of these petitions, and expresseth himself much after the same manner, saying, that these petitions from the cities were procured by himself.

Eusebius having exhibited the above Rescript taken from the tables at Tyre, goes on. "This (e) rescript against us was set up on pillars in every province, and as far as it was in the power of man shut us out of all comfortable hopes: so that, according to that "divine oracle, if it were possible, even the elect themselves would be offended."

These and other things do certainly shew the bitter spirit of Heathenism at that time. And these edicts, and the hard usage, which the Christians met with, in consequence of them, are sufficient to satisfy us, that the Heathen people did their utmost to extirpate Christianity: and if it had been in the power of man, they would have actually destroyed it.

The sufferings of Christians at that time, in that part of the Empire, which was subject to Maximin, were then very grievous. Deliverance was very desirable. And it was near at hand.

VIII. Constantine overcame Maxentius at Rome on the 28. day of October in the year 312. "And, as Eusebius says, soon (f) after that Constantine, and Licinius, who was colleague in the Empire with him, having first adored and praised God, who had been the "author of these successes, and of all the good that had happened, "did with one mind and consent, enact a full and comprehensive

extruere liceret, ut quasi coaeclus et impul- sus facere videretur quod erat ipsetfectur- rus. De M. P. cap. 36.

(e) Ubi sup. p. 354. C.

(f) Kai ἰδία τότες ἀυτάς τε Κωνσταντῖνος ἐνθαυ τῶν βασιλεὺς Λικίνιος... Θαυμά σε τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπέτυχον ἀυτοὺς ἀπεικονίζοντο ἐμ- φασι, μετὰ βασιλῆ τε γλώσσας, ῥῆμα ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν τελείωσεν πληράσασα διανοιάντινα. κ. λ.-

H. E. i. 9. cap. ix. p. 360.
The first Edict of Constantine and Licinius. Ch. XL.

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"edict in favour of the Christians: and then sent it to Maximin, who ruled in the Eastern parts of the Empire, and who pretended friendship for them. Though Maximin was extremely uneasi about it, he could not refuse it. And now first, as Eusebius says, he sent an edict to the Presidents in favour of the Christians, and as of his own proper motion, though really out of necessity, and against his will."

IX. That edict of Constantine and Licinius, which Eusebius calls a full and compleat law, is not now extant. It was published, as may be supposed, at Rome, in the month of November, 312. and then sent to Maximin, who then immediately published a Letter to Sabinus in favour of the Christians, which now follows in Eusebius.

A (g) Copy of THE TRANSLATION of THE LETTER of THE EMPEROUR MAXIMIN.

"Iovius Maximinus Augustus to Sabinus. It is, I am persuaded, well known to yourself, and to all men, how that our Lords and Fathers, Diocletian and Maximian, when they saw, that almost all mankind were forsaking the worship of the Gods, and going over to the sect of the Christians, did rightly ordain, that (b) all men, who had forsaken the worship of their immortal Gods, should be called back again to the worship of the Gods by public pains and penalties. But when I first happily came into the East, and perceived, that great numbers of men, who might be useful to the publick, were for the forementioned cause banished by the judges into several places: I gave orders,

(g) Ibid. p. 360. 361.
(b) ... εἰρήνα διατεταγμέναν, σάλτας, δι- θύσως τις ἀπὸ τις τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν τῶν ἁθανάτων. P. 310. C.
orders, that for the future, none of them should be severe toward the people of their province, but rather endeavor to reduce them to the worship of the Gods by fair words and good usage. So long therefore as my orders were obeyed by the judges, no men in the Eastern parts were banished, or otherwise ill-treated. And by reason of the mildness of the treatment given to them, they were the more disposed to return to the worship of the Gods. But after that, when I the last year happily entred into Nicomedia, the citizens of that place came to me with the images of the Gods, earnestly entreating me, that by all means, none of that sort might be at all permitted to dwell in their country. But, as I knew, that a great many of that religion were in those parts, I returned them this answer: That I willingly granted their petition: but I did not perceive, that the thing was desired by all. If therefore there were any who persecuted in their superstition, every one should, according to his own discretion, choose as he saw fit: and, if they would embrace the worship of the Gods, they might. At the same time I was under a necessity to give a favorable answer to the citizens of Nicomedia, and to the other cities, who also had presented to me the like petitions, that none of the christians might live in their cities: the rather because this had never been allowed by the former Emperours: and moreover it was pleasing to the Gods themselves, by whom all men and the public weal subsist. Upon all these accounts, I was under a necessity to grant their request, in behalf of the worship of the Gods. Wherefore, though I have often before, both by letters, and by word of mouth, recommended to you, that nothing grievous should be done to this sort in the provinces, but that they should be treated with mildness and gentleness: yet that no injurie may be done to them by any of the inferior officers, I have thought it needfull, now by these letters again to remind you, that by fair words, and good usage, you should induce the people of our government to acknowledge the providence of the Gods. Therefore if any, of their own accord, embrace the worship of the Gods, they ought to be cheerfully received. But if any will still adhere to their own religion, you are to leave them.
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"them in their own power. You are therefore carefully to observe these orders. Nor let any one be permitted to oppress the people of our government by fines, or other hardships. And that this our edict may be made known to all men in the provinces, you are to publish it with a decree also set forth by yourself."

This (i) edict of Maximin is supposed to have been published before the end of the year 312.

Eusebius having alleged this edict, goes on to say. "These (k) orders being published by him from a kind of compulsion, and not according to the sense of his own mind, he was not reckoned to be sincere, or worthy to be trusted: and the rather, because after publishing a like indulgence, he had shewed himself to be deceitful and perfidious. Therefore none of our people dared to assemble together for worship, nor to shew themselves abroad openly. Nor indeed did the edict in express terms allow of this, but only that we might be secure from violence, and bad treatment. It did not empower us to meet together, nor to build houses for our worship, nor to perform any of those solemn acts of religion, which are customary among us: though Constantine and Licinius, those patrons of peace and religion, had particularly signified in their letters to him, that such things had been granted by them, and they were expressed in their laws set forth to the view of all men. But that wicked wretch would not yield yet: nor till at last, when pursued by the divine vengeance, he was compelled to do it against his will."

X. Constantine did not stay long at Rome after his victorie over Maximentius, but before the end of the year 312, or in the beginning of 313.  

(i) Postea refer Eusebius epistolam, quam Maximinus ad Sabinum Praefectum Praetorii sui scripsit, quamque currenti anno datam esse, non vero anno infequen- ti, ut multi eruditi credidere, ex dictis li-  

quet. Pag. ann. 312, xv.  

(k) Ibid. p. 362.
Ch. XL. The second Edict of Constantine and Licinius.

he went thence to Milan, where he gave his sister Constantia in marriage to Licinius. And there these two Emperours now set forth a second edict in favour of the Christians. Which is preferred in Eusebius (l) in Greek: and is in Caecilius (m) in Latin, excepting that he has omitted the introduction, or preamble. I shall, as I did in another instance, translate the Greek of Eusebius, and place the Latin from Caecilius, at the bottom of the pages.

"Now, says (n) Eusebius, I shall allege the Imperial constitutions of Constantine and Licinius, translated from the Latin."

"Having been long since convinced, that the freedom of religion ought not to be restrained, but that leave should be given to every one to follow the sense of his own mind, in things of religion, we have ordained, that as well all others, as the Christians, should adhere to that sect and way of worship, which they approve. But because in that rescript, where this liberty was granted, many and divers sects are expressly named, some, possibly have deserted from such worship. Wherefore (o) when I Constantine Augustus, and I Licinius Augustus, " happily

(l) H. E. l. 10. cap. u. p. 388. &c.
(m) De M. P. cap. 48.
(n) ¢πρα δ’ λατινων η των βασιλεων πατάξων Κωνσταντινω η Λικινινω τας ει Ρωμαϊων γραφης μεταποθέσας ερμηνευς παραδωματα. Ib. p. 388. A.
(o) Cum feliciter tam ego Constantinus Augustus, quam etiam Licinius Augustus apud Mediolanum convenissemus, atque ad commoda et securitatem publicam pertinentem, in tractatu habemus, haec inter cetera, quae videbamus pluribus hominibus profutura, vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis reverentia continebatur, ut daremus et Christianis, et omnibus, liberam potestate sequendi religionem, quam quivit voluisset: quod quidem divinitas in fede coelesti nobis atque omnibus, qui sub potestate nostra sunt constituti, placaturn ac proprium posset existere. Itaque hoc consilio salubri, ac rectissima ratione ineundum esse credidimus, ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandam putaremus, qui vel observationi Christianorum, vel e religione mentem suam dederat, quam ipsa aptissimam esse sentirent: ut posset nobis summa divinitas, cujus religione liberis mentibus..."

Vol. III. S s
The second Edict of Constantine and Licinius, Ch. XL:

"happily met at Milan, and we consulted together, what might be best, and most conducive to the benefit of the publick, among other things, these following were resolved upon, as beneficial for all. And in the first mentibus obsequimur, in omnibus solitum favorem suum benevolentiamque praestare. Quare scire dictationem tuam convenit, placuisse nobis, ut amotis omnibus conditionibus, quae prius scriptis ad officium tuum datis, super Christianorum nomine videbantur, nunc cævæ, ac simpliciter unuisquisque eorum, qui eandem observandae religionis Christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem ac molestiam sui idipsum observare contendant. Quae follicitudini tuae plenissime significanda esse credidimus, quo scirens, nos liberam atque absolutam collendae religionis suae facultatem hisdem Christianis dedisse. Quod cum hisdem a nobis indultum esse pervides, intelligit dictatio tua etiam aliis religionibus suae vel observantiae potestatem similibus apertam et liberam proquiete temporis nostri esse concedat: ut in colenda quod quisque diligeret, habeat liberam facultatem, quae... honoris neque cuiquam religioni aut aliquid a nobis. Atque hoc ipsum in persona Christianorum statuendum esse convenit, quod si eadem loca, ad quae ante convenire confuerant, de quibus etiam datis ad officium literis certa antehac forma fuerat comprehensa, prior tempore aliquid vel sint noftrum, vel ab alio quicumque videntur esse mercati, eadem Christianis, fine pecunia, et fine illa pretii petitione, proposita omni frustratione atque ambiguitate refituantur. Quia etiam deno fuerant consecuti, eadem similitur hisdem Christianis quantocuius reddant etiam vel tui qui emerunt, vel qui done erant consecuti, si putaverint de nostra benevolentia aliquid, Vicarium postulent, quo et ipsis per nostram clementiam consolatur. Quae omnia corpori Christianorum protinus per intercessionem tuam, ac fine mora tradi oportebit. Et quoniam iisdem Christiani non in ea loca tantum, ad quae convenire confuerunt, fed alla etiam habuisse nocuntur, ad jus corporis eorum, id est, ecclesiærum, non hominum singulorum, pertinentia, ea omnium lege qua superius comprehendimus, citra ullam proius ambiguïtatem vel controversiam hisdem Christianis, id est, corpori et conventiculis eorum reddi jubebis, supradicta fcilicet ratione servata, ut ii qui eadem fine pretio, sicut diximus, refitue-rint, indemmitatem de nostra benevolentia sperent. In quibus omnibus superaddito corpori Christianorum intercessionem tuam efficacissimam exhibere debebis: ut præceptum nostrum quantocuius compleatur: quo etiam in hoc per clementiam nostram quieti publice consolatur. Hactenus fiet, ut ficut superius comprehensum est, divinus juxta nos favor, quem in tantia sumus rebus experti, per omne tempus prospera succedibus nostris cum beatitudine nostra publice perferveret. Ut autem hujus sanctionis benevolentiae nostrae forma ad omnium post perfervire nostritiam, prolata programmata tuo haec scripta et ubique proponere, et ad omnium scientiam te perfurram conveniet, ut hujus benevolentiae nostrae sanctio latere non possit. De M. P. cap. 48.

From the Year 303. to 313.
Ch. XL: in Favour of the Christians.

In the first place it was resolved, that such constitutions should be ordained, as might secure the worship and veneration of the Divine Being: that is, that we should grant both to the Christians, and to all others, a free choice, to follow that way of worship, which they judge best: that so the Godhead, and whatever is divine and heavenly, may be propitious to us, and to all living under our dominion. We publish this therefore as our will and pleasure, and agreeable to sound and right reason, that leave shall not be denied to any man whatsoever to follow and choose the constitution and worship of the Christians: and that leave be given to every one to betake himself to that religion, which is most agreeable to him: that so the Divine Being [τὸ θεῖον] may in all things display his usual favour and benignity toward us. Moreover it is now thought proper to signify to you, that all the restraints concerning the Christians, which were in the former letter sent to you should be left out: that whatever is unsuitable to our benignity may be omitted, and that now for the future every one who chooseth to adhere to the Christian Religion, may observe it freely, without any impediment or molestation. These things we have thought proper to signify to you, in order to your perceiving, that we have given free and full liberty to these same Christians to follow their own religion. And you may perceive, that as we have granted this full liberty to them, so in like manner we have granted the same liberty to others, to observe their own institution and religion. For, as is manifest, this is suitable to the tranquility of our times: that every one should have liberty to choose and follow the worship of that Deity which he approves. [ὁ ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ συλλαμβάνει θεῖον] This we have determined, that it may appear, we do not forbid, or restrain any religion or way of worship whatever. And farther, with regard to the Christians, we ordain, that the places of worship (concerning which in the letter formerly sent to you, there was another rule) in which they had been wont
The second Edict of Constantine and Licinius, Ch. XL.

From the Year 303.

"to assemble, that if any of them, have been adjudged to our treasuries
or exchequer, or have been purchased by any, they should be restored
"to the Christians, without price, and without delay. And if any by
"grant have obtained such places, they are to be immediately restored to
"the Christians. And if any of those, who have purchased such places,
"or have obtained them by grant, are desirous to have an allowance
"made to them by us, let them apply to the officer who administers jus-
tice in the place where they reside, that a proper regard may be had
"to them according to the benevolence of our disposition. You are to
"take care, that all these things be restored to the body of the Christians,
"without failure. And whereas the same Christians, beside the places,
"where they assemble, are well known to have also other possessions, and
"such as belong not to particular persons, separately, but to the commu-
"nity, you are to take care, that such places also be restored to the bo-
dy, to which they appertain, without any subterfuge or delay: upon
"this condition however, that they who restore these things without
"price, may expect indemnity from our liberality. In all these things you
"are to exert yourself with the utmost care and vigour, in behalf of the
"aforesaid body of the Christians, that our appointment may be per-
"formed with all speed: that by this means, agreeably to our gra-
cious intention, provision may be made for the common and public
"tranquility, without delay. Hereby, as before said, the Divine fa-
vour, of which we have already had great experience, will be secured:
to us for ever. And that the design of this our law, and our gra-
cious indulgence, may come to the knowledge of all, you are to take
"care, that this our Letter be set up everywhere to public view: that
"none may be ignorant of this appointment of our gracious indulgence."

This (p) constitution or edict, was signed and published at Milan.

(p) Literæ de restituentia Ecclesia ad

Praedem misiae, die quidem Iduum Ju-
niarum Nicomediae proposita, ut testatur
Laëtantius, sed datae fuerant Mediolani
codem.
in the former part of the year 313. in the month of March, as it seems, by the joint authority of Constantine and Licinius.

In the mean time, Maximin, (q) who had sided with Maxentius, took this opportunity, whilst Constantine and Licinius were at Milan, and in the depth of winter marched with his army from Syria into Bithynia, and crossed the Hellespont into Thrace. Licinius left Milan, and went to meet him, and in a pitched battle overcame him near Adrianople on the 30 day of April in the year 313. and pursued him into Bithynia. Maximin fled to Mount Taurus, and thence to Tarsus, where he took poison, and died miserably, about the month of August in the same year, 313.

When Licinius came to Nicomedia, having offered up his thank-givings to God for the victory vouchsafed him, "as (r) Caecilius says, "he set up the forementioned edict in favour of the Christians at Nicomedia on the 13. day of June. So that, as the same writer says,"

\[\text{From the Year 303. to 313.}\]
Maximin's Edict, in 313.

Maximin's Edict in 313.

"Maximin's Edict, in 313.

Maximian's Edict, in 313.

Maximin's Edict in 313.

Maximin's Edict in 313.

Maximin, after his arrival at Tarfus, beside the shame and disappointment of his defeat by Licinius, was afflicted with a grievous distemper, and violent pains, described at large, by (t) Caecilius.


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Ch. XL. in Favour of the Christians.

us, who also says, that now Maximin confessed his fault, and implored the forgivenesse of Christ, and relief from him under his distemper. Soon after which he expired.

Eusebius says, that after the forementioned defeat, Maximin "gave "(u)glorie to the God of the Christians, and enacted a full and compleat law for their liberty. And then being struck with a "mortal distemper, he expired, no longer respite being granted to "him. The law issued by him is to this purpose."

"The Copie of the Edict of Maximin in favour of the Christians, translated out of the Roman into the Greek language." 

"The (x) Emperour Cesar Caius Valerius Maximinus Germanicus Sarmaaticus Pius Happy Invincible Augustus. It is notorious to all, "that by all means, and at all times, we have consulted the welfare "of our subjects in the provinces, and have endeavored to procure for "them what might be most for the good and benefit of the publick in "general, and for the comfort and satisfaction of every one in parti-
"cular. And we trust that all, who shall look back upon our past pro-
ceedings and administration of affairs, will be convinced in their own "minds of this. For when formerly, it came to our knowledge, that "upon occasion of the law enacted by our deified fathers, Diocletian "and Maximian, which forbid the assemblies of Christians, many in-
juries and extortions have been committed by the officers, and that "these mischiefs encreased among our people, and the goods and estates "of our subjects were wasted, for whose welfare we are always ear-
ly concerned: we (y) the last year sent letters to the Governours "of

 tur, Christum subinde deprecans, et plo-
rans, ut suimet misieretur sic inter gemitus, quos tamquam cremaretur, edebat, nocentem spiritum detestabili genere mor-
tis effavit. De M. P. cap. 49.

(u) "Eiμαι δέ δυσδέχασθαι τῶν Χριστιονῶν οὖν οὐκ ἔχω τὴν ὑπὲρ εἰλικρίνειας αὐτῶν τελε-

éτατας ἓπεμέστας διαταξάμασιν, διεθνα-
tίσις αὐτίκα, μὴ δὲ μίας αὕτω χάρω δο-
βίσις προβοήσεις, τινετά τὸν βίον. H. E. l. 9. cap. x. p. 363. D.


(y) Upon this place Valeius rightly ob-

serves: "He intends his Epistle sent to Sa-
Maximin's Edict, in 313.

From the Year 303. to 313.

"Maximin's Edict, in 313."

"of every province, by which it was enacted, that if any one would adhere to such custom, and the observance of their own religion, be permitted freely to do, without fear or distrust, whatever in this matter they approved of. Nevertheless at the same time, it could not be concealed from our knowledge, that some of the judges have misunderstood our orders, and have endeavored to make our people distrust the sincerity of our intentions, and have made them afraid to perform the worship agreeable to them. Wherefore, that for the time to come, all fear, and suspicion of ambiguity may be removed, we have ordered this edict to be published, that it may be known to all, that by this our grant, it is lawful for those who choose this religion and worship, to act therein as they see best, and to perform worship in the way, to which they have been accustomed. And it is granted to them, that they may repair their dominical houses. And that our beneficence may be the more conspicuous, we have thought fit farther to enact, that if any buildings or lands, aforetime belonging to the Christians, have by virtue of the edict of our Fathers been confiscated, and brought into our treasury, or have been seized and occupied by any city, or have been sold, or given in grant to any; we have ordered, that all these should be returned to the former right and possession of the Christians; that all men may be fully persuaded of our piety and provident concern in this matter."

Eusebius said, as quoted above, that now Maximin gave full and complete liberty to the Christians. And, indeed, this edict, so far as it relates to the Christians, is conformable to the edict of Constantine and Licinius, before exhibited.

I have

"312. It follows therefore, that this last edict of Maximin was written in the year of Christ 313." And see Pagi ann. 314. num. viii.
I have nothing farther to add here, but that (z) according to the computation of learned critics, Maximin died, as already hinted, in the month of August, in the year 313.

XII. I have now recited at length all the edicts concerning the persecution of Diocletian.

There are two Inscriptions in (a) Gruter, relating to it, in which it is intimated, that in the times of Diocletian, and Maximian Hercules, and Galerius, the name of the Christians, who had overthrown the Republick, was extirpated. And again, that the Superstition of the Christians was everywhere extirpated, and the Worship of the Gods restored.

I shall put down those two Inscriptions at length, in the Latin original. They are said to have been found in Spain, at a place called Clunia, which (b) was a Roman Colonie.

Cluniae:

(z) Baluzius recte in Notis observat, non statim mortuum esse Maximinum ac Tarfum pervenit, sed aliquanto tempore gravissimos dolores sustinuisset, sicque non viderit, eum ante memem Augustum perire. Vide quae ibidem sequuntur. Pagi ann. 314. num. viii.


(b) Vide Cellarii Geogr. Antiq. l. 2—cop. i.

Vol. III.
Cluniae in Hisp. in pulchra columna.

DIOCLETIANUS. JOVIUS. ET
MAXIMIAN. HERCULIUS
CAES. AUGG
AMPLIFICATO. PER. ORIENTEM
ET OCCIDENTEM
IMP. ROM
ET
NOMINE. CHRISTIANORUM
DELETÒ. QUI. REMP. EVER
TEBANT.

Cluniae Hisp.

DIOCLETIAN. CAES.
AUG. GALERIO. IN ORIENTE. ADOPT. SUPER
STITIONE. CHRIST.
UBIQUE. DELETA. ET CULTU. DEOR. PROPAGATO

XIII.
Ch. XL.  Concluding Observations, &c.

XIII. I think it may not be improper to add some concluding observations upon this persecution. Mr. Mosheim will furnish me with some. After which I may subjoin others of my own.

Obs. 1. This (c) persecution might as properly, or more properly be called Maximian's as Diocletian's. It is evident from (d) Caecilius, and from (e) Eusebius, that Maximian Galerius was the first mover in this design. He seems to own as much himself, at (f) the beginning of the edict published by him in favour of the Christians, a short time before his death. Caecilius, in his book of the Deaths of Persecutors, has largely related, how (g) Galerius urged Diocletian to it: who (b) for some while objected to it, alleging the great disturbances, which it might occasion in the Empire. And it is allowed, that the persecution did not begin till the 19. year of Diocletian's reign, before which time many Christians were admitted to posts of honour, near the Emperor's person, and in the provinces. Moreover, in the third year of the persecution, Diocletian resigned,

(c) Quae a Diocletiano nomen habet decennis, et omnium atrociiffima Christia-
norum vexatio, reºtius Maximiana vocan-
da effet. Eti enim Diocletianus, fraudi-
bus faccom duceptus, injuriarum ali-
quid Christianis in aula degentibus, et
caltra frequentibus, intuit, leges etiam do-
inde in eos rogavit: certum tamen eft, 
praeceipum hujus calamitatis auctorem,
generum ejus, Maximianum Galerium 

(d) De M. P. cap. 10. 11. 12.

(e) H. E. l. 8. cap. 16. p. 314. D.

(f) Vid. De M. P. cap. 24. in Euseb.
H. E. l. 8. cap. 17. p. 316.

(g) Deinde, interjecto aliquanto tem-
pore, in Bithyniam venit hyematum :
[Diocletianus ] eodemque tempore Max-
imianus quoque Cæsar inflammatus fcele-
re advenit, ut ad persequendos Christianos 
instigaret fennem vanum, qui jam principi-
um fecerat. De M. E. cap. x.

(b) Ergo habito inter fe per totam hy-
emem conflito, cum nemo admitteretur
... diu fenex furori ejus repugnavit, of-
tendens, quam perniciosum effet inquieta-
ri orbem terrae, fundi fanguinem multo-
rum : illos libenter mori folere : fatis efse,
fi palatinos tantum et milites ab ea religi-
one prohiberet. Nec tamen defteclere 
potuit praecepius hominis infamiam. Ibid.
cap. xi.
Concluding Observations

signed, and concerned himself no longer in the affairs of the Empire. However, it must be acknowledged, that he joined and concurred in the several edicts against the Christians, which were published in the first two years of the persecution. Nor (b) do we aim to acquit him of all guilt in this affair: but only to mitigate the reflexions, which have been cast upon him both in former and later times. Diocletian was timorous, and superstitious: But it does not appear, that he delighted in cruelty.

Obs. 2. In the first edict for the persecution, as we learn from (i) Eusebius, the sacred Scriptures were ordered to be burnt. And, so far as we know, this is the first Imperial edict of that kind. Mr. Mosheim suspects, that (k) Hierocles, or some other learned men, were the contrivers of this malignant order, and suggested it to the Emperours. Mr. Mosheim is also of opinion, that (l) ecclesiastical historie has greatly suffered by it. The precept in the edict might speak only of sacred books, or scriptures. But the officers, employed in

(b) Quocirca multum, meo quidem judicio, de contumeliis et querimoniiis detrahi poteft, quibus et veteres et recentiores Imperatorem hunc obruunt. Peccabant, fateor, levitate, superfitione, timiditate: at multo tamen, quam vulgaris opinio fert, tolerabilius peccabat. Mosheim. ubi supr. p. 922. M.

(i) H. E. l. 8. cap. ii. p. 294. B.

(l) Non dubito vero, malignam hanc voluntatem libros Christianorum delendi, Hieroclem, de quo diximus, Augustis injecisse. Certe, non hominum rudium, et rei Christianae ignororum, quales Maximianus, ejusque fecer erant, sed eruditorum, et sacri codicis peritorum, qui quid illis tradaretur, et quantam vim haberent ad Christianorum animos contra deorum cultum et superfititionem muniendos ex lectione eorum ipsi percepissent. Id. ib. p. 925.

(k) Non dubitovero, malignam hanc voluntatem libros Christianorum delendi, Hieroclem, de quo diximus, Augustis injecisse. Certe, non hominum rudium, et rei Christianae ignororum, quales Maximianus, ejusque fecer erant, sed eruditorum, et sacri codicis peritorum, qui quid illis tradaretur, et quantam vim haberent ad Christianorum animos contra deorum cultum et superfititionem muniendos ex lectione eorum ipsi percepissent. Id. ib. p. 925.
in the execution, when they searched for sacred books, would lay hold of any writings, which they found in the places of Christian worship, or in the habitations of Bishops, or other Christians. The copies of the sacred books of the Old and the New Testament were now so numerous, that they could not be all found, and destroyed. But of some Acts of Martyrs, Registers of church-affairs, Epistles of Bishops to each other, there might be few copies only, or perhaps one alone. If such papers were seized, and thrown into the flames, they were irrecoverably lost.

Those observations are from Mr. Mosheim. I shall now add two or three others.

Observ. 3. Diocletian's persecution was very grievous. Indeed, it was the longest, and the worst, that the Christians had ever endured. This may appear from the particulars alleged above from Eusebius, though my accounts have been designedly brief, and therefore defective. Sulpicius Severus, as may be remembered, said: Never was the world more wasted by any war. That observation is verified by the eighth and ninth books of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical Historie, together with his book of the Martyrs of Palestine: containing the authentic accounts of a learned and eminent man, who was a contemporarie, and an eye-witness of many of the cruelties related by him. I say, that observation may be verified by those authentic histories, without having recourse to spurious Acts of Martyrs, or any other legendarie writings.

Sulpicius Severus adds: Nor ever had we a greater victorie, than when we were not overcome by the slaughters of ten years. Another true and just observation! For the patience and fortitude of the Christians of that time were invincible and admirable. Some of all orders, Pasteors of churches, and others, were presently terrified, and fell away. But many were faithful to the death. They patiently endured calumnies, stripes, imprisonments, maiming of members, exquisite
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exquisite tortures, of every kind, and still persevered. And though many were taken off by cruel deaths of every kind, the number of the faithfull was not diminished, but encreased and multiplied under that heavie weight of afflictions.

Obs. 4. The revolution made in the Roman Empire, in favour of the Christians, upon the conversion of Constantin, was a gracious dispensation of divine Providence. It put an end to scenes of cruelty, which are shocking to think of, and were disgracefull to human nature. The professors of the religion of Jesus had now endured many severe trials, and had approved their zeal and fidelity under them. They had been tried, and were found faithfull, and loved not their lives unto the death. And thereby they had done great and lasting honour to the principles of their religion. Now therefore God appointed them rest from those troubles. For, as it is said, Ps. cxxv. 3. the rod of the wicked shall not always rest upon the lot of the righteous, lest the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity.

Obs. 5. And lastly, the cruelties of Diocletian's and other Heathen perfections, which had been endured by Christian people, may fill our minds with horror for perfections, and every degree of it.

Never let us be persecutors: never let us encourage, or give countenance to perfections. Never let the cruelties of Heathen perfections be practised in Christian countreys.

If we would effectually secure ourselves from temptations to perfections; let us take care to derive our religion from the books of the Old and New Testament, without adding other doctrines, not found in them, as important parts of religion. Where transubstantiation, or other like absurdities are taught as articles of religion, there will be perfections. Ancient Gentilism could not stand before the light of the gospel. It was absurd, and could not be maintained by reason and argument. The Christians therefore were continually gaining ground. They drew men off from the temples, from sacrific-
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upon Diocletian's Persecution. 

Scribes, from the religious solemnities, from public sports and entertainments. This was a provocation to Heathen people, which they could not endure. They had recourse therefore to violence, and tried every possible way to discourage the progress of the Christian Religion. And in the space of about two hundred and fifty years, from the Emperor Nero to Maximin, there were ten, or more, Heathen persecutions of the Christians: the last of which was the longest, and the worst of all. At the end of which Christianity prevailed. But if Gentilism had been revived, Heathen persecutions would have been repeated, and the cruelties of former times would have been practised over again, with equal, or, if possible, with redoubled rage and violence. The Emperor Julian, when he became a Heathen, though he was a man of wit and learning, and though he dressed up his scheme of Gentilism in as plausible a form as he was able, to recommend it to the judgements of men, could not help being a persecutor, like his admired Mark Antonin, and many others, his Heathen ancestors and predecessors. So it will be always. An absurd religion cannot maintain itself by reason and Argument. It needs, and will have recourse to force and violence for its support. But true religion, which is throughout reasonable, can relye upon its own intrinsic excellence, and those testimonials, which God, in his good Providence, has been pleased to afford to it, as the proper evidences of its high original.

C H A P.
A Review of the foregoing Period, from the Beginning of the third Centurie to the Conversion of Constantine: With some general Observations upon the State of Christianity under Heathen Emperours.

I. I HAVE now given an account of the Heathen Writers of the third centurie, who have taken notice of the Christians: and I have made large extracts out of them, and transcribed many passages at length. It may be worth the while to recollect here what we have met with.

In Dion Caſius's noble work, the Historie of the Romans, published about the year 230. we have seen (a) another testimonie to that important event, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people in Judea by Vespasian and Titus. In him also we have seen (b) another testimonie to Domitian's persecution of the Christians. From him also we (c) learn Nerva's favourable regard to them.

In Amelius, a Platonic Philosopher, disciple of Plotinus, about the year 263. we have seen a very distinct and honorable testimonie to St. John's (d) Gospel.

(a) In this volume P. 49...52. (b) P. 52...55. (c) P. 56. (d) P. 96.
Ch. XLI. **A Review of the foregoing Period.**

That eminent critic Longinus, about the year 264, in his work of the Sublime, has made very honorable mention of Moses, the Jewish Lawgiver, and commends the style, in which he represents the creation of the world. There is also a Fragment ascribed to him, where the Apostle Paul is mentioned to advantage.

And we have met with a passage in Diogenes Laërtius about the year 210, which gives great light to St. Paul's discourse at Athens, where he put the Athenians in mind of an Altar of theirs, with an inscription to the Unknown God.

The saying of Numenius, what is Plato, but Moses in Greek? is well known, and recorded in divers ancient writers. But the time of Numenius appears to me uncertain. Nor is it clear, that he has at all referred to the affairs of Christians, or their Scriptures.

The Emperor Alexander Severus, whose reign began in the year 222, as we learn from Lampridius, one of the Augustan Writers, was favorable both to Jews and Christians, and had a respect for the Lord Jesus Christ. He had two private chapels, one more honourable, than the other. In the first were placed the deified Emperours, and also some eminently good men, and among them Christ, and Abraham, and Orpheus. Some other things of a like kind may be seen in his chapter, which need not to be recollected here. But they are of use to shew, that the Christians were then well known, and that their innocence, or freedom from licentious principles, and great crimes, was manifest. And this Emperor deserves to be commended for his moderation, and for the justness of his sentiments.

The Emperor Philip, whose reign began in 244, and ended in 249, has been by some supposed to be a Christian. We have examined

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(e) P. 105.  
(f) P. 105, 106.  
(g) P. 20.  

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(b) P. 108. &c.  
(i) P. 34. &c.

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mined that question, and now refer our readers to what has been said upon it by divers learned (k) men.

The Emperor Aurelian reigned from 270 to 275. Flavius Vopiscus, one of the Augustan Writers, has preserved a part of a letter, writ by him to the Senate at the beginning of his reign, in which the Christians are expressly (l) mentioned. Which shews, that the Christians were then well known to the Roman Emperours, and to the Roman Senate, and to all men.

A like observation may be made upon a storie, told by the same writer (m) concerning Heliogabalus, whose reign began in 218.

In this period were several learned men, who wrote against the Christians, and the Christian Religion. One of whom is (n) Porphyrie. He was born about the year 233. We have placed him as flourishing in the year 270. He was disciple of the celebrated Plotinus, and was himself a learned man, and a Philosopher of the first rank. He published many books, some of which, are still extant. His work against the Christians consisted of fifteen books, and seems to have been prolix, and carefully studied, and filled with a great deal of learning, and the quotations of divers authors not now extant. Rufinus (o) calls him a determined enemie of Christ, and says he did his utmost to overthrow the Christian Religion by his writings. His objections against Christianity were in esteem with Heathen people for a great while, as we learn from Augustin, and others. And his memorie was in abhorrence with Christians, for the

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(i) P. 62, &c.
(l) P. 115.
(m) P. 225.
(n) See his Chapter, p. 121, &c.
(o) Si nihil alius est, vel de Porphyrio filere debuerat, qui specialis hostis Christi est, qui religionem Christianam, quantum in se fuit, penitus subvertere conatus est scriptis suis. Rufin. in Hieron. Invec-


.... ipsum Porphyrium sequendo, qui adversum Christum, et adversus Deum libros impios ac sacrilegos scriptis. Id. ib. p. 422.
Ch. XLI. *A Review of the foregoing Period.*

The bitterness, with which he had opposed them. His work was a violent attack upon our Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testament: as we can perceive by the fragments of his work still remaining in Christian Writers, who have quoted him. At the same time they are a testimonie to them. They bear witness to their antiquity, and to the great esteem, which they were then in with Christians. And if his work were still extant, it might be of farther use to us in that respect, and upon some other accounts. I have made a large collection of the remaining fragments of his work: to which I refer my readers, without adding any more observations here. But the work, called the *Philosophie of Oracles,* (p) which has been quoted by some, as his, I take to be a forgerie. And I have assigned my reasons at large for that opinion.

At the beginning of Diocletian's persecution, about the year 303, another (q) published a work against the Christians. We do not know his name. But he likewise was by profession a Philosopher. His work was written in an insinuating manner, making fair pretences of good will to the Christians, that he might recover them from error, and deliver them from the sufferings, to which they were exposed by a worship contrarie to the laws. It seems to have been a large volume. For it consisted of three books. *Lactantius* slights it. But this Philosopher's objections may have been sufficient to affect many of the common people among the Gentils. And if it were now extant, it would be a great curiosity.

About the same time another work was writ against the Christians by (r) Hierocles, a man of learning, and a person of authority and influence, as he was a magistrate. It was in two books. Nor did he take upon him the character of an enemy to the Christians. He aimed rather to be esteemed a kind and friendly counsellour and adviser. He was well acquainted with our Scriptures, and made many objections against them: thereby bearing testimonie to their
A Review of the foregoing Period. Ch. XLI.

antiquity, and to the great respect, which was shewn to them by the Christians. For he has referred to both parts of the New Testament, the Gospels and the Epistles.

And by Diocletian's edict the Christian Scriptures were ordered to be burnt, when their temples were demolished. It was the first order of the kind. It shews, that our Scriptures were then well known, and that the Gentil people were sensible of their importance. Whether Hierocles was the adviser of that order, we cannot say.

He did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles. But in order to weaken the argument, which the Christians formed from them, in proof of our Saviour's divine authority and mission, he set up Apollonius Tyanaeus, as a rival, or superior to him. But it was a vain effort. We still have the Life of Apollonius, which Hierocles made use of writ by Philostratus. We are therefore able to pass a judgment upon his argument. And we can discern it to be very weak. For the works there ascribed to Apollonius, are not equal to our Saviour's miracles, nor comparable with them. Nor are the things ascribed to Apollonius writ in a credible manner. And moreover, the historie of him, which Hierocles made use of, was not writ till more than a hundred years after his death.

By Laëntius, we are informed, that (i) the famous Lawyer, Domitius Ulpianus, about the year 222. in his book of the Duty of a Proconful, made a collection of all the edicts of former Emperours against the Christians.

And we have now in this volume seen an account of all the persecutions endured by the Christians, from the year of our Lord 202, when the Emperour Severus published his edict against the Christians, to the year 312. or 313. when Constantian and Licinius put an end to the persecution began by Diocletian.

The:

(i) P. 40. &c.
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The progress of the Christian Religion, in this period, is abundantly attested. Every thing bears witness to it. Porphyrie says, that (t) there were many Christians and others, who cenured Plato, against whom Plotinus [about the year 260, and before] often argued in his disputations, and also wrote a little book, which was entitled against the Gnostics. Porphyrie complained also, that (u) since Jesus had been honoured, none had received any public benefit from the gods. I presume, it could not be a very small number of Christians, in some obscure place, which so disgusted the gods, as to withhold their gracious influences from the whole Roman Empire. From his reflexions upon Origen, (x) who, as he says, bad many admirers and followers, it appears, that the Christians were then a numerous body of men.

If the number of the professors of the Christian Religion had not been increased and multiplied, there would have been no persecutions, nor any adversary-writers. Those learned men and Philosophers would have spared the labour of composing voluminous works against the Christian Religion, if it had few or no votaries. Persecutions likewise bear witness to the growing number of the Christians. Says the Author of the book of the Deaths of Persecutors, near the beginning of his work. "In (y) the time of Nero Peter " came to Rome, and having wrought divers miracles by the power of God, he converted many to righteousness. Nero being

(t) See still in this volume. p. 191.
(u) As above, p. 184.
(x) As above, p. 130. &c.
(y) Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis quibusdam miraculis, quae virtute ipius Dei, data sibi ab eo potestate faciebat, convertit multis ad justitiam, deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Quare ad Neronem delata, cum animadvertet, non modo

A Review of the foregoing Period. Ch. XLI.

informed of this, and hearing likewise, that not only at Rome,
but every where else, many forsook the worship of idols, and
flighting antiquity, went over to the new religion, he resolved to
extirpate that doctrine, and was the first who persecuted the ser-
vants of God. At which time by his order Peter was crucified,
and Paul beheaded.”

Sulpicius Severus has expressed himself much after the same man-
er. I shall place a part of what he says below, (z) without tran-
slating him.

And Maximin, one of the last persecuting Emperours, in his let-
ter to Sabinus, above (*) quoted, speaks to this purpose. “It is, I
am persuaded, well known to yourself and to all men, how that our
Lords and Fathers, Diocletian and Maximian, when they saw, that
almost all mankind were forsaking the worship of the Gods, and going
over to the sect of the Chriftians, did wisely ordain, that all men, who
had forsaken the worship of their immortal Gods, should be brought back
to the worship of the Gods by public pains and penalties. Where the
great encrease of men professing Chrifianity is expressly assign-
as the reason of inflicting pains and penalties upon them at that
time: that they might be brought back to the old religion. And what
is here fo clearly owned, must be supposed to have always been the
real occasion of those violent methods, which had been fo often made
use of to check the encrease of the number of Chrifians, and to
root them out, if possible, and all traces and footsteps of their reli-
gion. And the several edicts of all the persecuting Emperours are
proofs, that the Chrifian Religion was continually making progresse,
and gaining ground.

Let

(z) Interrea, abundante jam Chrifian-
norum multitudine accidit, ut Roma in-
cendio confagraget, Neronem apud Anti-
um constituto, . . . Hoc initio in Chrifia-
nos faeviri coeptum. Post etiam datis le-
gibus religio vetabatur: palamque edic-
tis propositis Chrifianum esse non licebat.
Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati:
quorum uni cervix gladio defecit, Petrus
in crucem sublatus est. Sulp. Sever. l. 2.
cap. 29.

(*) See p. 310.
Ch. XLI. The State of Christianity, &c.

Let this suffice for a review of the argument of this volume.

II. I now proceed to make some observations upon the state of Christianity under Heathen Emperours. And they shall be these three.

It was all along in a state of persecution.

Nevertheless it prevailed greatly.

Which is honorable to the Religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.

1. Christianity, from the time of its first appearance in the world, was all along in a state of persecution, till the conversion of Constantine.

I forbear to shew here, how it was opposed and persecuted after the resurrection of Jesus by the Jewish rulers at Jerusalem, and in Judea, and then by Herod Agrippa, when King of Israel, and afterwards by other Jews in Judea, and out of it. Upon these things I do not now insist, which may be seen in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of the New Testament, and also in the second chapter of the first volume of this work, where was shewn the treatment given to the first Christians by the unbelieving Jews. I am now only to consider the state of Christianity in Gentil countreys, and under Heathen Emperours, from the time that it began to be preached among the Gentils, and to make some progresse among them, from about the midle of the first centurie to the end of this period, when Constantine embraced the Christian Religion, and by edicts gave leave to Christians to worship God according to their own judgement and conviction.

St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, has taken notice of some difficulties, which St. Paul met with in preaching the gospel in Gentil
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...until cities: particularly at Lystra in Lycaonia ch. xiv. 19, 20. at Philippi ch. xvi. 19...20. St. Paul himself speaks of some of his sufferings 2 Cor. xi. 23...26. particularly at 25. thrice was I beaten with rods: meaning, as I suppose, by Roman Magistrates: though St. Luke has mentioned one instance only, which was at Philippi, as just mentioned: when both Paul and Silas underwent that hard usage. But there were no Imperial edicts issued against the Christians, before that of Nero, in the year of Christ 64 or 65. At which time the two Apostles, Peter and Paul, were put to death.

It has now of a long time been a prevailing opinion, that Christians suffered ten persecutions under Heathen Emperours. Nevertheless there have been some exceptions made to this opinion by a learned writer, who is deservedly in great repute. "If (a) you speak, he says, of heaviur perccutions, that prevailed every where, "there were not so many, if of lesser troubles, there were more "than ten. The number of ten general persecutions is no more than

(a) Numeramus a multis jam seculis decem ejusmodi persecutiones. Verum non suffragatur huic numero vetus rerum Christianarum historia. Si graviore intelligas persecutiones, et per universum orbem Romanum pertinentes, pauciores sunt, quam decem: si minores, et provinciales, multo plures, quam decem. Auctores hujus numeri non eum in historia invenerunt, sed historiam ad partes quasdam facri codicis accommodarunt, quibus persecutiones Christianorum praedicatas esse opinabantur. ... Perantiqua est, et a quinto seculo ad nos ducta sententia, de decem Christianorum sub Imperatoribus a Christo aferis persecutionibus. Quam ego tamen omnes veri amantes popularibus et fundamenta delitu-
Ch. XLI. under Heathen Emperours.

"than a popular errour, which arose in the fifth centurie, destitute of good foundation in historie, and founded in a fansifull interpretation of some texts of the Old Testament, where the Christian persecutions have been thought to be foretold. Laëtantius, in his book of the Deaths of Persecutors, makes but six persecutions. Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie does not number the persecutions, though nine persecutions may be made out from it. Upon the whole, the notion of ten Heathen Persecutions had it's rise in the fifth centurie."

Upon all which I must say, that in the book of the Deaths of Persecutors, whether (b) writ by Laëtantius, or another, we cannot expect to see an account of all the persecutions, which Christians had suffered in former times. His book is entitled of the Deaths of Persecutors. His design therefore is to speak of such persecutors only, as came to an untimely end. Accordingly he writes of the persecution of Nero, Domitian, Decius, Valerian, and Aurelian, who suffered a violent death. Of their persecutions he gives a brief account in the first chapters of his book. And then he proceeds to Diocletian's persecution, upon which he enlargeth. Here he computes four several persecutors: Diocletian, Maximian Herculeus, Maximian Galerius, and Maximin. And according to his account, Diocletian (c) met with great misfortunes, Maximian (d) was strangled by order of Constantine for base treacherie, and an attempt upon his life. Galerius (e) and Maximin (f) died miserably; by grievous distempers, supposed to have been inflicted upon them by way of judgement from heaven, for their inhumanity to the Christians. That is the design and substance of that book. And from it no argument can

(b) That Laëtantius is not the author of that little book, was shewn Credib. P. 2. ch. lxv. vol. viii. p. 89. &c.
(c) De Mart. Persecut. cap. xxvi.
(d) Ibid. cap. xxx.
(e) Cap. xxxiii. . . . xxxv.
(f) Cap. xlix.

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can be formed for determining the number of persecutions, which Christians endured from Heathen Emperours.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical Historie does not number the great afflictions, which the Christians had endured. But he has mentioned eleven persecutors, though the persecutions of some of them may have been of but short duration. The persecutors mentioned by Eusebius, are these: Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Mark Antonin, Severus, (g) Maximin the first, or the Thracian, Decius, (b) Gallus, (i) Valerian, (k) Aurelian, Diocletian, and his colleagues.

The several persecutions of Heathen Emperours, did not come to an end before the beginning of the fourth centurie. They could not be numbered, till they were all over. Orosius (l) counts ten persecutions, and expressly calls Diocletian’s the tenth and last. Augustin likewise reckons ten Heathen persecutions. He numbers them in this manner: (m) the first Nero’s, the second Domitian’s, the third Trajan’s, the fourth Mark Antonin’s, the fifth Severus’s, the sixth Maximin’s, the seventh Decius’s, the eighth Valerian’s, the ninth Aurelian’s, the tenth Diocletian’s. These two learned writers lived partly in the fourth, and partly in the fifth centurie. And it may be thence argued, that this way of computing was in use before the end of the fourth centurie. And indeed, we can prove it. Jerome’s book of Illustrious Men, or Ecclesiastical Writers, was published in the year 392. And he there sometimes numbers the persecutions. In the chapter of St. John he calls (n) Domitian’s the second

(g) H. E. l. 6. cap. 28.
(b) l. 7. cap. i.
(i) l. 7. cap. 10.
(k) l. 7. cap. 30. p. 283. B.
(l) Interea Diocletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Hercules in occidente vaflari ecclesias, adfigi interificque Christianos, decimo post Neronem loco praecipuunt, quae persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit. &c. Orph. l. 7. cap. 25. Vid. et cap. 27.

(m) Primum quippe computant a Neron quae facta est, secundum a Domitiano, a Traiano tertiam, quartam ab Antonino, a Severo quintam, sextam a Maximino, a Decio septimam, octavam a Valeriano, ab Aureliano nonam, decimam a Diocletiano et Maximiano. De Civ. Dei. l. 18. cap. lii.

(n) D. V. I. cap. 9.
second persecution. In the chapter of Ignatius (o) he expressly mentions Trajan's persecution though without numbring it. In the chapter of Polycarp (p) he says, he suffered in the time of the fourth persecution, under Mark Antonin. He expressly calls Decius's (q) the seventh. And Cyprian's martyrdom he placeth (r) in the eighth persecution, in the time of Valerian and Gallien. And in his Latin edition of the Chronicle of Eusebius, are ten persecutions, all expressly mentioned, and numbered, as in Augustin's.

There may have been some affectation in numbring the persecutions. Orofius (s) and some others, have found out a way to compare the ten persecutions of the Christians with the ten plagues of Egypt, which is trifling. But the number of persecutions has a foundation in historic, as we have seen in the several chapters of this, and the preceding volume. Some may compute nine, others ten, or eleven. But ten was a round number, and has generally prevailed. I think, there were eleven. It seems to me, that there is good ground to say so from Eusebius's Ecclesiastical Historie.

The primitive Christians, I think, called those troubles persecutions, which were ordered by edicts of Emperours. Sulpicius Severus having given an account of Nero's cruelty toward the Christians at Rome, under a pretense, that the city had been set on fire by them, adds: That (t) was the beginning of the cruel proceedings against

\[ X \times 2 \]

Chrifti, martyrkoronatur. \( I b. \) cap. 62.

(t) Hoc initio in Christianos saeviti coeptum. Post etiam datis legibus religios vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. \( S u l. S e v e r. \) l. 2. cap. 29. \( C l e r i c. \)
Afterwards the Christian Religion was forbid by laws: and by public edicts it was declared, that no man might be a Christian. Of such edicts, or rescripts, there were ten, or eleven. And I suppose, that all persecutions ordered by Imperial edicts were general. They were intended for the whole Roman Empire, subject to their government. But, possibly, they did not all actually reach to every part of the Empire. The edict of Maximin the Thracian (u) is said to have been against the Clergie only, and his is sometimes called a local persecution. Nevertheless, I think, it must have been general, and intended against the Clergie everywhere. There is this proof of it: that Ambrose and Protoetius were then imprisoned. This last was Presbyter at Cesarea in Palestine. And Ambrose is supposed to have been Deacon in that, or some other church not far off. And Orosius says, that this persecution was particularly intended against the Presbyter Origen. But all those eminent Christians lived in Syria, at a great distance from the capital of the Empire. The edict therefore may have been intended against the Clergie everywhere.

I apprehend I need not say any thing more here, nor make any recapitulation of what we have seen. But I would refer my readers to the accounts of the Heathen persecutions, which have been given in this and the preceding volumes. Which, I hope, I may say, are authentic, and will be allowed to be so. And we have seen genuine copies of divers of the Imperial edicts, which were sent by them to the Proconsuls, or other Governors of provinces.

But it may be said, that all those ten persecutions will not prove, that Christians were all along in a state of persecution, till the conversion of Constantine. For the lives of some of those persecuting Emperours were short, and when they were dead, their edicts were little regarded. And then peace might be restored to the churches.

(u) See in this volume, ch. 28, p. 59...61.
Undoubtedly, there is some truth in what is here alleged. Therefore I shall add some farther observations for clearing up this point, and for shewing, that they might still be in a state of persecution.

For Trajan’s edict was never abrogated, but was still in being. And thereby the Presidents were required to pronounce sentence of death upon all who were brought before them, and accused of Christianity, unless they denied themselves to be Christians, and made out the truth of what they said. And many might be accused by the spiteful and ignorant vulgar, as well as by other malicious people.

And some Judges, or Governours of provinces might act without law, or contrary to it, as Pliny (x) had done. According to the edict of Trajan, Christians were not to be sought for. But the President at Lyons, in the time of Mark Antonin, (y) issued out public orders, that strict searches should be made for them. And it is manifest, that many Christians suffered in the time of Adrian, and Titus Antonin, though there were then no laws against them, except the edict of Trajan: and though there were some laws in their favour, particularly the (z) Recript of Adrian to Minucius Fundanus, Proconsul of Asia, which was also to be a rule to other Governours of provinces, and the (a) Letter of Titus Antonin to the states of Asia, and other (b) letters to the Lariſseans, the Thſalonians, the Athenians, and all the Greeks.

We may do well to recollect here the historie of Apollonius, a Roman Senator, who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Commodus, in the year of our Lord 186. or 187. or thereabout: of which I gave some

(x) See Vol. 2. p. 28. 29. 48. 50.  
(y) Ibid. p. 215.  
(z) See Vol. 2. p. 109... 112.  
(a) 15. p. 155.  
(b) p. 157.
some account (c) formerly, but shall now transcribe more distinctly
that chapter of Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical Historie. Where,
after having given an account of the sufferings of Christians in the
reign of Mark Antoninus, and then of the works of Irenaeus, and
some other Christian writers, he says: “At (d) that time, in the
reign of Commodus, there was a happy change in our affairs, and
by the divine favour the churches enjoyed peace and tranquillity
throughout the whole world. And by the same word of the
gospel, many of all ranks were converted to the worship of the
God of the universe: so that at Rome itself many who were e-
minent for their riches, and for their descent, did with their
whole families, and their kindred, embrace the way of salva-
tion. But that was a thing not to be born by the evil demon,
envious of the happiness of men, and an enemy to all goodness.
He therefore arms himself again, and sets his instruments to work
against us. And he brings before the judgement-seat Apollonius,
one of the faithfull, a man celebrated for learning and philo-
osophie. A wicked wretch, one of his ministers, well fitted for
such a purpose, is stirred up to accuse him. But that miserable
man, having brought his accusation unseasonably, when there
was an Imperial edict (e) appointing capital punishment for such
things, had his legs broke, and was put to death by order of
Perennis the Judge. And the admirable man (f) the Martyr, of
whom I am speaking, being desired by the Judge to give an ac-
tount of himself to the Senate, complied, and delivered an ele-
gant apologie for the faith, for which he suffered, before the Se-

te. And then, as by decree of the Senate, was condemned to
die: there being, as it seems, an ancient law, that if any Chris-
tian were accused in a court of justice, he should be punish-
ed, unless he denied himself to be a Christian.” Eusebius then

(c) See Cre.lib. P. 2. ch. 28. p. 681...

(d) Euseb. H. E. l. 5. cap. 21. p. 189.

(e) See Vol. 2. p. 156."
adds, "that they who are desirous to read what Apollonius said before the Judge, and his answers to the interrogatories of Perennis, 
" [Prefect of the Praetorium] and his whole apologie in the Senate, 
" they might see them in the collection, which he had made of 
" the ancient martyrdoms." But that is entirely lost, to our great grief. For those Acts of the martyrdom of Apollonius, if they were extant, we may reasonably think, would be instructive, as well as entertaining.

This shews, that in times, called times of peace and tranquility for the churches, some might suffer capital punishment, as Christians.

The ancient law, to which Eusebius here refers, probably, is Trajan's edict concerning the Christians, and is so understood by (g) Valesius.

The edict of Severus against the Christians was not published before the year of our Lord 202. But from Tertullian's apologie, published in the year 198. or thereabout, it plainly appears, that the Christians had suffered persecution for some while before the publication of that edict. Indeed it appears to have been a day of heavy affliction to the Christians, as may be seen in what we have already writ in this (b) volume.

And by Dionyſius, Bishop of Alexandria, we are fully assured, that (i) there was in that city a persecution under the Emperor Philip, and that for a whole year the Christians in that place underwent a great variety of heavy sufferings, before the publication of the edict of Decius.

And

(g) Legem igitur, seu rescriptum Trajani ad Plinium Secundum intelligo, in quo cavetur, Christianos quidem inquirendos non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. Vales. in loc.

(b) See before, in this volume. p. 12.

13.

(i) As above, p. 74-75.
And my readers will here recollect the remarkable historie of Marinus, before related in this volume, (k) who suffered martyrdom at Cesarea, after that Valerian's persecuting edict had been revoked by his son Gallienus.

These things are sufficient to affure us, that the Christians, in this period, were generally in suffering circumstances, and were always liable to suffer.

Nevertheless, after all, it is not to be supposed, that persecution was always violent, and uninterrupted. There might be some abatements of those troubles, and some seasons of rest and peace. What they were, may be collected from what we have seen in this, and the preceding volumes. And I shall here reckon them up in a summarie manner. We reckon, that Nerva was favorable to them, who, when he repealed the other acts of Domitian, repealed also his law against the Christians. His successor Trajan published an edict against the Christians, which, as has been often hinted already, never was abrogated, but continued in force as long as Heathenism subsisted in the Roman Empire. Nevertheless we can perceive, that in the reigns of Adrian, and Titus Antonin, there were some edicts, or rescripts, which were favorable to them: though during those very reigns, many Christians still suffered in almost every part of the Empire. They also received some favour and indulgence from Alexander Severus, and Philip. They might also enjoy peace and tranquillity in the reigns of Commodus and Caracalla, who did not much concern themselves about the affairs of religion. The first years of Valerian, and the reign of Gallienus, after Valerian's captivity, were favorable to them: as likewise the former part of the reign of Diocletian, when the (l) Roman Empire was disturbed by enemies on every side.

(k) P. 92. &c.

(l) Ita cum per omnem orbem terræ rum res turbatae essent, et Carauius in Britannis rebellaret, Achillaus in Aegypto.
In such seasons as these, it is reasonable to believe, that the Christians would exert themselves, and considerable accessions of new converts might be made to them. So it is said, Acts ix. 31. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria; occasioned by (m) the consternation, into which the Jewish people were thrown by Caligula's order to have his statue set up in the temple at Jerusalem; and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.

When therefore I say, that all this while Christianity was in a state of persecution; I am willing, that proposition should be understood in a mild and qualified sense. We now proceed.

2. Nevertheless it prevailed.

Of this we have seen good evidence in Heathen, as well as in Christian writers. Which must be reckoned (n) very wonderful, admitting all the softenings and qualifications in the forementioned proposition, that can be asked, or desired. From small beginnings it had mightily prevailed and increased in a short time: and Christians


(n) Hoc temporum fractu, mirum est, quantum invallerit Religio Christiana! Sulp. Sever. l. 2. cap. 33. al. 49.

†† Now were fulfilled those prophetic parables of the first founder of this Religion: Matt. xiii. 31. 33. The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustards-seed, which a man took and hid in his field. Which indeed is the least of all seeds. But when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs: so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Another parable spoke he unto them: The kingdom of heaven is like unto heaven, which a woman took
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Christians were very numerous, in every part of the Empire, before the conversion of Constantine. Though they never had the princes of this world on their side, and from their first original they had endured a variety of difficulties, and several open persecutions, and now were under a severe persecution, which had raged with great violence for several years in most parts of the Empire; some have imagined it a suspicion not altogether without foundation, that a great Prince may have joined himself to them from considerations of (o) interest. At least he perceived, that he might do it, without dreading any bad consequences from the Gentil people in the Empire.

Nor were they considerable only for their numbers: They were also respectable for their quality. There now were among them, and always had been men eminent for their skill in every part of literature: who wrote some in the Greek, others in the Roman language, and with uncommon purity and elegance. As appears from their works, till remaining.

3. and lastly, This is honourable to the religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.

The contention was between God and idols. And the cause of God prevailed. Many in every part of the Empire turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his son from heaven, even Jesus, who delivers us from the wrath to come. "The design of whose coming is to bring men to repentance, and "reclaim them from idolatrie, and all other evil practices, and "thereby

took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened. Compare Mark iv. 30...32. Luke xiii. 18...21.

(o) Avant que trois siecles se soient ecueles depuis la mort de J. C. le parti des Chretiens est deja si fort, qu'un Empereur l'embrasse sans craindre celui des Payens.

Il semble meme, que loin d'affoibler par la puissance, il l'augmenta, et la fortise par ce moien. Sermons de S. Weron. p. 27. 1723.

That passage is quoted Credib. P. 2. vol. 7. p. 380. where are other like observations.
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"thereby to deliver his faithfull followers from the future miserie,  
which will be the portion of all wicked and impenitent men, and  
to bestow upon them everlafting happinesse and salvation."

Many there were at that time, who were inquisitive, and open  
to conviction. They therefore seriously attended to what was pro-  
poed to them, and impartially weighed the evidences of what was  
said. They forsook the errour of their past way of worship. They  
embraced, and professed the Christian Doctrine, notwithstanding  
many difficulties and discouragements, and then recommended it to  
others.

Our blessed Lord, in one of his beautifull parables, has expressed  
himself after this manner. The kingdom of heaven, the state of things  
under the gospel-dispenfation, is like unto a certain King, who made  
a marriage for his son. And he sent forth his servants to call them  
that were bidden to the wedding. And they would not come. Again,  
be sent forth other servants, saying : Tell them which are  
bidden, Be-  
bold I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed,  
and all things are ready. Come unto the marriage. But they made  
glight of it, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his mer-  
chandife. And the remnant took his servants, and entreated them spite-  
fully, and slew them.

This parable may have been primarily intended to represent the  
conduct of the Jewish people in the time of our Saviour, and his  
Apostles. But it is a just description of the temper and conduct of  
Gentils alfo, and of all men in general. The things of this world  
are preferred to those of another, and secular affairs are more minded  
than the things of religion. Few only are engaged in the search of  
truth. Religious truth is the leſt regarded, and the moſt oppoſed  
of any. This truth may be hard to be found. When it is diſcern-  
ed, and obtained by impartial inquiries, and ſerious meditation, it  
may be dangerous to own and profeſs it. The bleſſed Jeſus there-  
yfore,
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Mat. xiii, 44...46. therefore, our divine master, says again: The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field: the which when a man has found, he biddeth, and for joy thereof goeth, and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field. Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant-man, seeking goodly pearls: who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he bad, and bought it.

In the first ages of Christianity, truth bore a high price. Nevertheless there were those who bought it, and would not part with it upon any consideration whatever. Nor was this distraction, or obstinacie, as through mistake it is called by the Propraetor (p) Plinie, and the Emperour (q) Mark Antonin. It was a just and reasonable resolution. It is agreeable to all sound Philosophie, and the sentiments of all Philosophers, who have considered the obligations of human conduct, that (r) we ought to suffer death, rather than deny the truth, of which we are persuaded. And our Lord has expressed himself clearly upon this point, and without reserve. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven. And he has given us full assurance, that none shall be losers by fidelity to him, or by any acts of self-denial for the sake of him, and his gospel. And he said to his disciples, Verily I say unto you, there is no man, who has left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come everlasting life. He has himself engaged in this warfare, and knows by experience, what it may cost. And therefore he has sometimes expressed himself after this manner: In the world ye will have tribulation. But be of good cheer. I have overcome the world. Again: To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me
in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Fa-
ther in his throne.

If any of the first Christians were too forward, and needlessly ex-
posed themselves to sufferings, they are not to be vindicated. For
they acted contrarie to repeated precepts of Jesus himself. Behold,
says he to his disciples, I send you forth, as sheep among wolves. Be
ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves: And, when they
persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.

But I do not think, that they often transgressed those rules. I am
rather of opinion, that they were generally mindful of them, and
paid them due regard. We have seen examples of it in (s) Polycarp
and his people, in (t) Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, in the (u) Chris-
tians at Alexandria, during the persecution of Valerian, and in the
Christians (x) living in Pontus and Cappadocia, in the time of Max-
imin the Thracian. Other instances of their discretion might be al-
ledged.

The Christians of the first three centuries were not perfect nor in-
sallible. They had their failings, and their errors. Nor were they
altogether free from strife and contention. But there were among
them many men of sincere and undissembled virtue, and some emi-
nent therein, who were shining examples of every thing excellent and
commendable in human life. They were quiet and peaceable, and
obedient to magistrates in all things appertaining to their (a) jurisdic-
tion. They (b) prayed for the Roman Emperours, and for the

(1) Vol. 2. p. 190.
(1) Vol. 2. p. 174. and in this volume, p. 88. 89. and in the Credib. P. 2. eb. 44.
(1) See here in this volume, p. 85.
(x) As before, p. 61.
(a) See vol. 2. p. 40.
(b) Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus,
pro ministris eorum, ac potestatibus, pro
fatu seculi, pro mora finis. Tertull. op.
cap. 39. cited above, in vol. 2. p. 48. And
see here in this volume, p. 70. 71. and p.
83. near the end, and p. 86.
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officers under them, and for the prosperity of the Empire. They were kind to each other, and to (c) strangers. Our affair, said the ancient (d) apologists, Justin Martyr, and Athenagoras, lies not in words, but in works. And Laëntius, so low as the beginning of the fourth century, could say, “the (e) great concern of our people is to be holy and unblamable in their lives.” Plinie has born an honorable, and ample testimonio to the good design of their religious (f) assemblies. And they were remarkable for their patience and fortitude under sufferings for the principles which they had embraced. By all which they glorified God, edified each other, and were continually making converts from among their Gentil neighbours, and even from among such as hitherto had been their enemies.

If afterwards Christians altered for the worse: if they departed from the faith once delivered to the saints: if they admitted into their belief and profession corrupt mixtures of human invention: if instead of being persecuted themselves, they persecuted other men: or, if they persecuted one another for difference in speculative opinions, of little importance: or, if they did any thing else, contrarie to the purity of the doctrine of the gospel, we shall be obliged to acknowledge it without partiality, when we see the proofs of it.

And indeed, Chrystoſtom has observed, “that (g) Christianity rather declines under Christian Emperours. So far is it from being cherished by the honours and preferments of this world. But it thrives

(c) Instances of both those kinds of generosity to such as were in affliction, may be seen in the chapter of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, vol. iv. p. 749. 752. and in the chapter of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, vol. 4. p. 574. &c. and here at p. 85. See also the chapter of Lucian, of Samosata, vol. 2. p. 358.

(d) Οὐ γὰρ μινίτις λίγων, ἀλλὰ ἐπιθαλέως ἔδωκαν τὰ ἴμηρα. Athen. p.


(e) Nostro autem populo, quid horum potest objici, cujus omnis religio est, fine secere, et fine macula vivere? Infl. l. 5. cap. 9. sub fin.


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thrives most, when it is persecuted, and lies under worldly discouragements.” And said Sulpicius Severus not long (b) agoe, speaking of Diocletian's persecution: “Glorious martyrdoms were then as earnestly contended for, as bishopricks have been since sought by ambitious men.”

We may do well therefore to emulate the best times, and the sincerest disciples of Jesus Christ, whom we have taken for our master and guide in the things of religion. And we may sometimes recollect what our Lord said before Pontius Pilate, therein witnessing a good confession. For this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth, beareth my voice.

Let us then carefully attend to that word of the gospel, which was first preached everywhere, by men chosen, and appointed, and fully qualified for that purpose, the Lord himself working with them, and confirming it with signs following: and has been since recorded by his faithfull Apostles and Evangelists. Amen.

(b) P. 284.
An Appendix to Chapter XXXIX.

I shall now, according to my promise, at p. 271, transcribe the observations of Dr. S. Parker, (a) upon the character of Apollonius Tyanaeus, and the historic of him, writ by Philostratus.

His observations, I believe, will be generally allowed to be right and pertinent. They are particularly remarkable upon two accounts. First, he considers Apollonius as a professed and conceited Pythagorean Philosopher, or, as his terms are, a mere fanatic, and pedantic Pythagorean. Secondly, he rejects the parableisms of Huet, and shews their futility. Consequently, he did not embrace the opinion of Dr. Cudworth, and divers other learned men, who have supposed, that Philostratus intended to set up Apollonius as a rival with our Saviour. I thought, I had been singular in the opinion, which I received from Mr. La Roche. But here is a learned man, who wrote almost an hundred years ago, and thought in the same manner.

His


p. 293...300. I leave his references, as they are, made to the Paris edition of Philostratus, in 1668. And in some places I add, at the bottom of the page, references to the edition of Olearius at Leipzig, in 1709.
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His words are these: "But the man of Wonders is Apollonius Tyanaeus, of whom they boast and insult, as the true Heathen Messias: in that he wrought not, as Vespaian did, one or two chance-miracles, but his whole life was all prodigie, and equal to our Saviour's, both for the number and the wonder of his works. But here first, we have in part shewn what undoubted records we have of the life of Jesus: whereas all the credit of Apollonius his history depends upon the authority of one single man, who, beside that he lived an hundred years after him, ventured nothing, as the Apostles did, in confirmation of it's truth, but only composed it in his study: thereby, as appears from his frequent digressions, to take occasion of communicating to the world all the learning, which he had raked together. Nay, so far was he from incurring any loss by the work, that he was set upon it by a great Empress, whose religious zeal in the cause would be sure to see him well rewarded. And though he made use of the Commentaries of Damis, the inseparable companion of Apollonius; yet he confesses, that Damis himself never published his own Commentaries, but that a friend of Damis communicated them to the Empress, which himself might probably have forged (as is common in Courts) to pick her pocket. However, as for Damis himself, it is evident, from Philostratus his whole story, that he was a very simple man, and that Apollonius only pickt him up, as a fit Sancho Panza to exercise his wit upon: so that upon all occasions we find him not only baffling the Esquire in disputes, but breaking jests upon him, which he always takes with much thankfulness, and more humility, still admiring his master's wisdom, but much more his wit.

"But after all, what the story of Damis was, or whether there were ever any such story, we have no account, unless from Philostratus himself. And therefore we must resolve it all into his...
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"authority alone. And there it is evident, that Apollonius was nei-
ther a God, nor a divine man, as his friends boasted, nor a Ma-
gician or Conjurer, as his enemies imagined, but a meer fanatic,
and pedantic Pythagorean: who for the honour of his sect, tra-
vellled, as many others have done, into all parts of the world:
and when he returned home, told his countreymen, that all men
renowned for wisdom all the world over, were of the sect of the
Pythagoreans: and then for advancement of their authority told
strange and prodigious tales of their wonder-working power.
Though here either he, or his historian, has acquitted himself so
awkwardly, as utterly to spoil the tale, and defeat the design:
This Eusebius has shewn at large in his book against Hierocles, by
taking to pieces all parts of the story, and discovering all it’s flaws
and incoherences."

"But I shall content my-self with proving the vanity of the
whole from the notorious falshood of one particular narration,
upon which depends all that extraordinary power, which he pre-
tends to: and that is his conversation with the Indian Brachmans,
from whom, if we may believe his account of himself, he learn-
ed all that he could do more than the common Philosophers of
Greece. And, if this prove a romance, all the rest of his history
must unavoidably follow it’s fortune. And for this little proof will
serve, when most of the stories are so very mean and childish, as
to be more contemptible, than those little tales wherewith nurses
are wont to quiet their children.

"For what could be contrived more unphilosophically, than the
Bramans keeping tubs of rain, wind, and thunder by
l. 3. c. 3. " them, which they bestow upon their friends, as their
" necesfities (b) required. And the swelling of the earth,
c. 5. " like the waves of the sea, only with the stroke of a
" Braman’s wand? Though (c) the most pleasant scene
e. 8. " of the whole comedy was their feast, in which there

was no need of any attendants: but the chairs and the stools, the
pots and the cups, the dishes and the plates, understood every one
their own offices: and so served in the entertainment themselves,
and ran hither and thither, as the guests commanded, or their at-
tendance required."

"But of all lyes the geographical lye is the most unhappy. For
the matter of them being perpetual, and not as the actions of men
are, transient, they may be confuted in any age. And yet, in
this very thing he has out-done Sir John Mandevil himself, for
incredible monsters and fables, describing men and beasts of strange
shapes, that were never seen by any man but himself: as (d) a
sort of women half black, half white, a nation (e) of
pygmies, living underground, griffins, apes as big c. 14.
as men, beasts with the faces of men, and bodies
of lions, wool growing like grass out of the earth,
and (f) dragons almost as common as sheep in other c. 2.
countrys. All which being so vulgarly known at
this day to be meer fables, they cannot but overthrow the credit of
the whole story. For either he wanded as far as the Indies, or
not. If not, then his saying that he did, is one lyce for all. If
he did, then it is evident from these particulars, that he made no
conscience of truth or falsehood: but designed only to amuse the
world with strange and prodigious reports of the power of Py-
thagorism."

"And that is the most that I can make of the story:
though I know, that Huetius is of opinion, that all the
substantial miracles are stolen out of the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apoistles, and that, for the most part,
in the words and phrases of St. Luke. And this he has endeavo-
red to make good by a great variety of parallel instances: and then

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"thinks it a manifest discoverie, both of the vanity of Philostratus, and the imposture of Apollonius: when he is only adorned with borrowed feathers, but a great accession to the credit of our Saviour, that when his enemies would frame the idea of a divine man, they were forced to steal their best feathers from his picture. So that, he says, it was no wonder, that Hierocles should so confidently compare the miracles of Apollonius to those of Jesus: when those of Jesus were with so little disguise clapt upon Apollonius."

N. B. "This were a pretty discoverie, if it stood upon good grounds. But alas! most of the parableisms are so forced, or so slender, or so far fetched, that it were easy to make as many, and as probable, between any other histories whatever. And indeed, in such a design as this of Philostratus, viz. to make up a story as full of strange things as he could contrive, it is scarce possible, not to have hit upon some things like some of those miracles which are recorded in the Gospels. So that in some few of them there may be some resemblance: as particularly there seems to be in that of the Gadarean demoniac and the Corcyrean youth: yet it is very obvious to apprehend, that this might happen, not by design, but by chance. And where as Huetius will needs have it, that Philostratus has stolen not only the stories, but the very words of St. Luke, I find no instance of it, but only in this one relation, where they both, it seems, use the word Saravierew. And this they might easily do without theft or imitation, it being the common Greek word that signifies to torment: so that they could no more avoid that in Greek, than we could this in rendering it into English. Nay, setting aside this one story, I find so little resemblance between the historie of Philostratus, and that of the Gospels, that I scarce know any two histories more unlike. For it is obvious to any man that reads Philostratus, that his whole design was to follow the train of the old Heathen Mythology. And that is the bottom of his folly, by his story..."
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"flory to gain historical credit to the fables of the Poets. So that
"it is a very true and just cenfure, which Ludovicus Vives has given
"of him, that as he had endeavoured to imitate Homer, so he had
"abundantly out-lyed him. For there is scarce any thing extraor-
dinary reported in the whole history, in which he does not ap-
parently design either to verify, or to rectify some of that blind
ballad-finger's tales. But especially in conjuring Achilles out of
his tomb, and discoursing with him about the old stories, that
were told of the Trojan war."

"And yet, after all, few of Apollonius his miracles are sufficiently
vouched, even in his own History: v. g. the last that I men-
tioned, of the apparition of (g) Achilles: which had no other tes-
timony, but of Apollonius himself, who stubbornly refused to have
any companion or witness of the fact: Beside many other absur-
dities in the story itself: as his rising out of the tomb five foot
long, and then swelling to twice the length: his being forced to
vanish away at cock crowing, and the Nymphs constantly visiting
him."

"And so again, he pretended to understand all languages without
learning any. And yet, when he came to the Indian King, he
was forced to converse with him by an (b) interpreter. And (i)
whereas the story tells us of the devil's being cast out of a young
man by a mandate from the Bramans; yet it gives us no account
of the event of it, only they pretended to do it. But whether
it was effectually done, we do not find that either Apollonius, or
"Damis ever inquired."

"But the great faculty, which he pretended to, was the under-
standing of the languages of birds and beasts: which, he says, he
learned from the Arabians, and the Citizens of Paraeas in India,
who acquired it by eating dragons (k) hearts. Now all stories of
"dragons

cap. xxvii. et l. 2. cap. xxiii. cap. xx. p. 25.
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"dragons are hard of belief, but especially of his Indian dragons:
which, he says, were as commonly (l) hunted by the inhabitants,
as hares in other countries. But granting, that there were so great
numbers of them in his time, though since that they were never
seen by any man, it is very hard to believe, that the meer eating a
piece of their hearts, should inspire men with such an odd and
singular faculty."

"But the great miracle of all was his vanishing away at his tryal
before Domitian, in the presence of all the great men of Rome:
But then, though our Historian be very desirous we should believe
it, yet he faulters afterwards, like a guilty lyer, in his confidence.
For whereas (m) at first, he positively affirms, ἐφανείσθη τῷ δικαστῆς;
that he quite vanished away; at last he only (n) says, ἀπῆλθε, that
he went away. And this, though he would seem to
1. 8. c. 4. "affirm, that it was after a wonderfull manner, and no
body knows how, is a pitifull abatement to the big-
ness of his former expression, vanishing away. Though the truth
is, if he had stood to it, it must unavoidably have proved itself a
lye. For it is utterly incredible, that so strange a thing, as that,
should have been done in so great a presence, and yet never any no-
tice be taken of it."

"But, in the last place, the Historian would fain bid at something
of his Hero's appearing after death. Yet he does it so faintly, that
in the conclusion of all it comes to nothing, especially, when he
tells us, that the time of his death was altogether unknown, and
that the uncertainty of it took in no less than the compass of thirty
d years. And then, they that were so utterly at a loss as to the time
of his decease, and that for so long a space, were very likely to give
a very wise account of the certain time of any thing that he did af-
ter it!

(l) See the references at note (f).
(m) L. 8. cap. v. p. 326.
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"But how, or to whom did he appear? Why, to a. l. 8. c. 13. young man, one of his followers, that doubted of the immortality of the soul for ten months together after his death. "But how, or where? Why, (o) the young man being tired with watching, and praying to Apollonius, that he would appear to him only to satisfy him in this point, one day fell into a dead sleep in the school, where the young men were performing their several exercises. And on the sudden he starts up in a great fright, and a great sweat, crying out, πέφυκα μ' ου, I believe thee, O Tyanaeus. "And being asked by his companions the meaning of this transport: Why, says he, do you not see Apollonius? They answer him, no: but they would be glad to give all the world, if they could. It is true, says he. For he only appears to me, and for my satisfaction, and is invisible to all others. And then he tells them what he had said to him in his sleep concerning the state of souls. This poor account of a dream and vision of an over-watched boy, is all that this great story affords to vye with our Saviour's resurrection."

"And now, upon the review of this whole History, it seems evident to me, that this man was so far from being endowed with any extraordinary Divine power, that he does not deserve the reputation of an ordinary Conjurer. For though Huetius has taken some pains to prove him so, yet he gives no evidence of it, beside the opinion of the common people. And if that were enough to make a Conjurer, there is no man of an odd and singular humour (as Apollonius affected to be) who is not so thought of by the common people. And therefore, when he was accused for it before Domitian; the Emperor, upon coming to hear the cause, slighted both him, and his accusers, and dismissed him the Court for an idle and fantastic fellow."

"And it is manifest from the whole series of his History, that he was a very vain man, and affected to be thought something extra-

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"ordinary: and so wandered all the world over in an odd garb, to
be gazed at, and admired, and made himself considerable in that
age by wit, impudence, and flattery: of all which he had a com-
petent share. And for his wonder-working faculty, which he
would needs pretend to, he fetched that as far off as the East In-
dies, that is, the farthest off, as he thought, from confutation.
And yet the account, which he has given of those parts, is so gross-
ly (p) fabulous, that that alone convicts his whole life of impost-
ture and impudence."

"And this may suffice to make good this part of the demonstration
of our Saviour's Divine Authority from the certain evidence, both
of his own and his Apostles Miracles, and to set it above the reach
of all manner either of objection, or competition."

That is the whole of the article of Dr. Parker, concerning Apol-
nius. Whence it appears, that the historie of him in Philostratus is
fabulous, and not to be relied upon: and that Apollonius was not
so considerable a person, as some have imagined. And I hope I may
say, that these observations of Dr. Parker do in a great measure con-
firm those, which have been before proposed by me.

(p) That is a just, and valuable observa-
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