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ENQUIRY

I N T O

Several Remarkable TEXTS

O F T H E

Old and New TESTAMENT

Which contain

Some *Difficulty* in them:

W I T H A

Probable Resolution of them.

By JOHN EDWARDS B. D. sometime Fellow
of St. John's College in Cambridge.

I Cor. 13. 9.

We Know in part, and we Propheſie in part.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N

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TO THE
Right Reverend Father in God
S I M O N
Lord Bishop of *E L Y.*

My Lord,

WHEN I was lately venturing a little Book into the World, I fully designed to make choice of no other Person than Your Lordship for my Patron : But I soon found my self unable to pursue my Resolves, and I let fall my Design on this single thought, that I being a Stranger to your Lordship, my Application would be deemed Rude and Impertinent. But I have since conquered that Modesty, and am grown up to a greater Confidence ; and now having another Piece ready (of the like nature with the former) I here lay my self and that at your Lordship's Feet. It is Presumption to offer such a mean Present to a Person of your Worth ; and a greater Presumption it is to expose these Papers to so severe a Critick, so Judicious and Celebrated a Writer, so Classick an Author as your Lordship. But I take

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Cou-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Courage by considering that your Candour is as eminent as your Judgment; and that I may have the Happiness to share in it as well as others. Besides, I have hereby an Opportunity of Expressing my Sense and Esteem of your Known Worth, which is the Universal Theme of the World. Why should not I joyn with the rest of Mankind in acknowledging and declaring, that by your Excellent Discourses and Writings you have enlightened the Christian World; and that by your Unreprovable Example, you have most effectually commended it to the Practice of Vertue and Religion? Likewise, I take here the welcome occasion of Congratulating your Lordships Accession to the *Episcopal Dignity* in our Church, which your Merits alone have exalted you to.

That your Lordship may Rule in this High Station with inflamed Zeal for God's Glory and the Churches Welfare, and with a perpetual Blessing from the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of Souls, is the Heartly Prayer of,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Dutiful Son and Servant

John Edwards.

T H E

T H E P R E F A C E.

LET me not incur the Imputation of Arrogance, if I tell the Reader, that when I presented my former Critical Essay to the View and Censure of a Great Man, (who for his Profound Knowledge and Profession of Divinity embellish'd with an Unparallell'd Eloquence, hath most justly been esteemed above four Lusters of Years the Oracle of the Schools, the Glory of the Chair, the Life and Soul of the University, and the Astonishment of the whole Learned World,) He, after he had vouchsafed to express his Approbation of it in such favourable Terms which it becomes me not to impart, was pleas'd to encourage me to a Second Attempt of the like nature. Which I being animated by so Great (but so Candid) a Judge, have now finished, and here offer to the Publick, and submit to the Censure of the Learned.

I will not present the Reader with the Particulars of my Undertaking (as I did in the Entrance to my former Exercitations,) but I shall only acquaint him with this in general, that I have for the most part observ'd this Course in these Papers, viz. I have first propounded the Opinions embraced by the Learned: And I have fairly represented them, letting all Men see what may be said for them. Secondly, I have shew'd

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how

The Preface.

how far they are Defective, and for what Reasons I recede from them; for I never leave any received Opinion without some just Cause. Thirdly, I offer some more Probable Account of my own, and I make it my work to establish my Hypothesis as well as I can. In all these three I have been very Sincere and Impartial: And I have not studied to Amuse, but to Satisfie the Reader. Whilst I have endeavour'd to refute an Opinion, I have taken care not to reproach the Owner: And whilst I have propounded my own, I have not excluded the Sentiments of more Judicious Enquirers.

I must needs confess that I accustom my self to a Freedom of Thoughts, and I like it in others as well as I practise it my self: Wherefore as I have taken the liberty to reflect on the Assertions of others, so any Man is welcome to examine mine with the same Freedom. I know some Men are wont even in these Critical Subjects to write very Imperiously, as if (according to the different Acception of the * Hebrew word) their Pens were Scepters, and they must needs Domineer when they write. But I have labour'd to avoid this Excess, by not affecting to be Categorical and Positive in every Notion I propound: I do not in those Matters which relate meerly to Criticism, determine any thing Peremptorily, but I only desire to be heard as well as others, and crave leave I may offer my Conjectures; and then I sit down, and submit my self to the more mature Judgments of the Learned.

This I must needs say, I have all along endeavour'd to avoid Obscurity, and to express my self

The Preface.

self in such easie and intelligible Terms, that I am sure I shall not deserve the Character and Censure which St. Jerom bestow'd on some Expositors, viz. * That it was more difficult to understand their Expositions, than the Texts which they undertook to explain. I have been careful to deliver my Thoughts and Meaning very plainly, that, whatever other Entertainment they may meet with, they may at least be rightly understood, and that I may not be mistaken and misrepresented in what I say.

I have only this to add, That whereas I once intended to publish a Third Part of these Critical Remarks and Observations on places of Holy Scripture (of which I have a considerable number by me,) I have altered my purpose, and do intend to insert them into some other Treatises and Discourses, where I shall have occasion to consider those Texts, and examine the meaning of them. The greatest part of them I reserve to be made use of in a Discourse of the Authority, Stile, &c. of the Holy Scriptures, which I shall hereafter expose to the view of the World, and therein offer my Interpretation of those places which I think have been mistaken by Expositors.

* Shebet,
Penina Scri-
barum,
Jud. 5. 14.
Sceptrum,
Gen. 49. 10

An Account of the *Texts* enquired
into and resolved in the follow-
ing Exercitations.

Gen. 49. 10.
THE Scepter shall not depart from Judah,
nor a Law-giver from between his feet,
until Shiloh come. • page i

Exod. 28. 30.
Thou shalt put in the Breast-plate of Judgment the
Urim and Thummim. P. 41

Judges 11. 30, 31.
Jephthah vowed a Vow unto the Lord, and said,
If thou shalt, &c. P. 77

Dan. 9. 24, 25.
Seventy Weeks are determined upon thy People,
and upon thy holy City, &c. p. 109

Matt. 27. 5.
Judas departed, and went and hanged himself.
Compared with Acts 1. 18. P. 137

1 Cor. 16. 22.
If any Man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him
be Anathema Maran-atha. P. 165

Col. 2. 8.
Beware lest any Man spoil you through Philosophy
and vain Deceit, &c. P. 189

To which is added,
A Discourse on 1 John 3. 8. wherein is shewed
what are the Works of the Devil. P. 281

A N

A N
ENQUIRY
Into Several Remarkable
TEXTS
Of the OLD and NEW
Testament, &c.

The first Text Enquired into, viz.
Gen. XLIX. 10.

*The Scepter shall not depart from Ju-
dah, nor a Law-giver from between
his feet, until Shiloh come.*

I Begin with this Famous Prophecie con-
cerning the Time of our Blessed Saviour's
coming into the World: And my Design
is, briefly to represent the general Glosses of
the Learned upon this Verse; with short Re-
flections on some of them: But more especi-
ally,

ally to choose out such an Interpretation of the word *Shiloh*, the celebrated Title of the *Messias*, as I conceive to be most genuine and proper; which I will somewhat largely insist upon, by shewing the great Agreeableness and Reasonableness of it; and consequently, the Preference of it to all other Interpretations. This Noble Prediction is no other than the remarkable words of the Patriarch *Jacob* blessing his Children; and among the rest his Son *Judah*, a little before his Death. He intimates that the Primogeniture, and with it the Ruling Power was taken from *Reuben*, when he saith of him, *He shall not excel*, v. 4. And from *Reuben* this Dominion is transferred to *Judah*; for it is said, *His Fathers Children* (of whom *Reuben* was the chief of them) *shall bow down before him*, v. 8. i. e. The Kingdom and Government shall Commence here, and so remain among the Jews many Generations, even until a certain Period appointed by God, viz. The Arrival of the *Messias*, who is here called *Shiloh*. Till that time the Jewish Government and Polity shall be kept up, *The Scepter shall not depart*: But upon the coming of the *Messias*, who is Christ, their Ruling Power shall cease, their State and Government shall be abolished; and in a little time after, there shall be no Footsteps left of their Kingdom and Dominion. Let us take this Prophecie asunder, and Comment on the several words, and then set them together again, and shew you how signal a Proof they are of Christ's being come.

First,

First, The Hebrew word which we Translate the *Scepter*, hath different significations, and accordingly is sometimes rendred a * *Rod* ^{Lev. 27.} or *Staff*, sometimes a † *Stroke*, *Plague* or *Punishment*; and at other times a * *Quill*, or *Pen* ^{32. Ps. 29. † Ps. 31. 13. Judges 5.} to write with. I meet with no Expositors that think any of these to be the Acception of the word in this place. But there are two other Acceptions which bid fair for it: The word sometimes signifies a *Tribe*, and that in this Chapter v. 28. And the reason why the same word signifies a *Rod* and a *Tribe*, may be because the Tribes of *Israel* were distinguished by Rods or Wands, Num. 17. 2, 3. Accordingly *Junius* and *Tremellius* render this place thus, *The Tribe shall not depart from Judah*: And they make the Sense of the whole Text to be this, *Judah* shall not cease to be a Tribe till the coming of Christ; but then it shall. And so indeed it did; for when Christ came, and was rejected by the Jews, the Romans by God's just Judgment scattered them abroad; and the Tribe of *Judah* could not be distinguished from the other Tribes. This Interpretation confirms the Truth of this Prophecie, and sufficiently baffles and confounds the Jews. But there is yet behind another more eminent Acception of the word; for you will find that it often signifies a *Scepter*. And that the same word which before signified a *Rod*, should also denote a *Scepter*, is not to be wondered at, because a *Rod* or *Staff* was the Ancient Ensign of *Royalty* and *Dominion*, Amos 1. 5. This was born by Kings, as a Badge of their Power

The first TEXT

Power and Authority. By the *Scepter* then is meant here Kingly Power and Authority, or the *Supreme Government* of what Name or Form soever. This signification of the word in this place, is owned and approved of by the *Jewish Doctors* and *Rabbins* themselves, and the three *Targums* agree in it, and it is acknowledged and allowed of by the Ancient Greek Versions of the Seventy, who render it *ἀρχον*, the Prince or Governour. This Prince or Governour, this Government or Scepter, *shall not depart*, (which are the next words) *i. e.* There shall be a continual Succession of Kings and Rulers, the Civil Power and Polity shall constantly remain; these shall not be removed, shall not wholly be destroyed; they may for a time be clouded and eclipsed; they may be interrupted for a while, but there shall not be a Final and Total Cessation of them. The *Scepter* shall not quite depart, it shall * not be taken away from *Judah*.

* Non auf-
retur. Vulg.
Lat.

But what is meant by *Judah* here? First, It is not to be taken in a Restrained Sense for the Patriarch *Judah*, but for the Tribe of *Judah*. As the Priesthood was consigned to *Levi*, *i. e.* not his Person, but his Tribe and Posterity; so *Judah* had the Scepter the Government conferred on him, not his Person, (for he had no Rule) but his Tribe, as distinct from the other Tribes. The meaning then is, that there shall be some of that Tribe who shall Reign till Christ cometh, and no longer: For as the Kingdom and Government shall begin in this Tribe (as it did

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did in *David*) and be continued in it, so it shall end with it. When that Tribe affords no more Kings, then Kingship shall cease among the Jews; though Foreigners may be set up, yet they shall have no more Kings of their own; which shall be a certain Indication of the coming of the *Messias*. Secondly, *Judah* must be taken comprehensively for the Twelve Tribes, for the State, Government and Polity of the whole Nation called *Jews*, from the Patriarch *Judah*. Some shrink this Prophecy into a narrow compass; but I think it ought to be taken largely, and to be applied to *Judah*, not only as it signifies a particular Tribe of that Name, but as it takes in all the *Jewish* People, the whole Body of the *Jews*. For these Prophetical Blessings which *Jacob* here uttereth, are of a large Extent; and this especially relating to a higher matter than any of the rest, is not to be confined and restrained to a *Person* or *Tribe*; but it is most reasonable to believe, that it reacheth to the whole Nation and Polity of the *Jews*, who are here called *Judah*, as they are in almost innumerable places of Scripture besides.

It follows [*nor a Law-giver from between his feet*,] this *Mechokek* is the same with *Sheber*, the *Law-giver* is of the same Importance with the *Scepter* or Kingly Power; for this and making Laws went together; the Regal and Judicial, or Legislative Authority, did reside in the *Jewish* Kings. And this Prince or Law-giver is said to be *from between Judah's feet*; which some learned Men have thought is an

Al-

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Allusion to the Custom of Courts, where the Scribe or Lawyer used to sit at the Feet of the Judge or Governour, and there take his Opinion. But this is a mistake, and ariseth from the want of considering the difference between those two Expressions, *at the feet*, and *from between the feet*. These have no Affinity with one another: As to the latter then, *from between his feet*, i. e. the Feet of Judah; it is much as, of the Seed or Race of Judah, (as you will find those words signifie in *Deut. 28. 57.*) and brought up by him, (as Children are said to be brought up upon their Parents Knees, *Gen. 50. 23.*) This is the plain and unforced meaning of this Hebrew Phrase or Expression; when it is said then, that a Law-giver from between his Feet, shall not depart from him; the meaning is, that there shall always be some who shall be born of the Posterity and Race of Judah, and brought up and educated by them that shall sway the Scepter, and give Laws in Israel. This shall last till *Shiloh* come; which is the next and main thing to be explain'd. There are various Interpretations of this word given by Expositors; but they all agree in this, that it refers to the *Messias*.

1. Some think that the Seventy Interpreters did read it not *Shilo* but *Shello*, as if it were an Abbreviature of *יְהוָה ille cujus*, or *cui*, like the Arabick *Allah*, from the Article *Al*, &, and the Pronoun *lah*, *ei* or *cui*; for God is He of whom, and through whom, and to whom, and for whom are all things, *Rom. 11. 36.* Heb. 2. 10. So here the *Messias*; of whom *Jacob* Pro-

phesies;

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phesies, is *יְהוָה ille cujus*, which is rendred by the Septuagint & *Σωτηρ*, he for whom is laid up, namely, the Kingdom: Or *τὰ ἑτοιμασμένα αὐτῷ*, the things that are laid up for him: Or & *τὰ ἑτοιμασμένα*, for whom they are laid up: For there is this Variety of Readings in different Copies. And a * learned Critick hath lately attempted * *Simon. Crit. Hist.* to give us the reason why *Shello* comes to be read *Shiloh*; because (saith he) before Points ^{1. 2.} were used in the Hebrew Text, the Letter *Tod* served instead of the Vowels *I* and *E*; but after the finding out of the Points, the Transcribers of the Bible still kept in the Letter *Tod* in the Text, which hath made the Sense of this place difficult, saith he. But this Account (as ingenious as it is, and like its Author) falls to the ground, and is of no value at all, if the Hebrew Points were co-existent with the Letters, which will appear to be the most probable Opinion to those who impartially weigh the Arguments brought for it, but especially that of the Truth and Certainty of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which depend upon it. And as for the Version of the Seventy, which seems to favour those who think *Shelo* to be the true Original Word; I wonder that Wise Men will rely upon this Greek Translation; which it is evident is in innumerable places false and corrupted; that is, it was either so at first, by reason of the Mistakes which the Seventy Interpreters committed, or else it was depraved afterwards; whether wilfully (to disguise the Truth) or through negligence, or by the fault of the Copies

Copies they then had, I will not stand to dispute. This corrupting of Scripture, and particularly the altering of this Text in the Greek, was long ago objected to Trypho against his Brethren the Jews, by Justin Martyr. But that the Seventy Elders read the Hebrew amiss in this place; and that this was the cause of their mistake, is very likely; it being (as I have suggested, and as all impartial Men will acknowledge) their common practice, and therefore not to be wondered at here.

And yet I am not so positive here; as I find some Writers are; for there is a way of salving this Greek Translation, without charging them with mistaking the Hebrew; for I conceive the Seventy might read it *Shiloh*, as we have it now; but they took it to be as much as *after lo, ille cuius*, or *cui*; *He for whom the Scepter*, mentioned just before, *was laid up*; or *to whom it belonged*, and thence they rendered it *ἐκ σινκισμα*. So that although the Jewish Interpreters mistake the Hebrew Words in other places, (as it is certain they do) yet there is no necessity of asserting that they do so here. Perhaps they did read it right, though they mistook the true meaning of the word; (of which I shall give you an Account afterwards) and instead of understanding it to be the Name of the *Messias*, thought the *W* to be the same with *שׁוּן*; and *ל* to be a Pronoun, and so they concluded that *Shilo* was of the same signification with *Shelo*. But this is a sorry Interpretation of the word, and the very Jews themselves (excepting * one single Rabbi) strikes

* R. Solo-
mon.

are ashamed of it; for it unnecessarily confounds and jumbles two words together; and at the same time mangles one of them, and substitutes a *Vau* in the place of a *He*, and strikes out a *Jod*, and after all this leaves the Sense of the Prophecy lame and imperfect, uncertain and arbitrary; for these words [*be to whom*] assert and determine nothing at all.

II. The *Vulgar Latin Version* furnisheth us with another Interpretation of this word, rendering it *qui mittendus est*; for it seems these Translators read it not *Shiloh* but *Shiloah* or *Shilluach*, i. e. *missus*, which here is as much as *mittendus*, the *Præterit* being put for the *Future*, after the manner of the Prophetic Writers. Some think that this is one of the *Messias's* Names in *Isa. 8. 6.* and that this Text, which we are now treating of, was, among several others, corrupted by the Jews, they changing *Shiloah* into *Shiloh*: But there is not the least shew of Reason to assert either of these, for in that place in *Isaiah*, *Shiloah* barely signifies a Fountain or Spring of that name, which rose at the foot of Mount *Sion*: And it is a mistake that the Jews corrupted this Text by turning *Shiloah* into *Shiloh*, for it was to no purpose to do it, the word *Shiloh* (as you shall hear anon) being as expressive, yea much more, of the *Messias*, than that other could be. Without all Controversie, the Text is entire and uncorrupted; and as for these Surmises, they arise only from attending to the *Vulgar Latin Version*. The short is, The

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Authors of this Interpretation mistook a ך for a ך, which they might easily do, by reason of the likeness of these Letters: And besides, in the Hebrew Copy which they used, the *Pashab* under the ך was omitted, and so they thought the word was *Shiloch*, and not *Shiloh*. There needs no more to be said than this, for the Refutation of this Exposition of the word.

III. Others tell us that *Shiloh* is derived from *Shil*, which signifies the *Secundine*, the Membrane which the Infant is wrapt in when it comes into the World. And because this accompanieth the *Child*, it is taken for it, as in *Deut.* 28. 57. and by a Metonymy signifies as much as *fœtus*, *filius*; and consequently (say they) *Shiloh* is the same with *Beno*, *filius ejus*; his Son or Off-spring, viz. *Judab's*: But though this be the Interpretation of some of the noted

* *R.D. Kimchi*, *Aben Ezra*, *R. Bechai*, *Galatinus*, *Calvin*, *Junius & Tremellius*, *Buxtorf*. * *Jewish Rabbies*, and though these be followed by several || Writers of the *Christian* Perswasion, yet there is good reason to question, yea to reject this Opinion, for there is no such Hebrew word as *Shil* in the Bible, nor any where else. These Writers have deceived themselves one after another, by trusting to what a circumcised Doctor had told them. They read in *R. Kimchi*, that *Shil* is *secundina* or *fœtus* in the forementioned place in *Deuteronomy*; but if we consult it, we shall find that it is *Shiljah*, not *Shil*. However, they made *Shil* out of *Shiljah*, and then fancied that *Shil* was comprehended in the word *Shiloh*, and that this hath the like signification with that. But we must remember that there is no such word as *Shil*; and

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and as for the word *Shiljah*, it is once taken in a strained sense for *proles* or *filius*; but who can thence gather, that this is the Acception of the word *Shiloh*? No Man certainly that knows how to make rational Deductions from things. Moreover, they add a *Vau* to *Shil* to make it *Shilo*, which is extravagantly done to no purpose, for it is *Shiloh*, not *Shilo* in the Original. They throw away the Letter ך as superfluous and redundant, as a useless *Affix* to the word; but we must remind them that the *He* is not of that nature, but that it is a substantial and radical Letter belonging to the word, for the word is the proper Name of the *Messias*, as I shall now proceed to shew.

IV. * Others of great Learning and Judgment, derive *Shiloh* from the Verb *Shalah*. And this I take to be the most genuine Derivation of the word, the three radical Letters of the Verb *Shalah* being in it. What can be said or desired more? Some hundreds of Derivative words have but two, and yet none questions their Production from the Root. Much less then can we doubt of the Extraction of *שילה* from *שלה* when it hath the full number of Letters belonging to the *Radix*. And as for the *Jod* in the Derivative, it is common and frequent to insert that between the Radical Letters, as the Learned very well know. So that in short, *Shiloh* from *Shalah* is deduced without the least strain upon the word. But I do not find that any of those learned Persons, whose Names you see in the Margin, have taken notice of, and represented to us the *Wonderful*

* *Vasabius*, *Fagius*, *Calis*, *Shindler*, *Avenarius*, *Hager*, *Mede*.

Suitableness of this Appellation. I never met with any Writer that hath shewed the peculiar Contrivance of this word, and how 'tis particularly framed, to express the Glorious Nature and Attributes of the Son of God, the Redeemer of the World. That therefore is the thing which I will now undertake, and consequently I shall demonstrate, that there is no Name imaginable that can be more properly and fitly applied to him than this. We must take notice then, that there are three Significations of the word *Shalah* whence *Shiloh* comes.

* Thence First, *Shalah* is * *saluavit, saluus fuit*, as is clear from || *Job* 3. 26. where this word is used in this sense. It imports *Safety* or *Salvation*, and so *Shiloh*, which is derived from this Verb, is as much *mologists*, as *Saviour*. Secondly, *Shalah* is of the same signification with *Shalam* *quievit, pacificavit, quiets*, Latin word *Sal. pacificus fuit*, *Psal* 122. 6. † which is rendered *ware* from *sigludim* frequently by the Septuagint. It denotes *Peace*, and consequently *Shiloh* is the same with *Peaceable*. The third and next Denotation of the word *Shalah* (which also follows naturally from the two former significations) is * *felicem, fortunatum, prosperum esse*, and accordingly is rendered by the Seventy *ισχυλιν*, † *ισχυλιν*, *prospero successu uti*. Therefore *Shiloh* is as much *quiets e-* as the *Happy, the Fortunate, the Prosperer*.

Here then you cannot but see already the great Mystery contained, and also discovered in this Remarkable Word. It hath its undoubted *Lam* 1. 5. and immediate Original from a Verb which signifies *to save*, and also *to be at Peace*; and (because these are the Blessings which conduce

to

to the Felicity of Man) *to be Happy*. Whence we cannot but acknowledge that this Title *Shiloh* is most suitably applied here to the *Messias*, who is *Jesus*, i. e. a *Saviour* and *Deliverer*, who is also our great *Peace-maker*; and who is the *Author of all our Happiness* both in this World and in another. This admirable and singular Make of the Word, is little less than an Assurance and Demonstration to me, that I have pitch'd upon the right and only true Derivation of it. Therefore this invites me to stay here a while, and to ponder the Vertue and Weight of this *Marvelous Name* given to the *Messias*. Indeed these great things comprehended in this glorious Title, are worthy to be insisted upon, that we may thereby be thoroughly convinced, how fit an *Epithet* this is for our Blessed Lord: And I shall do this the rather, because (as I have intimated already) I have not found the Extensive Meaning of this glorious Name display'd by those who have purposely undertaken to explain and comment upon this ancient Prophecie concerning the Coming of Christ.

I. This Title contains in it the welcome notice of that most Ravishing Name *JESUS*, the Name given him by the particular direction of an Angel from Heaven, *Matt* 1. 21. and which being interpreted, is no other than a *Saviour*. Wherefore you find both joyned together by St. Paul, *Acts* 13. 23. a *Saviour, Jesus*, the one being expressive of the other. The word *Σωτης*, which the Apostle here useth, is of mighty sense and im-

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part,

port, and accordingly Tully tells us, that

* *Hoc quantum est? ita magnum ut Latino uno verbo exprimi non possit, l. 4. contra Verrem.*

* this word cannot be expressed by any single one in Latin. It is certain that *Servator* (which was a word then in use) came short of it; therefore *Saluator*

hath been used by the *Latin Fathers* as a fuller word, and this hath generally obtained in the Church. * *Tertullian* is pleased

* *De Resurrectione carn. c. 47. Adv. Marcion.*

l. 5.

† *In Matt.*

l. 21.

to render it *Salutificator*, thinking this to be a more significant word. But † *Grotius* comes and produceth another word, and makes bold to correct Tully (as good a judge of *Latin* as he was) and averreth that the single word *Sospitator* is of the same import with *Σωτήρ*, and is as full. I think truly this great Man hath outdone the Orator in his own Tongue: For from Tully's

* *Is est nimirum Σωτήρ qui salutem dedit. ibid.*

own account of the word * *Σωτήρ*, we may gather that this *Latin* word fully answers to that *Greek* one, which implies not only a Saving or Preserving from being destroyed, but a Restoring to that Safety which was lost: So that it is a conferring of some positive Benefit on a Person. This is the very import of *Sospitator*, it properly relates to those Things or Persons that were lost and undone: It respects the Condition of Men in Misery, and it signifies a restoring them to their former happy State, and so is exactly applicable to the Redemption wrought for us by Jesus Christ. Thus the Title of *Σωτήρ Saviour*, is very expressive and emphatical. But to come to particulars, behold

behold how our *Shiloh*, our *Saviour*, merits that name by all the ways imaginable. He was a *Bodily Saviour*, miraculously rescuing distressed People from their Diseases and Pains which they laboured under, compassionately preserving many Thousands from perishing by Hunger, powerfully ejecting the evil Spirit out of those that were possessed and tormented by him. Yea, he was infinitely beneficial and advantageous to the whole Race of Mankind, by conferring on them all Temporal, and offering all Spiritual Mercies to them, so that he is most truly called * the *Saviour of all Men*. But especially of those that believe in him, and conform their Lives to his Holy Laws, He is a *Saviour*, and that in a more eminent manner, viz. * *To save them from their Sins*, which is the grand reason assigned why this Name was given him. * *Him hath God exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give Repentance and Forgiveness of Sins, to save us from the Prince of Darkness, and to bruise Satan under our feet*: For this *Shiloh* is the Seed of the *Woman* foretold in *Gen. 3. 15.* that was to break the Serpent's head. This blessed *Shiloh* * *delivers us from the Wrath to come*, and frees us from eternal Death, which is the just Wages of Sin. And lastly, he actually confers all Good upon us both here and hereafter: He freely purchaseth for us the Favour of God, he bestoweth Life and Happiness, and is * the *Author of Eternal Salvation unto all them that obey him*.

* *1 Tim. 4.*

10.

* *Mat. 1. 21.*

* *Acts. 5. 31.*

* *1 Thess. 1.*

10.

* *Heb. 5. 9.*

Thus he merits the Name of *Shiloh* or *Saviour*, and therefore most justly ought we to value and reverence this Name. The *Jews* indeed call our Lord by the Name *Jesus*, but with some Diminution of it; for (as we are informed by * one that was well acquainted with the Jewish Writers) instead of *ישו*, they stile him *יש*; by which curtailing of the word, they let us understand that they do not own him (as the *Christians* do) for a *Saviour*. But let us be sensible that this is the *True Jesus, the Saviour*, and that there is none else; let us adore him as a *Compleat and Perfect Saviour*. It is true,

we read in the || Greek Poets and * others, that *Σωτήρ* was *Jupiter's* Epithet: And the Temple of *Jupiter Servator* is mentioned by || *Pliny*. *Bacchus* likewise had this Title, for *Pausanias* mentions an Altar to him with this Inscription. And the *Dioscuri* were particularly called † *Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες*, because they were thought to deliver and save Men in Tempests at Sea. And not only the Gods, but great Men and Benefactors were honoured with this Appellation. Thus || *Ahashuerus* (whom *Josephus* names *Artaxerxes*) caused *Mordecai* the Jew, who had detected the Conspiracy of the Eunuchs against him, to be proclaimed *Σωτήρ*, his *Saviour* and *Deliverer*. So *Antiochus Epiphanes* had this Title given him in Flattery by the *Samaritans*, saith the * same Author. And this very Name was bestowed upon *Demetrius* one of the *Grecian Monarchs*,
But

* *Elias Levita* Thib.

|| In *Pindaro*, *Sophocle*, *Æschilo*.

* *Jul. Poll. Onomast.*

I. 6. c. 16. *Athene.*

I. 45. c. 20. || *Nat. Hist.*

I. 34. † *Ælian.*

var. Hist.

I. 1. c. 36. || *Joseph.*

Antiq. Jud.

I. 11. c. 6.

* *Joseph.*

Antiq. Jud.

I. 12. c. 7.

But to go back to the times long before, || *Zaphnath Paaneah, Saviour of the World*, || *Gen. 41.* (as *St Jerom* interprets it, who had been in *Egypt*, and had, it is likely, learnt the Interpretation of that *Egyptian Name*) was the Title conferred on *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*, because he had saved not only *Egypt*, but other Countries, from perishing by *Famine*. But it is our *Jesus, our Shiloh* alone that is worthy of that Name in the full extent of it, and accordingly he is stiled the *Saviour of the World*, 1 *John* 4. 14. And you may observe, that this Appellative is given him by the *Samaritans* that came to him, *John* 4. 42. We know, say they, that this is indeed the *Christ, the Saviour of the World*: Which Title they had learnt, I conceive, from this very Prophecie concerning the *Messias*, where he is called *Shiloh*. For the *Samaritans* owned the *Pentateuch*, in which this Prediction of the Holy Patriarch *Jacob* was very eminent, and much observed by them: Wherefore they could not but enquire into the true meaning of this Name, and they found it to signifie a *Saviour*, and thence knew and were assured that *Christ* was the *Saviour of the World*. Thus you see the reason why this good Patriarch gave the Name *Shiloh* to the *Messias*, viz. Because it is of the same import with *JESUS* or *Saviour*. But,

II. This Title of the *Messias* signifies not only *Salvation*, but *Peace*. And indeed these two are nearly allied to one another, and accordingly

accordingly are joyned together by the Apostle, *Rom. 5. 8, &c.* While we were yet Sinners Christ died for us: Much more being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. For if when we were Enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son: Much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his Life. These two, Salvation and Reconciliation, are inseparable, and they are both purchased by the Blood of Jesus, who is our *Shiloh*, i. e. both our Saviour and our Peace-maker. Hear how the meaning of this Blessed Name was proclaimed by the Inspired Writers of Old.

|| *Dan. 9. 24* || He shall make Reconciliation for Iniquity, saith the Prophet Daniel: And others fore-

* *Mic. 5. 5.* tell, that * This Man shall be the Peace, and

|| *Zech. 6. 13.* that || The Council of Peace shall be between them both, viz. Between the Lord and the Branch spoken of in the foregoing Verse: For an Eternal Council was held between the Father and the Son, concerning the Redemption and Salvation of Mankind, and this was a Council of Peace, i. e. of Reconciliation towards lost Sinners. This was the Effect of that Blessed Consult from Eternity: The Son of God was to be an Expiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the World, and thereby to pacify the Divine Justice, and so to become our *Shiloh*. But this was more especially the Glorious Theme of the New Testament, where we are abundantly

|| *Col. 1. 20.* assured, that || he made Peace through the Blood of his Cross, and that the great Design and

and End of his being Incarnate, was to make Peace between God and Man, to reconcile Heaven and Earth. * He is our *Peace*, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of Partition between us, having abolished in his flesh the Enmity, so making Peace; and that he might reconcile both unto God in one Body by the Cross, having slain the Enmity thereby: And came and preached Peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh, i. e. both to Gentiles and Jews. This * is the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus, that Middle Person who interposed between us and the Offended Majesty, and by his powerful Mediation reconciled us unto God. Therefore even the Hebrew Masters and Cabalists called the *Messias* * a Man between, one who undertakes to appease the difference between God and Man. Jacob's *Shiloh* is the same with this Mediator, this Reconciler, this Peace-maker. This was his Office, and his Name is suitable to it.

Again, *Aben Ezra* and other Rabbies grant, that this Name *Shiloh* is given to the *Messias*, because he is Peaceable, and the Author of Peace to Mankind. This is the very Character of our JESUS, our Saviour; and this (viz. Peaceableness) is the very Genius and proper Nature of that Holy Religion which he founded and established in the World. The Principles of Christianity do most effectually conduce to the promoting of Peace among Men, it strictly command-

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ing them to forgive them that trespass against them, to put away all Bitterness, and Wrath, and Anger, to choose in some cases to take wrong without looking for Redress, to study to be quiet, and to follow Peace with all Men. And to commend and encourage this excellent Temper our Lord hath pronounced the Peace-makers Blessed. If there be Quarrels and Dissentions, Animosities and Persecutions amongst Christians (and who sees not that these too frequently abound?) they are not the fault of Christianity, but of the Evil Dispositions, Lusts and Corruptions of Men. Christ is not the Author of these, neither is Christianity it self to be blamed, that any such thing happens in the World; for the design of Christ's Kingdom was Peace, as the Prophet sets forth the times of the Gospel, * *They shall beat their Swords into Plow-shares, and their Spears into Pruning-hooks. Nation shall not lift up Sword against Nation, neither shall they learn War any more.* It is one grand end of the Evangelical Institution, to remove all quarrelsome Distinctions and Antipathies between the different People of the Earth, that in Christ Jesus there may be neither Jew nor Gentile, neither Greek nor Barbarian, neither Bond nor Free, but that all may become one in Christ Jesus; and that a Period being put to all their former Grudges and Dissentions, they may be perfectly joyned together in brotherly Affection, that universal Peace and Amity may take place, and that the

the Royal Law of Love may prevail in the World. This is the design and work of our *Shiloh*, our *Peaceable Messiah*; he hath purchased the means conducing to it, and we may be in possession of it if we will. Farther, to evince the Truth and Efficacy of this Name, let us reflect on the remarkable time of our Saviour's visiting the World, which was a Time of *Universal Peace*. I grant this is a common Observation, and generally known; but here in our present Subject it is very considerable, and more than ordinarily to be taken notice of and applied, because it will let us into the true Notion of this great and comprehensive Name *Shiloh*. The noise of Wars and Battles was ceased, all was calm and hush'd; a Catholick Peace possessed the World at Christ's appearing in it: For he was Born in the Reign of a *Mild and Peaceable Prince*, who after five Civil Wars, and after infinite Slaughter and Bloodshed accompanying them all, reigned peaceably many Years. At this time it was, that the *Parthians*, and several Nations which before had continually infested the Roman Empire with their Arms, came and humbly besought its Friendship, and tamely restored those Banners, and other Ensigns of War which they had formerly taken from the *Romans* in Battle, and laid them down at *Augustus's* Feet. When thus this Emperor had vanquish'd the World, and settled the Nations, and all Kingdoms were brought under his Dominion, when he as well as the whole Earth

Earth was at *Peace*, (of which the shutting of the Gates of *Janus's* Temple, as it were shutting up *Peace* there, was a visible Token, and whereof there was very rarely an Example, as * *Plutarch* observes, till this time) then, and not till then, our Saviour chose to bless the World with his presence, to make it appear, that he was indeed the *Shiloh*, the Prince of *Peace*, (as the * *Evangelical* Prophet had stiled him) the *True Solomon*, the *Pacifick King*, who brought *Peace* with him into the World, and brought a *Religion* with him, which is the greatest Friend and Advancer of *Peace*.

III. This Appellation given to the *Messias* by the ancient Prophet *Jacob*, denotes not only *Salvation* and *Peace*, but *Prosperity*.

* *Shiloh*, h.e. *Shiloh* is as much as *Prosperous*, *Happy*, *Triumphant*; which is yet a farther Accession to the Glory of this Name. Therefore it immediately follows after the mentioning of *Shiloh* in this Prophecie, *Unto him shall the gathering of the People be*; all Nations shall own his Authority and Power, and submit to his Empire: *The People shall be Obedient unto him*, as *Onkelos's Targum* renders it: *All the Kings of the Earth shall be subject to him*, as the *Jerusalem-Paraphrase* hath it. And from both we are acquainted, that this is a fit Epithet of the

Messias, who is * *the Prince of the Kings of the Earth*, and † *shall be great, and shall reign for ever, and of whose Kingdom there shall be no end*. This is the King foretold in *Jer. 23. 5.* that *shall reign and prosper*, that shall be *Victorious* and

and Triumphant, that shall be both a *Saviour* and a *Conqueror*. And therefore to this purpose that is very observable which we read, concerning our Saviour's * *riding in state into* *Jerusalem upon an Ass*; for in *Palestine* even their † *Princes* and *Nobles* rid upon *Asses*. It † *is said* the officious People * *spread their Garments in the way*, which was a Testimony of Subjection to Kings, 2 *Kings* 9. 13. There was the like Custom used among the *Gentiles*, as their * *Writers* assure us. And some of this transported Multitude † *cut down branches in Catane from the Trees, and strowed them in the way*: *Utic. Eschil. in Agamemn.* And other Branches without doubt they carried in their hands, as an Emblem of *Victory* † *and Triumph*; for this was an usual Practice among several Nations. The Evangelist *St. John* relating this passage, tells us, That they took *Branches of Palm-trees, and went forth to meet him*, ch. 12. v. 13: For it was the Custom on such an Occasion, to make use especially of the Boughs of this particular Tree; because it was generally held to be a Symbol of *Victory*, of which † *Aulus Gellius* and * *Plutarch* pretended to give the reasons, viz. Because this is a firm and durable Tree, and had † *Leaves always Green*, (whence you read of * *flourishing like the Palm-tree*) and from a * *Vulgar Error* that prevail'd about this Tree, i. e. That the more weights are laid on it, the higher it riseth. Whence *Palma* among the *Latins* signifies *Victory* and the *Reward* of it: And 'tis certain that the Branches of this Tree were used in *Triumphs* both among the *Greeks* and

* *In vit. Nume.*

* *Isa. 9. 6.*

* *Shiloh*, h.e. *Shiloh* is as much as *Prosperous*, *Happy*, *Triumphant*; which is yet a farther Accession to the Glory of this Name. Therefore it immediately follows after the mentioning of *Shiloh* in this Prophecie, *Unto him shall the gathering of the People be*; all Nations shall own his Authority and Power, and submit to his Empire: *The People shall be Obedient unto him*, as *Onkelos's Targum* renders it: *All the Kings of the Earth shall be subject to him*, as the *Jerusalem-Paraphrase* hath it. And from both we are acquainted, that this is a fit Epithet of the

* *Rev. I. 5.*

† *Luke. 1.*

32, 33.

† *L. 3. c. 6.*

* *Synops.*

1. 8. c. 5.

* *Psal. 92.*

12.

and Romans, and were the Recompence of Conquerors. Accordingly the *Jews* here, (who in many things followed the Usages of other Nations) to express their Triumphal Joy at the Arrival of the Blessed *Jesus*, took Branches of Palm-trees, and went forth to welcome him to *Jerusalem*. Yea, 'tis no wonder that the *Jews* in particular, who were used to this Solemnity, and did yearly carry and hold up *Boughs of Trees* * on their Feast of *Tabernacles*; 'tis no wonder, I say, that these *Jews*, when they saw *Jesus* coming, made use of this Ceremony, and cried *Hosanna* to him, (as you read they did) for at that Feast they used to sing *הושענה*, and for shortness *הושענה Hosanna*: And the *Talmud* informs us, that these very *Boughs* and *Branches* of *Trees* which they lifted up, were called *Hosanna's* by them. Here then 'tis worth our observing, that at our Saviour's Triumphal Cavalcade through the Streets of *Jerusalem*, they received him with this particular Acclamation and Applause, and that they bore their *Hosanna's* in their Hands, and brought them to the Son of *David*, and acknowledged him by this Gratulation to be their *Messias* and *Saviour*; for the English of *Hosanna* is, *Save us now*. And thus this Gratulatory Acclamation exactly agrees to him who is the *Jesus*, the *Saviour*, the *Deliverer*; and who is the *Shiloh*, the *Prosperous*, the *Triumphant*. Therefore I take it to have been by a particular Direction of Heaven, that our Blessed Lord at his entrance into *Jerusalem* in *Triumph*, was re-

received with repeated *Hosanna's* from the People; for *Saving* and *Triumphing* go together. I find the concurrence of these two in *Zechary's* Prediction of our Saviour in *ch. 9. v. 9.* (a Prophetical Passage which all the ancient *Jews* understood of the *Messias*; but it is needless to produce their Words, or give you their Names; this being so amply and satisfactorily performed by a * worthy * *Bochart*. Writer of this last Age) Behold, thy King *de Animal. cometh unto thee. He is just, and having Sacr. l. 2. Salvation, lowly, (meek in himself, but) riding upon an Ass, and upon a Colt the Foal of an Ass, as a King in Joy and Triumph.* Thus he was a *Saviour* and a *Triumphant King*; and if he had not been the former, it was impossible he should have been the latter.

It is true, he was pleased to submit to Death, and the Horrors of the Grave, but he soon rescued himself from them, and ascended Triumphantly to Heaven. * God * *made that same Jesus who was crucified, both Lord and Christ, and * hath set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all &c. Eph. 1. 20* *Principality and Power, and Might, and Dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this World, but also in that which is to come: And hath put all things under his Feet, and gave him to be the Head over all things to the Church.* We might here also recount the wonderful Success of the Christian Religion in the World, how it was planted and propagated, even against the powerful Inclinations; and most inveterate Customs of Man-kind,

kind, how it broke all their Measures, and made its way through all Difficulties; how it thrived and flourished when it was most opposed and persecuted: In a word, how it miraculously prevailed maugre all the Force and Power, all the Wit and Policy of its malicious Adversaries. From this one Consideration alone we might demonstrate the Vertue of this Name *Shiloh*, and give undeniable proofs, that our Lord most deservedly had this Title, *i. e.* That he was *Prosperous and Successful*. And when at last he shall take to himself his most Absolute Power and Sovereignty, and reign in the Christian Church

* Rev. 19. as * *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*, when
16. in those Halcyon days, in that Glorious Ja-

* Rev. 11. bilee of the World, * *The Kingdoms of the*
15. *Earth shall become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ*; then we shall with rejoicing and Exaltation proclaim, admire and extol this Name *Shiloh*; we shall then with glad-some Experience acknowledge, that He and his Cause alone prosper upon the Earth; we shall confess that all his Blessed Enterprizes for his Church are *Successful*: Briefly, we shall adore him as our *Compleat Shiloh*, our *Saviour*, our *Peace-maker*, our *Prosperous Messiah*.

Thus I have been large in interpreting and explaining this *Ancient Name* of the *Messias*, and you see what an *Illustrious and Glorious Title* it is. I have this yet farther to observe, that in some of the most notable and eminent Prophecies in the *Old Testament* con-

concerning Christ, *these three things* which are comprehended in the Name *Shiloh*, are particularly and distinctly mentioned, and are all found together. Thus in *Psalms* 72. which is a clear Prediction concerning the *Messias*, (as the Hebrew Scholiast upon it; and some of the old Rabbins acknowledge, and as the Application of some passages in this *Psalms* to Christ, in the Writings of the New Testament plainly sheweth.) This Name *Shiloh* is as it were commented upon. For you find him here first represented, as a *Saviour*, *He shall save the Children of the needy*, v. 4. *He shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper. He shall spare the Poor and Needy, and shall save the Souls of the Needy*, ver. 12, 13. Nothing could be more expressive than this of the *Salvation* wrought by Christ Jesus for poor, distressed, helpless Sinners. Secondly, He is described as a *Peace-maker*, *The Mountains* (those places which used to be haunted with Robbers and wild Beasts) *shall bring Peace to the People*, v. 3. This Blessing shall be conferred on those places where it was wholly a Stranger before, and therefore shall be the more welcome. And in v. 7. you read of *abundance of Peace in his days*; and the Duration of it is answerable to its Plenty; for it shall last till there be no Moon, (as the Hebrew hath it) till the Heavens and Earth, and the whole Fabrick of the World be dissolved. In the third place, to compleat his Character, it is added, that he shall be *Prosperous and*

Happy, He shall break in pieces the Oppressor, v. 4. He shall be a great Victor, and Triumph over all his Enemies, especially over Satan the great and unsufferable Oppressor of Mankind. This is also signified in that Metaphorical Language, v. 6. *He shall come down like rain upon the mown Grass, as showers that water the Earth*: i. e. in plainer terms, The Subjects of his Kingdom shall grow and increase, thrive and flourish: Therefore it follows immediately, *In his days shall the Righteous flourish*, v. 7. And then in several Verses together you have the Prosperity and Happiness of his Kingdom decyphered, *He shall have Dominion from Sea to Sea: They that dwell in the Wilderness shall bow before him, and his Enemies shall lick the Dust. All Kings shall fall down before him: All Nations shall serve him. And he shall live*, i. e. (according to the * Eastern

* 2 Sam. 16.
16.1 Kings
1. 31.

style) he shall prosper; and Men shall be blessed in him: All Nations shall call him blessed.

Likewise in that other noted and famous Prediction concerning Christ, in the 53 Chapter of *Isaiah*, all these three significations of the word *Shiloh* meet together. The Prophet recounting the admirable Benefits and Advantages of our Saviour's Passion, (for that it is spoken of Him is evident from *Matt. 8. 17.* and *Acts 8. 32, 35.*) tells us, That he hath born our Grievs, and carried our Sorrows, v. 4. i. e. He underwent the Punishment which we should have suffered; which is farther expressed in the next Verse, *He was wounded*

for

for our Transgressions, he was bruised for our Iniquities. Whereas we should have been wounded and bruised, punished and tormented for our Sins, He was pleased out of infinite Kindness, to take the Recompence of our Sins upon himself; and to bear them on the Cross, and thereby to free us, not only from the Guilt of Sin, but from all the Miseries which were consequent upon it. What is this but to be a Saviour? Wherefore it is added, *With his stripes we are healed*, v. 5. By the Sufferings of Christ * we are made whole, * *Sanati* and saved. Thus he was a Saviour. But the same inspired Prophet acquaints us in the same Verse, that he was a Peace-maker, the Chastisement of our Peace was upon him, i. e. by his Meritorious Sufferings our Peace with God was purchased, our Reconciliation with the incensed Majesty of Heaven was procured. Yea, it is not unworthy of our notice, that the Hebrew word which we render Peace, is in the Plural Number to intimate to us, that whatever Pleas and Accusations are against us, they are all (though never so many) silenced by Christ our Advocate, our Mediator, our Reconciler, our Peace-maker. Farther, the Peaceable Nature of Christ is set forth in those words, *As a Sheep before her Shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth*, ver. 7. He bore all Hardships, Reproaches, Injuries, yea and the Cross it self, with an humble Silence and Submission. * *He did not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his Voice to be heard in the Street.* This is the Character

* *Sanati*
Sumus. *Vulg*
Lat.

* *Isa. 42. 2.*

The first TEXT

of the Mild, the Gentle, the *Peaceable Jesus*. In the next place, he is represented as *Prosperous*, *When thou shalt make his Soul an Offering for sin, he shall see his Seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand*, v. 10. That is, his whole Design and Undertaking for the Salvation and Redemption of Mankind (for this is *the Pleasure of the Lord*) shall be Successful: There shall be a Happy Effect and Issue of all that he hath done and suffered, he shall see and rejoyce in *his Seed*, that numerous Race of Holy Converts, of Believers and Regenerate Persons who are added to the Church. *He shall see of the Travel of his Soul, and shall be satisfied*, v. 11. He shall delight himself in the Blessed Effect of his Labours, he shall acquiesce in the Fruit of his Sufferings, viz. The Salvation of his Chosen. *Therefore will I divide him a Portion with the great*, &c. v. 12. Which is a Comparison taken from the Practice of great Conquerors, who after the Victory is over, share in the Rich Spoil: So that this expresseth the Compleat Victory and Triumph of Christ over all his Enemies. Thus he is every ways the *True Shiloh*; for *Salvation, Peace and Prosperity* (which are all contained in that Appellation) belong to him.

Whence we may gather, that this *One Title* comprehends in it All the Glorious Names that are given to Christ, either in the Old or New Testament, together with all his Sacred Offices, and all the Admirable Effects and Fruits of his Passion. These all

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Enquired into.

center in this *One Name*, which the Holy Ghost hath made choice of on purpose; as the most Comprehensive Word to express the Glorious Nature and Properties of the *Messias*. Yea, I doubt not but the Holy Patriarch *Jacob* had this Name revealed unto him from Heaven, and being immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost, he divulged it to the World. You see then that I had great reason to prefer this Derivation of the word *Shiloh* (viz. from *Shalah*) before any others, and to commend it as the True and Native Signification. And because the Extent and Latitude of this word have not been observed by Expositors, there was a necessity of my insisting and enlarging upon it, that I might thereby display the full import of the word designed here by the Holy Spirit, and that it might plainly appear, that this Name which God hath given his Son, is a Name above every Name.

But after all that I have said, concerning this so remarkable Etymology and Denotation of the word, I leave every one to his liberty. It may be some do not apprehend the Singularity and Fitness of this Derivation which I have offered. However, it is sufficient for my general Purpose in this Discourse, that the Title *Shiloh* (whether we embrace this or the other Derivations) is agreeable to the *Messias*, and belongs to Him and none other. This is the unanimous Opinion and Suffrage of the most Learned *Jews* themselves, I say of the most Learned,

for though there be some Jews, who by *Shiloh* understand *Nebuchadnezzar*, others *Ferobeam*, others *David*, and some the City *Shiloh*, where *Saul* was elected King; and though there be some other wild and fanciful Opinions of the Rabbies concerning the Interpretation of this word; yet all the wise and sober Writers among the Jews, all those who are of greatest Learning and Judgment, deride these Conjectures, and ingenuously profess that *Shiloh* is the *Messias's* Name. The three *Chaldee* Paraphrases interpret the word thus, and so *R. Solomon*, and all the ancient Rabbies understand the place. In several places of the * *Talmud* it is clear, that the Hebrew Doctors thought שילה was one of the Names of the *Messias*, and they quote this Text for it. The Author of *Berishith Rabba* (an ancient Piece) asserts the same in express terms, viz. *Shiloh is the Messias*. *Aben Ezra*, *Kimchi*, *Bechai*, later Doctors hold the same. Still, though there be different Derivations of the word, they all agree in this, that it is meant of the *Messias*. If then all the Ancient, and some of the Modern *Hebrews* of the greatest Note and Learning acknowledge *Shiloh* to be the Name of the *Messias* or *Christ*, I think no Man of the *Christian Perswasion* will be averse from acknowledging it, but will rather admire and magnifie the Divine Providence in affording such a clear and notable Testimony from the Mouths and Pens of our professed Adversaries.

* *Sanhedr.*
c. 11. *Nedarim*. c. 4.
Pesachim.
c. 3.

It being thus universally agreed, who is meant by *Shiloh* in this famous Prophecie, let us now sum up the plain meaning of the whole. *The Scepter shall not depart*, &c. that is, the Government of the Jewish Nation shall ever reside in the Posterity of *Judah* till a greater Governour cometh, till He that was the Desire of all Nations, He that is the *MESSIAS*, the Deliverer and Saviour, the Peaceable, the Prosperous, blesteth the World with his arrival. Then, and not before, the Jewish Government shall depart, and so depart, that it shall never return again. This is the meaning of *departing*; and this we must carefully observe in the expounding of this Prophecie. For I find that most Authors have stretched this Prophecie too far, and have thereby made themselves justly liable to the Objections of the Jews. And indeed they can never maintain this Prediction against them upon the grounds on which they proceed, viz. That the *Scepter* is to be taken in these words precisely for the *Kingly Power*, and that the *departing* of this *Scepter* from *Judah* is meant of any *departing*, though it were but for a little time. This cannot be the meaning of the words, for then the *Scepter* may be said to have departed from *Judah*, when the Jewish Nation was carried Captive into *Babylon*, when the Dignity of the *Kingly Majesty* was taken away by *Nebuchadnezzar*, about five hundred Years before *Christ*. And after it, under the Kings of *Persia*; and after the Ruin of that Empire, under

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under *Alexander's* Successors there was a kind of departing of the Scepter. But it was not properly a *Departing*; it was rather an *Inter-ruption*, and a *Cessation for a time*, but that is not the thing spoken of in this Prophecie. The Text is not meant of a *Departing for a Time*, of an *Interregnum*, or partial Failing, but of a full and total Departure; which happened not in the foresaid Instances. Nay, it is certain that all that while the Administration of the Jewish Commonwealth remained in those who were of the Line of *Judah*, viz. The Seventy Elders, who had the Power in their hands: These (as the Jews tell us) failed not to be of the Race of *Judah* and *David*. But the *Asmonai*, who were the last Set of Governours among the Jews, were not of the Tribe of *Judah*, but of *Levi*, they being Priests. Wherefore we must freely acknowledge that the Jewish Government was not tied to the Tribe of *Judah*, and consequently we must not restrain this Prophecie as some do, as if the Scepter should not in the least be removed from the Tribe of *Judah* before Christ came. For 'tis certain that the Scepter did not continue in this Tribe all the while, and therefore in my opinion *Helvicus* might have saved all his pains in endeavouring to demonstrate that there was a Continuation of the Scepter in *Judah's* Tribe: Which thing indeed he hath with great Learning and Skill in History, attempted to make good, and he hath said as much towards the proof of it, as any Man upon Earth could

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could have done; but still all of it falls short of what he undertook, because the matter itself would not bear it, and he went upon a wrong Hypothesis, viz. That the word *Judah* in this Prophecie is to be restrained to the particular Tribe of *Judah*. Whereas it is to be taken in a larger Sense, (as is most frequent in Scripture) i. e. for the Jewish Race or People. The Scepter, the Supreme Power and Authority, continued in the Race and Line of the Jewish People, till the Coming of Christ. And even in those times when the Scepter, or Royal Dignity, failed for a Season; yet the Law-giver (if we will take it in the strictest Sense) never failed at all; for the Jews had their own Laws and Customs. And neither the Scepter nor Law departed wholly from the Jewish Nation in any of those Times before mentioned: It departed not in *Zedekiah*, the last King of the House of *David*, nor in *Zerobabel*, nor in the Failure of the *Maccabean Family*: I say, it departed not wholly, though 'tis granted, that for a time, and in some part, it was taken away. Yea, when *Jehoiakim* broke his Oath and Covenant, and rebelled against the King of *Babylon*, the Scepter departed from *Judah* for a time, as *Ezekiel* observes on that Event, so that *Judah* hath no strong rod to be a Scepter to rule, ch. 19. l. v. But when *Shiloh* the *Messias* came, it remained no longer, it was wholly cut off and ceased, so as not to be any more. Now was the Determinate Time come; for that is implied in these words [*till Shiloh come*] which signifie a Set Period of time: It

It remains then, that I shew you that *This* was the Time of our Saviour's Coming, and that it was the Precise Time. The Scepter, i. e. the Jewish Government was not totally abolished till *Christ* our Blessed Lord came; but at that very time when he came, i. e. when he was born, the Jewish Polity was utterly destroy'd and null'd, so as never to be recovered again. Yet this we are to note, that the departing of the Scepter was by degrees; it began some time before our Saviour's Birth, and was in a short time compleated. I say, before *Christ's* coming in the Flesh the departing of the Jewish Government had its Beginning. For it is evident from unquestionable Writers, that *Antipater*, an *Idumaean*, was set over the Jews by *Julius Caesar*, and *Antigonius* (who was the last of the Jewish Kings, and of Jewish Race) was deposed. Now it might be said that the Scepter departed from Judah, viz. when a Person, not by Birth a Jew, but a meer Alien, was forced upon them, and usurped the Jewish Government. Till this time their Governours were always Jews, but now ever afterwards all the rest were Strangers and Gentiles. This was the first step of the Total Departure of the Scepter, but it more signally and eminently departed quite from that Nation, when *Herod*, the Son of this *Antipater*, was set over them: For he, upon the Death of *Caesar*, hastened to *Rome*, and by complaining to the Roman Senate, and by *Anthony's* means (whom he had bribed) was made King of *Judea*. Whereupon, at his

return,

return, he indeavoured to extirpate all the Blood Royal, he put to death *Aristobulus* and *Hircanus*, the right Heirs of the Crown, he kill'd all of the Tribe of *Judah*, and of the Family of the *Asmonai*, whom he fear'd might contend with him for the Kingdom; and he reigned at *Jerusalem* as King of *Judea*, but without the Jews consent. He was a considerable time a great Scourge and Plague to the Jews, who would by no means acknowledge a Stranger for their King. But he, to oblige and win them, embraced their Religion, and rebuilt their Temple; which had this Effect upon them, that at last they voluntarily resigned the Right of the Kingdom to him, and owned him for their King, and swore Fealty to him. This was in the two and thirtieth Year of his Reign; in which Year likewise *Christ* was born. So that the Prophecie was exactly fulfilled; when the Jewish Kingdom had changed its True Owner, and the Scepter was actually departed from *Judah*, and that with the Consent of the Jews (which never was before) then *Christ* came. This was in the Two and fortieth Year of *Augustus*, when *Cyrenius* was the Prefect of *Syria*, *Luke* 2. 2. And that it may appear that the Scepter was departed from *Judah*, it is signally recorded that *Augustus* taxed *Judea*, 1, 3, 4 Verses of that Chapter. *Herod* paid Tribute to *Caesar*, the whole Land was subject to the Empire, and the Jews had no Dominion of their own. Thus, till this *Herod's* time, the Kingly Govern-

ment

ment continued in the Tribe of Judah, and the Royal Scepter did not depart till this Stranger reigned over them, for he was the first Jewish King of strange Blood and Descent.

* Scaliger,
Onsandum.

It is unreasonable to attend to what * some alledge, that he was not an *Alien*, but one of the *Israelitish* Nation, and a *Jew* by Birth. Which mistake they have run into because they read that *Herod* was a *Jew*, and was circumcised; which was only to please the *Jews*, and to settle himself in the Kingdom; but this proves not that he was a *Jew* by Birth.

* St. Jerom,
Eusebius,
Epiphani-
us, and o-
ther Fa-
thers.

The contrary appears from the best * Records: Yea, *Josephus the Jew* tells us expressly, that he was by his Father an *Idumean*, and by his Mother an *Arabian*. *Africanus* and others derive his Pedigree otherwise, but all make him a *Forreigner* and *Stranger*: And they all agree, that the *Jews* owned him for their King, and that he was the first *Stranger* whom they admitted to sway the Scepter over them, and consequently that in him this Divine Oracle began to be fulfilled, viz. That the Scepter should depart from Judah. And when our Saviour conversed here on Earth, this Prophecie was still accomplished more and more: For we find that the *Jewish Sanhedrim* had lost their Judicial Power of Life and Death, and in all things truckled to the Roman Governours that were set over them. And at last, at the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, their whole Power was quite Extinct, and the Scepter and Law-giver totally and finally departed from them. Then the Government of

of every sort, the Priesthood and the Magistracy, the Making of Laws, and the Executing them, the State and Religion, the Commonwealth and the Church, were destroyed together, and so this Sacred Prediction was compleatly fulfilled. You see then that there were Degrees of it, and therefore 'tis Vain and Idle to interpret this Prophecie of a Moment of time. A punctual Designation of a certain Minute Season is unreasonable, for the Government and Authority of the *Jews* decayed gradually, till there was at length a final departing of them.

This then is the Grand thing represented in this Prophecie, that at or about *Christ's* Coming, the Scepter departed from the Nation of the *Jews*. Which is as much as we desire, to prove the Real Fulfilling of this Ancient Prediction, and from thence the Truth of Christianity. For thus we argue, the Jewish Scepter was to depart when *Christ* came: It is manifest and undeniable, that that Scepter is departed; therefore *Christ* is come. The Overthrow of the Jewish Polity, Magistracy and Government, is a certain Sign, Proof and Demonstration, that our *Jesus* is the *Christ*, and that this *Christ* is come. It is true, there was heretofore an Interruption of the Scepter, but the *Jews* returned to their Land and Rule again: But now for above Sixteen hundred Years, there hath been no shew at all of a Scepter and Kingdom; which is an undeniable Argument, that the Scepter is quite departed. Therefore the *Talmud* often

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often saith, that this Prediction refers to the Particular Case of the Jews; so that when Magistracy ceased in Jerusalem, and the Kingdom and Jurisdiction were cast off, they ought presently to expect the Messiah. And those are remarkable words of R. David Kimchi on Hos. 3. 4. *The Children of Israel shall abide many days without a King, and without a Prince, and without a Sacrifice, &c.* "These" (saith he) are the times of Exile in which "we are at this day, we have neither a King, nor a Prince of the Stock of Israel, but we are under the Power of the Gentiles, and under the Power of the Kings and Princes of the Gentiles. Which is as much as to confess, that this Prophecie which I have been commenting upon, is accomplished, That the Scepter is departed from Judah, and that the Messiah, who is the Blessed Jesus, the True Shiloh, (the Saviour, the Peace-maker; the Prosperer) is come.

The

The second Text enquired into, viz.

Exod. XXVIII. 30.

Thou shalt put in the Breast-plate of Judgment the Urim and the Thummim.

THIS Renowned Oracle of the Jews, hath employed the Thoughts and Studies of many Learned Persons, both Jews and Christians; but the Result of their Enquiries hath been very different. For some after all their Searches have brought in an Ignoramus: Thus R. David Kimchi expressly averreth, || *It is not known to us what the Urim and Thummim are: And several other Writers (as you shall hear afterwards) speak the same despairing Language on this Theme.*

|| Others seem to be Allegorical, and by the Urim and Thummim understand that Spiritual Light and Knowledge, that Divine Truth and Wisdom, with which God inspired the Heart or Breast of the High Priest, as often as he wore the Rationale on that part. But after this rate, a Man may Allegorize away half the Bible; and then when the Literal or Historical Sense is wholly swallowed up of the Mystical; we may give up our Reason and Religion

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Religion

Religion together, and profess we know not what either of them means. Besides, it is impertinent and ridiculous to interpret these words of any thing that God infused into the High Priest's Heart, because they are spoken to *Moses*, as appears from the first Verse of the Chapter : So that it is evident they mention not what God, but what *Moses* was to do. It is He that is here commanded to put the *Urim* and *Thummim* into *Aaron's* Breast-plate, and therefore it is unreasonable and absurd to understand these words of God's infusing Light or Wisdom into *Aaron's* Heart. This be sure is not the Primary and Literal Sense, though (as I shall shew in the close of this Discourse) it may be contained in the Mystical and Highest Meaning of the Words.

I might in the next place mention (and truly it is enough barely to mention) the wild Fancy of the *Brethren of the Rosie Cross*, who pretend to make and prepare the *Urim* and *Thummim* ; and therefore would perswade us that they know very well what it is, *viz.* That it is an Artificial or Chymical Preparation of Light, answerable to the Subterranean Lamps, or it is such a Splendor made by Art, as *Noah* prepared for the Ark, *Gen. 6.16.* for by what we translate a *Window*, there is meant, say they, some Greater thing : And what is that but this *Spagyrick* Splendor, the True *Urim* and *Thummim* of the World? But leaving these Fanciful *Urim* and *Thummim-makers*, I proceed to acquaint you with the Sentiments of the more Sober.

I. Some

I. Some of these hold that the Name of God was written, and put into the Breast-plate ; and that this was the *Urim* and *Thummim*. || *R. Selomoh Jarchi* saith expressly, that it was the Name *Jehovah* inserted into the Foldings of the High Priest's Pectoral. This is also avouched by *Eugubinus*, *Vatablus*, and *P. Fagius*, the last whereof hath these words, || *The Writing which contained the Name of God with four Letters, was called the Urim and Thummim.* || *In locum.* And *Avenarius* is partly of this Opinion ; for though he holds that the *Urim* and *Thummim* are the Twelve Precious Stones shining in the Breast-plate, yet he joyns to them the *Shem Hamphorash*, as the Jewish Doctors stile the Name *Jehovah*. But for my part I cannot conceive how these Persons came to take up this Opinion, there being no Foundation at all for this particular Word or Name. They might as well have assigned any other Name of God, yea any other Word whatsoever that was reputed Sacred and Venerable. Wherefore others take another course, and understand by the *Urim* and *Thummim* something of a far different Nature, *viz.* Some Curious Piece of Work, either framed by the Hand of some Skillful Artist, or immediately wrought by God himself, and given by him to *Moses* when he was on the Mount. Accordingly,

II. Some are of Opinion, that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were the Precious Stones in the High Priest's Breast-plate, those Twelve Stones on which the Names of the Tribes were engraved.

The second TEXT

graven. This is the received Doctrin of the Talmudists, and the generality of the Jewish Doctors, to whom our Learned *Lightfoot*, and several other Christian Writers adhere. And they labour to prove this Assertion from *Exod.* 39. 8. &c. where the making of the Breast-plate, with all its Ornaments, is set down, and yet the *Urim* and *Thummim* are not expressly mentioned there: Whence they conclude, that these Stones are the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and that *Moses* mentioning those, did as good as mention these. These therefore, say they, are nothing else but those Stones. But this is confuted from this *Exod.* 28. where *Aaron's* Garments and Habiliments are most distinctly set down: Here you read of the Breast-plate with Twelve Precious Stones, *v.* 15. &c. and then in *v.* 30. the *Urim* and *Thummim* are mentioned by themselves, *Thou shalt put*, &c. Therefore These are things really different from the Stones which were distinctly named before, and particularly described from *v.* 15. to 22. This I think is very plain and convincing; and as for the place before produced, the answer is, that the mentioning of the *Urim* and *Thummim* is omitted there, where the Design was particularly to insist upon those Habiliments which were Rich and Costly, and required great Art and Preparation; but the *Urim* and *Thummim* are not of that nature, but a plain easie thing, as I shall shew afterwards. The Talmudical Doctors go on, and tell us, that by the Stones shining more than ordinarily, Answer was given to

to what was asked by the Holy Priest. Which also is asserted by some Late Writers, who confidently tell us, that the Stones in the Breast plate were called *Urim*, because they sent forth a *light* in great abundance, and especially that a Pair of these Gemms shone forth with extraordinary Brightness, when the Answer of God was acceptable and Welcome; but when it was not, they look'd very Dim and Dull. But some say (and with as much reason as the former) that the Answer was given, not by the Unusual Lustre of the Stones, but by the Letters of the Names Ingraven in them, which raised themselves higher and stood more out, and so made up certain Words out of the Alphabet, contain'd in the Names of the Twelve Tribes. When any one came to enquire at this Oracle, the High Priest look'd on the Letters which were Ingraven on the Stones of his Breast-plate, and there read what God's Pleasure was. But this is a mere Conjecture: Besides, we are certain that Long Answers (and such there were sometimes) could not be given in this way. || *Josephus* || *Antig.* affirms, that the Stones in the High Priest's *Jud.* 1. 3. Breast-plate, fore-signified what was to be by *c.* 9. the Change of their Colour. Others have other Fancies, as *Suidas* quotes an Author, who averred that the Stones turned Red if there was any Answer of War, and that they turn'd Black if Death was denounced, and other Divinations and Answers were signified by other Colours: All which is mere Surmise and Conceit: Wherefore 'tis needless to insist upon the Refutation of it.

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III. Others hold that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were Two Precious Stones given by God to *Moses*, distinct from the Twelve Gems or Stones beforementioned. I find that *Procopius* of old inclined to this Opinion, and among the Moderns *Arian Montanus* asserts it. But because they merely assert it, and assign no Reason or ground of it (as indeed it is impossible they should) I will take no farther notice of it, but pass to the next Opinion.

IV. Others will have the *Urim* and *Thummim* to be a sort of Small Images belonging to the Breast-plate. But there is a Disagreement among those that are of this Opinion, for some hold that the *Urim* and *Thummim* are one and the same thing; others that they are two different things.

Those that hold the *Urim* and *Thummim* were the Same thing, tell us, That they were two Little Images finely wrought, which the High Priest wore within the Fouldings of his Pectoral, and by these God gave Answer when there was Occasion. This is the Opinion of *Christopherus à Castro*, who adds also, That they are the same with the *Teraphim*, which were Statues, Figures, or Images used in Divining: The *Talisman* were of the like nature. So * *Mr. Selden* thinks, and addeth, That the *Teraphim*, among the Idolaters, answered to the *Urim* and *Thummim* among the Jews. The Learned *Mr. Gregory* agrees with him, and saith likewise, That the *Teraphim* were Puppets made of Wax in shape of a Man, and that they were framed under a certain Constellation,

* *Dz Dls*
Syr. Sym-
tag. 1.

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tion, and thence had power to foretel future things. But in another place he saith, They were the Heads of First born Males cut off, and Magically ordered, and then being Consulted, they spoke.

There are others, who assert that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were things of Different Natures. To such I would propound that Passage in *Numb. 27. 21.* Eleazar the Priest shall ask Counsel for him (i.e. *Joshua*) after the Judgment of *Urim* before the Lord. Here is no mention of *Thummim*, but *Urim* alone is put for both, or rather it is implied, that they are the same. So we read in *1 Sam. 28. 6.* That when Saul enquired of the Lord, he answered him not, neither by Dreams, nor by *Urim*, nor by Prophets: Whence it seems to be evident, that *Urim* includeth the *Thummim*, and consequently the difference which some Persons make between them is taken away; they are the same Oracle, though not the same Words. *Mr. Mede* seems to be of another Opinion, and makes them two Distinct Oracles: By *Urim* (saith he) the Jews were ascertained of the Council and Will of God, by *Thummim* of his Favour and Good Acceptance. The Learned *Dr. Spencer* likewise hath in a whole Treatise attempted to prove, that the *Urim* is a quite different thing from the *Thummim*, and that it was to another end and purpose. As to his Notion concerning the *Urim*, it is the same in the main, with that of *Christopherus à Castro*, but he with Great Wit and Extraordinary Learning hath embellished and improved it. The *Urim*,
saith

saith he, was one or two, or more Little Images, or Hollow Instruments which the High Priest had in the Foldings of his Breast-plate. They were the same with *Teraphim*, often mentioned in the Old Testament. And *Teraphim*, by an usual change of *S* into *T* is for *Seraphim*, which Hebrew Word signifies *Uren-tes*: So that *Urim* and *Teraphim* agree in the Name, for *Urim* properly signifies *Ignes*. Now *Seraphim* is a word in the Old Testament to signifie *Angels*, *Isa. 6. 6.* it was the first and anti-entest Name for those Glorious Messengers of Heaven. And they often appearing in the first Ages of the World, and God holding Correspondence with Mankind by them, it was grown into a Custom to make Little Images and Representations of them in Wax; and at last the Images were called by their Names; as the Images of Angels in the Holy of Holies were called *Cherubim*, so the Images of Angels which the High Priest had in his *Rationale* were called *Seraphim* or *Teraphim*, and *Urim*. This Oracle was from the High Priest's Breast, as the Oracle in the Temple was from the Ark, and from between the *Cherubims*, which were of the same Nature. In short, the *Urim* were of Pagan Extraction, they being the same with the *Teraphim*, which are taken in Scripture in a good and a bad Sense, for they might be used lawfully or unlawfully, Devils and Impure Spirits might give answer by these as well as Good Spirits. The *Teraphim* then, which were a piece of Gentile Superstition at first, were by Gods leave tolerated among

among the Jews, because of the Hardness of their Hearts, and to comply with their obstinate Temper. Accordingly God ordered those to be placed within the doubling of the High Priest's Breast-plate, and thence he gave answers by them. This is the Learned Doctor's Notion of the *Urim*; and he quotes *Philo* the Jew, and *Eben Ezra*, as the Patrons of it.

But I presume to offer one thing against this Excellent Person's Opinion, and more particularly against the Foundation of it, which is this, that the word *Teraphim* is of a middle Signification in Scripture, and is taken sometimes in a good, and other times in a bad Sense; sometimes for *Cherubims*, and other Lawful Representations; and at other times for Unlawful Images and Idols. This I conceive is a mistake; for I find that the word *Teraphim* is always to be understood in the latter Sense. Thus *Laban* had these *Teraphim*, *Gen. 31. 19.* which the generality of Learned Expositors interpret concerning *Magical and Telefmatical Images*, by which it was usual among the *Gentiles* to foresee and foretel future Events. Therefore *Rachel* took them from her Father, that he might not, by consulting them, know which way she travelled: Or, it may be she retain'd something of his Superstition, and took these *Tutelar Gods* with her to direct her in her Journey. So we read that *Micah* had got him a *House of Gods*, and a *Teraphim*, *Judg. 17. 5.* But whether these were Lawful Imple-ments, and becoming True Worshippers, you may gather from the next Verse, *In those days there*

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there was no King in Israel, but every Man did that which was right in his own eye. And even when the Israelites had a King, and a more composed Government, this corrupt Practice was not soon worn off; for Michal, David's Wife, kept this piece of Idolatry in her House, to consult with upon occasion, 1 Sam. 19. 13. But when a Reformation was set on foot in good earnest, these Idolatrous Images immediately vanish'd: Thus we read that when King Josiah reformed Israel, he put away from among them the workers with familiar Spirits, and the Wizards, and the Images (or Teraphim, as 'tis in the Original) and the Idols, and all the Abominations that were spied in the land. I think it will not be questioned whether Teraphim are to be taken here in a bad Sense. And that these were noted Instruments of Idolatry is clear from Ezek. 21. 21. where we read that the King of Babylon being about to use Divination, consulted with the Teraphim, which shews plainly what they were. But it may be objected that the Ephod and Teraphim go together, as in the forenamed place, Judg. 17. 5. where 'tis said Micah made an Ephod and a Teraphim: And in Hos. 3. 4. it is prophesied that the Israelites should be without an Ephod and a Teraphim; whence some infer, that the former being a thing Lawful, the latter is so too; the Ephod belonged to the True Worshipers, therefore the Teraphim did. I answer first, it may be both of these were Unlawful and Idolatrous; for it was the Custom of False Worshipers to imitate the True ones in some

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some things: And because God appointed his Priests an Ephod, they likewise aped that Holy Garment, and had a certain Vestment not unlike to it, which they used in their Idolatrous Services. This went along with their Teraphim which was a Device of their own, and had no reference (that we know of) to any thing made use of by God's People. If we consult Judges 8. 27. we shall see a proof of this: Ephod is not here meant of a Holy Garment, but of Gideon's Idolatrous Vestment, in imitation of the High Priest's Ephod. So in Judg. 18. 14. an Ephod and Teraphim are joyned together as things of the same Quality and Kind, i. e. as Idolatrous, yea and thrice more they are mentioned together, viz. in v. 17, 18, 20. In all which places you may observe, that either molten or graven Images are joyned with them, to convince us yet farther of what Nature they are.

Or Secondly, Suppose that by Ephod in the latter place, viz. in Hosea, be meant a Lawful Garment, even the same which the High Priest wore by God's Appointment; yet it doth not follow from this, that the other thing mentioned with it, viz. the Teraphim was lawful. For in these words of Hosea this double thing is foretold, namely, That the time will come when God will take away from the Jews, not only the True Worship, but the Idolatrous one, which used to be so delightful to them. The Prophet tells them, That they shall not only be without an Ephod, i. e. The Mosaic Priesthood and Service; but they shall be

be without an Image, i. e. a Standing Image or Statue, (as the word signifies) such as the Golden Calf, or the Calves in *Dan* and *Bethel*; and that they shall be without *Teraphim*, i. e. Images for Divination: They shall be debarred the Prophane and Idolatrous way of Worshipping, which was so dear to them. And this is the very case of that People at this day, they neither Worship the True God after the Mosaick Appointment, (for they are out of a Capacity of doing it in their present Circumstances) nor do they serve Idols and fall down to Images. They have no *Ephod*, and they have no *Teraphim*, they are without the Mosaick Worship, and also without the Idolatrous and Superstitious Rites to which they were heretofore accustomed, and in which they took so great delight. This seems to be the plain and obvious Sense of the Words, and any Man may see how directly it Confronts the Learned Doctor's Opinion.

I might add, that it is improbable God would make use of the *Teraphim* (which are the same with the *Urim* according to this Worthy Person) as a *Divine Oracle*, seeing they are Originally Superstitious and Idolatrous things, and no other than the common Instruments of Divination among the Pagans. I know this Learned Author salves the Improbability of this, by adding that this was done wholly in Compliance with the peevish and hard-hearted Jews, who were to be humoured and pleased at that time. But I crave leave to dissent from this Learned Man here, because

because I question whether it was worthy of God to indulge the *Israelites* in these Heathen Superstitions. I refer the Reader to Arguments of another sort in a very * Learned ^{Dr. Po.} Writer, who hath largely confuted this mistake of the *Teraphim*, being the same with the *Urim*. ^{cock Comment. on Hof. 3.4.}

I pass now to this Reverend Author's Notion of *Thummim*, which he holds to be a thing really different from the *Urim*. He hath this particular and singular Apprehension of it, that as *Urim* was fetch'd from *Serapis* an Egyptian Image, so *Thummim* is of the like Original, for it was an Image made of Precious Stones, which the High Priests of *Egypt* wore about their Necks, having *Ἀλήθεια* written on it, and therefore it was called *Truth*, as *Diodorus Siculus*, *Alian*, and others relate. Accordingly the Jewish *Thummim* is stiled *Truth* by the *Septuagint*. Against which most ingenious and plausible Conjecture, which the Author of it hath adorned with infinite Reading and Criticism, I make bold to offer a few things, begging first his pardon for daring to shake so admirably contrived a Notion. And truly I am apt to think my self already absolved by a Person of that famed Ingenuity and Candor, who as he hath thought fit to depart from other Writers on this Subject, and hath worthily established a Sentiment of his own, so he will forgive the Freedom of this *Critical Essay*, which ventures to dissent from that so Celebrated Hypothesis of his. Briefly then, whereas he parallels the *Thummim* with the Egyptian

Egyptian Ornament, because, like that, it hung down by a *Golden Chain*, I humbly conceive that Text which is alledged in favour of it, is no positive Proof, viz. *Exod. 28. 22, &c.* for though it appears thence that the *Breast-plate* of the Jewish High Priest was fastened to the Shoulder-pieces of the *Ephod* by Chains and Rings of Gold, yet there is not a word of the *Thummim* being fastened to, or hanging by any thing; but 'tis only said in that Chapter, that *Moses shall put in the Breast-plate the Thummim*. And this likewise I offer from these express words, if the *Thummim* was put in the *Breast-plate*, and lapt up within it, how could it be a Pendent Image, and how could it be seen hanging without? Then besides, if this Image or Jewel called *Thummim* hung dangling on the High Priest's Breast, it could not but cover (in part at least) the *Rich Gems* in the *Rationale*, and hinder them and their Curious Engravings from being seen. I only modestly Query, whether this be allowable. And this too is to be thought of, that if the *Thummim* hung down by a *Chain*, there is the same reason to assert that the *Urim* did so too, for the Text speaks of both alike; and so the Images which were supposed to be shut up in the warm Folding of the *Pectoral*, must be taken out, and exposed to the Air, and both they and the *Egyptian* Image must hang together on the High Priest's Breast.

Lastly, If this Excellent Writer will give me leave to utter my thoughts freely, This is another reason why I dissent from him, viz. because

because his Assertion concerning the *Thummim* (as well as the *Urim*) supposes that God himself imitated the Idolatrous Nations; for the most Sacred *Thummim*, according to him, was borrow'd from the *Egyptians*, and particularly from their Priests; which to me seems to be not only unworthy of the Divine Majesty, but of his High Priest, and of the Religion instituted by him. Therefore the admirable *Grotius* declares, that it is most likely that the *Egyptians* in this (as in other things) imitated the *Jews*. And the Learned *Isaac Vossius* acknowledgeth that the *Egyptians* took this Ornament, and the Name of it, from the *Hebrews*, as they did many other things. And he adds, that the *Egyptians* consulted this Precious Stone of the High Priest as an Oracle, wherein also they emulated the *Hebrews*. But the contrary, viz. That the *Jews*, say that God himself, and in a Matter so Solemn and Sacred, followed the Example of the Idolatrous *Egyptians*, seems to me very improbable. We read in the Infalible History, that the *Israelites* borrowed of the *Egyptians* Jewels of Silver and Gold, and Rayment; but that the High Priest of *Israel* borrowed his Pontifical, and particularly his *Oracular Habit* from them, I find no where attested: But I read that God strictly forbid the *Jews* to use the Rites of the Pagan Nations, and to follow their Customs, *After the doings of the Land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: And after the doings of the Land of Canaan, whither I bring you, ye shall not do, neither shall ye walk*

walk in their Ordinances, Lev. 18. 3. And it is the Confession of one of the most Understanding Rabbies, even that *Moses* of whom the Jews say, that from *Moses* the Great Law-giver to this *Moses* there never was such another of that Name: (I say) 'tis his Confession and Acknowledgment, That the Jewish Rites prescribed that People by God were not in imitation of the Pagan Rites, but were in absolute opposition to them. Thus the Famous *Rambam*, who was celebrated for his profound Skill in the Jewish Laws and Constitutions. This is all that I have at present to offer in way of Exception to the Learned Doctor's Opinion. But though I cannot yield to be his Profelyte in this Point, yet I deny not that Others of great Sagacity and Judgment may see farther into, and acquiesce in so Noble a Discovery: And as for my own part, I acknowledge most frankly that I pay a great Veneration to this Excellent Person, who hath with so great an Amassment of Learning and Variety of Reading, framed so Delicate a Notion. I admire the Incomparable Artificer, though I cannot altogether subscribe to his Work.

You see what have been the Different Opinions of Writers concerning the *Urim* and *Thummim*: I will now after all propound that which I conceive is more eligible than any of those already named. The High Priest, the Chief Minister of the Jewish Church, had eight distinct Garments wherewith he was adorned, whence he was called

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the Priest * of many Garments, to distinguish him from the other Priests. But of all these Vestments the *Ephod* was the most considerable, and was worn over all the rest: This had a hole or opening in the fore-part of it; where was fastned a piece of Cloth of the same work with the *Ephod*, very richly embroidered and mixed with Gold. This Cloth being doubled was Four-square; it was a Span in length, and of the same Dimension in breadth, Exod. 28. 15, &c. This Quadrangular Piece is called the High Priests Pectoral or Breast-plate, and it was set with four Rows of Precious Stones, three in a Row, i. e. twelve Stones in all; and on each of these Stones was engraved one of the Names of the Sons of Israel, from whom the Twelve Tribes took their Denominations. And this Square Breast-plate, this Rich Stomacher of the High Priest, was Famous not only for these Precious Stones and the Ingravings on them, but also for the *Urim* and *Thummim* which were placed here also. Now (to come to the matter) these were no such Fine and Rare things as some talk of: Nay, let me add, they were no Things at all, but only Words. I take them to be no other than these two bare words אורים and תומים written or engraven upon the Breast-plate. After all the various Sentiments, Disputes, Opinions and Conjectures about this so Famous and so much Controverted Oracle, I apprehend this to be the short, plain and easie account of it. It was only these two Hebrew

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Disyllables URIM and THUMMIM (of great Significancy and Importance, as you shall hear afterwards) placed upon the High Priests Pectoral. This was all. And that this Account of the *Urim* and *Thummim* is as Probable and Reasonable as it is Plain, I will make appear from these following Particulars.

1. There was no room for a pair of Images or more in the Breast-plate, for it was but a Span in length and breadth, so that you cannot conveniently lodge these little Flying Seraphims in so narrow a compass, you will indanger their Wings, or hurt some of their Tender Members by trussing them up in so contracted a Room. Besides, we must remember, that according to the forefaid Opinion the *Urim* were Images of Wax: Now, it was not safe to lodge these little waxen Tools in that close Folding next the warm and zealous Breast of the Priest; for by this means there might be danger of dissolving these little Cherubims: But this is prevented by our Assertion that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were not *Things* but *Words*.

2. The Terms whereby it is expressed in Scripture will bear this Interpretation very well; for concerning the *Urim* and *Thummim* it is said, *Thou shalt put them in the Breast-plate*; or according to the Version

* *Ἐτίθημι* of the Seventy, * *Thou shalt put them upon* *αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ* it. And when *Moses* had clothed *Aaron* *αὐτὸν* with the Ephod and Breast-plate, it is said *be*

Enquired into.

be * *put upon the Rationale or Breast-plate* * *Ἐτίθημι* the *Urim* and *Thummim*, Lev. 8. 8. Now this *αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ* without the least Straining may signifie to *αὐτὸν* us the *Writing* of these words *Urim* and *Thummim* upon the Breast-plate. It is a general Term, and so may include that Particular way and manner of *Putting* those words upon the Pectoral, viz. by *Writing* or *Engraving* them. Nay, if we go to the *Original*, we shall find that that is as fair for us, for *Thou shalt give in the Breast-plate*, &c. (which is the exact Version according to the Hebrew) may as well be understood of *Writing* as any other way. Nay, you may observe that the word *giving* is used with reference to *Writing*, in *Esther* 3. 14. *The Copy of the Writing for a Commandment to be given* is as much this, * *The Sum of* * *Summa* *the Writing was*, that there should be written *Epistola-* *rum hęc* *such a Command or Decree*. Given is of the same import here with *written*, or *engraved*. *Lat.* Another place I will produce, to confirm this Notion which I offer, viz. *Jer.* 31. 33. *I will put (or according to the Hebrew) I will give my Law in their inward parts, and write it in their Heart*: Where you see *Nathan* and *Katab* are the same: *I will give* or *put*, and *I will write*, are Synonymous Terms; and so in the Greek of the Seventy, and the * *New Testament* (where this place * *Heb.* 8. 10. of *Jeremiah* is quoted) *διδομι* answers to *ἔχω* and *ἐνέχω*. Thus you see that according to the Idiom of the Holy Language *putting* or *giving* is understood and interpreted

puted of *Writing*. To farther this Notion, I could add, that *Giving* hath the same Acception in other Tongues, as in the Greek (besides what hath been said already) *δίδωμι* is equivalent to *Scribere* according to that of *Demosthenes*, *δίδωμι δίδωμι κατὰ τὴν*, to prefer a Bill or Writing against one. And in the Latin 'tis well known that *dare literas* is meant of writing *Epistles* or *Letters*: And in our own Language, *dated* or *given* is the same with *written*. However, 'tis certain that the Hebrew word *Nathan* is of a very large Extent in Scripture, and is no less applicable to *Writing* than to many other things. Thus in the Text, *Thou shalt give in the Breast-plate the Urim and Thummim*, may well be rendred, *Thou shalt write them in the Breast-plate*, this being one way of giving; for in *Writing* there is something put or given into the Writing-Table, Paper, or Book, or whatever else the Writing is in.

3. We read that *This* very thing was done in the Pontifical Habilitments: *Certain Words* were *Written* or *Put upon* some part of the Holy Garments, *Exod. 28. 36. Thou shalt make a plate of pure Gold, and grave upon it HOLINESS TO THE LORD*. Observe here, These words *HOLINESS TO THE LORD* were writ on a Plate, and put on *Aaron's* Forehead. Why then might not these words *URIM* and *THUMMIM* be written on something, and put in the Breast-plate of *Aaron*?

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One Writing is a Pattern of the other; the words *URIM* and *THUMMIM* in the Breast-plate answered to Those *HOLINESS TO THE LORD* in the Head-plate or Mitre. And though they are not said to be *Graven*, yet it is said they were *Put upon*, which is a large term, and comprehends the other.

4. We have a Parallel place in *Zach. 14. 20. In that day shall there be upon the Bells of the Horses HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD*. The Prophet here speaks of the Glorious days of the Gospel, when *True Holiness* (which was shadowed forth by the Mosaick Purifications and Cleanings) shall take place in the Church, when Men shall universally turn to God, and dedicate themselves wholly to Him and his Service. True Sanctity shall then be the Ornament and Lustre of their Lives: Yea, their very secular and inferior Employments shall be devoted and made Serviceable to Holiness. In that day shall there be upon the *Bells* or the *Bridles* (so the Hebrew word signifies likewise) of the very *Horses*, *Holiness unto the Lord*: Instead of their Curious Harness and Trappings, there shall as it were be written or Ingraven upon them these words, *Holiness unto the Lord*; the very words which were commanded to be written in the Front of the High Priest's Mitre. This shall be their Ornament and Bravery. I do not think (nor doth any Man else, I suppose) that

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these words shall be *really written* on the Horses Bells or Bridles; but I alledge this place for this, that 'tis spoken and expressed *as if* such words were written, because they were so in effect. The manner of expressing the thing, is that which I observe here as pertinent to our purpose. Mark! It is not said *there shall be written or ingraven*; but *there shall be upon the Bells of the Horses*: And it is not said, *there shall be these words*; but plainly and simply, *there shall be Holiness to the Lord*. So here, it is not said, *thou shalt write*, but *thou shalt put*; and it is not said, *thou shalt put these words*, but *thou shalt put the Urim and Thummim*. Yet as in the former place *Writing and Ingraving* is understood, so it is here: These Individual Words *Urim and Thummim* are to be Written or Ingraven on the High Priest's Breast-plate, as the words *Kodesh Laiborah*, (i. e. Holiness to the Lord) were to be seen in effect, Written or Ingraven on the Trappings of the Horses.

5. There is another place of Scripture to illustrate this, and to let us see that it is probable the words *Urim and Thummim* were to be Written, though it is not said so in express terms. *The King of Babylon stood at the parting of the way to use Divination, he consulted with * Images; at his right hand was the Divination for Jerusalem*, Ezek. 21. 21, 22. The Preposition [*for*] is not in the Hebrew Text, but only *Jerusalem*; for here is described the Pagan way of Divination, and

* Teraphim
Hebr.

and particularly how the King of *Babylon* undertook by his Heathen Art to predestine the Slaughter and Destruction of *Jerusalem*; namely, as *Haman* cast Lots in his Divining way, to know what days were fittest and best for the Slaughter of the Jews. *He commanded Pur. (i. e. the Lot) to be cast from day to day*, Esther 3. 7. This sort of *Divining Lottery* is used here by the King of *Babylon*, who had a Scheme before him (as was the Custom in these cases) of what he intended to enquire about, and accordingly *in his right hand was the Divination Jerusalem*, (so it is in the Hebrew) i. e. *Jerusalem* was the Word which was written on that part of the Lots. The meaning then is, that the Magical Divination or Lottery went clearly against *Jerusalem*, that City was to be destroy'd. This is the short way of Scripture Expression, *At his right hand was the Divination, Jerusalem*, which more largely should have been expressed thus, *At his right hand was the Divination which respected Jerusalem, and to distinguish it from the rest, the word [Jerusalem] was written upon it*. So here, the like Abbreviating stile is used, *Thou shalt put the Urim and Thummim in the Breast-plate*, i. e. *Thou shalt distinctly write down these two words Urim and Thummim, and then place them conveniently in that part of the Ephod*.

6. Let this be considered, That the Inspired Pen-man of the Book of *Exodus*, is very Exact and Particular about all the Habili-

liments and Ornaments of the High Priest, in the 28th Chapter. How punctual is he about the two great *Onyx stones* on the Shoulders of the Ephod, from the ninth to the thirteenth Verse? And the setting of the *twelve Precious Stones* in the Breast-plate is precisely described from the seventeenth to the thirtieth Verse. But when he comes to speak of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, he uses no Description at all, but only mentions the *Bare Names Urim* and *Thummim*; whence any Observing Man may perceive that these were some Easie and Plain thing, which needed no Explaining and Inlarging. If it were not so, we should have the manner of the putting of the *Urim* and *Thummim* into the *Rationale*, particularly set down, as you see other things in that Chapter are punctually described. He that hath any Ingenuity must needs acknowledge that this makes exceedingly for my Assertion.

7. Let me add this, That you read not of any Directions for preparing the *Urim* and *Thummim*, which is another Argument that they were mere Names or Words, that they were something *Written* only. If they had been to be made with Art, viz. by Ingraving or Carving, or some other way (as Authors have supposed) we should have had the Materials and the Manner of it set down, at least in the general, as we read of the Manner of preparing several things belonging to the Tabernacle and the Mosaic Worship. But we read of no such thing relating to the *Urim* and

and *Thummim*: There is no more said than barely this, *Thou shalt put them in the Breast-plate*. What reason then is there to fancy any other thing than the mere *Writing* of them?

8. I offer this to be considered, That *Josephus* hath not a word of *Urim* and *Thummim*, though he hath a whole Chapter (viz. The Eighth in his Third Book of Antiquities) of the Priests and High Priests Garments. His business was in this place to describe the Pontifical and Sacerdotal Ornaments, and therefore if this had been any *Great* and *Considerable thing*, he would not have passed it by in silence, especially throughout a whole Chapter, which is one of the longest he hath in the Book. Nay afterwards, when in the next Chapter he falls upon mentioning a certain Miracle of the Stones on the High Priest's Breast; he saith not a Syllable of this Matter, but only relates how Answer was given (as he thought) by the extraordinary shining of those Stones. Nay further, this Author had a fair Opportunity again to mention the *Urim* and *Thummim* if they had been any Notable thing, for in his sixth Book of the *Jewish War*, cap. 6. he particularly and distinctly enumerates all the Garments of the High Priest, and more especially the Rich Gems in his Breast-plate; but he saith nothing at all of *Urim* and *Thummim*; yea he doth not so much as name them. Whence 'tis to be presumed that these were rather *Words* than *Things*, i. e. That they were these two words

words written, and nothing else. If the *Urim* and *Thummim* had been some Great and Wondrous thing, or if they had been like any of those things which have been presented to us before, this Excellent Man as a *Faithful Historian* would not have omitted it, and as he was a *Jew*, would not have passed it by for the Glory of the Nation, and much more as a *Priest* he would not have done it for the Honour of his Order.

9. From the Learned Dr. Spencer's Notion of *Thummim* I may confirm my own, though a contrary one. He maintains that the Jewish *Thummim* was borrowed from the Egyptian High Priest who had a rich Sapphire hanging by a Golden Chain at his Breast, and because the word *Truth* was Ingraven on it, therefore the Image it self was called *Truth*. This gives a fair hint of what I assert, that the *Thummim* (as well as the *Urim*) was something written, especially if we invert what that worthy Person saith, and with Mr. Selden and others hold, That the *Egyptians* borrowed this Ornament from the *Jews*. Hence we may learn the true Nature and Quality of it, for their imitating the *Jews* in this matter acquaints us that the *Thummim* was only a written or ingraven word: This usage of the Egyptian High Priest, viz. of wearing a Jewel at his Breast, in which *Αληθεια* was written, shews plainly that the Jewish High Priest (from whom this usage was taken) wore in the same place something written or ingraven. And this was the Hebrew word *Thummim*

(together

(together with the other word *Urim*) which was thought to signifie *Truth*, and accordingly the Seventy Interpreters render it *Αληθεια*. Thus we may partly gather what the Nature of the *Thummim* among the *Jews* was, from the *Egyptian* imitation of it. Their having the word *Truth* written and made use of by their Chief Minister of Religion, lets us know that it was but a Copy of the Hebrew Original, and that the *Thummim* was no other than that very word inscribed in the Breast-plate.

10. The probability of this Opinion is confirmed from what was said in the entrance into this Discourse, viz. That several of the most Learned and Inquisitive Writers have professed their *Ignorance* as to the matter which is before us. This seems to me to be no contemptible Consideration, but to be something towards a proof of what I assert. Besides R. *Kimchi* before mentioned, there are other Hebrew Doctors, that declare they cannot tell what the *Urim* and *Thummim* are. || *Aben Ezra* is of this mind, and so is R. *Abraham Seba*, and if I had leisure to search into Writers upon this Subject, I might produce others among the Circumcised Doctors. These are followed by many of the Christian Profession, as Cardinal *Cajetan*, a Man of great Search and Curiosity, who ingenuously professeth he knoweth nothing of the *Urim* and *Thummim*. || *Munster* acknowledgeth the same, and so doth **Buxtorf*, and a || Learned Man

|| *In locum.*

|| *Quales fuerint venemini mortaliū consilium.* Ex. 28. 30.

**Exercitat.* cap. 2.

|| *Dr. Gellon* of *Lev. 8. 8.*

of our own hath these Words, To define what the Urim and Thummim were is none of my business, nor indeed dare I attempt that which hath puzzled all the Learned Men in the World. This makes for my Opinion, for 'tis plain that these Learned Writers were not able to make any considerable Matter of the Urim and Thummim. If they could, it is certain they would have told us of it; If These had been any Great Thing, they would not have been silent, but would have laid it open before us. But in the mean time they overlook'd that which was Plain and Obvious, they would not take notice of that which was a mere Writing, and no more, as 'tis most probable these Urim and Thummim were. These very Words were written, and put upon or into the Breast-plate, and that was all, if I mistake not.

11. That they were something written hath been a Notion not unacceptable to some Understanding Men, both Jews and Christians, as you have already heard: And particularly they thought the Tetragrammaton was the Name that was written; but there is no reason given why that Name should be called the Urim and Thummim. However, thus far I will make use of it, to let you see was it not thought Improbable and Unreasonable, that some Writing was here meant; otherwise they would not have talk'd of the Tetragrammaton. This is a good Foundation for my Hypothesis, which I conceive I have built upon with Probable Arguments already, and am proceeding to add more.

12. That

12. That passage of Cyril Bishop of Alexandria is very remarkable, who speaking of the Urim and Thummim mentioned by Moses, hath these words, * "He (i. e.

"Moses) hath not plainly shew'd
"whether they were Stones, or
"whether he commanded that
"Inscription to be made as it
"were in a small Table. Again
he saith, || "Whether they were
"Stones, or whether those
"Words were written down as
"it were in a Golden Table, I
"will not be too Curious in en-

quiring after. You see the Learned Father was inclinable to believe that the Urim and Thummim were only those two words written in some small Table, and so deposited within the Breast-plate. And the words of this Pious Writer are the more Considerable, because he is wont to be very Sagacious in finding out of Mysteries in the Holy Bible, and if he had thought the Urim and Thummim had been any Mystical and Wonderful thing, he would certainly have enlarged upon it; whereas you see he is not averse to the Assertion I am maintaining, that These Bare Words were committed to Writing, and lodged in the Square-piece of the Ephod (when there was occasion to consult them as an Oracle; otherwise they were not put in to it) and that is all.

* Οὐ μὲν ἔτι καὶ δια-
μορφώσκειν ὁμαρτῆς πα-
τις δὲ λίθους ἢ ὡς ἐν
μικρῷ πινακί χαρῶν
γινώσκων ἔταχεν. Lib.
11. de Adorat. in Spir.
& verit.
|| Εἴτ' ἐν δὲ ταῦτα
λίθοι, εἴτ' ὡς ἐν πινάκι
χρυσῷ τῶν ὀνομάτων γε-
γνησιν, πολυπραγμονήσας μὲν
ἐλπίαν δὲ λογίζομαι. Ibid.

13. This

13. This Opinion was hinted of old by
 ¶ Qu. 117. ¶ St. *Augustine*; it was obscurely glanced at
 in Exod. by * *Procopius*, and by ¶ *Philo* the Jew; and
 * In Isai. I find that others of late, as *Salians*, *Bel-*
 ¶ De vita *larmine*, *Flaye*, somewhat incline this way,
 Mos. 1. 3. though they are loth to speak out. But *Or-*
nelius à Lapide seems to be the most positive,
 though he saith very little in defence of the
 Opinion. He in a manner stands alone in
 this Cause, and that without Supporters:
 Wherefore I have in this Discourse endeav-
 oured to hold him up, of the Success of
 which, let the Reader judge.

Lastly, This Opinion may justly merit our
 Reception upon this account, That hereby
 are avoided all the Inconveniencies, Absur-
 dities, Incongruities, Inconsistencies, which
 accompany some of the Opinions which I
 have named; and which are commonly re-
 ceived.

Now, If it be said that the *Hebrew Do-*
ctors and *Talmudists* are the best Judges in
 this Controversie, and that they maintain
 quite another thing, the Answer is ready, viz.
 That some of them maintain nothing at all in
 this matter (as you have heard) but pro-
 claim their Ignorance concerning it: And as
 for the rest, we have no reason to look upon
 them as Able Judges in this Affair, for any
 one that hath conversed with the Rabbles,
 knows full well that they are the most Fan-
 ciful Creatures in Nature. Though as to
 some peculiar things they may be profitably
 consulted, yet in most they are very Deceit-

ful,

ful, and betray Men to gross Errors and
 Falsehoods. *Maimonides* was the only Man
 among the Jewish Rabbins that began to
 leave off trifling and playing the Fool, saith a
 ¶ Great Admirer of Jewish Learning, and
 * others had said it before him. It is certain
 that the Generality of this Tribe are the
 most Fabulous, Conceited and Superstitious
 Writers under Heaven. Their way is to in-
 vent and feign, and to impose upon the
 World: And besides, they monstrously
 affect Obscurities, and doat on Mysteries,
 and indeed care not for any thing that is
 Plain: So that their Opinion is not to be
 relied upon.

If any shall blast the former Assertion as
 Novel, it must be remembred that *Antiquity*
 is not always a Badge of Truth. Besides,
 you may perceive by what I have said, that
 some of the *Antients*, both Christians and
 Jews, were in a fair way to receive this Op-
 inion; but the commonly received Notion
 did so bias them, that they became averse to
 the espousing of This which is more Proba-
 ble and Accountable. Interpreters and Com-
 mentators on this place have been always
 busie to discover some Great and Wonderful
 things in these words, they (as was sug-
 gested before) look'd for some Strange and
 Mysterious Matter here, and that made them
 pass by this Plain and Ordinary thing, viz.
 That these bare words *Urim* and *Thummim*
 were written and deposited in the Breast-
 plate, which is a true account of the thing,
 though

¶ *Selden de*
Dis Syr.
 ¶ *Syntag. 2.*
 * *Scaliger*
 & *Causa-*
bon,

though there were no Antiquity to vouch it.

Now, if you ask how these words *Urim* and *Thummim* were written, whether upon two Precious Stones distinct from the Twelve, or on a little Table of thin Gold, or some other Matter; and whether they were placed in the middle or sides of the *Rationale*, I declare I have nothing to say to these Queries, I pretend not to decide them. It is sufficient that there was room enough for them in that place. And if you ask how the *Answers* were made by these written Words, how Affirmative or Negative Responses were given by them, I am not Solicitous to resolve you. The Learned Dr. *Spencer* hath not told you how the *Little Images* gave Answer, or how the *Greater Pendant-Image* did its work: As to the *Manner* of the Responses he leaves it Uncertain. And I may be excused if I undertake not to acquaint you, how by these *Written Words* God gave Answer to those who asked Counsel of him. We are sure He did give Answer by them, and let that suffice.

But I have not done yet; I am now to shew you what These Hebrew Words *Urim* and *Thummim* signifie; and here we shall find something worthy of our Remark. The *Chaldee Paraphrase* and the *Samaritan* retain These Original Words; so do *Junius* and *Tremellius*, the *French Bible*, and our Last *English Translation*. The *Syriac Version* renders them *Lucid* and *Perfect*, the *Arabick Dilucidations* and *Certitudes*, the *Septuagint*

|| *Mani-*

* *Manifestation* and *Truth*, St. *Jerom* and the *Διήκων* Vulgar Latin *Doctrine* and *Truth*; *Castellio* *ἡ τὴν ἀ-* *Clearness* and *Integrity*, *Coverdale* *Light* and *Perfection*. The *Syriac Version* and these two last give us the Truest Meaning of the words *Urim* and *Thummim*; but the Most Exact rendring of all is that of *Pagnine*, *Illuminations* and *Perfections*, for the Hebrew words are in the Plural Number. First, The proper Signification of * *Urim* is *Lights* or *Illuminations*. Now *Light* is in the Sacred *Scripture* put for Knowledge, and therefore God is called the *Father of Lights*, because Reason and Understanding, and the Product of these Knowledge (as well as other good and Perfect Gifts) come down from Him. The Soul is illuminated with Divine Knowledge, the Will of God is taught and manifested by this, and so this is reconcilable both with the *Septuagint* and *Vulgar Version*, [*Manifestation* and *Doctrine*] for this *Light* manifesteth and teacheth. Secondly, The most proper and genuine rendring of *Thummim* (being in the Plural also) is *Perfections* or *Integrities*; for both these meet in one, and are denoted by that Original Word, as the Greek word *τιμω* signifies both *Perfect* and *Upright*. This is the True account of the Hebrew words *Urim* and *Thummim*.

Now let us see what these relate to: It is certain that there is a Spiritual Meaning in most of the Mosaical Appointments and Rites. Is there not Reason then to think that These Words which were commanded to be

put

put into the High Priest's Breast-plate, that these *Sacred Characters* which were written at first with Gods own hand (it is probable) as the Moral Law was, represent unto us something that is Spiritual and Mystical? First then, These relate to the *High Priest* and the *Holy Function of the Ministry*. Those who are appointed to this Office are the *Lights of the World*: And they must be (as it was said of John the Baptist) *Burning and Shining* * *Lights*. They must with Zeal Inform and Instruct the People, they must *Enlighten*, and at the same time *Warm Mens Minds*. And the *Thummim* must be the individual Companion of *Urim*, i. e. They must be Men of *Integrity* and *Uprightness*, *Faithfulness* and *Sincerity*, which are also called *Truth*, and so the Translation of the Seventy is very agreeable, who render *Thummim Truth*. The short is, That those who are employ'd in the Sacred Ministry, must *speak as the Oracles of God*, 1 Pet. 4. 11. They must deliver Gods Word Plainly, Impartially, Faithfully, Truly, and they must add Integrity of Life and Manners, which make them in some measure Perfect. Secondly, These words relate to the *Law of God*, which is so often called a *Light*. *Thy word* (saith the Psalmist) *is a Lamp to my feet, and a Light unto my path*, Psal. 119. 105. *The Commandment is a Lamp, and the Law is Light*, saith Solomon, Prov. 6. 23. Therefore it is said, *The Commandment of the Lord enlightens the Eyes*, Psal. 19. 8. And in Psal. 119. 130. *It giveth Light*. The same Inspired Person tells us, That

* Ἀλλοσι,
ἀλάω vel
ἀλαύω, uro,
luceo.

the *Law of the Lord is Perfect*, Psal. 19. 7. And it is This Divine Law which the Psalmist calls *the Truth*, Psal. 119. 142. So that you see the *Urim* and *Thummim* may relate to This. Yea, as they refer to this *Law or Will of God*, the *Revelation* of it may be signified by *Light*, and the *Effecting* and *Accomplishing* of it may be signified by *Perfection*. Thirdly, They have respect to a higher Matter, they represent and set forth *Christ Jesus* our High Priest. *He is the True Light which lighteth every Man that cometh into the World*, John 1. 9. and therefore he calls himself *The Light of the World*, John 8. 12. When this arose the Shadows fled away, *Darkness and Night* vanished; and all became Clear and Bright. This *Sacred Oracle*, which was represented by That in *Aaron's Pectoral*, did not speak Ambiguously, but Plainly and Distinctly, we are by it taught what we must believe, and what we must do. He is *Truth* it self as well as *Light*; he is of such *Faithfulness* and *Integrity* that he will not deceive us. In this Infallible Oracle *Doctrine* and *Truth*, *Light* and *Integrity*, *Illumination* and *Perfection* meet together. The Jewish *Urim* and *Thummim* were lost at the Captivity of *Babylon*, and wanting at the Peoples Return, Ezra 2. 63. neither do we find that God answered by them any more. But *Christ*, the *Word*, is a Never-failing Oracle, and shall endure for ever. *In him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily*: And we also are complete in him who is the head; Col. 2. 9, 10. Thus the *Urim* and *Thummim* were a Type

of our Lord Jesus Christ the Great High Priest, who is truly our *Light* and our *Perfection*.

You see then how Significant these Two Words are, and by consequence how worthy they were to be *written* by the Finger of God himself, and placed on the High Priest's Heart. It was impossible to couch more in two single words than you see is here comprehended. Whence we may conclude, That the *Writing* or *Ingraving* of these was all that *Moses* here meant, and consequently that those Writers have mistaken the Text, who have imagined that some *Precious Stones* or *Images*, or some such things were put into the High Priests Pectoral, and that they are here called *Urim* and *Thummim*.

Thus I have given you an Account of the Different Opinions of the Learned concerning this Extraordinary way of Revelation stiled *Urim* and *Thummim*: And I have presented you with my Own Thoughts, which (as I conceive) are the most plain, natural and simple account of this Divine Oracle: I have likewise indeavoured to inform you what was the Higher and Spiritual Meaning intended by the Holy Ghost.

The

The third Text enquired into, viz.

Judges XI. 30, 31.

And Jephthah vowed a Vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the Children of Ammon into my hands, Then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my House to meet me, when I return in Peace from the Children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a Burnt-offering.

THis Remarkable Vow of *Jephthah*, and the Manner of the performing of it, have frequently employed the Thoughts and Pens of the Learned, who according to their different Apprehensions of the Words, have decided this Controversie in a different manner. Some confidently assert, that *Jephthah* did not Sacrifice his Daughter, but others on the contrary maintain that he did. And besides this, there is

another Question on supposal that he did Sacrifice her, viz. Whether it was well done of him or no? These are the Particulars which will fall under our Enquiry at present, but especially I shall entertain the Reader with the latter of them, and there endeavour to shew what was the Rise of this Inhumane and Extravagant Action, and what Reason may be given why this Generous Commander, this Noble Warrior, was so eager of shedding the Blood even of his own Daughter, yea, when it was so absolutely contrary to the Law which this Great Man could scarcely be ignorant of. Here I hope to give some light to this Controverted Cause, by assigning the True Spring of that Strange Action, and by discovering what was the Over-ruling Design of Providence in it, which hath not been enquired into by others (that I have met with) on this Subject.

But first, Let us hear what those say who embrace the Negative, viz. That Jephthah did not Sacrifice his Daughter. To make this good, they hold that there are two distinct parts of the Vow: 1. *Whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my House to meet me, shall surely be the Lords.* 2. *I will offer it up for a Burnt-offering.* And they put them together thus, *Whatsoever cometh, &c. shall surely be the Lords, or I will offer it up, &c.* They read Or instead of And, for the Copulative Vau (they say) is sometimes Disjunctive in Scripture, and so it is here in this Vow, the Hebrew Particle which is here translated

and

and should be rendred or; for Jephthah's words are to be taken Disjunctively, and his Vow was no other than this, Whatever I first meet with coming out of my House, shall either be dedicated to the Lord, or I will Sacrifice it for a Burnt-offering. It was a Conditional Vow, i. e. If it were a thing fit to be Sacrificed he would Sacrifice it, otherwise not, he would Dedicate and Consecrate it to God, or something in the lieu of it. If a Dog or an Ass had been first met by him, he was not engaged to Sacrifice them. Neither if he met with a Man or a Woman, was he bound to offer them in Sacrifice; but only he was to act according as the Creature was which he met with. Now Jephthah, they say, performed the first part of his Vow, and that was sufficient. He offered and Consecrated his Daughter to the Lord, he devoted her to a Virgin-State all her Life which appears from the Connection of those words, *He did according to his Vow; and she knew not a Man*, v. 39. One is Exegetical of the other; which sheweth that Jephthah kept his Vow in separating his Daughter to a single Life for ever. She was not Properly, but Metaphorically Offered and Slain, i. e. she was to keep her Virginity perpetually. This Civil Death passed upon her. Which is confirmed by what you read in v. 40. *The Daughters of Israel went yearly to lament* (or, as others render it, to *talk with) the Daughter of Jephthah.

|| Let anoth. ad lamentandum, à tanan lamentari, R. Jarchi & Chald. Paraphr. *Ad confabulandum, à tanan narrare, confabulari. R. Kimchi, Jun. & Trem. Buxtorf.

Whence they gather that *Jephthah* did not Sacrifice his Daughter, but only made her a kind of a Nun; in some solitary place he secluded her from all Society, excepting that the Daughters of *Israel* were permitted to go and spend three or four days in a Year in Lamenting and Condoling her perpetual Virginity, and in Talking and Conferring with her, and in Comforting her concerning her Solitary Condition, and her being kept from Marriage. Thus her Life was spared, she fell not a Sacrifice, but was Consecrated to God and his Service, she was devoted to a single Life, and was to remain a Recluse all her days. This was the opinion of *R. Kimchi* and some other Jewish Expositors; and they are followed not only by some of the *Pontificians* (who perhaps might think of Celibacy and a Nuns Life) but by * several of the Reformed Churches.

|| *Arias*
Montanus,
Pagnin,
Varablus,
Estius.
* *Junius*,
Lud. de Di-
eu, Brough-
ton, Per-
kins, Dru-
sus, Groti-
us, Heinsius
Selden.

Secondly, Others, and with more reason, are for the Affirmative, viz. That *Jephthah* really sacrificed his Daughter. For what is, or can be more plain, than that in v. 39. He did with her according to his Vow which he had vowed? What was this Vow? There is all the Difficulty. And yet, if you enquire narrowly into it, you will find that the Difficulty vanisheth; for the Vow is very plain and intelligible, *Whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my House to meet me, shall surely be the Lords, and I will offer it up for a Burnt-offering*. He saith *whatsoever*, which shews that it was no Conditional Vow,

(as

(as those of the other side pretend) but an Absolute one. He unadvisedly made a Vow to Sacrifice *whatsoever* he met in his return from the Battle, if he proved a Victor. When the Vow is thus Large and General, it is ridiculous to think or say the contrary, viz. That it was a Conditional Vow, and it is as irrational to distinguish between a Copulative and a disjunctive *Vau* in this place; though 'tis granted that in some other Texts it is allowable, because the very Sense and Meaning of the words direct us, yea constrain us to it; but here is no occasion for it in the least. Wherefore this nice distinguishing between one *Vau* and the other, and between *Offering to the Lord* and *Sacrificing*, is altogether groundless, and you may see it cashiered by what is expressly mentioned in the following Narrative in this History, for 'tis positively said, that *Jephthah* upon his Return home and meeting his Daughter * *Rent his Cloaths*. What was the reason of this? If his Vow had been Conditional or Disjunctive, (as some would have it) there was no ground at all for this his Behaviour; there was no occasion of Sorrow and Distraction if the Sacrificing his Daughter were not included in his Vow, if it were in his choice to offer her to the Lord (i. e. to dedicate her to him) or to Sacrifice her on the Altar; yea if he were at liberty by virtue of his Vow to kill a Beast instead of his own Child. If the case was thus, he had no reason to la-

ment

* v. 35.

ment and rend his Cloaths, to vex and mortifie himself, which we find him doing here. But it is plain by this Action of his, that things were otherwise with him, and that he had some Dreadful and Fatal Tidings to impart to his Daughter, which were real matter of Lamentation, and that the Contents of his Vow which so nearly concerned her Life, were the cause of his Trouble and Sorrow: This appears from what follows, * *Alas, my Daughter (saith he) thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me: And then he communicates the direful News to her, I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back. It happeneth indeed to be a very Sad and Deplorable Vow which I made, but I am engaged to keep it, and I am fully resolved that I will. Whereupon his Submissive Child uttered these words, * My Father, if thou hast opened thy mouth unto the Lord, do unto me according to that which hath proceeded out of thy mouth: Seeing thou art returned in Safety and with Victory over thy Enemies, I am willing to be offered a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving to the God of Heaven, who mercifully covered thy Head in the Day of Battle, and delivered thy Enemies into thy hand. But this Obedient Damsel had onething to request of her Father before she left the World. * Let this be done for me (saith she) let me alone two months, that I may go up and down upon the Mountains, and bewail my Virginity, I and*

* V. 35.

* V. 36.

* V. 37.

my

my Fellows. As much as if she had said, Seeing thou, O my Father, hast determined that I shall be offered up unto the Lord for a Burnt-offering according to the Tenor of the Vow which thou madest in the day of thy Distress, I beg but this one thing of thee, that thou wouldest vouchsafe to respite me for a little time, I desire only that I may be permitted to retire with a few of my Female Acquaintance into some Solitary place, that I and they may joyn together in Mourning, and lament this unhappy Allotment of mine, viz. That I must not live to be acquainted with the Joys of a Conjugal State, nor be a Joyful Mother of Children, (as I have sometimes wished, because Barrenness is accounted a Curse) but that I must Expire a Virgin, and die Ingloriously, and leave no Offspring behind me. *Jephthah*, as soon as she made known this her request to him, most willingly granted it, and wished with all his heart he could have granted her more. * *He said, Go, and he sent her away* * V. 31. *for two Months: And she went with her Companions, and bewailed her Virginity on the Mountains.* And then the History immediately after this tells us, That * *at the End* * V. 39. *of two Months she returned to her Father, who did with her according to his Vow which he had vowed: That is, he offered her up unto the Lord for a Burnt-offering, for that was his Vow.*

One would think now that there should be no Dispute whether *Jephthah* Sacrificed his

his Daughter; for what reason can Men have to oppose the expresse words of the Text? These are so plain that it cannot but create some wonder, why Expositors should vary in the Interpretation of them. Or, suppose there be some Ambiguous Words in the Relation, which seem to disagree with what is here said; yet for that very reason, because they are Doubtful and Ambiguous, we are not to make use of them to confront a Plain Text. It is true, it is added in the last mentioned Verse, *She knew no Man*: And indeed how could she when she was taken out of the Land of the Living? Observe the Connection, *He did with his Daughter according to his Vow, and she knew no Man*: That is, She was so Unhappy as to leave the World in her Youth before she had the Knowledge of a Man. Hereupon it immediately follows, (which verifies and confirms this Interpretation) *It was a custom in Israel, that the Daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the Daughter of Jephthah four days in a year*. This doth not imply that she was Alive, and that they went duly to give her a Visit in the Mountains. No, These words plainly relate the Behaviour of her Surviving Companions; they brought it into a Custom and Constant Practice among the Daughters of *Israel*, to go yearly and lament her Memory in that very place where she chose to bewail her Condition before her Death. Or, if they went to *talk and confer* (as it may be rendred according to the

Acception

Acception of the Hebrew word) the Sense is the same, for the meaning is not that they talked with Her, but with one another; they discoursed among themselves of that Deplorable Matter, of that Unfortunate Occurrence. I joyn both the Senses of the word together thus, At that Anniversary Meeting they *talked* of and *lamented*, they *lamented* and *talked* of the Sad Fate of that Royal Virgin, who was snatched away in her Prime, and denied the Blessing of Marriage, and of bearing Children. This was the Compliment of Condolence which was performed upon her Death. This is the plain History without wresting it; and nothing is more clear from the whole than this, that *Jephthah* slew his Daughter, and offered her for a Burnt-offering, and that it was the True and real Import of his Vow that he would do so. He vowed that he would Sacrifice to the Lord whatsoever he met coming out of his House: He met his Daughter, and accordingly *he did with her according to his Vow, i. e. he Sacrificed her*. The Famous || Jewish Historian gives his || *Jos. ph. Suffrage* to this, and all the *Old Jews* were of *Ant. Jud.* the same Opinion, expressly asserting that *l. 5. c. 9. Jephthah* vowed to Sacrifice his Daughter, and that he did so. This is the general Perswasion of the * *Ancient Fathers* both *Greek* * *Justin* and *Latin*, and their Agreement herein is *Mart.*

Quæst. 99. Tertull. cont. Marc. 3. 4. Hieronym. Epist. 34. ad Julian. Chrysost. hom. de Jephthâ. Ambros. de Offic. Nazianz. Orat. 6. de Maccab. Augustini de civ. Dei. l. 1. c. 21.

very

very considerable. A numerous Company of
 || *Luther, Peter Mar- tyr, Salia- nus, Serari- us, Meno- chius, & La- pide, Lud. Capellus, &c.* *Dr. Light- foot in his Chronicle* of the Times of the Old Te-
 || *Moderns of great Learning and Judgment,* both of the Roman and Protestant Perswa-
 || *sion hold the same;* And our *Great *Chri- stian Rabbi,* who had been once of another
 || mind, was induced by a farther Enquiry into
 || the Reasons of this Opinion, to change his
 || thoughts; and to declare expressly that *Jeph- thah's* performing of his Vow, is to be under-
 || stood in the plain and literal meaning of it,
 || viz. The real and actual Sacrificing of his
 || Daughter.

The next Question is, Whether *Jephthah* did well or ill in so doing: Or, which amounts to the same, Whether it was lawful to Sacrifice his Daughter? Some think (and what will not they think?) that it was a Good and Lawful Deed, and to this purpose they alledge Lev. 27. 28. 29. *Notwithstanding;* no devoted thing that a man shall devote unto the Lord; of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his Possession, shall be sold or redeemed: Every devoted thing is most holy to the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted of Men, shall be redeemed: But shall surely be put to death. *Jephthah's* Vow, say they, was of this sort, and he could not possibly Redeem his Daughter, but was necessitated to Sacrifice her. That known Critick **Lewis Cappel* runs altogether upon this, viz. That it was lawful by the Law of *Cherem* to Sacrifice this Innocent Maid: But this Learned Man was never so overseen and mistaken as in this Cause, for 'tis certain that

Cherem;

Cherem, which is the word here used, always signifies either *Persons* devoted to Slaughter, destined to Death for their *Execrable Wickedness* (as the *Amalekites*, and those other People and Nations which the *Israelites* were commanded to put to death) or it signifies *Things* destined to utter Destruction, as *Jericho* and *Ai*, &c. with all the Substance that was found in them, excepting some particular things which God ordered to be spared. And these *Things* were thus destined for the sake of the *Persons* to whom they appertained, who were extremely *Wicked* and *Abominable* in the Eyes of God. This is the true Notion of *Cherem* (of which I shall give you a farther account in a following Discourse.) And as for the Law of *Cherem*, which is set down in that forecited place in *Leviticus*, it speaks only of that Irrevocable Vow of Destining Persons or Cities to utter Destruction (as in *Numb. 21. 32. Deut. 13. 15. 25. 19. Josh. 6. 17, 18. 1 Sam. 15. 3.*) for their horrid Crimes, and because indeed there was the particular Command of God for it. Now let any Man judge whether this hath any reference to *Jephthah's* Innocent and Harmless Daughter. The Law saith, no Person or thing devoted of Men (*i. e.* by Men) shall be redeemed, but shall surely be put to Death, or be destroyed. But then let it be remembered that no Men can devote any *Persons* to Death, unless they deserve it for their Excessive Impiety; nor can they devote any *Thing* to Destruction,

* De Jure
Nat. &
Gent. l. 4.
§. 11.

tion, unless it be on the account of such Persons. This therefore doth no ways concern our present Business. *Jephthah* could not lawfully Vow the Death of any one who deserved not to be put to death: Therefore his Daughter was no *Cherem*, no *Execration*, no *Devoted Wretch*. This Law of *Cherem* or *Anathema* gave the Jews no License to turn Assassines and Cut-throats, and to take away the Lives of their own Children: Of which * Mr. *Selden* and other Learned Men were so convinced, that upon this very account they assert (and think they prove) that *Jephthah* did not offer up his Devoted Daughter in Sacrifice. But, by their leave, all that they prove hence is this, that he should not have done it. Besides, this sort of Vows called *Cherems*, was to be made by particular Warrant from God, who is Lord and Disposer of Life and Death, and can Sentence, and Devote to Destruction whom and what he pleaseth: But we read of no Warrant that *Jephthah* had to Vow the Death of his Daughter, much less to proceed to Execution; therefore it was direct Murder to put her to Death. And particularly as to Sacrificing her, that was a most Inhumane, Horrid and Barbarous Act, and expressly forbid of God, and hated by him. *Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not burn thy Sons and thy Daughters in the fire, as the Heathens used to do to their Gods: For every abomination to the Lord which he hateth, have they done, Deut. 12. 31.*

For

For *Jephthah* then to Vow the Sacrificing of his Daughter, was so far from being according to the Law, and Acceptable to God, that it was an *Abomination* to him.

Yea, some of the very *Pagans* themselves thought such an Act as this to be Unlawful: Thus * *Plutarch* tells us that *Agessilaus* being * *In vit. Pelopidae.* commanded in a Dream to Sacrifice his Daughter, refused to do it; and that when *Pelopidas* in a Vision was bid to Sacrifice a Virgin, he look'd on it as a Severe and Impious Command. *Agamemnon*, it is true, Sacrificed his own Daughter, but even a Prophane and Atheistical Poet could blame him for it, crying out against his * *Superstitions Religion*, as the ill Motive which *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum* *Lucret. l. 1.* prompted him to so vile a Practice. Yea it is probable that *This* is the very Instance which I am now treating of: *Iphigenia* was *Jephthah's* Daughter, for the Greeks mistook *Iphigenia* for *Jephthigenia*, which plainly signifies the Daughter of *Jephthah*: And *Agamemnon* was mistaken for *Jephthah*, for he being a known Man in the Trojan Wars, which were in *Jephthah's* time (as the Masters of Chronology have agreed) it was easie for the Poets to take one Warlike-man or Great Captain for another, and to represent the History of *Jephthah* under the Name of *Agamemnon* (as I shall shew at another time, it was the common use of the Poets, to disguise Passages of Sacred History with Fables and Prophane Names,) particularly as for this Sacrificing of his Daughter

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Daughter, it being so Remarkable but yet so Infamous an Act, it is certain that it was spread abroad and known among the Nations, and could not but be abhorred by all Persons of Sobriety and Reason: So far is it from being allowed by a Particular Law of God, as some pretend.

Again, There are *Others*, who that they may effectually prove the Lawfulness of this Fact, tell us, it was done by the particular Instinct of the Holy Spirit, that *Jephthah* was immediately stirred up by God to Achieve this singular Enterprize, which in others would have been unlawful. * *St. Jerons* of old seem'd to be of this mind, and *Peter Martyr* afterwards was enclined to think the same, but he presently corrected himself. And truly no less could be expected from him, for it is a very near approach to Blasphemy, to say that so Wicked a Perpetration was by favourable Instinct from God himself, especially when he hath so particularly forbidden it, as you heard in the former particular. Indeed from what I delivered there, this Bold Opinion is sufficiently confuted, for if Sacrificing his Daughter was downright Murther, and was a Breach of *Moses's* Law, and of the Law of Nature, then it is intolerable Folly and Presumption to plead for the Lawfulness of it. Moreover, if there had been here a Divine Impulse, or a Particular Command from Heaven (as in the Example of *Abraham*, who was bid to do what he did, and that for Trial

Trial only) he would not have rent his *Cloaths* and been troubled, but he would have likewise check'd his Daughters Sorrow (as well as his own) by declaring that his Resolution to Sacrifice her was from a particular Dictate which he received from Heaven: Thus we have reason to reject the Opinion of those Men who hold that *Jephthah* sinned not in Sacrificing his Daughter, for neither of the Arguments which they alledge have any Truth and Reality in them; there was no Express Law of God, nor any Divine Instinct in the case. Wherefore we may safely and confidently aver with the great *Jewish Antiquary* before cited, That * the * *Amig.* Sacrifice which *Jephthah* offered was not lawful, nor acceptable to God, but that on the contrary it was Unlawful and Sinful. And so most of the Ancient Fathers of the Church, who have spoken of this, do assert.

But here we may be thought to be reduced to a great streight in maintaining this post; for if all Humane Slaughter was forbid by God, and is against Nature, and is utterly Unlawful and Vicious, how came *Jephthah* to commit this Fact? What made him act so strangely? What could be the Motive to so Horrid an Enterprize? If it was so Gross an Enormity, how can we think this Great Man, this Judge with his High Priest and Priests about him, yea and the whole Sanhedrim to advise him, could be guilty of such a Vile and Notorious Crime as this?

The third TEXT

Here then I am to give an Account why and whence it was that *Jephthah* acted thus Extravagantly and (as it may seem) profligately; and I hope it will not be offensive, if I take liberty to dissent from the generality of Writers in this matter: For though I agree with those who hold that *Jephthah* sacrificed his Daughter, and that he did very ill in it; yet I differ from them in the Ground and Occasion of it; which is the thing I will now insist upon, and for which I chiefly designed this Discourse.

They attribute it to the Corruption of that Age, telling us that very strange and Exorbitant things were done in those days as the Book of *Judges* expressly relates. And moreover they add that *Jephthah* herein followed the Examples that had been before him, for Humane Sacrifices were commonly offered by the Heathens that dwelt in Palestine, *Deut.* 12. 31. *Their Sons and their Daughters they burned in the fire to their Gods*, and particularly we read that the *Ammonites* offered their Children to *Moloch* in the Flames. Nay it cannot be denied that this Horrid and Bloody Idolatry was practised by some of the *Israelites* a little before *Jephthah's* time, *Judges* 1. 21. compared with *Psalms* 106. 37. Much less can it be denied, that afterwards there were frequent Examples of this Effusion of Humane Blood, and Sacrificing of Men and Women, of which I shall speak in another place. But though Example is strong and hath a very

Enquired into.

very great Empire over our Minds, yet I cannot be induced to believe that this was the Ground of *Jephthah's* Sacrificing his Daughter. This Good and Vertuous Man (for he is signally represented to future Ages as such by *St. Paul*) would not be led to this Flagitious Action by the Example of some Wild Infidels, or a few Besotted *Israelites*, who were forsaken of God, and became professed Votaries to the Infernal Dæmons, and having given Themselves, proceeded to offer their Children (who were parts of them) to these Hellish Ghosts. I cannot think therefore that this was the reason of *Jephthah's* committing this worst kind of Homicide: This was not, this could not be Motive strong enough to prevail upon this Worthy Man, this Noble Hero; he would easily have baffled such a Scandalous and Horrid Temptation as this. As bad as those times were, as degenerate as *Israel* was in those days, it is not credible that such a Person, and in such Circumstances (which could not but make him willing to be disengaged from his Vow, if it were possible) would tamely follow the Example of the most Accursed Idolaters, of the worst and vilest Miscreants in the World, and inhumanely Massacre his only Child. This must not, this cannot enter into our thoughts, unless at the same time we banish thence all sober Reason.

But they likewise impute it to the Ignorance of that Age. The Priests, say they, were

were Strangers to their own Law, and knew it not. Hence it was that they thought that by the Law in Lev. 27. 28. *Jephthah's* Daughter was a devoted Person, and so could not be redeemed, but must be put to Death. I do not wholly exclude the Ignorance of that Age, which was an attendant (if not a Cause in part) of their General Corruption: But it is highly improbable that none of the Sacred Function should understand this Case that was before them; as Dr. *Lightfoot* represents it, *The Sanhedrim was now sitting, and there was the Priesthood attending on the Ark at Shiloh, and yet is Israel now so little acquainted with the Law, that neither the Sanhedrim, nor the Priests can resolve Jephthah that his Vow might have been redeemed.* I cannot persuade my self that they could All of them err so grossly, and that in so plain a matter, wherein they were directed not only by the positive Law of God, but by that of Nature and Reason. But I rather think that there was more of Negligence than Ignorance in the present Miscarriage: The Priests of that degenerate Age were grown Careless and Unconcerned: They were not Solicitous to instruct this Prince aright, and to conduct his Conscience by right and steady Measures in this present Case of the Vow which he had made. They could not (as I conceive) be Ignorant of the Unlawfulness of this Vow, and of the Greater Unlawfulness of putting his Daughter to Death: But herein they were most

most shamefully defective, that they neglected to inform this doubting and Misguided Man, and to convince him of the Unreasonableness of his too forward Zeal.

Which brings me to that which I intend more largely to insist upon, viz. The True Source and Original of this Extravagant and Bloody Act of our Renowned *Jephthah*. It was, as I apprehend, his too Forward Zeal that pushed him on to this unhappy Undertaking. To make good this Assertion, I must tell you that I have this Idea of him, That he was a Man of a very Religious and Pious Disposition; which manifested it self at his first publick appearing for his Country-men; for I observe that he then applied himself to ask Council of God, *Judges* 10. 17. 11. 11. When he undertook to fight their Battles, this was the first thing he did. He opened the Campagne well, for he began with God. Likewise I take notice that he shewed himself very Conscientious in his Treaty with and offers of Peace to the *Ammonites* before he proceeded to any Acts of Hostility, *Chap.* 11. 12., &c. He was pleased to give them some account of his marching against them, though he needed not have done it: He laboured to convince them that it was a Just and Lawful War which he was undertaking, and accordingly he sacredly appeals to the Lord as Judge in this Quarrel, v. 27. When he had thus quitted himself like a Religious and Just Man, it is expressly said, *The Spirit of the*

the Lord came upon him, v. 29. That is, he was extraordinarily stir'd up by God, and animated to engage the Enemy, and to reduce them to Obedience and Submission. A Person of so Holy and Pious Inclinations was assisted and blessed by God in a signal and eminent manner. But behold yet another Argument and Demonstration of his Godly Mind, viz. His Solemn Vow that he made; for this proceeded purely from a Good and Religious Heart, from an ardent Desire and Intention of giving Honour to God upon his obtaining a Victory. All these Instances are Proofs of what I asserted, That this *Mighty Man of War* (as he is

* *Ch. 11. 1.* * called) was a *Man of as great Religion and Goodness*. Which is farther confirmed

|| *Heb. 11. 32* by the Testimony of the Infallible || Apostle, who reckons this *Jephthah* among the Holy Patriarchs, Prophets and eminent Servants of God, whose Faith had made them known and Famous in the World.

Having thus laid my Foundation (which is grounded on the History of *Jephthah* both in the Old and New Testament) I am to raise my Superstructure, which is this, This Conscientious and Good Man having with a Pious Intention made a Vow, but having been Rash and Indiscreet in the Wording and Framing of it, was unhappily drawn into a Snare, and his own Religious Temper and Active Zeal hastned him into it: And this I take to be the true Spring and Motive of his strange Acting, i. e. Of his

his bereaving his Daughter of her Life. He being a Person of a very Sensible Conscience, of a Soft and Tender Spirit, thought verily that he ought to perform his Vow, and accordingly did so. In this he shewed a very Singular Zeal, but not according to knowledge: So that we have reason to conclude, that he sinned out of *Blind Zeal* to perform his Promise and Vow which he had solemnly made to God. This was a great Fault, an heinous Error, but it was one on the right hand, and therefore the more excusable. This invites me to mention his Name and Memory with Honour, and to remember that he was one of those who are *righteous overmuch* (as the Wise Man speaks:) He was too Zealous in pursuit of his Vow, although it was a Rash and unadvised one as to the manner of it, and hereupon his Innocent Daughter became a Victim, viz. for the sake of his Vow. Indeed his case was to be pitied and lamented, for his Fault was the product of his Well-meaning, and of his Great Care to keep a Good Conscience. He saw it was usual with Good Men to * *make Vows*, and in a * *Gen. 28.* mistaken Imitation of them he turned a 20. Solemn Votary, and in the sight and hearing of all Persons that were about him, as well as before the All-seeing God, promised the Sacrificing of his Daughter, for it was so in effect, she being included in *whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of his House to meet him*. The Sense of this most Solemn Act

Act of Religion (for such a *Vow* is, which is a Promissory Oath made unto God) was so vigorous on his mind, that he could not possibly divert the thoughts of it, nor perswade himself that he could any ways be excused from acting according to what he had vowed. This is to be imputed to the Reverence of an Oath, which hath ever been very Great and Awful.

We see in that Noted Instance of the *Gibeonites* what was thought concerning this kind of Obligation, though it was by Craft and Imposture: *We have sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel: Now therefore we may not touch them,* Joshua 9. 19. It is not improbable, that *Jephthah* bore this very Instance in his mind, and indiscreetly made use of it on this occasion which I am now speaking of: He thence confirmed himself in the Apprehensions he had of that Inviolable Tye he was under by reason of his *Vow*. He thought it was so far from being a Sin to keep his Promise made to God, that he reckoned it his indispensable Duty: And this false Perswasion hurried him on to this vile Act. So in other Examples in the Sacred History, we see what a Regard and Reverence Men had of an Oath or *Vow*, yea though it was in it self unlawful: Thus *Saul* having rashly but solemnly vowed in the day of Battle, that the Person should die who tasted any Food before the Pursuit was quite over; his own Son *Jonathan*, who had so signalized his Valour at that time,

time, by vanquishing Threescore thousand *Philistines*, had like to have been a Sacrifice (as *Jephthah's* Daughter here) after the Victory, because *Saul* was so Religious and Austere (for so he would be thought to be.) in observing his Oath, notwithstanding he was so plainly excused from the Obligation of it, as to his Son *Jonathan*, by reason of his known Circumstances, which were his Ignorance of his Fathers Oath, and the Necessity which he then lay under of taking some small Portion of Food to support him when he was so Faint and Hungry. The like Erronious and Superstitious Conceit of an Oath, the *Jews*, but especially the *Pharisees*, had in our Saviour's time, who therefore sharply reproves them, *Mark* 7. 11. They imagined that their *Vow* of *Corban* extinguished their Obligation to other Commands, as Honouring their Parents, and the like. So we read that *Herod*, by a lavish Oath, promised *Herodias* to grant her whatever she would ask, and therefore forsooth * for his Oaths sake, he must needs kill St. * *Mat* 14. 9. *John*. This, though it was a mere Pretence in *Herod*, shews that a *Vow* or Oath hath always been held Sacred; else he could not have made use of this Pretence, viz. That he was bound by his Oath, and therefore could not be loosed from it. This hath in all Ages been held a most Sacred Tye; especially *Vows*, which are Oaths more immediately made to God, have been esteemed such. Whence we find that the Best

Best and Holiest Men have always been very observant of the Religious Obligation of a *Vow*, and have been exceeding careful to pay God their *Vows* which their Lips have uttered. It is no wonder then that *Jephthah*, a Person so Religiously disposed was very careful, yea even to an Excess, to do the same. He had read in the Law, * *When thou shalt vow a Vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it* : And he was sensible that the willful Neglect of this is a Crime of a very heinous Nature, and that God is a severe Exactor of *Vows*, and is wont to avenge the Breach of them, by inflicting the greatest Judgments and Plagues imaginable. He knew that the Violation of *Vows* was no other than a Mocking of God, a Dissembling with Heaven, and an Act of Injustice and Unfaithfulness towards our Maker.

* Deut. 23.
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Wherefore it is likely he thus argued with himself, though I know that the performing of my *Vow* will be accompanied with Murther : Yet I consider likewise, that the not performing it will be attended with down-right Perjury. Seeing then there is a Necessity of Sinning one way or other, I resolve to choose the former, for though that be an Injury to my Daughter, yet the latter is a plain Affront to God. My Child is dear to me, but my God, my Father, is much more dear : Therefore 'tis better to be Cruel than Impious, to be Guilty of Bloodshed, than to be

be Perjured and False to the Lord of Heaven and Earth. *I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back*, I must not reverse, I dare not revoke the Sacred Promise which I have made to the Almighty, but my firm and unshaken purpose is to perform it. Thus the mistaken Sense of the Indissoluble Obligation which his *Vow* had laid upon him, ran him upon this fatal Rock. *Jephthah* could not but know, if he had seriously considered, that no *Vow* is Obligatory where the matter of it is unlawful ; that what we *Vow* must be Honest, and in our Power, whereas this of killing his Daughter was neither ; That the Force of that Obligation which goes along with the *Vow* or *Oath*, is from the Lawfulness of that thing which is vowed or Sworn ; and therefore that he could not oblige himself to lay violent Hands on his Dear Relative, but that he having vowed it, and it being Unlawful in it self, he was obliged not to perform the *Vow* ; besides that the Law of Natural Reason and Equity was a prior Obligation upon him. He should have considered that an Unlawful thing cannot possibly be made Lawful by the Interposition of a *Vow* ; yea That it is a Double Sin to act unlawfully by vertue of a *Vow*, for there is not only the Sinful *Vow*, but the Sinful Act that follows it. But so blind and partial is good Mens Zeal sometimes, that they are not in a Capacity to attend to, at least not to regulate

regulate themselves by the most Rational Principles that are offered them. This was the Lot of our Unhappy Prince and Warrior, he had conquered the *Ammonites*, but could not vanquish his own Erroneous Conceptions, his Mistaken Zeal; his Misguided Conscience. He knew that the Law forbade Humane Sacrifices; but he was so deluded as to believe that the Religion of a Vow superseded that Prohibition. Wherefore he goes on perversely in the Prosecution of his Rash Oath, and commands the Poor Reprieved Virgin to be brought to the Altar, and there be offered a Burnt-offering to the Lord.

Yea, I am inclined to believe he sacrificed her with his own Hand; for it is not probable that the Priests would comply with him in so Extravagant and Inhumane a Demand as this, of Sacrificing his Daughter: And besides, he that was so Precise to keep his Vow according to the very Exact Wording of it, would not think himself excused from acting this part himself, seeing he had expressly vowed the doing of it in his own Person, if you rigorously interpret the Words: *I will offer it up*, saith he, *for a Burnt Sacrifice*: By which Words this Curious Man might really think he was obliged to be the Sacrificer himself. Which could not but be a great Aggravation of his Fault, because he was a Father, and so acted Unnaturally; because he was his Daughter, nay, because he had

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* no other Child but her, which made it yet more Unnatural and Cruel, because he was a *Layman*, and so plainly usurped on the Office of the Priest. But mention none of these things to me, saith he, say not I am her Father, and she my Child, say not I am no Priest, and that I invade the Sacred Function: I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, I have Sacredly engaged to offer up for a Burnt-offering whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my House to meet me, and lo! this my Daughter met me, and therefore must be offered up by my hand. Who knows not that the Regal and Priestly Power have resided in the same Person? As I am a Ruler and Magistrate, I have Authority to use the Sword: And why may I not make use of it to slay a Sacrifice as well as to cut off Offenders, especially when I have sacredly promised to do the former? My Vow makes me a Priest: I need no other Ordination than this: This alone Capacitates me, nay necessitates me to discharge this part of the Sacerdotal Office. Thus our well-meaning Bigot is Punctual in pursuing his Solemn Vow, this he urgeth and insisteth upon, and the thoughts of it are so Rampant in his Breast, that he will not be beaten off from it. Though he had *two months* time to consider of this Case, yet he remained inflexible, and would by no means be prevailed with to call back his Rash Vow, but he broke through all to keep

* V. 34

|| two || V. 38, 39.

keep it. The Cause of it was no other than what I have often suggested, namely, too Nice and Curious a Conscience: This thrust him on to act against the undeniable Laws of his Religion. Lest he should violate his Sacred Promise to God, he puts off the Nature and Pity of a Man, to make good his single Vow, he disregarded all the other Obligations of Reason and Religion. Such, such is the impetuous Force of a *Misguided Mind*; of a *Disordered Zeal*.

Having thus discovered the True Spring and Motive of *Jephthah's* Sacrificing his Daughter, I will offer something concerning the *Design of Providence*, which ruled in this, as in all other Events and Actions, seem they never so Strange; and I will suggest what I think is the Proper Use that is to be made of this Extraordinary and Surprising Occurrence. Though this Great Judge and Prince of *Israel* behaved himself thus unworthily, and no ways suitably to his Character, yet God was pleased to suffer this for Ends not unworthy of his Divine Wisdom and Holiness. For by this Remarkable Example he thought fit to admonish us concerning our making of *Vows*, that if at any time we enter upon this Solemn Act of Religion, we be careful to do it with great Circumspection and Consideration. God permitted *Jephthah's* Daughter to be Sacrificed, saith an Antient Pious Father,

Father, * *To teach Men for the future, not to make Vows to God indefinitely, as you remember Jephthah's Vow ran.* These Large, Unlimited and General Vows are dangerous, and prove a Snare unto us:

Wherefore in this respect we ought to use great Caution and Prudence. With this agrees that of *Theodoret*, God (saith he) to remind others to be careful of their Vows, and to teach them to make them Discreetly, hindred not *Jephthah* from putting his Daughter to death. By this Notable Instance in Sacred Story, he would condemn all Precipitancy and Temerity in Vowing and Swearing, and in making Solemn Promises before him: And he would warn the future Ages of the World to perform these Acts of Religion with previous Consultation and serious Premeditation. For here he sheweth us what is the Punishment of Rash Oaths, and Undue and Unlawful Vows, that we may learn to avoid them. Here we see that the Fault of *Jephthah's* Rash Vowing was punished in the Untimely Death of his Daughter.

And as we are by this Example taught to avoid all Rash and Unlawful Oaths and Vows, so, when we have made them, not to keep them. There is a great deal of *Jephthah's* Blind Zeal in the World, too Nice a Conscience in some things, and too Rash and Bold in others. Nothing is

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* Περὶ διδασκαλίας
τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ
μὴ ποιεῖν ὁρκισμῶν ὑπερ-
βάτων. Just. Mart.
Quaest. & Resp. ad Or-
thod.

more Sacred than an *Oath*, and yet there may be a Superstitious and Undue Reverence of it. This appears plainly in Men fondly pretending the indispensable Obligation of some Oaths, whilst at the same time they have no regard to others which are certainly Obligatory to them. They speak the same Language that *Jephthah* did, telling us that they *have opened their mouths unto the Lord, and they cannot go back*, i. e. They plead the Force of their Solemn Engagements and Tyes, and refuse to unbind themselves (though it be in their Power) and thereby plunge themselves into Mischiefs, and endanger not only their own, but (with our Resolute, yet Nice *Jephthah*) other Persons Lives and Fortunes. This *Rash Juror* speaks to us all to take warning by his Fatal Circumstances, and to be at great Pains to enlighten our Minds, but especially to invoke the Divine Light and Aid: He calls to us not to Debauch our Consciences by entertaining False Notions and Conceptions of a Vow. He remains an Example on Record of an Imprudent and Unlawful Votary, and likewise of the Dismal Effects of his being so. He not only reminds us that we ought to be extremely careful not to make any *Rash Vows* or *Unlawful Oaths*, but that we ought not to think ourselves tyed by them when we have made them. He is a constant Monitor to teach Men that their Unlawful Oaths and Promises oblige them only to break them, and that this

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is acceptable to God, and just and equitable in it self.

Lastly, This notable Instance informs us, that Real Vertue and Goodness do not always exempt Men from doing some very ill things. Sometimes we shall see Vertuous Persons undertake and pursue with great Warmness what their Misinformed Consciences have put them upon, though it contradicts the Laws of God and Men. What *Jephthah* did was out of Simplicity and an Honest Mind, and therefore it was not inconsistent with *Faith*, which we find him praised for in the Catalogue of the Ancient and Famous Worthies by the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*: And truly there are other Great Offenders besides our *Jephthah* mentioned in that Panegyrick. So it is, the Sacred History acquaints us by enumerating sundry Instances, that Persons beloved of God, and of the greatest Integrity, have been guilty of the most heinous Miscarriages. Especially it may be observed of those that are very Active and Warm in their Religion, that they sometimes are subject to some Unwarrantable Bigotry, which unhappily leads or rather drives them to something worse. Particularly we see this in the Example before us, and let us mind the Design of Heaven in it. This Renowned Warrior and Judge was suffered by the most Wise Disposer of all Events to commit this great Folly, that we may be convinced of the Insufficiency of Humane Strength, that we

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may see that the best Men egregiously offend in some things, that they are a Compound of Spirit and Flesh, half Angel and half Brute, and that it may appear to the World that there is no Perfect and Consummate Vertue in this Life. This is the Conception I have of *Jephthah's* Case; but every one is left to his Liberty to frame what other Notions of it he pleaseth.

The

The fourth Text enquired into, *viz.*

Dan. IX. 24, 25.

Seventy Weeks are determined upon thy People, and upon thy Holy City, to finish the Transgression, &c.

THIS is another Famous Prophecie concerning the *Time of our Lord's Coming*, but more especially (as I shall shew in the sequel of this Exercitation) concerning the Time of his *Passion* and leaving the World. My design in treating on these Words, is to offer what I conceive is most Observable in them, to assign what is most proper and pertinent towards the leading us into the true Meaning of this Noble Prediction, to remove the Difficulties and Obscurities that lie either in the Text or Context, to correct the Mistakes of some Writers upon both, to render the Words Clear, Plain and Intelligible (as to which most Expositors have been Deficient,) to present you with a Particular Computation, or Chronological Calculation of the Years contained in the *Seventy Weeks*, and in the whole Attempt to let you see that this

Propheſie was ſpoken of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, the True *Meſſias*, that it is really fulfilled, and that this fulfilling of it is a Demonſtration of Chriſt's being come, and conſequently of the Truth and Certainty of the Chriſtian Religion.

- In this Chapter you read that the Holy
 * V. 1, 2. Prophet *Daniel* foreſeeing * in the firſt
 Year of *Darius*, that the Seventy Years
 Captivity was now coming to an end,
 || V. 16. || prayed for the Reſtauration of *Jeruſalem*:
 And whiſt he was directing his Prayers
 * V. 20, 21. to Heaven, * the Angel *Gabriel* (the ſame
 Divine Meſſenger, as you may obſerve,
 who appeared afterwards to the Virgin
Mary, and told her that the Time of the
Meſſias's Coming was accompliſhed) came
 and informed him concerning that Important
 Matter, and told him, That as the
Iſraelites had been Captives *Seventy Years*,
 and were now to be delivered, ſo within
Seventy Weeks of Years the *Meſſias* ſhould
 come, and be a Deliverer and Saviour.
 This I conceive is the reaſon of this Myſtical
 way of ſpeaking, and deſcribing the
 Time: It alludes to the Captivity of *Ba-
 bylon*, which was to laſt *Seventy Years*.
 That was the determinate Space of the
 Captivity, after which they were to be
 delivered, and to return back to their own
 Land. So in like manner the time of the
 Adminiſtration of things until the Re-
 demption from the Captivity of Sin and
 Satan's Tyranny in the World, is circum-
 ſcribed

ſcribed in a Number that answers to that,
viz. Seventy Weeks of Years, inſtead of *Se-
 venty Years*. *Seventy Weeks* are determined
 upon thy People, and upon thy Holy City, to
 finiſh the Transgreſſion, and to make an end of
 ſins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity,
 and to bring in everlaſting Righteouſneſs, and
 to ſeal up the Viſion and Propheſie, and to anoint
 the moſt Holy. It hath been intimated already
 that by *Seventy Weeks* here are to be under-
 ſtood not *Seventy Weeks of days*, but of
 Years; each day for a Year; which *Seventy*
 being multiplied by *Seven* (every Week con-
 ſiſting of *Seven days*) make 490. Now that it
 is uſual in Scripture to ſignifie *Years* by *Days*,
 I need not be very laborious in proving. Life
 is meaſured by *Days*; *Years* are meant when
Days are expreſſed, as in *Gen. 5. 5. All the
 days that Adam lived were nine hundred and
 thirty Years*: And ſo of *Seth*, v. 8. and *Enos*,
 v. 11. and *Cainan*, v. 14. and *Enoch*, v. 23.
 And that a Day is put for a Year, and conſe-
 quently that a Week is taken for a Septenary
 of Years, or the ſpace of *Seven Years*, is moſt
 evident from *Lev. 25. 8. Thou ſhalt number
 Seven Sabbaths (or Weeks) of years unto thee*,
 i.e. *Forty nine Years*. So in *Gen. 29. 27. a Week*
 is interpreted *Seven years* in the ſame Verſe.
 But we need not be very Solicitous here,
 becauſe as to this there is no Controverſie be-
 tween us and the *Jews*, who are the Perſons we
 are concerned with in this Propheſie. * They
 willingly grant that Weeks not of Days or
 Months, but of Years are here meant, and
 that

* Seder O-
 lam, R. So-
 lomon in
 cap. 9. Dan.

that the Seventy Weeks are seven times Seventy Years, that is, 490 Years.

It is said, *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy People, and upon thy Holy City*, i. e. There is a Certain Determinate Time set, viz. Four hundred and ninety Years, within which Period the Jewish People and Nation, and the City of Jerusalem in a special manner shall experience very Strange Alterations: Within that space of time the *Messias* shall come, and the Wonderful Effects and Fruits of his Coming shall be such as These: 1. There shall be the *finishing of Transgression, and the making an end of sins*: By the Light of the Gospel which shall be preached at his Coming, Men shall see the Error of their ways, and be convinced of their Sins, and shall leave off their former Evil Courses. 2. There shall be a *making of Reconciliation for Iniquity*: The Blood of Christ shall make an Atonement for the Sins of the World. 3. *Everlasting Righteousness shall be brought in*: The Legal and Mosaical Services shall cease, and a more Pure and Spiritual Worship shall take place, and continue for ever. 4. There shall be the *Sealing*, (or the *finishing*, for 'tis the same Hebrew word which was used before in this Verse, and was translated *making an end of*) the *Vision and Prophecie*, i. e. When these things before mentioned shall come to pass, there shall be a Fulfilling and Accomplishing of the Prophecies concerning the *Messias* and his Kingdom: Then it shall appear to the World, that they are Ratified and

and Verified: The *Seal* is set upon them. 5. There shall be the *anointing of the most Holy*: Then shall be set up an Eternal Priesthood, excelling that of the Law, then Christ Jesus shall be the High Priest, and he shall be solemnly Appointed and Consecrated to that Work and Office. The *Messiah*, the *Anointed One* is meant here, and that by the Confession of the *Jews* themselves. Thus far, I think, we have made all very plain.

It follows v. 25, 26, 27. *Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah, the Prince shall be Seventy weeks: And threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after the threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: And the People of the Prince that shall come shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a Flood: And unto the end of the War Desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the Covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of Abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the Consummation, and that determined shall be poured on the desolate.* Here, before I Paraphrase on these words, I am to observe to you that the Angel divides the *Seventy weeks* into three parts, viz. Seven weeks, and sixty two weeks, and one week; which he doth to give a more Distinct Account of what was to happen in that Period of time.

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The *Seven weeks* of Years (*i.e.* 49 Years) were fulfilled when the Building of the City of *Jerusalem* was compleated: The *Sixty two weeks* of Years were fulfilled in the space of time between the finishing of the City and Christ's Manifestation at his Baptism: In the *one Week*, viz. The last Week of the Seventy Christ was put to Death. Thus the Time is reckoned by Parts, as it is usual among the Hebrews to express a Number by *parts*, which might be done altogether in *whole*: *Twenty Shekels, five and twenty Shekels, and fifteen Shekels shall be your Maneh* (or *Mina*) Ezek. 45. 12. So here in the *Weeks* of Daniel, the Seventy Weeks or former Summ of 490 Years, is divided into *Seven weeks* (i. e. 49 Years) and into *Sixty two Weeks* (i. e. 434 Years) and into *one week* (i. e. Seven Years) in all Seventy Weeks or 490 Years. Having premised this, I will briefly descant on the words, *From the going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, i.e. From the going forth of the Word of God, or of the Edict of the Persian Princes concerning the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the Finishing of it unto the Messias the Prince* (i. e. To the time when Christ will manifest himself, and shew himself to be the Prince, Lord, and Head of the Church, the Saviour and Redeemer of the World by his Dying for it) *shall be seven weeks* (i.e. Forty nine Years, in which time the Jews rebuilt their City and Temple peaceably: For to this must those words in this Verse be referred; *The street shall be built again, and the wall, even*

in

in troublesome times) and threescore and two weeks (which make in all 69 Weeks, or 483 Years.) And after the Threescore and two Weeks (which immediately succeeded the Seven Weeks; that is, after 69 Weeks, viz. in the Seventieth Week, being 484 after the restoring of the Temple) *shall the Messiah be cut off* (he shall suffer Death upon the Cross) *but not for himself* (which Clause plainly testifies that this is spoken of Christ, who suffered and died not on his own account, but for us, that he might deliver us from Death and Damnation.) And the People of the Prince that shall come shall destroy the City, &c. Which is a brief Description of the miserable Condition of the Jews, when *Titus Vespasian* the Roman Prince came with his terrible Army and besieged *Jerusalem*, and took it, and utterly destroyed it: Which was the Fruit of their putting to Death the Lord of Life. And he shall confirm the Covenant (the new Covenant spoken of by the Prophet *Jeremiah*) with many, even with all true *Israelites* who believe in him. And this he shall do for *one Week*, or in *one Week*, viz. in the remaining Week, which is the Seventieth in Number. Then in a more signal manner the Gospel-Covenant shall be ratified and confirmed. And in the midst of the week he shall cause the Sacrifice and Oblation to cease, i. e. In the last Week, and in the fourth Year of that Week (which may be called the middle of it) all Sacrifices and Oblations shall be abolished and nulled by Christ his once Offering up Himself on the Cross,

Cross, for in the midst of this last Prophectic Week Christ made the Oblation of himself. And in the next words, *For the over-spreading of Abominations he shall make it desolate, &c.* There is set forth (as in the former Verse) the dismal Consequence of the Jews putting Christ to Death, viz. The Besieging and Sacking of *Jerusalem* by the Roman Armies which were Abominable and Detestable, and are called by our Saviour (with Allusion to this place without doubt) *the Abomination of Desolation*, Matt. 24. 15.

This is a brief and plain Exposition of the Text and Context. And from the several particulars here mentioned, any unprejudiced Man may see that Christ, and none else is meant here. It is impossible with any shew of reason to apply the words to any other, though some Jewish Writers have attempted it, but in a very sorry and ridiculous manner, as you may briefly see in * *Huetius*. It is certain that this Prophecie directly points at Christ, and his Coming and Manifestation, and lets us know that there shall be *Four hundred and ninety Years* between the going forth of the Commandment to rebuild *Jerusalem*, and his full Manifestation in the World.

But now Great Disputes arise about the True and Exact Beginning and Ending of these 490 Years, which for the Satisfaction of the Curious, I will undertake to give some account of. The Greatest Dispute is about the Beginning; for there were several Orders and Commands about building *Jerusalem*; hence

hence it is Difficult to tell from which of them we must date our Account. We know that the *Seventy Weeks* begin from the going forth of the Commandment (or Word) to restore or build *Jerusalem*. But the Word or Commandment concerning that matter was both Divine and Humane, from God and from the Persian Kings. Which of these is meant here? As for the Word of God touching the building of *Jerusalem*, That was at several and very different times. You have the Divine Promise about it from the Mouth of *Isaiah*, ch. 44. 26. and 45. 13. and of *Baruch* the second and fourth Chapters, and of *Jeremiah* 25. 12. and 29. 10, &c. From this latter Promise especially * some have dated the *Seventy Weeks*, * *Lyranus*, but therein are much mistaken, for they go *Vatablus*, back too far. *Baruch* and *Jeremiah* prophesied *Galatinus*, six hundred, and *Isaiah* above seven hundred, and many of the Hebrews. Years before Christ; so that it cannot be that the *Seventy Weeks* should begin from their Prophecies, because these were long before that Time can be fixed. Therefore it is impossible these Divine Predictions and Promises should be meant here. Others look to that Divine Word from the Mouth of the Angel to *Daniel*, *At the beginning of thy Supplications the Commandment came forth*, Dan. 9. 23. These Supplications were made in the * first Year of *Darius* the King of *Babylon*: * *Dan. 9. 1.* Therefore the Commandment went forth in the first Year of this *Darius*, which was just about the end of the Captivity, and consequently the *Seventy Weeks* began at the end of the

* *Demonstrat. Evang. Prop.*
2.

the Seventy Years Captivity, when the Angel brought that Message to *Daniel* in the entrance of *Darius's* Reign. Hence *Calvin* confidently averreth, That those Seventy Years and the Seventy Weeks are joyned together. If we interpret the going forth of the Commandment concerning a Divine Word, this is a very probable Opinion; but if you compare Verse 23 and 25. you will find that they speak of two Different things. The Commandment that came forth in the former place, is not the same with the going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, in the latter place. The first only signifies that a Word or Message from God came to the Angel, and that He was to discover it to *Daniel*, as it follows in that Verse, *I am come to shew thee, I am come to tell thee that Word and Commandment which I have from God.* But the second speaks of something which was to be afterwards, in pursuance of the foregoing Message. There should be within the compass of a few Years a Formal Command or Decree for the re-edifying of Jerusalem, and from that time (and that only) the Seventy Weeks were to take their Rise. It is probable then that the Word of Man, i. e. The Command or Edict of some Prince is here to be understood by the going forth of the Commandment. Now there were several Edicts of Princes which went forth for the restoring of Jerusalem, and that at different Times. There are no less than four Edicts mentioned by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*; we will enquire to which

which of these the Inchoation of the Seventy Weeks belongs.

The first Edict we read of, is that of *Cyrus*, the first Emperour of the second Monarchy, in the first Year of his Reign, when he set forth a Proclamation for the Jews Return under their Commanders *Zorobabel* and *Joshua*, 2 Chron. 36. 22, 23. 1 Ezra 1, 2, &c. 5. 13. 6. 3. which is confirmed by the Apocryphal Writings of 1 Ezra 2. 2, 3, 4. Accordingly * some begin the Edict, or Going forth of the Commandment, from the first Year of *Cyrus*, i. e. of his Reign in *Babylon*, for he had reigned near Thirty Years before in *Persia*. But the beginning of his Reign in *Babylon* was contemporary with the end of the Seventy Years Captivity. The second Edict was made by *Darius*, in the second Year of his Reign, *Ezra* 6. 1, 2, &c. Hag. 1. 1. For *Cyrus* being employed abroad in the Wars, and at last treacherously cut off by the *Scythians* (against whom he then warred) and the Enemies of the Church being very vigorous at home, the Work was stopped for a time: But this King renewed it, and set it forward by his Decree; therefore † some begin the Number of *Daniel's* Weeks from this. But here it is disputed by some whether this *Darius* was *Darius Hystaspis* or *Darius Nothus*: * Some hold it was the former, and † some contend it was the latter. For there is a great Controversie among Historians, about the placing of these Persian Kings, their Names being so often confounded by those that write of them. But

* *Origen*,
Clement A.
lexandri-
nus, Tertul-
lian, Cal-
vin, L'Em-
percur, Be-
roaldus,
Broughton,
Willet,
Lightfoot.

† *Scaliger*,
Pererius,
Petavius,
Mede.

* *Eusebius*,
Cyril of
Jerusalem,
Pererius,
Petavius,
Lively,
Usher.

† *Severus*,
Sulpitius,
Scaliger,
Helvicus,
Brusius,
Junius,
But Mede.

But the former of these Opinions bids fairest for the Truth: Yea indeed it will be found upon a strict Search, that *Darius* called *Nothus* was not Emperor or *Persia* till a considerable time after, for there were 140 Years from *Cyrus* to this *Darius*, whereas the Temple was built in less than a third part of that time: Whence we may conclude, that this *Darius* spoken of by *Ezra*, was not, nay could not be *Darius Nothus*. The third Edict or Decree was of *Artaxerxes*, in the seventh Year of his Reign. This is the Subject of the whole seventh Chapter of *Ezra*; therefore some are of the Opinion that the Computation of *Daniel's* Weeks commenceth from this time. There is some Dispute whether this *Artaxerxes* was *Artaxerxes Mnemon* or *Longimanus*, but it goes generally among the

* *Eusebius*, *Basil. Emend.* reason for it, because this *Artaxerxes Mnemon* did not reign till several Years afterwards. The fourth and last Edict went forth in the Twentieth Year of the Reign of this *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when he gave *Nebemiah* a Commission to build and repair *Jerusalem* with Gates and Walls, *Nehem. 2. 1.* to

* *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Julian*, *Africanus*, *Zonaras*, *Bedae*, *Salianus*, *Vorsilius*, *Pererius*, *Lapide*, *Bi-* shop *Mun-* tague, *Petavius*, *Bi-* shop *Usher*.
 * some take the beginning of the Calculation of the *Seventy Weeks* from the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*.

Now of these four Opinions concerning the Beginning of the *Seventy Weeks* or 490 Years, this last seems to be the most probable, yea 'tis more than probable, for this is the thing

thing which I offer here to be noted that the Rise of the *Seventy Weeks* is to be taken precisely from that Royal Decree, and no other, wherein 'twas ordered that the City *Jerusalem* should be built. This one thing being attended to, will lead us to a right understanding of the true and only *Epoche* of *Daniel's* Weeks. Indeed the main reason why the Expositors, who have undertaken to give an account of these Prophetic Weeks have been mistaken, is because they overlook'd this. They saw they were to take their beginning from the going forth of the Commandment, but they were not solicitous to observe which of the Commandments or Decrees it was. They did not take notice that the *Seventy Weeks* were to begin from the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build *Jerusalem*. As for the other Decrees, viz. in the Reign of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, and in the seventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, they were for rebuilding the Temple only not the City, and therefore cannot be meant here. Consult the Book of *Ezra*, and you will find that the first Edict of *Cyrus*, was only for the Jews to go back, and to build the House of the Lord. And afterwards *Darius* renewed the Grant for building the Temple only, and no more. And it is said expressly, That *Artaxerxes* in his seventh Year gave leave to the Jews to take care of whatsoever was needful for the House of their God, *Ezra 7. 20.* There is not a word in these three Commissions, concerning the building of the City, the

The fourth TEXT

Street and the Wall : Therefore, I infer that the last Commission is meant here, which was expressly for *rebuilding the City, and the Walls, and Gates*. Accordingly *Nehemiah*, to whom the Commission was given, raised the Walls, and set up Gates, and so finished the Building of the City, which was in the twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes*. This hath not been taken notice of by several Learned Men, and hath caused them to mistake the True *Ara* of this Prophecie. But certainly this is a very useful and necessary Key for the opening of the Text. You see plainly that the Prophecie begins from that time when *Nehemiah* was sent to effect this, and not before; for there was not before this Time any Licence or Power given to the Jews to restore and build the City. *Artaxerxes*, and he only, was the Prince that did this; he gave order in the Twentieth Year of his Reign, for the Restoring and Re-edifying of *Jerusalem*, and setting up the very Walls of it, which was the last thing to be done: Therefore in the Twentieth Year of this *Artaxerxes* was the *Beginning* of the Seventy Weeks of *Daniel*. I think this matter is very evident in it self. And besides, as to the forementioned Edicts, the first of them, *viz.* That of *Cyrus* cannot be the beginning of the Seventy Weeks, because there are above 560 Years from *Cyrus* to Christ's Death; for *Cyrus's* Edict was about the Sixtieth Olympiad, and Christ's Death was about 202 Olympiad. And the three other Epoches are also too much backward

Enquired into.

ward to be thought to be the times when the Seventy Weeks began.

There are * some that hold they commenced from the Compleating and Finishing of the Building of *Jerusalem*, which was in the Three and twentieth Year of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimannus*, when *Nehemiah* made a Feast of Dedication of the New City, *Nehem.* 12. 27, &c. which is called the Sacrifice of Dedication and of Finishing the Temple, 2 *Macc.* 2. 9. That this was in the Three and twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes* may be gathered also from *Josephus* in his * *Antiquities*. At that time all was compleated, the Work was at an end; and to this purpose the Authors of this Opinion understand the going forth of the Commandment in a Sense far different from what was represented in the foregoing Opinions. They maintain that *לך לך*, v. 25. is the going out or ending of the Word; and accordingly is translated *לך לך* by the *Septuagint*, and by the Vulgar Latin *Exitus*, and so signifieth the Fulfilling and Accomplishing of the Commandment or Edict concerning Building *Jerusalem*: Or this *Motus dabar* is *Exitus rei*, the finishing of the Thing (for a word instead of a thing; is an usual Idiom in the Hebrew and in other Oriental Languages) and so the meaning is, that from the Actual and Real Compleating of the Building of the City unto the *Messias* shall be Seventy Weeks; therefore from that time the Weeks begin. But this is but a Critical Notion; and hath no considerable weight

weight in it, especially if you remember that this Phrase [*the going forth of the Commandment*] was used once or twice before in this Chapter. I ask then the Authors of this Opinion, whether it is to be understood so then as well as now: If they say not, then they must give a reason why it should be understood so here, and not before; which I believe they are not able to give an account of, neither did they think of this when they espoused the former Notion. But if it be understood here as before, then there is this palpable Absurdity to be granted, that the thing was *finished* in the Twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes's* Reign, and yet that it was not *finished* till the Twenty third Year of his Reign, whereas there can be but *one finishing*. To which I add, That it is evident from other places of Scripture, that *Morza dabar* is no other than the Promulgation of the Command or Decree, for so this *going forth* signifies in *Dan. 2. 13.* and *Esther 1. 19.* When the Edict is *published* and *made known*, then 'tis said *to go forth*. Wherefore the fore-said Opinion is a mere straining and perverting of the Hebrew Phrase. So much for the Beginning of *Daniel's* Seventy Weeks: It is most clear and evident that they began from the Decree of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the Twentieth Year of his Reign. For this must be remembred, That the Edict here spoken of, is meant of the *rebuilding* of Jerusalem, the Streets and the Walls, but mentions not the *rebuilding* of the

the Temple. I grant that the City was begun to be built before this Edict came forth, as may be gathered from *Ezra 4. 12.* but there was no Royal Command and Authority for this; only the Jews were necessitated to build some part of the City, that they might have a Habitation and Shelter to be in whilst they were erecting the Temple. But afterwards *Nehemiah* came with Authority from *Artaxerxes*, and with a particular Order and Express Command to build what was wanting in *Jerusalem*, to erect the Walls, and effectually to finish the whole Work. There was no Edict for doing this, but this Particular one in the Twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes's* Reign.

In the next place I am to speak of the *End* and *Period* of these Weeks. *Hippolytus* the Martyr placed it in the Birth of Christ, others in his Baptism, and some in his Preaching, but * *most* terminate the *Seventy* * *Africanus*, *Bede*, *Lyra*, *Eusebius*, *Marginalis*, *Reconciliation* for *Iniquity*, &c. These were the proper Fruits of the Passion and Death of Christ, and therefore it is most reasonable to believe that the *Seventy* Weeks or Four hundred and ninety Years expired with our Saviour on the Cross. But though this in the Latitude of speaking be very true, yet if we would be Exact, we must say that the Four hundred and ninety Years ended not just at Christ's Death, but Three

Years. and a half or thereabouts after it. This I will make evident to you thus, The Angel expressly saith, That *after the Threescore and two Weeks*, joyned to the Seven mentioned immediately before (which together make Threescore and nine Weeks) *shall Messiah be cut off*: Whence it is plain, that Christ's Death falls within the Seventieth Week, for if it be after the Threescore and nine Weeks, it must necessarily be in the Seventieth Week, when there are no more reckoned beyond that, as is the present case. This Seventieth or last Week, may be divided into three parts; and we have ground for this Division in the Propheſie it ſelf, which mentions *the midst of the Week*. If there be a *Middle*, there is alſo a *Beginning* and an *End*. In the *beginning* of this Prophetick Week (which you know conſiſts of Seven Years) the Meſſias confirmed the Covenant, i. e. The New Teſtament by his Holy Doctrine, Life, Laws and Miracles, and now his Apoſtles preached the Covenant of the Goſpel. The Week began with his Baptiſm, Three Years and a half before his Paſſion, in the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*; at which time Sixty nine Weeks, or Four hundred and eighty three Years were accompliſhed, and the *Seventieth Week* ſucceeded. The Beginning or Former part of this Week conſiſted of above Three Years, and it is diſtinguiſhed into four Paſſovers. The firſt Paſſover of Chriſt's Publick Miniſtry is

is mentioned in *John* 2. 13. from whence begins the firſt Year of the Seventieth and laſt *Hebdomade* of *Daniel*: The ſecond Paſſover you find in *John* 5. 1. compared with *John* 4. 35. Here begins the ſecond Year of the Seventieth Week. The third Paſſover, whence the third Year of *Daniel's* laſt Week takes its Riſe, is in *John* 6. 4. The fourth Paſſover, when *Chriſt our Paſſover* was ſlain, about three Years and a half after his Baptiſm, produced the fourth Year of the laſt of *Daniel's* Weeks. This is that which is called the *Miſt* of the Week (as you have heard,) *in the miſt of the Week he ſhall cauſe the Sacrifices and Oblations to ceaſe*. This was verified when the Meſſias by his Death aboliſhed the Old Law and Covenant, when the Sacrifices ceaſed by this High Priests making an Oblation of himſelf on the Altar of the Croſs. Though *the Middle* in the Style of Scripture be not always properly and exactly taken, yet here in this Propheſie it is to be underſtood in the Strict and moſt Proper Senſe, for Chriſt Suffered and Died in the fourth Year of this Prophetick Week, which is the very *Middle* of Seven, yea in the Middle of that fourth Year, which is yet more Exact and Preciſe. Now if Chriſt was put to Death in the Middle of the laſt Week (as the Angel foretold) then the Seventy Weeks cannot be terminated in *Chriſt's* Death, becauſe there were but Sixty nine Weeks and a half

completed at that time. And if there was half a Week behind (for the Middle part of the Week was but short, Christ's Death taking up but little time) then the *Latter part* or *End* of the Week must contain in it Three Years and a half, or thereabouts, and consequently the *Seventy Weeks* or Four hundred and ninety Years ended not just at our Saviour's Death, but about Three Years and a half after it ; which was the thing to be proved. This is the most Exact Account that I can offer to you.

**Tertullian, Chrysostom, Sulpicius Severus, Drusius, Scaliger, Calvijus.* I know there are * Learned Writers and Chronologers who extend the Period of the *Seventy Weeks* to the *Destruction of Jerusalem* by *Titus Vespasian*, but they were unwarily drawn into this Opinion by fixing their Minds on those words in the Prophecie, *The People of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City and Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a Flood, and unto the end of the War Desolations are determined: And again, For the overspreading of Abominations he shall make it desolate:* Which without doubt are a Prediction of the Overthrow of the Temple and City of *Jerusalem* by the Roman Armies: And because this is joyned with the *Seventy Weeks*, those Persons think that the Weeks end at this time. But this is no necessary Consequence, because here is only mentioned what shall follow upon the expiring of the *Seventy Weeks*, the direful Recompense of

of the Jews cutting off the *Messias* is foretold. This horrible Devastation shall happen not long after the 490 Years are completed ; but you cannot conclude thence that these Years were just fulfilled at the Devastation and Ruin of *Jerusalem* in the second Year of *Vespasian*.

It remains now that I give you the Particular and Distinct *Computation* of these 490 Years ; which yet is something difficult to do, by reason of the Uncertainty in Chronology, as must be confessed by all Persons that have consulted variety of Authors, (and those that have not done so are no Competent Judges here) but the Disagreement among these Writers is not so great, as wholly to discourage us. I have laid their Calculations together, and have duly compared them, and upon an impartial ballancing of the whole difference among Chronologers in computing these Years, I settle the Account thus, The Twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes's* Reign was in the Year of the Worlds Creation 3497, at the end of the 81 Olympiad ; and the time of Christ's Passion was in the Year of the World 3983, at the beginning of the 203 Olympiad, and consequently the fourth Year after Christ's Passion was A. M. 3987, and the beginning of the 204 Olympiad. This Calculation is indifferently fixed, and will be agreed to by all Parties that are moderate. Now, if you reckon the Years that were between these two Periods, viz. between 3497 and 3987, you

you will satisfie your selves that they were just 490 Years, and no more, which is the very Number that the Seventy Weeks amount to; and consequently from the Twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes* to the time of our Saviour's Passion were no more, nor no less than 490 Years. This might be particularly made good from the Distinct *Ara's* between these Great Periods, and which are of note among Chronologers; but I think it is superfluous to undertake this, seeing in *Helvicus* and other Chronological Tables they are very plain.

But I will go another way to work for the satisfaction of the Reader, I will trace these 490 Years through the several Reigns of the Kings that were in those times, and thence I will demonstrate, that from the Twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes's* Reign (at which time the Decree came forth for the Rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, as hath been sufficiently proved) to our Saviour's Passion were 490 Years, or according to *Daniel's* Sacred Arithmetick *Seventy Weeks*. Take it thus, *Artaxerxes* reigned Twenty Years after his sending *Nehemiah* to build the City and Walls: Then succeeded *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus*, two Brethren, *Artaxerxes* his Sons, but it seems they were of no account at all, and are therefore omitted by some Historians; but others own them, and say they reigned a very short time: We may allow them (as Writers generally do) a Year. After these *Darius Notus* sat

fat on the Throne Twenty three Years, then *Artaxerxes Memnon* reigned fifty Years. Some say more, but I imbrace their Opinion who say he reigned but fifty, because I have before exceeded some Mens Account when I set down Twenty three Years for *Darius Notus*, whereas some assign him but Nineteen. Then reigned *Darius Ochus* Twenty six Years, *Arses* or *Arsanes* Four, and *Darius Godomannus* Six: So that the whole time of the Reign of these Persian Kings was 130 Years from the time of the Decree to rebuild *Jerusalem*. Upon the Death of *Darius*, (the last Persian Monarch) *Alexander* the Great succeeded in the Monarchy, and reigned six Years: After whose Death reigned the *Ptolomes* or *Legida* in *Egypt* (for I will trace the remaining Years by this Line, and not by that of the Kings of *Syria* or *Macedon*, these being more intricate) in this order, *Ptolomeus Lagi* Forty Years, *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* Thirty four, *Ptolomeus Euergetes* Twenty five, *Ptolomeus Philapator* Sixteen, *Ptolomeus Epiphanes* Twenty four, *Ptolomeus Philometor* Thirty five, *Ptolomeus Euergetes* Twenty nine, *Ptolomeus Physcon* Seventeen, another *Ptolomee* Ten, another called *Soter* Eight, *Ptolom. Dionysius* Thirty, *Cleopatra* Twenty two, at which time the Greek Monarchy ended, after it had held out 296 Years. After her Death *Augustus* (who was properly the first Emperor of *Rome*, and began the Roman Monarchy) reigned 43 Years, whom succeeded *Tiberius*, in

in whose Eighteenth Year our Blessed Lord suffered ; which two Numbers, *viz.* Eighteen and Forty three put together make Sixty one Years. Now then, reckon all these Summs, *viz.* 130 Years of the Persian Kings Reigns, 296 Years of the Successors of *Alexander*, 61 Years of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, and you will find that they amount to 487 Years, which wants Three Years of the Compleat Summ, *viz.* 490 Years or *Seventy Weeks*. Wherefore to supply this, we must remember that Christ suffered (as the Prophecie expressly saith) in the *midst* of the last Week, and so by adding Three Years we shall make the 490 Years compleat.

I cannot say this Calculation of the Years of the Kings is *Exact*, nor can any Man say that any *other* is ; for there is no little Obscurity in the History relating to those Monarchs, and the right Order and Succession, the true Number and Names of them, and the time of their Reign. Wherefore the Accompt must be taken and fixed with some Latitude, and we must be content with this, because we can attain to no other. But from what I have offered, we are as to the main certain of the Truth of this Prophecie, and we cannot doubt of the Evidence of the Accompt in general. It is most plain that the Seventy Weeks are to be reckoned from the Twentieth Year of the Reign of King *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, in which Year (and not before) the Royal Decree came forth to restore

store and build the City, and to finish the Temple which *Zerobabel* had begun ; and it is as plain that these Seventy Weeks had their Expiration about the time of our Saviour's Passion and Death : Or if we exactly and precisely make the Computation, we must say that his Death fell in the middle of the last Week.

After all this, I must freely declare that we need not be Dogmatical and Punctual in the Interpreting this Prophecie. Though I offer that Calculation before specified, as *the most Probable* ; yet this is certain, that if you take the Beginning of the Seventy Weeks according to some of those other Opinions, and fix them to their respective Endings, you will find that they do not fall much amiss ; they do not considerably come short of Seventy Weeks of Years, nor are they much redundant. Which truly is as much as we can rationally expect in the Present Case, considering that the Chronology of that time is Difficult and Intricate, and Historians hugely differ in the Account of the Years of those Monarchs.

Therefore * some of the Ancient Fathers ^{* Hieronym.} shun the Question about the Beginning and ^{in loc. Augustin.} Ending of the *Seventy Weeks*, and hold ^{de Civ Dei,} it too Difficult to solve. Yea, a Modern ^{1. 18.} Father of the Protestant Churches abroad declares, that here is place only for * Con- ^{* Conjectura- rā tendunt} jecture, and accordingly he propounds his. But this is too Loose and Lavish. And ^{† Reinhold Præf.} much more is that of another † Writer

who 128.

The fourth TEXT

who absurdly imagines that the Seventy Weeks are to be taken *indefinitely*, as if a certain Number were here put for an Uncertain one. This no Man of deliberate Thoughts can swallow down, because this great Number is afterwards divided into lesser and more distinct Portions, as much as to assure us that a Determinate Number was meant, for if the parts of the Number be definite and determined, if they be fixed for such particular Transactions, then it must undeniably follow, that the whole Number is definite and fixed also. But yet it must be acknowledged that it is very Difficult to determine the *Exact Beginning* and *Punctual Ending* of these Prophetick Weeks. I have (after the Attempts of many others) propounded that way which seems to me most probable, and I submit it to the Censure and Judgment of the Reader. Some take the beginning of the Calculation from one thing, and others from another, but the general Reason of them all is the same, for at that Time they think *the word went forth* for the Restauration of *Jerusalem*. But I having fixed the *going forth of the word*, i. e. The Royal Commandment or Decree, I having by unquestionable Arguments determined this, I hope there is no farther occasion of disputing about the True Beginning or *Epoche* of the Seventy Weeks. And having gained this Point, we have secured the next also, for the *End* of these Weeks depends upon their *Beginning*, and must

Enquired into.

must be regulated and determined by it; when we know one, we are not to seek for the other.

However, though some place the *End* of this Computation at one time, and some at another, yet they all agree in the main, that is, they all confess that the Seventy Weeks are placed in some Period between the Return from *Babylon* and the last Overthrow of *Jerusalem*: And consequently they agree in this, that these *Seventy Weeks* are long since past and gone.

And that our Saviour is meant by *Messiah* in this Prophecie, no Man can have any reason to doubt in the least; for who can these Descriptions and Characters which you meet with here agree to but to Christ? The *Messiah* was to be *cut off for the sins of others*, which can be understood only of *Christ Jesus*, who was *the Lamb of God* that came to take away the sins of the World. So likewise the *making of Reconciliation for Iniquity* is the alone Office of Christ, our *Messias*: And therefore the Old Jews used to say the *Messias* should be *Isa caphar* a Man of Propitiation, a Man that should make Atonement and Satisfaction for Sin. To Christ alone belong the bringing in and confirming the Covenant, the New Law and Religion of the Gospel. And the *causing the Sacrifices to cease*, i. e. The Abolishing of all the *Mosaic Rites and Ceremonies* can be meant of none but Him. Particularly as to the last of these, it is plain that Christ was to come whilst

The fourth TEXT

whilst the Jewish Temple stood, and whilst Sacrifices were offered, for he could not make them to cease unless they were in being: Now then the Sacrifices being ceased, it follows that the Messiah is come. This is an unanswerable Conclusion, and this is the grand thing I urge, viz. That from this Prophecie of the Seventy Weeks it is undeniably evident that the time of the Messiah's Coming is past. Yea, whenever you begin these Seventy Weeks, it is plain that they are expired. That is enough to Baffle and Confute the Jews: That is enough to prove that the Prophecie is fulfilled, which is the Principal thing I designed.

The

The fifth Text enquired into, viz.

Matthew XXVII. 5.

He departed, and went and hanged himself.

Compared with Acts I. 18.

Falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his Bowels gushed out.

When I take notice of the Dimensions of Judas's Sin and Guilt, when I consider what he was, and what he did, I am apt to think that his Punishment was answerable to his Horrid Fact. Of all the Great and Notorious Sinners mentioned in the Bible or in any other History from the beginning of the World to this time, there is none like him, and therefore I am enclined to believe that as his Crime was unparalleled, so the Recompense of it was of a resembling Nature. Judas the worst and vilest of Traitors became his own Executioner, but not in a way

way that was Usual and Ordinary, but such as was as Remarkable as his Damnable Treachery. The Consideration of this hath invited me to enquire into the Manner of his Death, and to find out of what Particular Kind it was; whereby I hope to Reconcile these two places of Scripture, which have not a little exercised the Brains of Interpreters, because they seem to be Different, if not Contrary Relations of the Fatal Exit of this Cursed Traytor and Apostate. From St. Matthew we are ascertained that he went and hanged himself: By St. Luke we are no less assured that he falling head-long, burst asunder in the midst, and all his Bowels gushed out. Both these passages I will examine, and compare together, that by this means we may the better understand what Kind, or rather Kinds of Death justly happened to this Execrable Wretch, and also that hereby the Inconsistency of the Relations concerning the Death of Judas, may not be alledged (among other things) by Atheistical Men to disparage the Holy Scripture, and the Authority of it.

First, The word ἀπνέχασθαι may signify to us that he choaked and stifled himself with immoderate Grief and Anguish of Mind, as the word ἀπνέχασθαι denotes among the Best and most Authentick Writers; and there is the same signification of the simple Verbs ἀνέχω and ἀνέχω, from whence the Latin *ango* is derived, and both of them from the Hebrew *אָנָה* *suspiravit*, *gemit cum angore cordis*, with which the Verb *אָנָה* *strangulavit*, *suffocavit*, hath

hath Affinity. Here then in the first place we are told by the Evangelist, that this Vile Wretch went and macerated himself with Grief and Melancholy, which was partly mentioned before in the word μεταμελῶν, v. 3. for μεταμελῶν is *post factum angere*, to be very much grieved and troubled in mind for what is done; and the Devil, who had entred into him, followed this close, and made it a Prologue to something more Tragical. For though it was his own Act, yet he was hurried to it by the special Instigation of the Devil, who was now become his intimate Guest. Such a Devilish Distemper, but not in so great an Excess, King Saul laboured under, saith * *Origen*, when he was forsaken of God. This was the evil Spirit that came upon him, and strangely disturbed him in his Body, insomuch that he seemed, saith † *Josephus*, to be choaked and strangled: † *Jo-† Antiq. sepheus*, to be choaked and strangled: † *Hein. Jud. l. 6. f. 9. Exercitat. Sac. in Mat. 27. i. e.* saith he, He was struck with a sudden Disease in his Throat, he died of an *Angina Synchrona*, or some such Violent Distemper that unavoidably stop'd his Breath; so that being swell'd within by the Air or Spirits shut up, he fell down, and broke his Belly, and the Bowels gushed out. So this Excellent Critick, he thinks Judas expired, as * *Achitophel* is said by some of the Jews to have done, viz. Of some Suffocating Disease that was bred by some great Grief of Mind, 23.

which is implied (say they) in the word *Chana* which is there used. This Suffocation or Stifling of the Spirits, is that *Machana* which the Hebrew Doctors talk of, viz. That sudden stopping of the Breath which is caused by an inward Oppression of the Mind, that sudden Death which *Job* was tempted to wish for, *Job* 7. 15. *My Soul*, saith he, *chooseth strangling*, i. e. In the height of my Temptations I could even desire to be utterly bereaved of Breath and Life by this Suffocating Melancholy which my Miseries bring me into. This was *Judas's* Distemper at present, when he had reflected on what he had done, he was swallowed up of Sorrow and Remorse, he was oppressed with the Load of Guilt, he laboured under the Pangs and Horrors of Conscience, he was terrified with the Dismal Apprehensions of the Divine Nemesis, and thereby his Spirits even stifled, his Breath obstructed, and himself in a manner *Strangled and Suffocated. I subscribe then to those Learned Criticks thus far, that *ἀπὸ γὰρ* is meant of a Melancholy Suffocation, but I cannot go with them so far as to grant that this only is here meant, and that *Judas* died of this Suffocation, which is the thing that *Heinsius* and *Grotius* assert; for as for our Learned Annotator he leaves them here, and is inclinable to attribute *Judas's* Death to something else, as you shall hear presently. And truly *Grotius* likewise, though he follows *Heinsius* in his Interpretation, that by

* Strangulat inclusus dolor--
Ovid.

by *ἀπὸ γὰρ* is meant Grief of Mind, adds this of his own, that *Judas* had a sudden dangerous Fall, and therewith burst himself. I grant that this Suffocation was a Preparatory Death, this made way for the Halter and all that follow'd it: But that which I assert here is, That this Suffocation here spoken of, was not to that Effect that he immediately died of it; for it is Idle to think that this Suffocating Grief alone was the Cause of his Death, when we read of his falling down head-long, and of all his Bowels gushing out. These are never known to be Concomitants of that Distemper; no History gives us any Instance of this Nature. And therefore it is fond and groundless to imagine that this Suffocating Passion was his Fatal End, that this was it which dispatched him.

What then did? You will say. I answer, his hanging himself, i. e. His Strangling himself with a Halter or some such thing, and his falling head-long from the place where he hung, and thereby bursting asunder. Some indeed tell us, That that which dispatched him was his fall from a Precipice; for being Melancholick and Vexed, he took the Course which such Persons are commonly wont to do, i. e. He threw himself down from a Rock, or some such place, and so ended his Life; and upon this fall his Bowels gushed out. The Criticks who run this way (the chief whereof are *Pricaeus*, *Vossius* and Dr. *Hammond*) endeavour to prove out of several Writers, that Persons overwhelmed with Grief and Despair chose this way of Dying,

viz. Casting themselves down from some Precipice. This is freely granted, and moreover no Man, I believe, will question that upon this precipitating themselves their Bowels were broken. This is no Wonder, but it would be one indeed, if their Members were not broken and shattered with such a Descent. Well, but then what shall we do with the word ἀπὸ γέρας? How could Judas go and hang himself, and also throw himself down from a Rock or craggy Hill, or some place of this kind? I suppose no Man will say he did this before he hanged himself; And I scarcely think any Man will say he did it after; neither was it possible for him to do it at the very time when he cast himself down: Therefore I conclude that he did it not at all. But the abovesaid Criticks evade this by understanding ἀπὸ γέρας in another Sense wholly; one of them interprets it of Melancholy Suffocation only, as you have heard; and the other tells us that ἀπὸ γέρας is as much as *mori cupere* or *mori velle*, to be weary of Life, and from a consciousness of Guilt to be restless till we are rid of it. But this Great and Worthy Writer assigns a Sense of this word which was never heard of before, and he doth not so much as attempt to shew, that this word is taken so in any Author. A great Oversight certainly! To say the Truth, these Professed and Resolved Criticks have all of them at one time or other this Fate, they deliver things without any ground;

ground; being warm in the Notion they have taken up, and having a great Opinion of their own Authority, they think 'tis enough to vouch the matter; or being in Prosecution of farther Notions depending on it, they wholly forget to establish what they have asserted.

As for the Rise of this Mistake in these Learned Men, I conceive it was from this, That they found in Authors (whom they plentifully quote to this purpose) that it was usual with *Discontented* and *Melancholick* Persons, to put an end to their Days by throwing themselves down from *Precipices*, and they taking *Judas* to be such an one in the highest degree, conclude that he dispatched himself after this manner, and that this is the meaning of his *falling head-long* mentioned by St. Luke. Especially when they read that *all his Bowels gushed out*, they think there is good reason to affirm, That this was caused by his falling from some high place. But all this is mere Conjecture, and hath no ground to support it, for if *Judas* had procured his Death by throwing himself down from a *Precipice*, as Melancholists have been wont to do, then surely instead of *bursting asunder*, and *his Bowels gushing out*, we should rather hear of broken Bones and Limbs, which are the most usual Consequences and natural Effects of such a *Precipitation* (for these Commentators speak only of such.) So || *Sophocles* expresseth *Lichas's* throwing || *in Tra-*
himself from a Rock into the Sea, and *chin.*

so *Precipitation* is generally described in Authors. Wherefore seeing we read of something else, which is not commonly mentioned as the Effect of a Great Fall, we may be induced to infer that some other thing is intended and meant. Besides, there is nothing here mentioned, nay there is nothing implied or hinted concerning *Judas's* dispatching himself from a *Precipice*, unless it be in the word *πρωτε*. But it is well observed by *Heinsius* (for we must make use of one Critick to confute another) that *Præcept* is not the genuine or primary Import of this word, but that it ought rather to be interpreted *Pronus*. However, this is sufficient to invalidate the aforesaid Opinion, that we cannot infer from the word *πρωτε* a voluntary *Precipitation*, which is the thing that Author contends for. But on the contrary, *πρωτε* being joyned here with *ὑβώω*, shews that *Judas* did not throw himself down, but that he was altogether Passive as to this thing, and consequently that this place of *St. Luke* is not to be understood of a willful flinging himself down from the brow of a Hill, or the top of a Rock, as the old Melancholick Desperadoes used to do.

The Truth is, the word *πρωτε* is of an ambiguous use, and may be rendred not only *præcept* but *pronus* (and 'tis likely this Latin word came from that Greek one) and so we may take it here; for I am for interpreting words in their greatest Latitude, because

because by this means we shall find out the full Sense of the Scripture. Though *Judas* did not cast himself from a *Precipice*, yet he was *precipitated*, and he was in a prone posture: Both these, but the latter especially, seem to be signified here by *πρωτε ὑβώω*: being in a prone posture, leaning forward, bending downward (that is the primary Denotation of the word) he fell to the Earth, and this declining Posture that he was in contributed to it. This word then gives us some light into the manner of his Death; it fairly intimates to us, that (after he had immersed himself in most profound Grief and Anguish of Mind, whereby he choaked and stifled his Spirits) he hanged himself, i. e. he willfully intercepted his Breath by Strangling himself. For this prone Situation, this bending of his Head and Face, and this pressing down of his whole Body were caused by this way of dispatching himself. This gives us sufficient ground to believe that this perplexed and despairing Wretch ended his Life with a Halter, for this was the very Posture which his Hanging himself put him into. *πρωτε ὑβώω*, being with his Face downward or forward, stooping and declining with his Head, was as fitly and properly said of such a Person, viz. One that hanged himself, as could have been, and accordingly 'tis very observable, that *πρωτε ὑβώω* is rendred *suspensus* by the Vulgar Latin; which Version, although it doth not take in the full Extent and Latitude

tude of the words, yet it confirms the Interpretation which I am now insisting upon, viz. That *Hanging*, and not *voluntary Precipitation*, is here meant.

For the Proof of this we need only alledge the Greek word ἀπύχεται used by St. *Matthew*, which signifies this particular way of Dying, and answers to the Hebrew *Chanak*, which is to kill with *Strangling*, and is used after the same manner that *Talab suspendere* is, which is rendred by the Septuagint κρεμάζειν and αὐτὸν. It is acknowledged by

* *In locum.* * *Grotius*, that ἀπύχεται is the word commonly used in Greek Authors, to signify a Persons Killing himself by Hanging himself. And the words ἀρχαῖς and ἀρχαί are of the same import, from whence cometh our English word to *Hang*. It is true, this word ἀπύχεται bears another Sense likewise, as I have said before, but that doth not exclude this, but is very consistent with it, which is the thing that I desire may be observed here. It seems good therefore to the Holy Ghost, in this place to make use of an Ambiguous word, which may be taken either *he hanged himself*; but the word in the Greek is of a larger meaning, and signifies *Strangling* or *Choaking*, which may be either by a Man's being Stilled and Choaked with Grief, or by his Hanging himself, in the more strict way of speaking. Let it not then be wondred at, that I take the word in both Senses in this place: I am induced to do

do so by the different signification of the word which the Evangelist useth; and therefore I advise that it be translated thus, *He strangled himself*, for this takes in both Senses of the Greek word. For in this, as in several other things, the Holy Scripture differs from other Writers, it hath sometimes a *double Sense* couched in it, yea a *double literal Sense*; such is the *Pregnancy* of the Sacred Stile above all others. Therefore seeing this Inspired Writer hath here used such a word, I see no reason why I may not interpret it in the double meaning which it carrieth: And accordingly I understand by it, that this Vile Despairing Traytor first *choaked his Vitals with Grief*, and then to ease himself of that intolerable Pressure, wholly *stilled them by hanging himself*. This latter Sense is that which I am now treating of, and you will find it acknowledged and imbraced by several * *Ancient*

Fathers, and other Writers of the Church. An || Eminent Primitive Martyr is very positive in it: And St. *Jerom* (from whom the Vulgar Latin hath it) renders the Greek word thus, *Laqueo se suspendit*. These thought it reasonable to understand ἀπύχεται in this Sense, viz.

for *Suffocation by Suspension*, and thence conclude that *Judas* laid violent hands on himself, and strangled himself with a Rope or Halter, or something that was fit for that

* *Origen*, contr. Cels. l. 2.
Epiphanius contr. Hæres. l. 1
Hæres. 38. Chrysostom. Augustine, Bede, Sedulius, Juvenius, Arator.

|| Μετάμελον ἐμβαλὼν τῷ πεσόντι ὃ βέρον αὐτοῦ δίκην ἀγχόνῃς διέσκη. Ignat. Epist. ad Philipp.

that purpose. If you ask what Tree he hung himself upon, * *Juvencus* will tell you that it was a *Fig-tree*; but the more Vulgar Tradition is, that this was done on an *Eldern-tree*, whence the † *Excrescencies* about the Root of it bear the Name of *Jews* or *Judas's Ears*, and are a Vulgar Medicine against *Squinances*. and *Sore Throats*, as if it had some reference to that Traytor's Strangling himself in that part. But this we may allow to have little weight in it, and no more able to evince that he hanged himself on *that Tree* than *Veniat illi laqueus* in *Psalms* 35. 8. (which some make use of) proves the manner of his Death before spoken of. But this use may be made of this Fabulous Report (as some account it) that we may thence gather it was the general Belief of old, that *Judas* hanged himself, (for why should they talk of a *Tree* and a *certain Tree*, on which he did it, if he did not do it at all?) which questionless was grounded on this Record of the Evangelist concerning him, [*he went and hanged himself.*] For the word ἀνέχεσθαι both among * *Historians* and † *Poets* (as well as other Writers) commonly signifies the applying a String or some such thing to the Neck, and therefore with compressing that part, and stopping the Breath.

* *Herodot.*
Thucyd.
Pausan.
Ælian,
Polybius.
 † *Aristoph.*
Theocrit.
Epigram.

But how shall we reconcile this with his falling headlong, and bursting asunder in the midst, and his bowels gushing out? How are

are these consistent with his Fatal Suspension? If he fastned himself to a Beam, or a Tree (or whatever else it was I am not solicitous) how came he to fall thence, and upon that Fall to break in pieces? The Answer is easie, it was the Will of Heaven that the Punishment of this Notorious Varlet should be Remarkable, and that we might see in the Strangeness of his Death the Extraordinary Judgment of God upon him. He thought to deprive himself of his weary Life by Hanging himself: But it happened, and that by Divine Disposal, that the Fatal String wherewith he did this, was not strong enough to hold him any considerable time, and thereupon his cursed Belly fell to the Ground. This is a plain and easie Resolution, and without this it is impossible (whatever some have enterprized) to reconcile *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*, the first who saith *Judas* hanged himself, the latter who tells us that falling head-long he burst asunder, &c. Nor is this without good Authority; *Oecumenius* acquaints us that it was received as a true Narrative from *Papias* and others that lived near the Apostles times, that *Judas* hanged himself, and that the String or Cord with which he did that execution broke asunder, and so he dropped down, and was run over by a Cart or Wagon that came by at that time, which crush'd his Guts out of their place. And you'll find *Theophylact* also asserting his Suspension,

son, only with some Variation as to Circumstances, for he is of opinion that the Tree whereon he hung did bend or break, and thence this Cursed Man fell to the Ground. I cannot be positive here, only this I suggest, that either the Fatal Instrument of his Execution, or that on which it was fastned might slip, or break, or some other ways be loosned; and then he falling upon a Stone, or a sharp piece of Timber (as we may suppose) unless we will admit of the other Conjecture before named, it is not to be admired that his swollen Belly did burst, and that his Entrails came forth. Here is nothing difficult or improbable, nothing harsh or strained. We may easily assent to what I here offer, without the least Violence to our Faculties. The Proposal is reasonable in it self, and it hath the Suffrage and Approbation of those Writers who have treated of the Particular Manner of Judas's Death. Nor must we think it strange that some Writers of the Church are silent as to this, for they did not concern themselves in the giving a particular Relation of this Fact, and the Manner and Events of it. And what though Papias and others, lard the Story of Judas's hanging himself with several Fictions, as that of the Cart, and his Hydro-pick Swelling, &c. These we are to slight and disregard, but the plain Truth we must retain, viz. That he ended his Life by that Fall which was occasioned by the breaking

breaking of the String or Noose with which he had thought to dispatch himself. This hath been believed by the Antients (as we have said) and is embraced by several of the * Moderns; though of late some have gone another way, and have invented new Opinions of their own. *Isaac Casaubon.*

So then the full Meaning of both the Texts put together is this (as I conceive) Judas, after he had thrown down his Money, the Cursed Reward of his Treachery departed and went (both which words are very observable but are not sufficiently distinguished by our Translators) ἀπεχώρησεν he retired into some solitary place (for so the word is used in Matt. 14. 13. John 6. 15. and in other places, and it is the frequent Denotation of the word in Prophane Authors) thus he departed, or rather (as it should be rendred) went apart, he betook himself to Solitariness, as is the Custom of deep Melancholists; and then ἀπελθὼν is added to signifie his Wicked Design, he went, i. e. he went away with a Design and Purpose of putting a Period to his Life, and accordingly first he pined himself with excessive Grief and Melancholy, and thereby fell into such Fits of Suffocation as had like to have proved Mortal to him. In the next place he betook himself to an Halter, as an infallible Remedy of his Grief and Anguish; but the Load and Pressure of his swell'd Body soon gave him a Release from his Noose, and he fell headlong to the Ground, or rather on something that

that lay between that and him : And thus his remaining Breath was quite beaten out of his Body by its violent dashing on that which lay in the way ; and at the same time by that wide Rupture whereby his Entrails were poured forth , his wretched Soul made its way , that it might go to its own place , *i. e.* To the Infernal Regions of the Damned , and there have its Portion without Hope and Possibility of a Redress : For I think there is no Man in his Wits will give heed to what is mentioned by * some , that Judas knowing Christ would shortly descend into Hell , and deliver all Persons thence , went and hanged himself before our Saviour's Death , that he might be sure to be in Hell when he came thither , and thereby have the Benefit of being saved by him.

* Origen in
Mat. tract.
35. Theophylact in
Mat. 27.
Theophan.
homil. 27.
Zonar. E.
pist. 56.

This is the Compleat Interpretation of the words which I offer , wherein I not only take in the full Sense of both Texts (which I see most Expositors are Defective in) but I put an end to most of the Disputes that have been raised about the Interpreting of these words. For it hath been warmly controverted , whether Judas's Death was by Grief ; or Suspension , or by a Precipice : Some have held the first , some the second only , and others defend the last as most accountable. But I maintaining that his Death was procured by all these three , (for in the way that I have explained them , they are all three very consistent) I do hereby silence the particular Quarrels and Pretences of Criticks against one

one another on these places of Scripture. The word ἀνύχατο which St. Matthew useth , having a double meaning , hath rendred the Manner of Judas's Death uncertain among these Authors , but I have made use of the Ambiguity of that word to another end , *viz.* To suggest to me that the double Sense of the word is to be attended to here , *i. e.* We are hereby informed that this Wretched Caitiff was first suffocated with Fits of Despairing Sorrow , and soon after attempted to end his days with a Halter : But as he hung and pressed himself down , this crack'd or otherwise was unfastned , and so he came tumbling from his height. Then , to this Suffocation , Suspension and Precipitation (for it may be called so , though it was not that Precipitation which some , as you have heard , fancied he expired of) was added a Rupture and Effusion of his Bowels (the last Act of this Tragedy) for by being thrown down he so wounded and tore his Body , that these Entrails soon found a passage by which they came forth. This is the Exposition which I give of the words , and you see it is consistent with it self (which cannot be said of some of the Interpretations which have been mentioned) and it is fully adjusted to the Grammar and Criticism of the words ; it is also comprehensive of the full meaning of the Relation which we have of Judas's Death , and is effectual to the silencing of those Quarrels that are among Interpreters. But chiefly it may merit the

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Preference to all other Interpretations: Because,

1. Hereby, and not by any other way St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* (or St. *Peter* rather, for 'tis he that gives that Relation in the *Acts* concerning *Judas*) are thoroughly reconciled. For the first saith he *hanged himself*, i. e. by an inward Grief and an outward Application he strangled himself: The second saith he *fell head-long and burst asunder*, i. e. His swollen Corps by its Mighty Pressure and Gravity got loose from the place where it was trussed up, and by its violent fall broke asunder. Here is nothing contradictory in both these passages, for in the one is set down what *Judas* willfully attempted and did towards the procuring of his Death: The other acquaints us what was the Direful Sequel of it: The former relates the beginning of this Fatal Tragedy, the latter the end and Catastrophe of it. Thus both these Inspired Authors agree: But if you understand the words either wholly of *Precipitation* properly so called, or of *Melancholick Suffocation*, you set these Writers at Variance, and you will never be able to bring them to an Agreement: Yea you make them say that which was never so much as thought of. For as for *Judas's* flinging himself from a Precipice, there is not a single Syllable in the Relation given by these Holy Men that looks that way, or gives the least Hint of it. Besides, *hanging himself* is expressly mentioned in one of the Texts, and we are sure that this is inconsistent with casting himself

self down from a Precipice. And as for *Melancholy Suffocation*, it was never heard that this alone produced a Total Rupture of the Body, and an Exclusion of all the Bowels: These must undoubtedly be the Effect of another Cause. That * *Physician* who pre-^{* *Tho. Gal.*} tended to solve this by the Instance of a ^{*dot, M. D.*} *Bursten Child*, whose Malady is caused by keeping in the Breath, whereby the Diaphragm is born down, and so by that violent Depression the Entrails are broken and displaced, was as wide from the purpose as *Bath* is from *Jerusalem*. What is this to the *bursting asunder in the midst*, and *all the Bowels gushing out*, and that by *falling head long*? Was it ever known that the stopping of the Breath, the mere hindring of Respiration procured such an Effect as this, viz. A total Exenteration? No. It is to be ascribed to another Cause, and I have assigned what it is. Thus the seemingly different Accounts of *Judas's* Death are reconciled, which could not possibly be done in that way which Expositors generally have taken.

2. This Exposition which I have presented you with, is an undeniable Proof and Demonstration of that which I suggested in the entrance into this Discourse, viz. The Remarkableness and Singularity of this Execrable Traytor's End. Of all the Criminals Recorded either in Sacred or Prophane Story, there is none equal to this *Judas*, and therefore it was fitting that the Recompence of his black and foul Demerit should be as

Matchless as, that, it, self : And this we see accomplished in the *Wonderful Manner of his Death*. Or rather, it was not a Single Death, but a Complicated one, which is the thing that makes it so Strange and Observable. The first thing he attempted, was to abandon himself to excessive Melancholy. When he reflected on his Fact, he was overwhelmed with Vexation and Despair. It is impossible to relate or to imagine the Horrors of his Soul, and the Tortures of his Conscience, which he underwent on this occasion, This only we can say, That this Load was so Great and pressing, that it even *choak'd* and *smother'd* his Vitals, it *strangled* and *sifted* his Spirits, and almost bereav'd him of Life. To compleat this fully, he proceeded yet farther, and willfully *hanged himself*, that he might be freed from his present Misery, although this did but let him into greater. The Memory of this, *more effectual Strangling of himself*. (the everlasting Badge, and Infamous Memorial of his Guilt) re-

*From *Is.* mains still in his Name.* *Iscariot*, which was
carah, given him (as our Learned English Rabbi
Strangula- thinks) after his Death, or (as others con-
sio. Lud. de jecture) before it, with a Prospect of this
Dieu in direful Fact.
Matt. 10. 4.

It is farther remarkable in this Singular Instance of God's Vengeance, that this Traitor's hanging himself, was not, as he intended it, his last Punishment: This Miserable Criminal fell head-long, before he was altogether deprived of Life and Sense, from the place of his Suspension, and his almost Breath-

less Carcass shook out his loathed Soul and his Bowels together by a Fall. This *Evisceration* is very remarkable, for 'tis emphatically said, *his Bowels* yea *all his Bowels* gushed out. St. Luke speaks here like a *Physician*, as he was, and means by * *σπλάγχνα*, in the usual Acceptation of that word among those of that Faculty, all the *Viscera* of the middle and lower Ventricles, the Heart and all the other Inwards belonging to both these. This sets forth the *Rarity* and *Wonderfulness* of this Judgment, this calls upon us to take special notice of it. Let me observe to you, that in his being thus wholly *disbowelled*, we may plainly read the Punishment of a *Traitor*: For not only with us, but other Nations, *Eviscerating* hath been part of the just Penalty inflicted on such Malefactors.

Moreover, I might take notice of St. Luke's other word [*ἑλάκησεν*] which we have not fully translated when we English it [*he burst asunder*] for it properly signifies such a Rupture as is accompanied with a *Noise*, and therefore in the Vulgar Latin Version 'tis rightly rendred *crepuit*. This Terrible Crack which attended Judas's Fall, was so loud, that it was heard at a great distance: And accordingly we read in the next Verse, That *this was known unto all the Dwellers in Jerusalem*. It is no wonder, saith our * Christian * *Hor. Hebræi* Rabbi, that this sudden and violent Ex-*in loc.* plosion

plosion of all his Entrails, made such a mighty and horrid Sound, for the Devil, who had entred Bodily into him, and had inhabited there three days, now broke forth: And upon this violent Eruption of that Evil Spirit, a great and amazing Noise was heard, such as must needs affright the Neighborhood. For though I do not approve of the Learned Doctor's Interpretation of the word *ἑρπύλλης*, which he takes in a *Passive* Signification wholly, and tells us that *Judas* was snatch'd up by the Devil into the Air, and there strangled by him, (whereas 'tis expressly said *he went*, which is an *Active* word, and shews that what immediately follows, was a proper act of his own; whence I have reason to gather that *he strangled and hanged himself*, that he was a Felon of himself, that he willfully procured his own Death) yet I do verily believe that the other Act of the Tragedy was immediately by the Devil's Procurement. This Infernal Dæmon struck him down to the Earth and Hell together, whither his Body was enclining. And truly he might justly have his last and fatal end from the Devil's own Hand, who was immediately stirred up by this Diabolick Spirit to commit that cursed Fact.

Thus all the Circumstances of this Miserable Caitiff's End make it Stupendous; that we may be convinced of this Great Truth, that this was a *Notorious* and *Exemplary Punishment*

nishment, and designed by God to be *Peculiar* and *Remarkable*. Here were several Deaths met together in this One Horrid Example, that we may be invited to observe and admire the *Extraordinary* Hand of Providence in it, and that we may take notice how God hath inflicted a Judgment worthy of such a Miscreant, that this *Unusual* and *Unheard of Manner of his Death*, may appear to be the just Desert of his unparalleled Villany, namely, his Betraying of Inocent Blood, even that of the Lord of Life and Glory. One way of Death was not thought sufficient for him, and therefore his cursed Life was torn from him by many, viz. by *Macerating Grief*, by *Violent Hanging* and *Strangling himself*, by a *Sudden Precipitation*, by a *Disruption of his whole Body*, and by an *Effusion of all his Entrails*.

As to what is suggested by a * late Writer, that he was not buried but cast into the place destined for the Carcasses of Beasts and all manner of Filth and Dung, and that the throwing his Dead Body into this *Barathrum*, where he was burst asunder, is meant by his *falling head-long*, I cannot apprehend any ground for this Conjecture, and therefore I cannot insert it as a Remarkable Attendant of his Death, and as part of that Severe Judgment which befell him here. I have gone as far as the words of the Evangelists have authorized me, in explaining of which, I have fully set forth the Tragical

End of this Hypocritical Actor in Religion, this Mock-Disciple, this Apostle in Masquerade, this Execrable Defenter and Vile Betrayer of his Master.

But I have not yet done, for I am to add that as the Just Judgment of God upon him here, was Signal and Remarkable, so the same Divine Vengeance pursued him to another World, and made his Fate there as Singular and Observable. This is that which I conceive is the true meaning of those words in Verse 25. of the first Chapter of the Acts, *That he might go to his own place.* I know some interpret this of *Death or the Grave*, but very improperly, for this is not ἰδὸς τοῦ πόντου a proper place, but a Common one, and therefore is rightly called so by * *Plautus*; and *Dying* is going to that place which is Common to all, which is the Receptacle of all Mankind. Others understand this place of *Hell*, that being (say they) *Judas his own place*: But, so far as I apprehend, this Acception of the word for *Hell* in a general Notion is not the meaning of the Text (because *Hell* was not so *Judas's own place*, as that it was proper to him alone; and none else, for *Hell* is the Common place for all the Damned. But though I am ready to grant that *Hell* is meant here, yet I take leave to understand it in a more Emphatick way than it is usually taken: For ἰδὸς τοῦ πόντου his own place is his peculiar place,

* Qui nunc
abierunt
bincincom-
munem lo-
cum, InPro-
log. Casine.

place, the place in *Hell* proper to him, and no other. This I am persuaded is the true and full Import of the words. *Judas went to his own place*, i. e. That Individual Peculiar Place in the Regions of *Hell*, which was particularly allotted for him, and him alone. All Impenitent Sinners have their Portion in that Infernal Lake, but this Cursed Traytor and Apostate was confined to his own Apartment, to his proper and peculiar place in that Universal Receptacle of the Damned. To establish this Opinion, and to confirm the Sense of the words on which I ground it, I desire it may be considered, that as 'tis generally acknowledged by Divines, that there are Degrees of Happiness in Heaven, so 'tis also granted, that there are Degrees of Torment in Hell. This is the general Ground and Foundation of my interpreting these words in this Sense. In the Kingdom of Heaven are * *μνῆσαι πολλὰι* * *John. 14. 2.* many Mansions, and in the Infernal Kingdom are ἰδὸς τοῦ πόντου proper distinct places, singular and peculiar Torments according to the Quality of Sinners, and consequently *Judas* was consigned to his; he had, and he hath, and shall ever have a Peculiar Proper Punishment, distinct from that of other Sinners. Again, I find that there is a Particular Individual Woe denounced against that Man by whom the Son of Man was betrayed, Matt. 26. 24. *Judas*

* *Aben* Judas is * *that Man*, remarkably set forth, and distinguished from all other Men, by that inimitable Fact of his, *the Betraying the Son of Man*, which assures us of the *Peculiarity* of the *Woful Curse* here affixed to him. This is as *proper* to him as his Crime. Moreover, to strengthen this Assertion, I might take notice that he is emphatically stiled *the Son of Perdition* by our Lord, *John* 17. 12. which signifies not only that he is inevitably Lost and Damned, for this is true of every profligate Man that dies in his Sins, but it must necessarily include something else in it, something Greater and Higher, viz. That he is Lost and Damned, and consequently that he is *the Son of Perdition* in a Sense different from all other Persons, that his Punishment in Hell is Singular, his Place or State of Torment is *his own*, it is *proper* to him, and different from that of all others. Lastly, I desire you to observe the *particular wording* of this Text: St. Luke saith not that

* Num. 24. he went *as* * *τὸ πρὸν αὐτοῦ*, (as * *Balam* is said to do,) but he useth the word *ἵνα* instead of *αὐτοῦ*, to let us know that this place which he went to was *so his*, that it was no Bodies else: For this is the true import of *ἵνα*. Nor doth this suffice, he inserts here the Demonstrative Article *ὁ* twice, *he went as* * *τὸ πρὸν ὁ ἵδεν*; which remarkable *Duplication* of the Article

title fixes and appropriates the Sense, and undeniably proves that the place and State allotted to this Arch-Traytor in the Regions of the Damned, were *his* in a peculiar manner, i. e. They were *so his*, that they were not common to any others. This is *ὁ τὸ πρὸν ὁ ἵδεν*. And thus I have given you the Reasons of my Exposition of these words in that way which I have propounded. I do not find that Commentators interpret them in this Sense, but yet I think that from what I have offered, it is evident that this is the true and genuine Acception of that Expression. All the Criminals recorded in the Old and New Testament, are but Puny Sinners, if compared with *Judas*, especially if we consider that he was placed in so high a Rank, and was so highly favoured by his Lord, that he was one of the Sacred College of Apostles, and Blessed with Extraordinary and Miraculous Gifts, and admitted to the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist with the rest of his Brethren. It will not seem Strange and Wonderful, that this Ungrateful and Perfidious Parricide, who acted so contrary to his Profession and Privileges, and betrayed his Master with a Faithless Kiss, was rewarded with a *proper place* of Torment, a *peculiar State* of Damnation, not common to him with others. It was fitting that his Future Penalty should be answerable to that

that here, (of which we have fully treated in this Discourse) namely, That it should be Singular and Unparalleled, and differing from all others. It was fitting that as no Man ever committed such a Crime, so no Man should have the same Punishment with him, either in this or in the other World.

The

The sixth Text enquired into, viz.

1 Cor. XVI. 22.

If any Man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran-atha.

THE Task which I set my self at present, is to make enquiry into the true Sense and Signification of the word *Anathema*, that understanding the right import of it, we may grasp the meaning of this Dreadful Execration of the Apostle, *Let him be Anathema*: For as for the ensuing word, or rather words *Maran-atha*, I shall offer but little about them, which shall be in the close of all. That we may have a true Notion of this word *Ἀνάθεμα*, I must in the first place take notice of a great Mistake among some Authors, which is this, They are wont to confound these two words *Ἀνάθεμα* and *Ἀνέμνημα*, whereas they are really distinct, and of different Significations. This we are to observe before we proceed any farther, that we may form right Apprehensions of the word, as well as of the thing which is before us. The former of these, which is the word in the Text, is always taken in a bad Sense, but the latter is generally understood in a good and favourable one, and simply and absolutely denotes any

any thing that is set apart, dedicated to a Deity, devoted to the Honour of God, or of the Gods, for this word is used by Prophane as well as Sacred Writers. As this is the Acception of the word in the best Classical Authors, (which none will deny that are acquainted with them) so this is the use of it in St. Luke 21. 5. *Some spake of the Temple, how it was adorned with goodly Stones and Gifts, Ἀναθήματα, i. e. with Presents and Oblations brought to that Holy Building, and there bestowed toward the Beautifying and Enriching of it, not without some Relation certainly of Devotion and Reverence to the Lord of that House. And all Gifts and Presents whatsoever that are consecrated to God, are called by this name, and accordingly the usual rendring of Ἀνάθημα is donarium or donum, a Gift consecrated to God; for Ἀναθήναι or Ἀνατίθειν is reponere, sursum ponere, attollere, suspendere, and thence is very appositely applied to these Sacred Gifts, which being * offered to God were laid up, and hung up in the Temple for the Service and Honour of the Nūmen to which they were dedicated.*

* Inde apud
Platon. Po-
lit. 2. Ἀνα-
θήματα
τοῖς θεοῖς
ἀνατίθειν
Et apud
Herodian.
Ἀνάθημα
ἐκ ἀναθή-
ματα.

And here let me have leave to offer my Conjecture which is this, That the Greek giving that name Ἀναθήματα to those Gifts which were thus Consecrated, is an Allusion to the Hebrew Name which that kind of Holy Presents hath in the Old Testament, and which was given to it by God himself, as in many things it might be proved, that the Prophane Grecians borrowed from the Sacred

Book,

Book. This sort of Gifts was stiled *Terumah*, from תְּרומָה *elevatus, exaltatus fuit*, which we translate an * *Heave-offering*, because it was heaved or lifted up before the Lord. And with this is joyned *Tenuphab*, another Holy Oblation which owes its Original to the Verb תָּנַח which signifies *to shake and move to and fro*, as well as *to elevate*, and thence that sort of Present is called a * *Wave-offering*, it being the particular usage it seems, at the tending of it, not only to *lift it up* (which was the main thing) but to *wave it*. Now, to this *lifting up* (whence *Terumah* more signally had its name, and was properly an *Oblation lifted up*) Ἀνάθημα among the Greeks exactly answers, and according to the forementioned Theme whence 'tis derived, may be rightly rendred *donum elevatum* or *suspensum*. In the Pagan Devotions Ἀναθήματα were such Presents as were bestowed on the Gods, and set up on some high and eminent place, as generally upon the Walls and Pillars of their Temples. This is well observed by a † Learned Critick who tells us, that *Not all those Gifts which were dedicated to the Gods were called by the Grecians Ἀναθήματα, but those only which could be hung up, or set upon some high and conspicuous place.* And this is the true and simple Acception of this word Ἀνάθημα, which is different from Ἀνάθημα with an *Epsilon*, although you'll find that several Writers observe not this difference. But 'tis certain that Ἀνάθημα is of a quite contrary signification to Ἀνάθημα, this latter denoting a *Holy*, the former an *Unholy* thing

* Numb. 15.
19. 18. 24.

† Lev. 7. 30.
8. 27.

† Salmaf. in
Solinum.

thing or Person; this signifying some thing or Person *Consecrated* to God, that on the contrary some thing or Person *Cursed* of God and Man, and destined to be destroyed, yea sometimes it signifies the very Cursing it self, as you shall hear afterwards.

But here it is objected that the *Septuagint* use the word in a good sense, to signify that which is *Holy to God*, and dedicated to his Service, as in *Lev. 27. 28.* where the *Ἀγίασμα* or devoted thing is said to be *Holy unto the Lord*. So in *Jos. 6. 19.* we read that *all the Silver and Gold, and Vessels of Brass and Iron* that the *Israelites* should find in *Jericho*, when they took it, were to be consecrated, or (as 'tis in the Original) to be *Holiness unto the Lord*, which very things have the name of *Ἀγίασμα* given them in *v. 18.* whence some infer that the word with an *α* as well as with an *η* is taken in a good sense, and signifies a Sacred Gift offered to God. But this is a palpable Mistake; for if you consult the place in *Leviticus*, you will find that it speaks of the *Cherem* properly so called, the thing or Person that was devoted to utter Destruction, and therefore *could not be redeemed*, as you read there. How then could this be a Gift to God, how could it be an Offering consecrated to God, and separated to Sacred Uses when it was utterly destroy'd? But yet it may be said to be *Holy to God*, in this sense, viz. That the Destruction of it, which was appointed and commanded by God himself, was for his Glory and Honour. The cursing of the *Canaanites*, the devoting them

them to Ruin, yea and the Actual Destroying of them redounded to the Honour of God, whilst thereby he shewed himself the Sovereign and Absolute Disposer of the World, and at the same time gave undeniable proof of his irreconcilable Hatred of all Idolatry and Idolaters. Thus the Persons and things devoted to Destruction were *Holy to the Lord*. This is the true and genuine meaning of this place, and no Man that looks into it and considers it well, can interpret it otherwise. And hence perhaps it is, that in a remote Sense the Verb *Charam* (and consequently the Noun *Cherem*) may be taken, as in *Mic. 4. 13.* to signify *Consecrating* or *Holy Dedication*. Not that the word hath any such genuine signification, for it is not *Charam* but *Kadash* that is the word constantly used to denote *Sanctifying* or *Consecrating*, i.e. setting a thing or Person apart to a Pious use, to God's peculiar Honour and Service. I say *Kadash* is the proper word for this every where in the Old Testament; yet because even *Cursing* of things or Persons is to God's Glory, and so may be said to be *Holy to the Lord*, hence *Charam* and *Cherem*, and accordingly *Anathema* come to have that Sense sometimes, but in a very improper and forced manner.

The other Text in *Joshua* speaks not of things that were to be destroyed, but to be preserved, and therefore it is added there, *they shall come into the Treasury of the Lord*, and consequently they are said to be *Holiness unto the Lord*. But this is Foreign to the present

Business, for we are speaking now of the Primary and Proper Meaning of the word, not of any Improper and Secondary one. I grant that *'Ανάθεμα* is improperly and as it were at a distance applied to the things which are consecrated to God, and are reserved for his particular Use and Service: But thence to infer that this is the First, Genuine, and Native Signification of the word is Unreasonable and Illogical. The things spoken of in the forenamed place, viz. The City *Jericho*, and all that was in it, are called *'Ανάθεμα* in the *Seventies* Translation, not because they were to be reserved for the use of the Temple, or because they were consecrated to the Lord: No, this is another Consideration of the things, and is nothing at all to the true Import of the word, for this *consecrating to the Lord*, refers to some particular individual things only, and not to the rest spoken of in that place. For observe what is there said, *v. 17. The City shall be (Anathema) accursed, even it, and all that are therein*, all things as well as Persons, for *לך* takes in both, and the *Seventy Interpreters* particularly restrain it to things, *πάντα σου*, &c. Now that by *'Ανάθεμα* or being accursed to the lord, is meant here that they shall be destroyed to the Glory of God, is evident from the words immediately ensuing, *Only Rahab the Harlot shall live, she, and all that are with her in the House*. These particularly are excepted from the general *Anathema* or Curse which was to end in *Destruction*: Therefore it is undeniably true, that all other Persons and things were

curfed

curfed by God, and destined to Destruction. The whole City, and every Person and thing in it, were thus an *Anathema*, yet so as God was pleased to spare the Silver and Gold, the Brass and Iron for the Service of the Tabernacle. But still these are included in the general Notion of *'Ανάθεμα* or accursed things, and so are called in *v. 18.* because they did belong to that accursed City *Jericho*, and should have been involved in the actual Curse and Destruction, if God had not in a peculiar manner exempted them, and thought good to reserve them for Holy and Religious Uses, and thereby to cut off as it were the Curse entailed upon them. But if we consider the things in themselves, i. e. as they appertain'd to that City, which was devoted by God to Perdition, they are *'Ανάθεμα* Accursed things and are so stiled, as you have heard. The words in *v. 18.* run thus *Keep your selves from the accursed thing (viz. The Gold and Silver, &c. mentioned in the next Verse) lest you make your selves accursed when ye take of the accursed thing, and make the Camp of Israel a Curse*: Or, you may read it according to the *Septuagint* thus, *Keep your selves from the Anathema, lest you make your selves Anathema, when ye take of the Anathema, and make the Camp of Israel an Anathema*. Here is you see nothing contained in the Primitive and Genuine Sense of the word *'Ανάθεμα* but a Curse and a devoting or being devoted to Mischiefe and Perdition, for there is no colour at all of reason to take *'Ανάθεμα* here in contrary Senses, but all Men must acknowledge,

M 2

ledge,

ledge, that the general Sense is the same in every Clause of this Verse, or else 'tis impossible to make any Sense of it. Which shews us what is the true import of the word, viz. *A being set apart and destined by a Solemn Curse to Destruction*, and consequently that the word is not to be taken in a good Sense, but the contrary viz. for something Execrable and Detestable, and (as the consequent of this) that it is far different from *'Aváθnua*, yea is another word, which is the thing I was to prove.

But notwithstanding this, we shall find that some Writers are very defective here, and mistake one word for another, and thence they tell us, that *'Aváθnua* are things dedicated to

* *Resp. 21.* God. Thus * *Justin Martyr* confounds the words, and so doth || *Chrysostom*, whatever a late Writer suggests to the contrary. Nor do * *Theodoret* or || *Oecumenius* distinguish between them, as appears from some part of their Writings. And *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* often confound the words *'Aváθnua* and *'Aváθnua* in their Comments on the Councils. The same is done by some Modern Commentators, as † *Cotterius*, * *Gomarus*, and others. But you may observe that all the Exact Masters of Grammar and Criticism make a real Discrimination between these two: Thus according to *Hesychius* *'Aváθnua* is ἐπιδεικνύμενος, maledictus, excommunicatus: But *'Aváθnua* is δῶρον, donarium, ornamentum Templi. The like Distinction is made by *Suidas* and || *Annotat. Pollux*, and other Grammarians. || *Budaus*, a sufficient Judge in this case, asserts this difference,

rence, and by no means suffers them to be confounded. * *Estius*, that Judicious Commentator, tells us that it is most certain the Antient Greeks made a Distinction between *'Aváθnua* and *'Aváθnua*. * *Heinsius* wonders that any have asserted the promiscuous use of these words, for they are (saith he) not only diverse but contrary. The Learned || *Salmasius* agrees with him, and makes a real difference between these words. So *Hofman* in his * *Universal Lexicon* carefully fixes the Distinction between them.

If it be asked what was the reason, or occasion rather of the forementioned Mistake about these words, whence was it that the forenamed Authors, and several others, whom I might have produced, confound these two, I answer I conceive this is the ground of it, namely because Offerings and Gifts are sometimes consecrated to God with the addition of a Curse: As *Darius's* Decree for Building and Dedicating the Temple ends with an Execration, *Ezra* 6. 12. Thence perhaps *Anathema* hath been used to signify a Gift dedicated to a Temple, and an Accursed thing, or such a one as hath a Curse laid on it, viz. a Curse to him that shall meddle with it to alienate it. Thence *Anathemata* were said to be those Gifts that were consecrated to God, and which 'twas not lawful to convert to another use, because the Consecration was under pain of a Curse to those that alter'd the Property of them. And it is indeed generally said by the Jewish Doctors, that one sort of their *Cherems* were so set apart from common use, that

there was implied, and sometimes expressed a *Curſing* of them who ſhould attempt to alienate them. I conjecture it is on this account (*viz.* becauſe of this *Execration* annex'd to the *Donation*) that theſe words have had a promiſcuous uſe, and have been thought by ſome to ſignifie things conſecrated to Holy uſes, and alſo thoſe that are deſtined to Deſtruction. Hence, as I ſuppoſe, *Anathema*, with a little Variation in the Writing, and ſometimes without it, is of an ambiguous meaning, and hath been taken by ſome in a good and a bad Senſe, namely for the Gifts and Offerings which Religious Votaries preſent to the Deity, and appropriate to Sacred Uſes, and likewise for ſuch things and Perſons as are wholly alienated from God, and are devoted to Deſtruction by him. But the former acception is ſecondary and improper, and the Riſe of that Promiſcuousneſs of the words which we have obſerved, is only from that Curſe which is ſometimes annexed to the Conſecration. Hence it is that the primitive meaning of the words *Ἀνάθημα* and *Ἀνάθεμα* is perverted; as we ſee there are many Inſtances of the Like nature. For there are ſome good words (as *τύρον*, *φάρμακον*, &c.) which afterward are uſed in a bad Senſe, and on the contrary ſome words of ill meaning (as *μεθύω* &c.) become good ſometimes. Thus it is here in the words before us, they are diſtorted from their proper ſenſe and primitive uſe, and one is made to ſignifie the ſame with the other, whereas they really differ in themſelves, and are of a contrary Signification.

Having

Having thus cleared the way to what I intended, by ſhewing the *Difference* between theſe two words *Ἀνάθημα* and *Ἀνάθεμα*, I come now to ſpeak particularly of this latter, and to offer a more diſtinct account of the genuine meaning of it. We muſt know then that *Ἀνάθημα* hath its original from the ſame Greek word that *Ἀνάθημα* had, yet with this difference, that *Ἀναθήναι*, or *Ἀνάθεμι* ſignifies here *ſeperare*, *removere*, *auferre*, as alſo *renuntiare*, *rejicere*, (for theſe are the known ſignifications of the Greek word in good * Claſſick Authors.) And conſequently as *Ἀνάθημα* properly ſignifies that which is kept or laid up in ſome eminent place, ſo *Ἀνάθεμα* properly denotes that which is ſeparated, removed, taken away and rejected: Briefly, as the former ſignifies the Preſerving of a thing, ſo this latter imports the utter Deſtroying and Conſuming of it. But not to rely wholly upon the Etymology (which I know generally is but an uncertain proof,) I will make this good from other Conſiderations, and offer the reaſons why I fix this interpretation on the word. Firſt, Let it be remembered that our Apoſtle often alludes and refers to the *Old Teſtament*, and makes uſe of ſeveral Words, Phraſes and Expreſſions which he finds there. Thoſe that are converſant in the Style of this Hebraizing Writer will not ſhew any Averſeneſs to acknowledge this, and therefore I need not inſiſt upon it. Now, it is probable that he doth the like here, *i.e.* That he refers to that noted word *חרם* ſo often mentioned in the *Old Teſtament*, which hath this very Signification, and

is applied in the same manner that this word is: So that any discerning Person may perceive that this Greek word 'Ανάθεμα answers exactly to the Hebrew *Cherem*, and that the Apostle hath respect to it in this place. Secondly, This is made more probable from the Famous Version of the *Seventy Interpreters*, who constantly render the word *Cherem* by this word which the Apostle here useth, viz. 'Ανάθεμα, and from them without doubt this word was taken by this Sacred Writer, who in above a hundred places (as might easily be shewed) hath borrow'd words from those *Greek Interpreters*, and applied them in the same Sense and Meaning that they do. Wherefore it is reasonable to think that he doth the like here. Thirdly and lastly, this may be call'd an *Ecclesiastick word*, because it is most used by the *Fathers* and *Church-Writers*, and from their rendring and explaining of the word, we may infer that it runs parallel with *Cherem*.

Here then we are concerned to look into the true import of this word *Cherem*, because upon this depends the right understanding of the word 'Ανάθεμα. First, we shall find that the more general signification of the Verb *כרת*, whence this Noun cometh, is *separavit*, *excommunicavit*, and consequently *Cherem* is a

* Cherem,
privatio
vel separa-
tio penaria
Avenar
lib. Radic.

* Separation, or the Sentence of *Excommunication* whereby Persons are separated and cut off from Holy Communion. This is the usual meaning of the word in *Jewish Writers*, they understand by it an *Ecclesiastical Punishment*, or a Solemn Interdiction or Proscription whereby Contumacious Offenders are forbid

the

the use of Holy things, and debar'd the Communion of the Church, and the Benefits of it: But in the next place, the more particular import of the word is *Separating with a Curse*. For *devovere*, *execrari* is the usual signification of the Verb *Charam* in Scripture, as in *1 Kings 20. 42. Isa. 34. 5.* and other places; whence *Cherem* is not only a *Cursed thing* or *Person*, but the *Cursing* of them. This is that which is threatned by God to the Jews, if they reject the *Messias*, and is the Conclusion of the Old Testament, *That he will come and smite them with a Curse*, *Mal. 4. 6.* *Cherem* is the word, and thence 'Ανάθεμα is frequently used to denote a *Curse*, and 'Αναθεματίζην and καταθεματίζην, as in *Acts 23. 12.* signifie to *Curse*, or to *Swear* with the Addition of a *Curse*. It is a *Separating* and *Devoting* of things or Persons by a Solemn *Execration*; it is a *Vowing*, *Wishing* and *Pronouncing* their *Destruction* and *Perdition*. Therefore thirdly, *Charam* among the *Hebrews* is *desolavit*, *destruxit*; and *Cherem* is *desolatio*, *destruatio*, *perditio omnimoda*. As to the Verb, 'tis acknowledged by all, that there are great Numbers of Texts, wherein it signifies to *destroy* utterly, as in *Ex. 22. 20. Deut. 2. 34.* where the word can have no other Sense than this, and therefore is rendred by the *Seventy* 'Εξολοθρῆν and 'Εξολοθρῆσαι. So in *Isa. 11. 15.* it cannot possibly signifie any thing else (as is plain from the words themselves, and from the Context) and therefore 'Ερημῶν *devastare* *desolare* is the Version of the *Septuagint*. Again, in *Jer. 51. 3.* and *Dan 11. 44.* it cannot be understood otherwise than thus, and accordingly

dingly it is rendred in both places 'Αφανίζω, *abolere*. And I question not but this is the meaning of the word in *Ezra* 10. 8. though we translate it *to forfeit*; but the plain Sense and rendring of it is this, [*this Substance shall be destroyed*,] as in the case of *Achan*; wherefore 'Αναθηματισμός is the word used here by the Greek Interpreters, because 'Αναθήμα answers to *Cherem*, the proper meaning of which word is *Destruction*.

And we may further learn and be ascertained of the true and genuine meaning of this word from the Law of *Cherem*, set down in *Lev.* 27. 28, 29, which there signifies a thing or Person devoted to Destruction, and also from the particular Instances of this *Cherem*, as those Idolatrous Cities mention'd in *Deut.* 13. 15, 16. Which were to be utterly destroy'd, and all that was in them. Neither Inhabitants nor Cattle were to be spared, nay all the Spoil of them was to be gathered into the midst of their Streets, and both City and Spoil to be burnt to Ashes. The Cities shall be a heap for ever, they shall never be built again, and there shall cleave nought of the accursed thing (the Anathema) to thy hand, v. 17. *Jericho* was a *Cherem*, Cursed and Destined to Destruction: So *Amalek* was devoted to be a *Cherem*, 1 Sam. 15. 3. Utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not, but slay both Man and Woman, &c. *Charam* and 'Αναθηματισμός are the words here used. And hence perhaps were the *Kαταθήματα* and *Devota capita* among the Greeks and Romans: For (as I have said before) it was not unusual with the Gentiles to borrow some Practices from the Jews. They had a report among

among them, it is likely, of this Remarkable Usage, viz. The Devoting of certain Cities, and the Inhabitants of them, to Slaughter and Destruction, and that this was executed by the special Command of God: Whence it is not improbable that in an Apish and Superstitious manner they took up such a Practice as this, and devoted certain Men to Death and Destruction, to please their Gods. And this is the more probable, because the very word *'Αναθήματα was used by the Ancient Greeks to signify those Execrable Wretches who were chosen out to be put to Death, and to be devoted to the Infernal Demons: The 'Αναθήματα answer to the Jewish *Cherem*, i. e. Things or Persons devoted to utter Destruction, for the word *Cherem* retains the Sense of the Verb *Charam*, which signifies utterly to destroy, and that without Mercy: Whence the Critical Hebrews tell us, that *Charam* is directly opposite to the Verb *Racham misereri*.

From *Charam* the word *Chormah* derives its Pedigree, and so should be translated Destruction in *Numb.* 14. 45. though you find it otherwise, for the Vulgar Latin keeps the Hebrew word it self, and our English Translators follow it, rendring the place thus, The Amalekite discomfited them even unto Hormah, whereas I conceive *Hormah* or *Chormah* denotes not a place, but Death and Destruction, and the words should be rendred thus, The Amalekite discomfited, or * pursued them even unto utter destruction, i. e. Death. Those Pagan Victors push'd on their Conquest even to the utmost Extremity, according to what *Moses* had foretold,

v. 43. that the *Israelites* should fall by the Sword. Thus they were destroyed, as you expressly read in *Dent. 1. 44.* where this same passage is related again. And from such a Fatal Event as this (but upon the contrary Party, the *Israelites* afterwards overthrowing the *Canaanites*) the place where the Execution was done was called *Hormah*, and not before. *Numb. 21. 3.* They utterly destroyed them (*'Ανδραποδιστον* is the word used by the *Septuagint*) and their Cities, and called the name of the place *Chormah*, or (according to the Greek Translation) *Anathema*: So it is as much as *Cherem*, you see. But in the other Text before mentioned *Hormah* is no Proper Name, but an Appellative ; which is farther evident from this, that there is an η before it, whereas there are no Prefixes to Proper Names. I am enclined to think that *Harmageddon*, *Rev. 16. 16.* (a word that hath much exercised the Critical Wits) is of the same Derivation, *Charmah* denoting *Destruction*, and *Gad* or *Geddon* an *Army*, and so it signifies the Destruction and Fatal Overthrow of that *Army of Antichrist* which was to Rendezvouze in that place : It takes its name from the Event which you read in v. 19. This I conceive is preferable to the other Derivations that are usually assigned of the word *Harmageddon*.

I will also observe to you, that this word *Cherem* in a Metaphorical way signifies a *Net*, in which Fishes are taken to be killed and eaten, i.e. destroyed, *Ezek. 32. 3. Mic. 7. 2. Hab. 1. 15.* All which I alledge, to shew you that *Cherem*, if you respect the word from whence it is extracted, or the words that are of near Cog- nation

nation with it, denotes killing and destroying. This is the proper signification of it (for as to the Catechrestick Acception of it, I have nothing to do with it here,) yea, this is its * *First* and *Original* signification. By *Cherem* we are principally to understand *Utter Destruction* and *Perdition*, Final Extirpation and Excision, and withall the Wishing, Vowing and Denouncing of these. Thus *'Ανδραποδιστον* in the New Testament is borrowed from *Cherem* in the Old, and answers exactly to it. I know some Authors have taken notice of the Reference of the one to the other, but I thought fit to superadd a full and distinct account of the Remarkable Agreement that is between them, and this I have done by laying open the Origination of the words, and the particular use of them. *Ητ' 'Ανδραποδιστον* is as much as *חַרֵּם* let him be a *Cherem*, that is to say in the full meaning of it, Let him be a Person separated, cursed, destroyed.

So that by this I have conducted you to the true and compleat meaning of the Apostle's words : Here is a *Tripple Judgment* denounc'd against those that love not the Lord Jesus Christ, those who were so far from loving him, that they disown and deny him. For 'tis certain here is a *Meiosis*, less is expressed than is intended ; by not loving is meant hating and renouncing of the Lord Jesus Christ. Let him that is guilty of this horrid Sin be *Anathema*, saith the Apostle, that is,

1. Let him be separated. In which these two things are included ; First, That he be separated from Christ's Church, that he be excluded from being

* *Brixian.*
Theaur.
Lingue S.
Avenar.
lib. Radic.

being a Member of that Body. Ἀνάθεμα, answering to *Cherem*, is rightly understood, as that was, of *Excommunication*, which is a Prohibition of Communion with the Church, and a cutting a Person off from the Benefits which accrue from it. Thus our Apostle in Holy Zeal for the Jews his Country-men and Kinsmen, professes he could be content to be

* Rom. 9.3. for their sakes * *an Anathema from Christ*, i. e. to be separated from Christ's Church, and the Communion of Saints: He could even wish himself excommunicated from the Assemblies of the Faithful, if this might any ways redound to the good of his Brethren. So here, the least Punishment that can be inflicted on him who loves not the Lord Jesus Christ, is that he be deprived of the Fellowship of the Church, of which he professed himself to be a Member. As he renounceth Christ, so it is but just he should be cast off by the Church, and debar'd of all Society with it. So St. Chrysostom understands this place, *Let him be Anathema*, that is, saith he, * *Let him be separated from all, let him be estranged from all*, || *Let him be a Stranger to the common Body of the Church*, saith Theodoret. † *Anathema is Separation or Alienation*, saith Theophylact. And indeed among Christian and Ecclesiastical Writers it hath this peculiar Denotation, and is used to signify *Excommunication*. And as he deserves to be separated from the Church, so likewise from Christ Himself. Secondly therefore *Let him be Anathema*, i. e. *Let him be separated from Christ*, let him have no part in Jesus. So indeed the Apostle's words before mentioned may be farther meant, I

ῥα καὶ
ἐγὼ
πάντων
ἐλλείψομαι
ἵνα πάντες
σωθῶν. Ho-
mil. 16. in
Epist. ad
Rom.
† Ἀλλό-
τευτος ὁ
κοινὸν σώ-
ματι
τῆς ἐκ-
κλησίας. In
loc.
† Ἀνάθε-
μα ἐστὶ χῶ-
ρισμὸς,
ἐλλοθεῖν-
σις. In
Rom. 9.3.

could wish that my self were *Anathema* from Christ, i. e. separated from Christ himself. If it were possible (for it is but a Supposition, and a strain of passionate Love and Indearment,) if it might any ways promote my Brethrens Welfare, I could willingly be excluded from all Benefit by our Lord Jesus Christ. I could methinks endure any loss, part with God's Favour and my own Bliss for their sakes. But what the Apostle here utters only in a high strain of Affection to express his Great Concern for his Kindred (for you must look upon it as no other,) he most truly and directly wisheth and denounceth against all those that willfully and obstinately renounce Christ, that fall from the Faith they once professed, and abjure the Holy Jesus. Let such a one never in this World enjoy his Favour, or share in any Advantage by his Blessed Undertakings for Mankind.

2. *Let him be a Person Accursed of God and Men*, for that (as I have shewed) is contained in the Notion of *Cherem*, and consequently of *Anathema*; and thence among the Writers of the Church, to *Anathematize* is to *Curse*, or to denounce *Accursed*. If any Man love not, i. e. hate the Lord Jesus Christ, it is a most equal Recompense of that his Hatred, that he himself be detested and abhorred, and that he be *Cursed* upon Earth. If he calls Christ *Anathema* (1 Cor. 12.3.) i. e. looks upon him, and speaks of him as an Abominable Execrable Person, he certainly himself ought to be an *Anathema*, an Execration, a Malediction. As he is justly banish'd from the Communion of the Church (which

we

we spoke of before,) so moreover he is to be delivered to Satan, which in the Apostles times accompanied Excommunication, 1 Cor. 5. 5. 1 Tim. 1. 20. This is a farther Punishment of the Apostate here spoken of. He is to be accounted a *Devoted Person*, he is to be consigned over to the Evil Spirit as a most Detestable and Cursed Wretch, forsaken of God, and destined to *Destruction*. Which is the

Third thing contained in this word. Let him be *Anathema*, i. e. let him be destroyed; for that also is comprehended in the Notion of *Cherem*, yea is the primary import of it, as we have fully proved. Now, this *Destruction* includes in it both the Temporal and Eternal Punishment which are entailed on these cursed Miscreants, the Haters of Christ. First, it is probable the Apostle means here those Temporal Infirmities, as Sickneses, Diseases and Torments of Body which attended Excommunication and Delivering to Satan in those days, and which are called the *Destruction of the Flesh*, 1 Cor. 5. 5. which also may be included in the Apostle's Wish before mentioned, *That himself were an Anathema from Christ*, i. e. That (besides what hath been said before) he might feel all those Corporal Punishments which usually were inflicted on Sinners when they were delivered to Satan. I could be content, saith he, out of his excess of Affection and Kindness, to undergo all those Severities and outward Hardships of Body, on condition that I might be really Beneficial to the Souls of my Brethren, and reclaim them from their Unbelief and Impenitence. This the

Learned

Learned Dr. Hammond (as well as Grotius) takes to be the *Anathema* of the Text which is before us; it refers to the Primitive Discipline of Anathematizing or Excommunicating, which was followed with most dismal Effects, particularly with remarkable Judgments on their outward Man, which are called by Ignatius *ἑλαινὴ τοῦ διαβόλου*, The Plagues which the Devil inflicted. Let these Execrable Sinners, who renounce their Lord and Saviour, be plagued with all those bodily Maladies; being thrown out of the Communion of the Church, and debar'd of Spiritual Benefits, let them suffer all the Temporal Evils and Calamities of this Life.

Secondly, A future eternal Punishment in another World is here implied; which makes this Denunciation of the Apostle to be most Astonishing and Dreadful. If any Man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, and persists in this vile Temper and Practice, let a Curse pursue him into the next World to his Everlasting Perdition and Confusion. This is the highest Sense of this *Anathema*, this *Cherem*, this is a devoting to Death and utter and final Destruction. So then in brief the meaning of the words in their full Latitude is this, If any Man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, so as not to confess him, but to renounce and deny him, especially in time of Persecution (as some at that time, the *Gnosticks* saith our Annotator, affirmed it lawful to do) if any Man hate and vilifie the Lord Jesus Christ, and disown and reject that Faith which he once embraced; let his Reward be to be separated

rated

rated and cut off from Christ Jesus the Head, and from his Body the Church, let him be Accursed in Body and Soul, and be given up to the Prince of Darkness, and suffer all Evils in this World and in the next, let him be destined to Eternal Misery, and perish Everlastingly without remedy.

Thus Spiritual, Temporal and Eternal Evils; but more especially these last, are comprehended in this Apostolical Execration; therefore to this *Anathema* the Apostle adds *Maran-atha*, which is thought by some to answer to the Third kind of Excommunication among the Jews, the Severest and Dreadfulest of all, which they stiled *Shammatha*, a final Separation from the Church without hopes of returning. And some that embrace this Opinion tell us that *Maran-atha* is a *Talmudick* word, and frequent in the *Rabbies*, and that the greatest and most fearful Excommunication among the Jews was called by this name from the first words of the Writing or Instrument of Excommunication. But our great Christian Rabbi gainsays this, * "That this (saith he) is a Form of the highest Excommunication, and is the same with *Shammatha* (which some assert) is utterly without the Warrant of any Jewish Antiquity at all. Nay, the words *Maran-atha* are not to be met with in the Jewish Writings. I believe we may take it upon the Doctor's word (who knew as well as any Man) that they are not there. However, this is certain that if we look into both those words [*Shammatha* and *Maran-atha*] we shall find that they are of

* Hor. Hebraic.

the

he same signification, for *Sham* or *Shem* is *no-men*, which in ordinary Speech among the Jews signifies *God*, and *atha* is *venit*, and so the compound word is to be resolved into this, *God cometh*; which is the same with *Maran-atha*, for *Maran* in the Syriack and other Eastern Tongues signifies *Dominus* (and thence, as *Grotius* observes, the Syrian Maronites have their name, because they call Christ *Marani*, i.e. our Lord) and *atha*, as was said before, is rendred *venit*, *he cometh*; and so both *Shammata* and *Maran-atha* exactly answer to that direful Menace of *Enoch*, * *The Lord cometh*, which was a *Prophesie* as well as an *Execration*, that was very famous in the Church of the Jews, and from this (it is very probable) those Forms of Execration were taken. Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his Saints, to execute Judgment upon all, especially on such wicked and profligate Sinners that deny the Lord who bought them, and shamefully renounce the Christian Faith and Profession. These are they that love not the Lord Jesus Christ.

Here then all that I will remark is this; that this Dreadful Execration which the Apostle here useth, hath peculiar reference to God's Final Judging the World, and his executing Eternal Vengeance on the Wicked. For though we may grant with the Learned *Lightfoot*, that the Apostle here primarily speaks to the Unbelieving Jews; and accordingly expresseth himself in the very Language which they used at that time, viz. Syriack, (whereas in Hebrew it should have been *Adonenu ba*;

N 2

not

* Jud. v. 14.

**Hor. Hebr.* not *Maran-atha*, which, * saith he, evidently sheweth that this Speech refers more especially to the *Jewish Nation*) and though we may grant that the words have some reference to *our Lords coming to destroy Jerusalem* and the *Jewish Polity*, yet (as this Worthy Doctor afterwards acknowledgeth) they may have a larger Sense, as many other passages in Scripture have, and be understood more signally and eminently of the *Last Doom* and *Curse* which shall be pronounced not only against the Unbelieving Jews, but all those that love not the Lord Jesus Christ of what Nation soever. This shall be at the *General Judgment of the World*, which (we know) is by way of eminence called the *Lords coming* in the Sacred Stile of the New Testament: And we read that in that day *Go ye Cursed* is the particular Language used towards those miserable Creatures. To this therefore I am of opinion that *St. Paul's Execration* in the Text doth more particularly and especially refer. The short is, *those that love not the Lord Jesus Christ*, those who willfully hate and oppose him and his Laws, are *Accursed Persons* in this Life, and are devoted to *Destruction*; and likewise when *our Lord* shall come to judge the World, they shall be *Cursed* more openly and solemnly; when they shall stand before that Impartial Judge of the World, they shall receive from his infallible Mouth a *Final Malediction*, an *Irreversible Execration*, which shall immediately be succeeded with the Eternal Punishment of Hell.

The

The Seventh Text enquired into,

V I Z.

Coloss. II. 8.

Beware lest any Man spoil you through Philosophy and vain Deceit, after the Tradition of Men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Christ.

THOUGH this whole Verse requires an Explication, which I shall briefly offer; yet the main thing which seems difficult in it is this, That *St. Saul* here enters a Caveat against *Philosophy*, and joyns it with *vain Deceit*, whereas he that is acquainted with the Apostle's Education and Accomplishments cannot imagine he would speak any thing to the Disparagement of *true and sound Philosophy*, which is the Guide of our Faculties, the great Improver of our Reason, the main Conduct of all rational and considerate Minds, and that which teacheth us the right Knowledge of God as it arises from the Nature of things in the World. To *Moses's Honour* it

N 3

is

is recorded by St. Luke, and related by the holy Martyr St. Stephen, (in which he was directed by the Holy Ghost) that he was * learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians, bred up in their Mistic Hieroglyphicks, and acquainted with the natural Magick of their wise Men. And therefore tho it is one of the Documents of a Jewish Rabbi to his Disciples, † Suffer not your Children to learn Logick: And tho some of the * Christian Fathers have spoken freely against Logick and Philosophy, (and particularly St. Ambrose on the 118th Psalm is taken notice of for his *nihil nobis cum Philosophia*) because they observ'd that a sophistical way of Reasoning and Logick was made use of by Hereticks, and because the Study of Philosophy had introduced innumerable Contentions and Quarrels, as also because it sometimes meddled with and inroached upon Divinity, (for which cause a || Learned Father gives no better name to Philosophy, than that of Egyptian Plagues, and * another calls them the Egyptian Frogs that have crept into the Church;) tho I say, for these Reasons the Fathers sometimes thus inveighed against Logick and Philosophy, yet at other times they shew the Usefulness and Necessity of both; and that the Sophistries of Hereticks cannot be confuted without them. *Clemens of Alexandria* † proves that Philosophy and Human Arts are from God, and are useful in Divinity. || It is not absurd (he saith to assert that

* *Ag. 7. 12.*
 R. Judah.
 Ben. Berthe-
 ra.
 * *Tertullian, Augustin, Greg. Nyssen & Nazianzen, Basil.*
 || *Greg. Naz. Orat. de modo in disput. * Augustin. de conv. decem Præcept. c. 4.*
 † *Strom. l. 1.*
 || *Οὐκ ἄτοπον ἔστι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ τῆς θείας προνοίας δεδωταί, προσημενῶσαν ἐπὶ τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ τελευτήν. Strom. l. 6.*

Philoso-

Philosophy is the Gift of Divine Providence, and was designed to prepare Men for the perfect Doctrine of the Gospel. Accordingly he tells us that Philosophy was given to the Greeks to be the Foundation of Christianity. As the Law and the Prophets were to the Jews, so (saith he) was Philosophy to the Greeks, viz. to fit and dispose them for the preaching of the Gospel, * to purge and prepare their Souls for the reception of the Christian Faith. A Proof of this we have in that great and learned Platonist, *Justin Martyr*, who (in his Apology for the Christians) acquaints us, that by reading a Sentence in *Plato's* Works he was excited to leave Paganism, and to embrace Christianity. *Theodoret*, another Greek Father, in that known Treatise of his wherein he addresses himself to the Grecians, makes it evident to them that the Evangelical Truth is consonant to and may be confirmed by the Gentile Philosophy in some parts of it. *St. Jerome*, a Latin Father, altho once in a Dream he thought he was beaten for reading *Tully* and such like Authors, yet in his Epistle to *Magnus* a Roman Orator after he had shew'd what allowance Human Learning hath in Sacred Scripture, sets down in order the Fathers who made use of the Writings of the Gentiles in confuting their Errors: and in his 84th Epistle he gives an account why he himself in his Writings made use of secular Learning. And as I related before, how *Justin* was guided to Christianity by a Sentence in his

N 4

Master

* *Φιλοσοφία δὲ ἡ ἑλληνικὴ οἶον προκαθάρει καὶ προεθίζει τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς παραδοχὴν τῆς πίστεως. Strom. l. 7.*

† Confession. 1. 8. 6. 7. Master *Plato*, so you may be certified from *St. Augustin* himself, † that he was very much helped forward toward imbracing the Christian Faith, by reading one of *Tully* (that great Philosopher) his Dialogues, which is put out in *Hortensius* his Name.

These things thus alledged represent to us the Usefulness and Serviceableness of true and sober Philosophy. This certainly is a great Help to Religion, yea, a part of it. For

¶ Philosophus is est qui omnium rerum divinarum atque humanarum naturam causasque noscit, & omnem bene vivendi rationem tenet ac profertur. De Oratore 1.

a Philosopher (as *Tully* defines him, and not amiss) ¶ Is one that enquires into, and is acquainted with the Nature and Causes of all things relating to God and Man, (i. e. so far as Natural Reason will con-

duct him) and he is one that both knows and pursues all the ways of living well.

Or take the Description of the rectified Philosophy in the words of *Maximus Tyrinus*, *

* Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ὑποληύμεθα ὡς ἐπιστήμην ἀκριβῆς θάλλοντὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, χαρμὴν ἀρετῆς, καὶ λαχισμὸν καλῶν, καὶ ἀρμονίαν βίης, καὶ εὐτυχεύματ' ἀνθρώπων. Dissertat. 15.

† Φιλοσοφία ἐστὶ ζωῆς ἀνθρώπου καθαροῦ καὶ τελευτῆς. teacheth us Moderation and Right Conduct of our Manners. *Hierocles* is short, but very full, † Philosophy is the Purgation and Perfection of Man's Life. This clears the Mind of Pollution, this enlightens and consummates Humane Nature; This I may call the

Urim

Urim and Thummim of the Heathen Morallists, the Light and Perfection which they attained to. *Philo's* Definition of Philosophy agrees with this, but advanceth it yet higher, ¶ it is that (saith he) by which Man tho he be mortal, attains to immortality.

And that is a high Flight of *Cicero*, who, as it were, speaking to Philosophy, saith thus, * One single day well spent in the Observance of thy Dictates and Rules, is to be preferred before an Eternity of living after the vicious way of the World. But if we should speak moderately, certainly what the Apostle saith of the Law, is the least that can be said of true Philosophy, viz. It is good if a Man use it lawfully. It may be serviceable to excellent Ends and Purposes if it be rightly made use of, and in a subordinate way to the revealed Truth of Scripture. We may be assured thereof, that *St. Paul* here condemns not Philosophy and Human Learning as they are considered in themselves, but only with respect to the Abuse and Corruption of them.

St. Paul himself was bred up first at *Tarsus*, a noted School of Learning. and afterwards sat at the feet of a famous Doctor of the Law, who was Nephew of *Hillel* Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, and was (if we may credit our learned Antiquary) created by him a Jewish Elder, and a Member of that venerable Council. He was the greatest Master of Logick and Reason of all the Apostles, a profound and accurate Disputant, and one no less seen in the Syriack, Greek, and Latin Tongues,

¶ ὅτι ἡ ἐκείνη ἡμέρα ἀπαθανάτισται. De Opif. Mundi. Est unus dies bene & ex praeceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati antependendus. Tusc. qu. 2.

Tongues, than in the Hebrew Traditions and Jewish Constitutions. His citing of the *Greek Poets* assures us of his Skill in that sort of Learning. And who now will believe that he wholly neglected the *Philosophers*? none surely who considers that he was signally called to be the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, and that he chiefly repaired to those Countries where there was the greatest number of these, (as St. *Peter* most of all applied himself to the *Jews*) our Apostle being the fittest Person to preach to them who were Professors of Reason, and Lovers of Arts and Ingenuity: Among these he would by no means inveigh against *Philosophy* as it was pure and innocent; but finding it to be miserably corrupted and perverted, and to have espoused many fond and absurd Principles, and to have abetted many undue Practices, there was reason he should declare against it. And indeed this Corruption had been of a long date, insomuch that

† *Grotius* in the days of the *Asmonæans* † it was decreed, in locum. That that Parent should be pronounced accursed, who taught his Son the Philosophy of the *Greeks*. Now if the *Jews* thought it would corrupt and debauch their Children, it is no wonder that St. *Paul* saw it would be injurious to the Christian Profelytes, and undermine the Principles of the Gospel. Yea, it is very probable, that at this time when the Apostle writ to the *Colossians*, the Christians began to mix their Christian Divinity with the Subtilties of Philosophy, and so to corrupt the Mysteries of Christianity with

with those Sophistries, and by that means to bring in Heresies, Thereupon the Apostle remonstrates against this Abuse of Philosophy, as a thing of very dangerous Consequence, such as would pervert the Minds of Christians, and prove hazardous even to Christianity it self. Wherefore he warns his Christian Converts of *Coloss* against this corrupt way of Philosophizing. Beware (saith he) lest any Man spoil you through Philosophy and vain Deceit.

Observe the Apostle's manner of expressing himself, *Least any Man spoil you*. The Greek word *σπαραγμῶν* is a Military Term, and sometimes is used in the Imperial Laws, particularly concerning Reprisals, More generally it signifies *Prædam ambigere*, to carry off the Prey or Booty, either at Land or Sea, The Apostle then doth very emphatically express his meaning, when he saith, *Beware lest any one spoil you*, i. e. take from you by Force, prey upon you, make a Prize of you, rob you of your Christianity through Philosophy and vain Deceit, i. e. through the vain deceit of Philosophy, or the Philosophy which is both vain and deceitful. This is a common Figure, not only used by our Apostle, but by other accurate Writers. The Apostle proceeds in the latter part of the Text, to tell us the Rise of the Grecian Philosophy, which was so vain and deceitful. It is after the Tradition of Men, i. e. it is the result of Humane Wit only, it is the meer Institution of Man, and hath nothing Divine and Heavenly (i. e. of supernatural Revelation) in it: And therefore

fore this Clause cannot be understood (as it is by most Expositors) of the *Legal* and *Mosaical Ceremonies*, which we know were instituted by God himself. The Apostle adds, that it is *after the Rudiments of the World*, i. e. it is a meer doting on the Custom and Prescription of the Men of the World : It is an adhering to the Opinions of the chief part of Mankind, who are pleas'd with the Philosophy as well as the Religion of their Country. It is true, *the Rudiments of the World*, in 2 Cor. 2. 20. and in Gal 4. 3. are the *Ceremonial Law*, which was as the *first Rudiments* or *Alphabet* in which the World was instructed at first, and train'd up, and taught a Religion, which was to make way for a more perfect One. Or the Jewish Rites and Ceremonies are call'd the *Elements*, or *Rudiments of the World*, saith * *Grotius*, because the chief of those Ceremonies, viz. Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, First-Fruits, &c. were common to all the World. But though *the Rudiments of the World* are to be understood in those fore-named places of the *Jewish Ceremonies*, yet it doth not follow thence that those Expressions are to be understood so here ; for the same words may be diversly taken, according to the different Matter they are applied to. It is probable that *the Rudiments of the World*, mention'd in the 20 and 22 Verses of this Chapter wherein this Text is, are meant of the upstart Doctrines of some Heretical Christians. If ye be dead with Christ from the Rudiments of the World, (i. e. if you have no regard to Errors and false Opinions, which

* In Galat.
4. 3.

which worldly Men hold in opposition to Christ's true Doctrine) *Why do ye dogmatize* (so it is in the Greek) *after the Commandments and Doctrines of Men ?* The *Mosaical Ordinances* seem not to be intended here, (as our Translators import) for the things which the Apostle speaks of are * *Doctrines of Men*. * *Διδασκαλίας ἀνθρώπων*. This cannot be applied to the Ordinances and Rites appointed by God from Heaven, as the Judaical Ceremonies were. Therefore the *Rudiments of the World* here, are the Inventions of worldly-minded Hereticks, who were at that time crept into the Church ; and the Apostle smartly demands of the *Colossians*, Why some among them did so stiffly and dogmatically adhere to the Opinions of those Seducers, who *bid them touch not, taste not, handle not ?* i. e. Superstitiously forbad them to eat certain Meats, and perswaded them to abstain from Marriage as a thing unlawful.

And as Heretical Opinions are referr'd to in this place, so something else may be meant by these words in another, and particularly in the Text, where it is plain, that *the Rudiments or Elements of the World*, refer to the Philosophy just before mentioned, the Apostle seeming to allude to the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, the four Elements of the World, those simple Bodies of which all mundane Things consist, and which are generally the Subject of Philosophers. And thus the word *στοιχεῖα* is taken in *Wisd.* 7. 17. where you read that Wisdom teacheth Men the Knowledge of the *σύνταξις κόσμου καὶ ἐνέργεια στοιχείων*, the Composition of the World,

World, and the Operation of the Elements. It is likely then that the Apostle hath an Eye here to the *Mundane Philosophy*, or to the Philosophers who doted on the *several Elements* (as *Thales* on Water, another on Fire, and the rest on the other Elements) as the first Principles of all things. Thus you see how reasonable it is to apply the *Rudiments of the World* to the *Philosophy* here spoken of, and not to the *Mosaical Ceremonies*, as Expositors generally have done. So that Ancient and Learned Father *Clemens Alexandrinus* declares that *Philosophy*, and the *Rudiments of the World*, are in this place the same. But he gives this Reason why the Apostle * calls it the *Elements*

* ΕΛΛΗΝΙ-
κήν φιλο-
σοφίαν, ὅτι
χρᾶται
κόσμου ἀλ-
ληγορῶν
στραχησά-
μένη τινα
ἔσται καὶ
πρωτο-
δικαίαν τῆς
ἀληθείας.
† Gal 4.9.

of the World, viz. because it teacheth the First Elements, and is but a preparatory Discipline to Truth. These first Rudiments and Elements are weak and beggarly, as the † Apostle saith of the Jewish Institutions; they are weak, because they cannot thoroughly purge the Soul of Vice, and teach it to master its evil Habits: they are poor and beggarly, because they cannot enrich the Soul with any of those Graces which are requisite to Eternal Happiness. In this respect they are not after Christ, (as 'tis said here) i. e. they are not like the Excellent Doctrine of Christ which was from Heaven; and is ever accompanied with extraordinary Efficacy.

The Apostle goes on in the Verses after the Text to give the Reason of his Caution against Philosophy. * For in Him (i. e. in Christ) (saith he) dwelleth all the Fullness of the

the Godhead bodily. As if he had said, Let no Man impose upon you by a lame and imperfect Philosophy, for now there is introduced an absolute and compleat Doctrine, namely, that of our Lord Jesus, who hath the Fulness of all Wisdom incorporated into him. Or, the dwelling of the Fulness of the Godhead bodily in him, may signify the perfect Glory and Majesty of the Divine Nature display'd in the *Flesh*, when the Word became Incarnate, when God was made Man. Bodily denotes the Hypostatical Union, whereby the Divine Nature is united to the Humane, and both concur to make up one Person. The Godhead dwells in Christ, not only *Spiritually*, (as in all Saints and Believers) but so that the Divine and Humane Nature are joyned by a *Personal Union*. Or, you may consider that of our * Learned Annotator, who tells us that the word † *Gnetzem*, which is the Hebrew word for *Body*, signifies oftentimes not *Essential*, more than *Being* or *Essence*, and imports the *Existence* and *Reality* of the thing spoken of. And accordingly he saith, that the *Body of Sin* and the *Body of Death*, mention'd in the New Testament, are no more than *Sin* and *Death*; the *real Being* of them is denoted, and nothing else. Thus here also the Greek word *σῶμα* answers to the Hebrew one, and is a kind of *Expletive*, for nothing but the *real Being* of the thing here spoken of is to be understood by it. But I conceive there is something more than this meant by the word *Bodily*, for it signifies not only the *Real*, but *Substantial*

Dr. Ham-
mond.
† Essential,
substantia,
res ipsa,
idem ipse,
identitas.

tial and Solid Fulness of Christ. The greatest Masters of Humane Wisdom attain'd to the Shadow only, but he is the Body, the Substance.

* Ver. 10. And so it follows, * *Ye are compleat in him*, saith the Apostle, you have all Things by Christ; there is nothing wanting and defective in the *Christian Doctrine*, it is an exact Model of Moral and Divine Wisdom. But the *Philosophy* which is now in vogue in the World, is another kind of thing; it is weak and imperfect, short and deficient; and as it is at this time abused and corrupted, hath nothing of solidity and substance in it. St. Paul had often caution'd against the *Legal and Jewish Institution*, and bid the Christians beware that none spoil them by that.

Now he comes to direct his Caveat against the Impostors of *Philosophy*. He had without doubt repeated and inculcated that of our Saviour, *Except your Righteousness exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees*, (the most exact Observers of the Mosaick Law) *ye can in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*. Now he thinks fit to urge this upon them also, That unless they go beyond the Bounds of the most improved Wisdom among the *Gentiles*, they are never like to arrive at that place of Happiness. Neither the Ceremonious Precepts of the *Jews*, nor the Dogma's of *Philosophers*, were able to conduct them thither. All the Men of Tradition could not effect it, the numerous Rabbies, and the Families of *Hillel* and *Shammai* were defective, notwithstanding

standing all their peculiar Dictates and Will-worships. And here and elsewhere, the Sons of Reason, the great Searchers into the Law of Nature, are charged by the Apostle with the same Deficiency. Their *Philosophy*, which they brag so much of, and value themselves so much upon, if it be rightly scanned, is but *κενή σοφία*; Philosophy and vain Deceit, are but Terms convertible. As Christianity outdoth the Law of *Moses*, so it outstrips that of Nature and Morality, especially as it is depraved and corrupted by the Grecian Philosophers and others, as it is made up of Fallacies and seeming shews of Arguing, but really void of solid Reason.

Against these the Christians of *Ephesus* were warned, *Let no Man deceive you* (saith the Apostle) *with vain words*, Chap. 5. v. 6. These *κενὶ λόγοις*, exactly answer to the *κενή σοφία*, and they both strike at the fallacious and deceitful Mode of Philosophizing in St. Paul's days, who was the first that planted the Gospel at *Ephesus*, (the Metropolis of all *Asia*) but it seems, in his absence from that place, some attempted to pervert his Converts, by pressing upon them the Jewish Rites; and others endeavoured to debauch them by Philosophy, either that of *Heraclitus* who was an *Ephesian*, or of *Pythagoras* who had many Followers there. This coming to St. Paul's ear, who was then in Bonds at *Rome*, he presently dispatched away this Epistle to the *Ephesians*, wherein he undertaketh to shew them, that the Gospel far exceeds both Judaism and Philosophy

osophy, and that Christ's Doctrine is more Sublime and Heavenly, more Powerful and Efficacious than either of them. In most Divine and exalted Language he extolls the Evangelical Doctrine, and convinces them, that all Learning and Wisdom are mean and vile in comparison of it. And this Epistle to the *Colossians* was written, it is likely, at the same time with that to the *Ephesians*, even whilst the things he wrote to them were fresh in his Memory: for you will find that it is of the same strain and tenour with that, and the very Phrase and Expression are the same, as I might shew you in several particulars besides that in these words. The Argument and Design is the same in both, viz. to oppose the Gospel-Wisdom not only to the Jewish Dispensation, but to the Accomplishments of the Gentile Knowledge so celebrated at that time in *Greece* and *Asia*. of this latter it is that St. Paul speaks in the Text, and in that parallel place to the *Corinthians*, 1 Epist. 3. Ch. 18. v. (and it is well known that *Corinth* was famous for *Philosophy*, one * of the seven Wise Men fell to their share, and *Diogenes* lived and conversed there. Let us hear then what the Apostle saith to these Men of *Corinth*); Let no Man deceive himself, (where the deceitfulness of Humane Philosophy is no less asserted than it is in the Text) upon which *Grotius* makes a Gloss, † All Humane Philosophy which is repugnant to the Doctrine of Christ in the Gospel, is a meer Cheat and Delusion. Let therefore no Man deceive and

* *Periander*
† *Omnis Philosophia humana Evangelio repugnans Deceptio est. in loc.*

gull himself with it. But (as it followeth) if any Man seem to be wise in this World, (*ἐν αἰῶνι τῷ τούτῳ*, i. e. according to the Wisdom of this World; if he thinks himself to be a great Philosopher) let him become a fool (renounce those deceitful Principles, and embrace the Gospel, which is accounted Folly) that he may be wise, (really so, i. e. wise to Salvation); for the Wisdom of this World (i. e. Humane Reason and Philosophy abstracted from Revelation) is Foolishness with God, i. e. it is reckon'd by God, what it is really in it self, a weak and shallow Thing, blind and imperfect, and unable to conduct a Man to Bliss and Happiness. Mark here how the Pretenders to Wisdom are shamefully baffled, and their perverse Judgment is here justly retaliated. As the Gospel is no other than Foolishness in the Accounts of the Men of the World, so their Wisdom is esteemed no better than Folly by God. And this it must needs be likewise in the esteem of all truly wise Men, who with St. Paul, making a right Judgment of Things, discern that *Vain* and *Deceit* are entail'd upon it.

And these are the two Heads that will ingross my Discourses on these words: 1. The common Philosophy of the Greeks and others then in request in the Apostles days, was *vain and empty*. 2. It was *Fallacious and Deceitful*. It was *Vain*, because it profited nothing to Piety, and making them better. It was *Deceitful*, because it hazarded their Souls, and robbed them of Happiness. The Philo-

O 2

sophy

sophy at that time in force had these bad Qualities. It was in all things short and imperfect; in many erroneous and vitious. It was not only defective, but corrupted; whereas the sacred and inspired Doctrine of the Apostles was compleat and sound, fraught with infallible Truth, and the exactest Rules of living well.

I betake my self to the *first part* of the Task propounded, *i. e.* to shew you that the Philosophy of which St. Paul here speak's, was *Vain* and *Empty*. Which I shall evince, by letting you see that it was, 1. *Uncertain*. 2. (Which was the Effect of the former) *Quarrellsome*. And, 3. (which made it yet vainer) it was *Trifling*.

1. The Pagan Philosophy was *dark* and *Uncertain*. The Title which *Aristophanes* gives his Comedy, wherein he lasheth the Philosophers, may-agree to the Philosophy it self. *Νεφέλαι* might be prefixed to it, it was meer *Clouds* and *Obscurity*. The Philosophers spoke as doubtfully and ambiguously as their Delphick Oracles. The Ephesian Philosopher was called *Σκοτεινός*, and it might as well be fixed on some others of the Philosophick Tribe, for they are wonderfully *dark* and *dark*. It is confess'd, they light upon many things true and excellent, but they only guess'd at them; and their Conclusions of them were fickle and unsteady. A short perusal of *Stobæus*, and of *Plutarch's* Treatise of the *Placits of Philosophy*, or *Diogenes Laertius* of their Lives, are sufficient, I think, to satisfy any

any Man of the Uncertainty, both of their Physicks and Ethicks. It fares with Philosophers, as it did with those Mutineers at *Ephesus*, *some cry one thing, and some another*. *Varro* reckons 188 Opinions of the *Summum Bonum*, or the chief Good of Man: And their Opinions of other things labour'd under vast Uncertainties. The World surely had very mistaken and disorder'd Conceptions of things, when every thing was a God with them when (as the Apostle observes of that strange way of Metamorphosis which their Idolatrous Fancy led them to) * *they changed the Glory of* Rom. i. *the Incorruptible God, into an Image made like to* 22, 23. *Corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four footed Beasts and creeping things, and any thing else which their wild Imagination suggested.* The Learned may satisfy themselves how *uncertain* *Notions* they had of their *Gods*, from the divers Accounts which *Plutarch* (who was one of the most intelligent Persons among them) gives of the Egyptian Deities *Isis* and *Osiris*. And if they were in the Dark about their *Gods*, it is no wonder they had so little Light in other things. This made *Hermias*, the old Christian Philosopher (in his Piece which he intitled the † *Irrifion of the Gentile Philosophers*) cry out at last, || "Truth hath left the World, and the so much Celebrated Philosophy hunts rather after Shadows, than lays hold on any true Knowledge of things. And

† Διδουρθησὶν ἡ φιλοσοφία.
| Ἀλήθεια μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων διχάσται. ἡ δὲ φύσις τῶν φιλοσοφῶν σκοτεινὰ ἔσται, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποστήσονται.

* Ηδὴ δὲ μοι σκότος
ἀγνοίας ἀπαντα, καὶ ἀπα-
ση μέλαινα, καὶ ἀπειρο-
πλάνη, καὶ ἀτελής φαν-
τασία, καὶ ἀκατάληπτος
ἄγνοια.

again thus, (in very fine words)

* All this that the Philoso-
phers talk of, is but the
Darkness of Ignorance, and
black Fraud, and endless
Error, and imperfect Imagi-
nation, and incomprehen-

sible Ignorance. Indeed the first and best Enquirers into the Knowledge of things were sensible of this; particularly *Pythagoras*, notwithstanding the seven Celebrated Men of Greece went under the Name of *Wise Men*, assumed to himself only the Name of a *Lover of Wisdom*. To him the Philosophers owe that Modest Name, whereby they tell the World that they are only Well-willers to Wisdom, not perfect Masters of it. And *Socrates* (who was voted by the Oracle the wisest Man of his Age) was yet more self-denying, when he sincerely professed (for why should we take it as a Complement?) that all that he knew was this, that he knew Nothing.

The *Reasons* of this Ignorance and Darkness in Philosophy, I take to be these two especially; 1. Because Humane Reason was corrupted and vitiated, loaded with Prejudices and Prepossessions, darkened with Sensuality, and perverted in many by a constant course of Sinning. Hence it was disabled from framing right Apprehensions of things, and from directing Men into a certain Knowledge of God, and of Themselves, and of their Duty. 2. Because they wanted supernatural Revelation, which is absolutely necessary

cessary to give Men a clear Discovery of the Nature of God, and a full Representation of all the Offices of Religion. This was another Reason of Philosophick Darkness and Uncertainty. And on the contrary, that which renders the *Christian Laws* so certain and indubitable is this, that they are derived from the immediate inspiration of the holy Ghost; this is the Foundation of that Institution which we are honoured with. This makes our Religion unquestionable and infallible, and such as we can confidently rely upon. For Divine Testimony commandeth Assent, and forceth an Acknowledgment, and will not suffer our Minds to hang in uncertain Doubtings and Hesitations: this is the Excellency of Christianity. Whereas the corrupted Philosophy of the Gentiles discovered its *Vanity* in its great *Obscurity and Uncertainty*.

2. Another Instance of the *Emptiness* and *Unsatisfactoriness* of the Gentile Wisdom is, that it was intolerably quarrelsome and vexatious. And this is the result of the former; for it was *Uncertain* among the Philosophers which made so many *Sects* among them. The two capital ones were * the *Italic* and *Ionick*; * *Diog. Laert. in Pro-æmio.* of the former *Pythagoras* (who after his Travels philosophized in *Italy*) is reckoned the chief, and next to him *Democritus* and *Epicurus*. Of the latter *Thales* was the first Author and Institutor; and this was divided into several *Sects*, as, 1. The *Socratick*, of which *Socrates* was the Head. 2. The *Platonick*, which took its Rise as well as Name from *Plato*; tho

though the Retainers to it were also called Academicks. 3. The *Peripatetick*, of which *Aristotle* was the Founder. 4. That of the *Cynicks*, of whom *Antisthenes* was the Father. 5. That of the *Stoicks*, which was set up by *Zeno* and *Chrysippus*. And to these we may add the *Scepticks* (if they may be thought to deserve the Name of Philosophers who questioned, and in a manner denied all Philosophy) who were also called *Aporeticks*, i. e. Doubters, and *Zeteticks*, or Seekers, of whom *Pyrrho* was the Head. I am not to now to speak of and relate the Opinions of the *Barbarick Philosophers*, as the *Magi* among the *Persians*, the *Chafdim*, or *Chaldoes* among the *Assyrians*, the *Gymnosophists* among the *Indians*, the *Druides* among the old *Galls* and *Celts*, for (besides that the account of these is imperfect and dark) it is certain, that all that was eminent in their Philosophy was translated into that of the *Greeks*, and reduced into some form, and made more intelligible, for which reason, I suppose, it is concluded by *Laertius* in his *Proem* to the *Lives of the Philosophers*, that Philosophy had its beginning from the *Greeks*, and not from the *Barbarians*. Wherefore I will wholly speak of the former, only I will make bold to insert the *Epicureans* (named so from their Master *Epicurus*) tho their Philosophy most properly belongs to the *Italicks*: but even this may be called part of the *Greek Philosophy*, because the Founders of it were *Greeks*.

These

These were the several Sects of the *Greek Philosophy*, which as they differed in Names, so in Opinions. Nay, they fought with themselves as well as with one another. *Tully* is observed to be sometimes of one Sect, and another time of another: He often delights in the *Academick* *ἀκαδημία*, but when he speaks his own Mind, he defends *Plato's* Opinions; yet so that he favours the *Peripateticks*, and he is also a Friend of the *Stoicks* when he pleaseth, witness his *Paradoxes*. There was a perpetual squabbling among these Philosophers about their divers Placits and Opinions; they grew angry and waspish, they made it their business to brawl and wrangle, to cavil and scuffle, to start Objections, and to make everlasting Repartees. *Socrates*, who was one of the best of them, was called *ἰσχυρὸς*, one that acted a part, that dissembled and prevaricated. He affected all his Life Ironical Dissimulation. This was his way of *Rhetorick*, and his Philosophy was tainted with it, for you may observe that his disputing was in the way of *Dialogue*, or *Interrogations*, which favoured of a Mind disposed to bickering and contending. The old *Academicks*, who imitated *Plato* and *Socrates*, their first Founders, used a Problematick way of Philosophizing, and made a Trade of disputing *Pro* and *Con*, and were unsufferably litigious: So that *Socrates's* Philosophy seem'd to bear the Character of his *Xanippe*, i. e. to be clamorous and brawling. The *Stoicks* and *Cynicks* (who were the stiffest and most peremptory sort

sort of Men, yet) were given to snarling and contradicting. It was observed of the *Stoicks* by a *grave Man, that they were so given to Contradiction, that they exercised it on themselves, they oftentimes ran from their own Notions. And he writ a † Treatise on purpose to shew the Repugnancies of these Men; especially his Work there is to run through all *Chrysippus's* Writings (which were many) and to shew how he confutes himself, and speaks Contradictories. Who knoweth not that the Writings of the *Stoicks* are full of singular Strains, Wonders, Nice Sayings, and Riddles? (And *Lucian* very wittily jeers them on this account.) It was a sign they affected to maintain Paradoxes, to weather out Difficult Cases, and to dissent from the rest of Mankind.

But the *Aristotelians* (of which Tribe there was plenty in *Greece*) were the most Disputing People of all, they were never at a *Non-plus*, but had always something to say. The great *Stagirite*, who was the Founder of them, set up in the World by refuting the Doctrine of all that went before him: Like one of the Race of the *Ottomans*, he thought he could not reign safely except in the first place he slew all his Brethren Philosophers. And he could not but look for the same fate himself, and so it happen'd, for he was dealt with after the same rate that he treated his Predecessors and Competitors. And as for the *New Academicks*, they disputed of course, and were for and against all things; nay, they held an uni-

versal ἀκαταληψία, an Incomprehension; or, as some of them stiled it, and ἐποχή, an utter Suspension, which is as much as to say, they held nothing. So that it seems *Dubitation* was the first Principle of their Philosophy, as of *Des Cartes* his. This was called by others ἰσοδυναμία, which according to *Sextus Empiricus* is an * *Equilibrium* between believing and dissenting. Falshood and Truth were equally probable; for which *Lucian* deservedly derides the Philosophers in his *Ballance*, where he brings them in weighing Truth and Falshood, and making them of equal Poize. At last out of the different Disputes and Contentions of Philosophers sprung up the *Scepticks*, those Schismatics in Philosophy, who held no Communion at all with the Assemblies of Philosophers, but doubted of, or denied whatever they said. Indeed these *Scepticks* were but a bolder sort of *Academicks*, or we may say, these set up first the Doctrine of Indifference and Acatalepsie, and the others improved it. Their Assertion was that nothing can be defined and determined concerning any Object, that to encline to one part or other, or to affirm or deny any thing, is unphilosophical, and that all is meer Appearance only. *Pyrrhonism* was a Calumny to the whole Profession of Philosophers, a baffling of all Science and Argument. They professed a Liberty of Enquiry, and, as they thought fit, rejected the Arguments of all Men by virtue of that Liberty. Some of these Pretenders to Philosophick Modesty and Self-denial reason'd

reason'd themselves out of their Senses. Some Philosophers denied Motion whilst their Tongues wag'd. Nay, there was an odd Fellow (*Anaxagoras* they call'd him) who professedly gave the Lie to any one who said Snow was white, for he was pleased to maintain that it was as black as Soor. Now

* *Nihil tam absurdum quod non dixerit aliquis Philosophorum.* De Nat. Deor. l. 3. † *Quidvis struere ac destruere eruditi.* De Anim. 6. 3.

there is nothing so absurd but one Philosopher or other asserted it. And that brief Character which *Tertullian* gave of the Philosophers is verified, that † they had a Gift of setting up or pulling down what they pleased. This was the best of it, seeing nothing was asserted by any of them but some one would stand and oppose it, by this means Falshood was opposed as well as Truth. But this was not to be attributed to any good design in them, but it proceeded wholly from their love of dispute and quarrelling. This is that which an observing Historian takes notice of concerning the Philosophy of

|| Ταῖς γὰρ ἐπιστάντας αἰρέσεσιν ἢ φιλοσόφων ἢ τινος ἀκείῳς ἐξετάζοι, πλεῖστον δὲ ἐν ἐρήσει διασείρας ἀλλήλων, καὶ οὐδὲν μέγιστον δὲ ἐν ἐναντίας ἀξάζουσιν. *Diodor.* Sic. l. 2.

* *Εἰς δὲ πολλὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ λογομαχία τις ἀσπενδός.* De Cur. Græc. Affect. Serm. 1.

the Grecians, || 'If any one (says he) examines the most famous Sects of Philosophers, he shall find that they very much disagree with one another, and in the greatest Points are clearly contradictory. This *Theodoret* expresseth in few words, saying, * 'Among the Greek Philosophers was always a great Contention and an implacable fight of words.

And

And he that will consult the 14th and 15th Books of *Eusebius's Evangelick Preparation*, shall find this abundantly proved, viz. that the Gentile Philosophers all fight with one another, and there is no Consent and Harmony amongst them. But if we had all the Books and Writings of the Philosophers which *Diogenes Laertius* particularly mentions, we should see this much more evidenced.

But see now how *Christianity* runs counter to all this. It openly declares against Disputes and Wranglings, and enjoineth us to *Speak all the same things* (i. e. to agree in all matters of Faith) and *that there be no Schisms and Divisions in the Church, but that all be perfectly joined together in the same Mind and in the same Judgment*, i. e. that we believe, approve of, and profess the same necessary Truths. The same Apostle bids us *avoid foolish and unlearned Questions, knowing that they gender Strife; and the Servant of the Lord must not strive*. Some have observed that when the Pharisees sought out our Saviour to wrangle and contend with him about what he had done, he slipp'd aside in the Throng, and purposely evaded them. The design of the Gospel is to put a period to Contests and Debates, which it happily effecteth by taking away the occasion of all Uncertainty. The Apostle assigns this to be the end of Christ's ascending to Heaven and giving Gifts to Men, and constituting Pastors and Teachers in the Church, † *that we henceforth be no more Children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind* *Ephes. 4.*

The seventh TEXT

Wind of Doctrine, by the slight of Men and cunning Craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive (to which belongs the Vain Deceit in the Text) but speaking the Truth in Love (i. e. agreeing together unanimously to profess and maintain the same things) we may grow up unto him in all things, which is the Head, even Christ. This is the Noble Design of the Evangelical Dispensation, it aims at Agreement and Concord, it banisheth fruitless Disputes and Controversies, it is void of Sophistical wrangling and cavilling. This is the true and natural, the real and proper Effect of Christianity considered in it self, and in its excellent Principles: But if we see something else in *Christendom* (as with great Regret we may) it is not to be attributed to the Nature and Genius of the Gospel, or of those that are the true and genuine Professors of it. Whereas the *Philosophers* were naturally contentious and brawling; they delighted to amuse and puzzle the World, they dealt in Sophistry and Fallacies, and were conversant in Shiftings and Windings, like those sort of Combatants in the *Roman Spectacles*, whose aim was to catch their Adversaries in a *Ner*. These Men too studied to *intangle*; which was no small Argument of the *Vanity and Emptiness* of their Philosophy.

3. Their Philosophy was *Idle and Trifling*. Had their Controversies been about *great and weighty* Matters, they might have met with some Excuse; but that which stigmatizeth

Enquired into.

tizeth them for *foolish and vain* Persons was this, that they jangled about mean and worthless Propositions, they were at Daggers-drawing about idle and useless things, and such as were not for the real Profit of the World, conducing nothing to the bettering their Minds or Manners, to the advancing any solid Truth, or the reforming of Mens Lives. The Apostle observes of them that they ** became vain in their Imaginations, & τοῖς διαλογαῖς*, in their *Reasons and Arguings* ^{28.} (so it may be rendred.) These were of no use, their *Discourses* were childish and foolish, they were conceited and capricious, they affected Curiosities and Niceties, they pursued Shadows, and neglected substantial and useful Inquisitions. This Humour of the *Gnosticks*, who were considerable Retainers to Philosophy, was charged upon them by St. Paul in his first Epistle to *Timothy* Ch. 6. v. 4. where he deciphers them to be *proud, knowing nothing* (though they so much affected to be esteemed knowing Men, and accordingly had their Name from their monopolizing of Knowledge and Wisdom to themselves) *doting about Questions and strifes of Words* (*ῥεωδυντες*, they were sick about Questions, as the Greek word imports, they were not well till they were disputing) *whereof cometh Envy, Strife, Railings, perverse Disputings*, *παραδιδασκαλίας*. *Διδασκαλίας* was the word to express their *† Philosophical* ^{† Diag. La.} *Exercitations*: And the *perverse and sinister use* ^{cr. in Ar.} of those Disputes and Exercises is signified *σππο* by the Preposition *παρα*. They had unworthy

worthy Conflicts and Scuffles among their Dissertations: Therefore the Apostle gives them their own Word with a little altering, to denote the perverse fondness of their Disputes, which in the same Chapter he styles *Κενοφωνίας* *vain Babblings*, which is part of the *Κενὴ ἀπάτη* in the Text, the vain and trifling way wherein they pursued their Delusions. An Ancient Author had made this Remark betimes of the Greek Philosophy, * It is, faith he, but a meer noise and clatter of Words. This was it which *Lucian* in his † *Sale of the Philosophers*, (where he sets them to be sold) jeers all the Philosophers for. And not only scoffing *Lucian*, who had a Pique against them, derides them for this Folly, but the serious *Plutarch*. || *Cicero* observed it of the *Stoicks*, (who were the gravest and manliest Sect) that the greatest part of their Disputes was spent about meer Names and Words. Their Philosophy was a Head of Impertinencies. In pursuance of this *Hierocles* writ a Book of Philosophical Jest, where he gives a Catalogue of Philosophical Bulls, or Absurdities, and lashes them for it. They are contemptible and ridiculous for this at last; and a Philosopher (as *Epictetus* saith) was * a Creature that all Men laugh'd at. Of these was true what my Lord *Bacon* saith of the Schoolmen, that by their petty and childish Questions, they marred the solidity of all Sciences. Their Philosophy was made up of idle and useless Disquisitions, of verbal Contests, of unedifying Disputes. They

* Ελλήνων φιλοσοφία. ἡ δὲ τῶν ὅρων φθ. Trifmegist. † Βίων. || Maxima pars Stoicarum disputatio circa Nomina consumitur.

* Ζῶον πᾶντες ἐπιχειροῦν. Arrian. Dissert.

They puzzled their Auditors, and perplexed themselves with unnecessary Subtilties and vain Curiosities: they contented themselves with dry and sapless Notions, with jejune and frigid Speculations.

But these are unworthy of a *Christian*, whose Religion forbids all foolish Bickerings and Degradations about Mean and Inconsiderable Matters. This Laborious Idleness, this Solemn Trifling becomes him not. We are blessed under the Christian Dispensation with solid and substantial Truths, we are entertained with things that are Material and Weighty, and which are worthy of a Rational Enquiry. All the Evangelical Discoveries are useful and profitable, of vast Concern and Necessity. We are not put off with Trifles, but are invited to study and converse with serious and manly Doctrines, such as are fraught with Great Sense, with High Matter, with Discoveries of vast Moment and Importance, which cannot be said of the *Philosophy* which the Apostle speaks of, which I have proved to be Light and Vain, as well as Uncertain and Quarrellous.

The second part of the Task I undertake is to convince you of the *Deceitfulness* of the Gentile Philosophy; for the Apostle acquaints us, that it is not only *Vain*, but that there is a *Deceit* in it also. I will make it appear then that the Pagan Philosophers deceived and deluded Men, by instilling into their Minds Erroneous Principles, and by promoting Vicious Practices in their Lives. Error and

Vice, Unsound Maxims and Evil Manners, Falsity and Immorality where the issue of that Philosophy which our Apostle here cautions the *Colossians* against. And, that I may touch at the particular Sects which he here intends, I shall ransack the Principles, 1. Of the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, whom the *Gnosticks* affected. 2. Of the *Epicureans*. 3. Of the *Stoicks*. 4. Of these and other Philosophers together: For after I have enquired into these distinctly and separately, I will consider them all jointly.

First I begin with the Philosophy of the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, which was at that time taken up by the *Gnosticks*, who by the confession of all were Philosophically disposed, and gave no small Trouble on that account to our Apostle and others to convince and refute them. And indeed the Learned *Hammond* understands the Text wholly of the corrupt Doctrine of *Simon Magus*, the *Simonians* and *Gnosticks*, who borrowed their Wild Notions from the *Pythagorean* Philosophy, and withall Judaized in imposing the Observation of the Mosaic Law, which that Learned Person thinks is meant by the *Rudiment of the World*. They made a Medley of Philosophy and Divinity, a strange Rhapsody of the *Jewish Cabala*, and *Platonical* and *Pythagorean* Conceits. They affected to introduce the Theology of *Orpheus* and *Hesiod* into Christianity. But a Particular Instance of the Deceit of their Philosophy is mentioned in the 18th Verse of this Chapter. Let no

Man

Man beguile you of your Reward in a voluntary Humility, (or, more exactly according to the Greek, *pleasing himself in Humility*) and worshipping of Angels. For it seems these *Gnosticks* were disposed to worship Angels, and thought it no little Specimen of their Humility and Modesty to do so. They would not be so bold as to offer Prayers to God immediately, but they begg'd of the Angels to present them to him. It is certain that *Celsus*, and other Pagan Philosophers used to defend their Polytheism this way. And 'tis plain that it was a spice of *Gentilism*, because the Heathens had their *Dii Medioximi*, Spirits that were Mediators between the Supreme Deity and Men, whose Office was to offer the Prayers and Obligations of Mortals to the Gods. To this questionless the Apostle refers in his *θεσηκία τῶ ἀγγέλων*, *worshipping of Angels*. This part of the Gentiles Theology concerning Demons or inferior Deities, whose Office was to Mediate between the Sovereign Gods and Mortal Men, is that Philosophy which the Apostle admonisheth the *Colossians* to take heed of. To this purpose Mr. Mede interprets that Prophecy in 1 Tim. 4. 1. *The Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter days some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils*. By these *διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων*, *Doctrines of Devils* are not meant, (saith * he) such Doctrines as sprang from the Devil, or from Devilish Teachers and Impostors, but the Doctrines about Demons or deceased Spirits. And he explains

* In his A-
postacy of
the latter
Times.

The seventh TEXT

plains this by a like Speech, in *Acts 13. 12.* *Μαχὴ τῷ Κυρίῳ, the Doctrine of the Lord, i. e.* the Doctrine about the Lord. So that, according to this Learned Man, here is meant that Paganish and Idolatrous Doctrine of worshipping Demons or departed Heroes. And this part of the Gentile Theology the Apostle foretells shall creep into the Church, and be received among Christians, *i. e.* worshipping and invoking of *Saints* (who answer to the Pagan *Heroes*) shall be practis'd among some of them, (as it was by the *Gnosticks*): And that it is in use among the *Papists* is evident to all the World, and there are few of that Church that are very solicitous to deny it. This worshipping of Saints and Angels, though it was reckoned a piece of Modesty, was (as the Apostle tells us in the next words) a singular Instance of *Boldness* and *Impudence*; for the Man who worshippeth them *intrudes in those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly Mind.* He saucily presumes to determine of Matters not known; he peremptorily asserts what he pleaseth of the Orders and Ranks of Angels, whose Oeconomy is not discovered to us below. His *Humility* therefore which he talks of is but a Pretence: as meager and lank as he seems to be, he is really swell'd and puffed up: Whiles he pretends Humility, he hath nothing of it; or if he hath any such thing, he is proud even of that. The *Gnostick* Philosophy then is deservedly stiled *Knowledge falsely so call'd*, it makes a shew of being Humble, and

and at the same time dictates the highest Arrogance. Their Disputes therefore are called *prophane Janglings*, because they favour only of their own insolent Humour, and proceed without any ground of Revelation. For this is it we are to rely upon in this Matter, namely, That *there is but one Mediator between God and Man, even the Man Christ Jesus.* Invocation and Worship are proper to God only, and Christ is the only Intercessor to the Father, and therefore to apply our Addresses to Saints or Angels, is an absolute dishonour to the Merits and Intercession of our Saviour. From whence you may take notice how abominable the Doctrine and Practice of the *Papists* are. They blaspheme whilst they pretend to Worship, they are grossly Idolatrous in attributing that to the Creature, which is only due to the Creator.

And thus you see how the *Gnosticks*, (from whom the Church of Rome borrowed her Doctrine as to this Particular) by Pretences to a higher and sublimer Knowledge than others had attained to, corrupted and spoiled Mens Minds, and by their bold and daring Notions adulterated the Simplicity of the Gospel. Of which the Apostle was justly Jealous, when he said, *I fear lest by any means, as the Serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so their Minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ,* 2 Cor. 11. 3. And this is that which it is likely, the Apostle speaks of in his Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, where, by *Fables and endless Genealogies* he means the idle and fabulous

bulous Pedigrees of *Angels*, which under the Name of *Eones* the *Gnosticks* talk'd so much of, which they partly borrowed from the *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, of which you may read a particular Account in *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius*. They will satisfy you, that the *Gnostick* Hereticks received these things from those Philosophers who were Adorers of Demons and Angels, and made them Mediators between God and Man. I will quote only one Passage out of *Plato* for

* Οὗτος δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὁ
μὴ γινώσκων ἄλλα διὰ τῶ-
ν παρὰ θεὸν ἢ ἐμὴν ἢ
ἢ διὰ λέκλ' & θεοὺς πρὸς
ἀνθρώπους. *Sympos.*

* "God (saith he) is not mingled with Man, (i. e. hath no converse and intercourse with him): Therefore by these

"is held all that Communication and Intercourse which is between God and Men, these carry Mens Prayers to God, and God's Commands to Men. Therefore *Plutarch* representing this Philosopher's

† Εὐχὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀναπέμπτουσι. *De Osir. & Iliad.*

Opinions, tells us, that he held it to be the Office of Demons, i. e. Angels † to convey Mens Petitions to Heaven.

And here by the by it might be observed, that many Old Heresies rose from Philosophy, especially from the Platonick Philosophy in the three first Centuries, as the Heresies of *Simon Magus*, and of the *Valentinians*, and of the *Marcionites*, and of the *Manichees*, as the Fathers who confute these Hereticks let us see, and complain of it often. *Tertullian* || particularly sheweth, that many Heresies in Christianity

|| De Prae-
script. Hæ-
retic.

came

came from Philosophy, particularly the Doctrine of the *Eones* and *Forms* came from *Valentinus* who was a *Platonist*; and so other Errors from *Marcion* who was a *Stoick*, and others from the *Epicureans*, &c. "All these" (saith he) are made up of the Fables and Fancies of Philosophers. *Athens* and *Jerusalem* were blended, the *Academy* and the Church were unhappily mixed: there was a *Stoical* and *Platonical* Christianity. Hence he saith that † Hereticks are begot of the Seed of Philosophers, and that || Philosophers are the Patriarchs of Hereticks. Nay I might farther remark, that not only the Theology of some of the Hereticks, but likewise of some of the learnedest Fathers was almost spoil'd by Philosophy, and particularly by that of the *Platonists*. I might instance in *Origen*, *Justin Martyr*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, about the Doctrine of the Eternal *Logos*: they spoke as *Heraclitus*, *Plato* and *Socrates* did, and thereby gave scope for the *Arian* Heresy. More especially it may be observed, that *Origen* borrowed his Divinity from *Plato*, and that corrupted him, as *Gaudentius* proves in several Particulars. It was from his following of *Plato* that he propagated the Opinion of the ceasing of Hell Torments. Though this, I must say, we learn rather from other Fathers than from the Works of *Origen* himself: but we have no reason to disbelieve so many Fathers, and to think that they represent him falsely, especially when we know that *Origen* was a great *Platonist*, and in other things fol-

† Apol.

c. 47.

Adv. Her-

mogen.

c. 8.

* Περὶ
παρῶν
ψυχῶν
χων ἡ
τῶν ἑλλή-
νων ἰδρυ-
ματίσιν.
Harmeno-
pul. de
Sect. 9.

lowed his steps. So likewise he borrowed the preexistence of Souls from *Plato's* School, and therefore one said rightly, * He taught according to the Greeks (meaning the *Platonists*) that Souls did exist before their Bodies. The Reason of this is well known, *Origen*, *Justin*, *Clemens*, and other Fathers, were *Platonick* Philosophers before they were converted to Christianity, and therefore 'tis no wonder that they brought some of their Philosophical Errors into Christianity. I need not tell you that the Church in its first Times explain'd and defended its Principles of Religion by the way of *Plato's* Philosophy: besides that I might suggest this (which is a great Truth) that *Platonism* of all the Sects of Philosophy, came nearest to Christianity. Hence the *Platonist* who read the first Verses of the first Chapter of *St. John's* Gospel said that *Barbarian* had stolen from his Master. Yea I could add what *Clemens* of *Alexandria* in his *Stromata* tells us, that they made the Christian Divinity as like Gentile Philosophy as they well could, and they caus'd the Holy Doctrine of Christ to approach to the received Notions of Philosophers, and made the Holy Scriptures speak *Platonism*, that they might by that means gain Profelytes to the Christian Religion. I appeal to you now upon these things, whether these good Men were not in danger of being spoiled through Philosophy.

Secondly, Leaving the *Platonists*, I come to examine the false and pernicious Principles of

of the *Epicureans*, with whom we are * in-^{AAs 17.} formed our Apostle encountred. Their *Philosophical Deceits* were such as these.

1. They held that *Chance* and *Fortune* were the Rise of this World, and all things in it: That the World was not made or created by an Understanding Being, but commenc'd by a strong Junctio of Atoms, which clubb'd together (though without Counsel and Intelligence) to erect this great and stately Fa-
brick. These Men had no Notion at all of a *Creation*, for their old Saw was,

† Nothing is made of Nothing:

And therefore (according to their Masters, *Democritus* and *Epicurus*) they agreed to give the World its Date from those capering || Atoms, as if that would solve the Business. But indeed according to their Hypothesis, it had no Date at all,

for all this Atomick Bustle was from Eternity. As the *Platonists* held the World was Eternal by Necessity, so the *Epicureans* asserted its Eternity, but said it was by Chance. The World, according to them was a strange By-blow of Nature, begot by meer Fortune. These were the wild Conceits they took up, rather than they would be beholden to God for the production of the World; that is, rather than they would acknowledge a Wise Omnipotent Being that was the Author of it, rather than they would own the Principle of the World's Beginning, and that by a Power Divine.

† Οὐδὲν γίγεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. Laert. in Epicuro.

|| Ἀρχαὶ εἶναι τῶν ὄλων αἰώνες, μὴδὲν τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι. Laert. in Democrito.

Divine. As for their Notion, it is so poor and precarious, that no Man of any consistency of Thoughts can give credit to it. So excellent Order and Composition as we see in the World and all the Parts of it, could never arise from a fortuitous Confluence, from a casual jumble of Matter and Motion without any Guide, but must needs be concluded to be the Contrivance of Infinite and Superlative Wisdom. That thin and subtile Particles blindly tilting against one another, (without any Mover to set them on work) should at last jump into so exact an Order, is an Assertion unworthy even of a Rational Pagan, and fit only for such a Christian Philosopher as he of *Malmshury*. Not to speak of the monstrous Absurdities which follow upon asserting the Eternal Existence of Matter : Nay, not to speak of the utter Impossibility of the thing it self ; for what is made cannot be from Eternity, *i. e.* can't be without a beginning, for its being made, necessarily supposes one that made it to have been before it ; and if he was before it, then it was not from Eternity, for there is nothing hath the priority of Eternity. But it is enough that this Epicurean Doctrine is confronted by the Christian Philosophy. *Through Faith we understand that the Worlds were framed by the Word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear, Heb. 11. 3.* And, as the same inspired Author argues in another place, *Every House is built by some Man, but he that built all things is God, Heb. 3. 4.*

As

As much as to say, there is as great Reason, nay greater, to be perswaded that this vast Structure of the Universe was built and erected by a Divine Hand, than that we should believe that the stately Habitations and Palaces which we see, were made by some Artists. The World is the Fabrick of Divinity, the Temple of God,

— *Mundi magnum & versatile Templum.*

So far *Lucretius* went, but we may go farther. It is a wonderful System contrived by an All-wise and Omnipotent Being. It is a TEMPLE made by GOD, and dedicated to him. As the World had a Beginning, so it had its Beginning of existing from God. *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth : In the Beginning, therefore the World was not from Eternity ; God created, therefore it was not by Chance.*

2. As the *Epicureans* affirmed the World was by chance, so (consistently enough with that Principle) they held it was left to shift for it self. And truly it was no absurd Consequence from the former Assertion : For if the World made it self, it might as well be thought to look after it self. These Men in their most sober Determinations would not suffer God to intermeddle with the Government of the World : They complemented the Godhead out of its Jurisdiction over Mankind and things here below, by saying he should not give himself the Trouble of having

having any Resentments of things on Earth, and taking care of Human Affairs. *Epicurus* his God (as * *Seneca* describes him) was reserved and careless, he turned his Back on the World, and took no notice of it; he either did something else, or was wholly idle. And therefore he afterwards calls such Gods as these † *deaf Deities, Gods of no Virtue and Power*. Thus *Tully* tells us of those Philosophers who || held, that God had nothing to do himself, and that he set no others on work. Not unlike to these were those absurd Atheistical People, in *Zech. 1. 12. who said, The Lord will not do good, neither will he do evil*. The Reason of this was that ἀτακία, which the *Epicureans* say is in God; he is at quiet in himself, and it would

* Si in ipso Mundo Deus inest aliquis qui regat, qui gubernet, — nullus est implicatus molestis negotiis & operosis. *Cic. de nat. deor. l. 1.*

† Τὸ μανδύον ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὡς ἀλλο παρ' ἐχθρῶν. *Laert. in Epicuro.*

|| Quis non timeat omnia providentem, & cogitantem, & animadvertentem, & omnia ad se pertinere putantem, curiosum, & plenum negotii Deum? *Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1.*

phemies of Christianity

*disturb him to provide for the World. The Being which is happy (say they) † hath no Employ of its own, and it creates no Business to others; for Business and Care would distract, and render unhappy. They yet more blasphemously add, || that such a busy God would cause perpetual Dread in the Minds of Men, and they must always stand in awe of him if he constantly took notice of them and their Actions. These were the vile Blasphemies of the *Epicurean Philosophy*. But hath rendred it clear and undeniable

deniable, that God hath an Inspection into all Human Actions, and disposes and directs all Occurrences to his own Glory. At his Beck and Command are all Men and Devils, glorified Angels and departed Souls: Nothing comes to pass in Heaven or Earth, or Hell it self, without his Cognizance and Controul. Like a prudent Master of a Family he suffers nothing to be done by any Member of it without his License or Permission. Providence is spread as wide as the Universe; nor is there any thing, be it never so little and mean, exempted from its Tuition, no not the fall of a Sparrow, nor of a Hair of the Head, as our Great and Infallible Instructor hath ascertain'd us. Well therefore doth *Octavius* (who represents the Christian in *Minutius Felix*) in answer to *Cacilius's* Objection against Providence (viz. that God is in Heaven, and cannot see all things below) well doth he assert, 'That *all things are full of God; that he is not only most near to us, but infused into us: we not only act under him, but live with him; we are not only in his Eye, but in his Bosom. This was the rate of the old Christianity, as it was derived from the Prophets and holy Men, and particularly from our Apostle, who excellently asserts the Providence of God, saying, *He is not far from every one of us; for in him we live, and move, and have our Being*, as he tells the Athe-

* Ubiq; non tantum nobis proximus, sed infusus est; non tantum sub illo agimus sed cum illo (ut prope dixerim) vivimus. — Non solum in oculis ejus sed & in Sinu vivimus.

Athenian Philosophers, *Acts* 17. 27. intending thereby directly to confront the Doctrine of the *Epicureans*, with whom he encountered at that time. All that I will add under this Head is this, that the *Epicureans* exempting God from all Employment and Administration of things was sutable enough to their known Hypothesis of an idle, lazy and pleasurable Life. They thought it a happy thing to be free from Cares and Business, and to indulge themselves in all Pleasure; and accordingly they attributed the same Happiness to God which they desired and liked themselves. And this reminds me of the

3d Deceitful Opinion of the *Epicureans*, which was this, That Happiness consisted in Pleasure. *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaking of these words, Beware lest any Man spoil you through Philosophy, saith, the Apostle meant them of the *Epicurean Philosophy*, and especially, that part of it which denies Providence, and deifies Pleasure. These Men's avowed Principle was, that sensual Delight is * the source of all Good, and the Sovereign Blessedness of Mankind. Tho I must needs say, it is very strange, yea even prodigious, that there should be such a Sect, that any Men pretending to Philosophy, or the study and love of Wisdom, should espouse such a monstrous Opinion, that Persons of Reason and Knowledge should make the Body, which is the worst part of Man, his best and only part; and that the Animal and Sensual Life, which is so base and groveling in comparison of

* Ἀρχὴ καὶ
εἰς αὐτὴν
τὸ πᾶν ἀ-
ναστῆναι
καὶ τῆς
καταστάσεως
αὐτῆς.
Athenæ.
Deipno-
soph. 1.

of the Rational one, should be thought to be the chief and leading Principle of Man. There are not transmitted to us the Names of many that held this wild Opinion. As for *Epicurus* himself, † he that gives us an account of his Life, tells us, that some re-
† *Diog. La-
ert. in Epi-
curo.*

presented him a very abstinent and mortified Man, others as great a Glutton and Drunkard. But from what he farther adds (when he distinctly sets down his Principles and Perswasions) it is evident that this Philosopher placed not Happiness in bodily Pleasure,

i. e. not in that only, for his avowed Opinion was, that || Happiness consisted both in Mind and Body, in the Peace and Tranquillity of the former, and

|| Ἡ τῶ σώματος ὁ ὕψιστος
καὶ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξία.
τὸ τοῦ μακάριως ζῆν ἐστὶ
τέλειον. Ibid.

in the Ease and Health of the latter. He held, that the Pleasure which arises from both these is the beginning and end of a Happy Life. But that he might not be misconstrued, he adds farther, * 'When we say

' (saith he) that Pleasure is the
' End and Happiness of a Man,
' we do not mean the Pleasures

* Ὅταν ἐν γίγνωμεν ἡ-
δονὴν τέλειον ὑπαρχειν, ἡ
τὰς ἡδυσμάτων ἡδονάς.

' of the luxurious, and such as are placed in
' the fruition of Worldly Delights (as some
' ignorantly or maliciously interpret our
' words) but we say this Pleasure consists in
' an absence of bodily Pain and Perturbation
' of Mind. Nay, he goes on fur-

ther, and declares, That † Ver-
† Ἀχαίεισιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡ-
δονῆς τὴν ἀρετὴν μόνον.

† Virtue alone, abstracted from bodily Pleasure, is never separa-

ted from Pleasure. And many other Excellent Notions he hath, which discover him to have been a Good Man, considering he was but a Heathen. Which may induce us to think, that some of those other things, which he is reported to have held, are not a just Representation of his own Opinions, but rather of what some of his deluded Followers took up. But if I may guess at the Reason of his being thus misrepresented, I conceive it was this, because he was singular and different from the rest of the Philosophers, as to his School or place of philosophizing, which was a pleasant Garden. Some might think that this had some Influence on his Studies and Opinions, and that he was a light Airy Man, addicted to bodily Pleasure, and that he placed Man's Happiness in it, especially when it was his real Opinion and Profession, that Happiness consisted in Pleasure. This Philosopher's case methinks was like that of *Nicolaus the Deacon*, who though he was himself of a pure and blameless Life, yet from him the filthy and dissolute *Nicolaitans* took their Name. So through *Epicurus* himself might be a Man of Abstinence and Sobriety, yet it is certain that his Followers, *i. e.* those who call'd themselves after his Name, did roundly maintain, that sensual and bodily Pleasure was the only Good to be sought after, and passionately prosecuted by all Men. By *Brutes* they should have said, for Corporeal Pleasure is all the Happiness that those Creatures are capable of, or concern themselves for. But Man's chief

chief part is his Soul, which was made and designed for nobler Pleasures, and cannot find any solid Satisfaction but in them, and therefore God hath provided him such to be his chief Entertainment. The Apostle takes notice of that *Epicurean Strain*. * [Let us eat, and drink, for to morrow we die,] and replies to it. 1. With an Intimation of the vain Deceit of these swinish Philosophers, *Be not deceived.* 2. With a sober Check borrowed from one of their Poets, *Evil Communications corrupt good Manners.* And 3dly. He answers yet more Apostolically in the words following, *Awake to Righteousness and sin not, for some have not the Knowledge of God.* These Men (saith he) are downright *Atheists*, devoid of the true Knowledge and Sense of a Deity, and of another Life. Which brings me to the 4th. Pernicious Opinion of the *Epicureans*, viz. That there is no Life after this, that there is no future Existence or State of Souls to be expected. And herein again these Men are consistent with themselves; this is a natural Consequence of their former Assertion. If sensual and bodily Pleasure be all the Happiness which is the Portion of Mankind, then there can be little or no Entertainment for the Soul, if it should be separated from the Body, and therefore it is fit to believe that the Soul perisheth with the Body, and there is no future State after this. * *Plutarch* * De Plat. testifies concerning *Epicurus*, that he asserted *all human Souls to be mortal.* And another 4. assures

* *Audrey*
71 *devid.*
Lett. in
Ephes.

assures us that it was his Opinion, that Men vainly trouble themselves with the fear of some * terrible thing in another and everlasting State, as if there were any thing after Death. Therefore when the Resurrection was preached to the Epicureans by St. Paul, which implies a future Life, they were startled at it, and looked upon it as a new and strange Doctrine, Acts 17. 19. All is concluded, said they, in this World, and therefore they made much of themselves whilst they were here, and lived as they listed, not looking at all for any Punishments or Rewards hereafter. But this is so diametrically opposite to the natural Notions and Dictates of rectified Minds, which are not debauched with Prejudice and Sensuality, and so fully baffled by the Principles of the Christian Religion, that it will be but lost labour to offer at the Confutation of it. I shall only desire you to reflect upon this and the other dangerous Sentiments of the Epicurean Philosophy, and to consider how reasonable and necessary it was that the Apostle should caution his Followers against it, and intimate to them that this was a Philosophy by which they would certainly be spoiled and ruined if they adhered to it.

* *Certain*
Philo-
sophers of the
Epicureans
and of the
Stoicks in-
countred
him. Acts
17. 18.

Thirdly; I will present to your view the Deceitful Ethics of the Stoicks, who were another sort of Antagonists our * Apostle grappled with. From what Topicks he disputed with them, may be gathered from the Knowledge of those things which that Sect was most considerable for. And we read they were noted for the Notion of Fatal Necessity,

for their Proud and Conceited Humour, and for their Doctrine of Apathy.

Their First beloved Notion was that of Fatality; they held that God and all things are tied up by Fate, that the same irrevocable Necessity hampers all Beings; Divine and Human; and that particularly Men are so restrain'd by the Destinies that they cannot act freely, but all their Actions, whether internal or external, are forced. Yea, Chrysippus openly professed, that * there is no Intemperance, * *Plut. de* no Fraud, no Sin whatsoever of which *Jupiter* Contradict. *Stoic.* is not the Architect. All comes from him of Necessity, without any Design or Intention. All Events are to be attributed to the necessary Make and Constitution of the World. Hence it is that God distributes Poverty and Adversity to good Men, and Prosperity to the bad. It must be so, saith Seneca, for * the great * Non potest Artificer cannot change the Matter he works upon; and therefore things must needs be thus, and he cannot help it. This was the Opinion of the severest sort of Stoicks, which cramps all Religion, and enervates all the Attempts and Enterprizes of Vertue; and robs Man of his Rational Nature; and indeed makes him a Stock rather than a Man, and therefore is a Doctrine unworthy of Mankind, and consequently of the Christian Institution, which is no ways repugnant to the Reasonable Nature of Man. Why therefore may not this be thought to be part of this Deceitful Philosophy which the Apostle speaks against? But to do the Stoicks right, this was the Sentiment but of some of them, and as

The seventh TEXT

for the more Intelligent and Sober sort of them, they were of another Persuasion: or rather, to speak more impartially, they ran counter to their own Persuasions. Hence

no less than *quagulus* were cried up by them. *Seneca, Antoninus, Epictetus*, who every where inculcate Fate, yet defend the Liberty of the Will. And * *Lippius*

* Phys.
Stoic. l. 1.
Dissertat.
12.

(who was well acquainted with those Mens Writings and Notions) declares, that the *Stoicks Fate* is no more than the Immutability of the Divine Decrees, which takes not away the Freedom of Man's Will, or the Contingency of Events as to Us. Thus Fate and Freedom were Reconciled, and there was no Hurt done to Christianity. And by the by, this Doctrine of the *Stoicks Fatal Necessity* and Free-Will being Consistent, may teach us to moderate our Disputes, and to Reconcile the Divine Decree with the Freedom of Man. It was no Absurd Doctrine among them, and I do not see why it should be among Us at this Day. But I cannot so easily acquit the *Stoicks* of the

Second Thing they were Noted for, viz. Their *Pride* and *Arrogance*, their insufferable *Insolence* and *Ostentation*. Three Instances, among others, I will give of their *Proud and Haughty Spirit* (reserving the *Philosophical Pride* to be spoken of more generally afterwards, but now I will confine my self to the *Stoicks Pride*.) Their *Morality* exceedingly administred to the

Viz,

Enquired into.

Vice, and this was it which made these Men, of all Sects, the most averse to the Christian Religion, which is Humble, and Meek, and Self-denying.

1. They held that their *Wise Man* was not indebted to God for any Vertue or worthy Accomplishment which he was Master of, but that he was furnish'd out of his own Stock. He was beholden to himself only that he was Good and Vertuous. The *Stoicks Wise Man* was Upright and Just of himself, and stood not in need of others Helps: his Happiness was all from what he had by his own Power and Will. Let us observe a little how he boasteth and vaunteth:

— *Sapiens uno minor est Jove, Dives,
Liber, Honoratus, Palcher, Rex deniq; Regum.*

Their *Wise Man* is the only Possessor of Riches, Freedom, Honour, Beauty: he is a Prince Paramount, and Commands all the Kings and Monarchs of the Earth: he is inferior only to *Jupiter*. But this Description of the Poet is Low and Groveling, and a meer Degrading of the *Stoick*. For *Seneca* in severe Prose tells you concerning himself, that * *This is the thing which is promised him* * Hoc est
by *Philosophy*, to be made Equal to God. Which quod Phi-
though I am very willing to understand in the losophia
best Sense, as if he meant no more than mihi pro-
this, that he expected to be made like unto mittit, ut
God by the Principles of Moral Philosophy, me parem
yet I find that he explaineth himself in ano- Deo faciat.
ther Epist. 49.

† Sapiens cum Diis ex
pari vivit. Epist. 59.

* Hoc est Summum Bo-
num, quod si occupas, in-
cipis Deorum socius esse,
non supplex. Epist. 31.

But other Stoicks indulged this way of Talk-
ing, this vain Rhodomontade. It is quoted
Physic. by * Stobæus and † Plutarch, as a Saying of
† De com- † Chrysippus, (a Man that was in High Esteem
mun. No- among that Sect of Philosophers, as be-
tionib. ing one of their Founders)

* ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀγαθὸς
† Δία τῷ Διὶ ὅμοιος, ὁ δὲ
λατρεῖ τῷ ὁμοίῳ καὶ ἀ-
λλῶν δὲ Δία ὃ δὲ Δία.

* Κατὰ τὸ λόγον ὁ δὲν
χαίρειν τῷ θεῷ, εἰς τὸ μι-
νεσθαι. Ἐ. Atian. Dis-
sertat. I. cap. 12.

relates the like Huff, among others, of a Chief
Man of that Persuasion (and of whose Wri-
tings, I remember, he saith somewhere, *Vivit,
viget, Liber est, supra hominem est*). It was a usual
saying of Sextius, saith he, (that was his Name)

† Solebat Sextius di-
cere, Jovem plus non pos-
se quam bonum virum.
Jupiter quod antecedit bo-
num virum? Diutius bo-
nus est. Epist. 73.

ther Meaning in an Epistle of

his where he hath these words,
† The Gods and Good Men are
Fellows. And in an* other place
he tells his Wise and Happy
Man that he is a Companion of
the Gods, not a Suitor to them.

* Jupiter did not exceed Dion
(a Wise Man of theirs) in
Vertue, (which is yet better
and more smartly expressed

with an Equivoke in the Greek ;) yea, Ju-
piter and he were equally helpful to one another.
And that of Epictetus is some-
thing like it; * If thou art a
Wise Man, thou art not inferior
to the Gods in point of Under-
standing and Reason. And Seneca

relates the like Huff, among others, of a Chief
Man of that Persuasion (and of whose Wri-
tings, I remember, he saith somewhere, *Vivit,
viget, Liber est, supra hominem est*). It was a usual
saying of Sextius, saith he, (that was his Name)

† Jupiter cannot do more than a
Good Man. Jupiter excels a Good
Man only in this, that his Good-
ness is of a Longer Date and Du-
ration. And Seneca himself is

as

as Presumptuous and Daring, gathered from that Passage of
his, * A good Man differs from
God only as to Time. And again,
|| God surpasses not a Wise Man in
Happiness, though he doth in Age.
Which amounts to this Blas-
phemy, that God hath Prehe-
minence of Man only as to his
Existence before him. This is
also asserted by Cicero †, who
not only in his Paradoxes, but
in other Places of his Writings,
is pleased to Play the Sto-
ick. But the Demure Stoick,
before cited, blasphemes at a
higher rate, when he saith,
* There is something wherein a
Wise Man excels God: God is
Wise by Nature, and cannot help
it, but the other is so by his own
Power and Industry.

What think you now of
Seneca, doth he not shew himself a right Spa-
niard? Or rather, hath not that Haughty Na-
tion learn'd to speak big, to buff, to rant, and
blaspheme from this their Haughty Country-
man? What think you now of these Stoicks?
Can there be more manifest proof of their
unmeasurable Arrogance and Elation of Mind?
Are not they, as well as the Epicureans, horri-
bly prophane and blasphemous, though in a
different way? The one denies a God and
Providence, the other makes his God to come
short of his Wise Man; or, which is the
same,

as may be

* Bonus Tempore tan-
tum à Deo differt. De
Provid. c. 1.

|| Deus non vincit Sapi-
entem felicitate, etiamsi
vincat ætate. Ibid. E-
pist. 73.

† E virtutibus vita be-
ata existit, par & similis
Deorum, nulla re nisi
Immortalitate, quæ ni-
hil ad bene vivendum
pertinet, cedens Cœle-
stibus. De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

* Est aliquid quo Sa-
piens antecedit Deum.
Ille naturæ beneficio,
non suo, sapiens est.
Epist. 53.

same, he makes his Wise Man much better than his God. Some indeed have thought

* Bonus vir sine Deo nemo est. Epist. 41.

† Deus in humano corpore hospitans. Ep. 31.

* Δεινὸν τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἡμιθεῖον.
Sext. Empir. adv. Math. mat.

that *Seneca* retracts what he said, when he tells us that * *No Man is virtuous without God*: But perhaps by *God* he means the *Conscience*, for this he calls a *God* in another † place; and 'tis usual with the *Stoicks* and *Platonists* to stile * the *Mind* a *God*. We have no reason then to think that *Seneca* corrected himself, but rather to be per-

suaded that this was the inseparable Genius of that Sect, viz. to be guilty of those Impious Boastings, and to break out into horrid and impudent Blasphemies. You see therefore how reasonable it was that our Apostle should caution against this Sect of Philosophy, lest the Minds of Men should be perverted by it. This is the *Philosophy* that will spoil a Man, or else there is none in the World that will do it. The Christian Religion therefore is in direct opposition to it. Those Arrogant and Blasphemous Boastings are repugnant to the Christian Simplicity and the Tenour of the Gospel, which every where beateth down all High and Lofty Thoughts, and bids us Pray, and Intreat, and Humbly sue for the divine Assistance, and be thoroughly sensible of our own Weakness and Disability. This acquaints us that every good and perfect gift is from Above, and that there is nothing which we have that was not received thence, that

we

we cannot think, nor speak, much less act any thing that is Good without the Assistance of the Divine Power; that we are constantly beholden to God; that we depend upon him for all things, especially as to Grace and Goodness. These are wholly derived from him, and we are ever to acknowledge that he is the Author and Finisher of them in us. The contrary Doctrine to this I have the more largely shewed to be the Sentiment of the *Stoicks*, because this is the Chiefest and most Dangerous Indication of their *Pride and Arrogance*. I will be the more brief in the other Instances of it.

2. They held that it was below a Man to do any Good Act, with any respect to a *Reward* to be received for the doing of it. These Soaring Souls would needs maintain that Virtue is to be loved, and Good to be done merely for its own sake: They declared that the foresight of a Recompence did not influence upon them at all in what they Did or Suffer'd; and that no Good Man ought to make any thing a Motive to Virtue and Goodness, but these themselves. *Seneca*, *Epictetus*, *Arianus*, *Antoninus* and other *Stoicks* will furnish you with Passages to this purpose. But *Christianity* (which is the Sublimest Doctrine in the World) is not of this strain, if we may credit one of the greatest Professors of it, who freely declares, that if in this Life only we have hope, we are of all Men most miserable. From whence it appears that there must be an expectation of another Life, there

1 Cor. 15.
19.

there must be the assurance of a Future Re-
compence join'd with the Pleasure and Intrin-
sick Goodness of a Holy Life. It is true, it
is Servile to fix the Eye altogether on the
Wages: but it is Disingenuous and Ungrate-
ful not to take notice of the Reward which
God hath purposely set before us. True
Love is destroyed if God and Holiness be
not imbrac'd for themselves: But then on the
other hand Christian Hope (which is also an
Eminent Grace) is annulled if the Opinion of
the Stoicks be valid. It is clear therefore that
their Doctrine is False and Erroneous, and is
the Result of their Vain Thoughts of Them-
selves, and of a counterfeit Zeal to Vertue,
and a mere shew and ostentation of it. For
if we could examine things truly and fully, it
may be there would be found no such thing
under Heaven as a Vertue wholly and per-
fectly disinterested, such as hath no Advan-
tage, no Benefit, no Emolument belonging
to it, or so much as supposed to be consequent
of it. Therefore when these Men tell us
that † no Reward is to be look'd after, when
like the *Love-Pharisees* (call'd so in the * *Tal-*
mud) they pretend to obey the Law merely
and only out of Love of Vertue, without
the least respect to a Future State, we may
reasonably conclude that in this, as in other
things, they affect Chimæra's and Fictions,
and are ready on all Occasions to give Proof
of their Self-Conceit and Haughty Imagina-
tions.

† Virtu-
um omni-
um preti-
um in ip-
sis est. Sen.
Epist. 81.
* Sotz. c. 1.

3. To

3. To give another Instance of these Mens
unsufferable *Pride*, they grew up to such a
pitch of it, that they were inclined to throw
off *Magistracy and Government*, and to with-
draw themselves and others from the Juris-
diction of the Powers they lived under.
Their Wise Man was a King, nay King of
Kings, (as you heard before), and thence
they would infer that he was Above all Al-
legiance and Subjection to Authority. This
Notion made them so Domineering and im-
perious, that they broke out into Tumults
and Seditions, as *Tacitus* observes of them in
his *Annals*. It went against the Philosophick
Grain to be Subjects and Servants. But this
is contrary to St. Paul's Politicks, *Let every
Soul be subject to the Higher Powers*; and to his
Oeconomicks, *Art thou call'd a Servant? mind
it not, i. e. do not think that That Condition
renders thee the worse in the sight of God:*
*serve God and thy Master at once, and there-
in thou wilt shew thy self a Good Christian.*
So much of the *Stoicks Pride*.

The *Third Thing* they were taken notice of
for, and which was a piece of Singularity in
these Philosophers, was their *Apathy*, as * *La-*
ertius acquaints us. And we are told by † an-
other that *Diogenes* the *Cynick* (for you
must know the *Cynicks* were but over-grown
Stoicks) was a great Maintainer of it. This
put an unnecessary Restraint and Violence
upon the Natural Affections of Mankind, and
would not allow Humane Nature either to
laugh or weep. Their *Wise Man* that they
made

* In Zeno-
ne.
† Plin. lib.
7. c. 19.

made was but a *Statue*, (and so indeed he was as good as some of their *Gods*): he was stupid and senseless upon occasion: he was not permitted to resent the Occurrences of the World, were they never so surprizing and admirable. He was to be silent upon the Rack; and when the Stone or Gout tortured him, he was to force a Smile: and it was a Mortal Sin (for you must remember all Sins were alike with these Gentlemen) to wax pale at the sight or feeling of the Incision-Knife. He was to play with Torments, and to sport with Pain and Misery. Thus they believed the Sense of Morality was to devour all Sense of Humanity. But this was the Doctrine of some only of that Rigid Sect. The Soberest of them did neither speak nor think thus: the Apathy or Indolency which they maintain'd was a very Laudable and Innocent thing. Let *Seneca* speak for them, * I

* Non educto sapientem ex hominum numero, &c. Epist. 71. do not (saith he) draw out a Wise Man from amongst Mankind, and place him out of the Number of Men; for he that is Senseless is no Man.

And this Philosopher's Practice was suitable to this Principle, for we find him in his Writings often resenting the Evils which beset the World, Himself or his Relations. So *Antoninus* Sirnamed the *Philosopher*, shed Tears upon occasion of a Friend's Death; and his Father *Antoninus Pius* (for he was his Son by Adoption) excused him, saying, *Permit him to be a Man.* *Arianus*

† *professedly* declares against that *Apathy* which takes away Natural Affection. "It becomes a Man (saith he) not to be Senseless and Im-

"Immovable, but to keep and preserve his "Natural and acquired Affections and Relations, as a Father, a Son, a Brother, a "Citizen. The Affections are not to be Eradicated and Expelled, but the best way is † to Change them and Turn about, and Fit them for our Purpose, and so make them Easie and Advantageous to us. Reason, and Nature, and Christianity approve of the Emotions of our Affections so far as they are Instrumental to Virtue, and are restrained within their due Limits. The Passions are not wholly to be Rooted up, but to be Diverted; they are not to be Banished, but to be Curbed and kept under. These *Gibeonites* are not to be Kill'd, but to be made Serviceable, and kept in Obedience. *Jesus* wept over the Grave of his Friend, and thereby for ever Hallowed all Tears, and Consecrated all Natural and Humane Affections. It is certain that the Passions are of great use in Religion, and may be subservient to the noblest Ends and Purposes of it. Therefore our Apostle might justly enter his Caveat here against those Hard and Flinty Philosophers, who talk'd of an utter *Dispassion*, and would make Men to be Iron and Stones.

Thus I have acquainted you what were the Opinions and Practices of the *Epicurean* and *Stoick* Philosophers with whom *St. Paul* grappled: Thence you may guess what the Apostle and they disputed about, and thence you may gather likewise what the Apostle means when he warns the Christian *Colossians* that

† *Μετα-
λαμβάνειν
τὰς μεθ' ἡμᾶς
μὴ τῆς
ἀλλοῦς χά-
ριος πε-
ριτρέφειν*
Plut. de Curios.

that they be not spoiled through *Philosophy* and *Vain Deceit*. I will only make this Remark or Reflection in the Close, that these *Epicureans* and *Stoicks* among the *Pagans* Answer to the *Sadducees* and *Pharisees* among the *Jews*. There is a great Affinity between these two sorts of Antagonists. The *Epicureans*, like the *Sadducees* placed all their Hopes in this Life, and therefore would be very Merry and Frolick: The *Stoicks*, like the *Pharisees*, were Demure, and great pretenders to Austerity and Sublime Vertues, though they came but little short of the others in point of True Morality. And this indeed might be observed further, that when Men are not Masters of True and Solid Vertue, when they are not really Changed and Mended in their Minds, they pretend to greater things than usual, to make Men admire and applaud them, to be thought Singular Proficients in Religion: they pretend to do more than others, when they are Conscious to themselves that they do not so much. This is the very Guise of our *Quakers*, (those Modern *Stoicks* and *Pharisees*) they make as if they were exceeding great Observers of Morality, and had attain'd to a Higher and more Spiritual way of Christianity than others, yet these People, of all the Sects that we know, are the most Defective in Religion, and have run the farthest off from the Principles of Morality and Christianity.

I have hitherto shewed the *Deceitful Opinions* which were peculiar and proper to those parti-

particular Sects of Philosophers I have named. Now in the next place, I will set before you those gross and mistaken Notions, which for the most part were common to them all. I will discover the *Deceitfulness* of the *Pagan Philosophy*, by instancing in some Principles and Practices which were not only maintained by the particular Sects above named, but also by all the rest of the Philosophers. I will reduce them to these two Heads, 1. Their deceitful Opinions and Practices relating to some particular *Vices* and *Vertues*. 2. Their false Sentiments concerning *Happiness*.

In pursuance of the first, I shall present you with their *Pride*, their *Revenge*, their *Self-Murder*, their *Lewdness*, and other Mistakes in their Morals.

1. *Pride* was the Catholick Blemish, the general Stain of all the Philosophers: Yea, it seem'd even to be congenial to them to be immoderately proud of their Attainments. There could not be a more visible Discovery of this than their desire of Applause and Acclamations. By their Subtilty and Sophistry they thought to conciliate a great *Fame* and *Honour*, than which nothing was dearer to them, even when they seem'd to shun them. Excellently to this purpose *Plutarch* observes that the Author of that saying, *Adversus, live retiredly and unknown*, would not lie hid himself: He would be known by that Motto; whilst he affected an Obscurity, he reached at Fame. 'Those that give such
'Pre:

* *Dones* Precepts (saith he) * follow after Glory and yet at the same time seem to turn away from it: Whilst they look full at it, they pretend to look another way. Some of them, even whilst they writ against Glory, ambitioned it. Our own Philosophers (saith Tully) † set their Names to those Books which treat of despising of Glory. And the same Observation you meet with in *Valerius Maximus*,

* Gloria nē ab his quidem qui cōtempnunt e-jus introducere cōsantur, negligitur: quoniam quidem ipsis voluminibus nomina sua diligenter adjiciunt. lib. 8. c. 14.

† Animal Gloriz. De Animā cap. 1.

* Gloriz Animal, & vtile rumorū mancipium. Epist. ad Pamphach. Popularis aurz vile mancipium. Epist. ad Julian.

† Negotiatores famz. Apolog. cap. 46.

* Homines Gloriz libidinosi.

This was the noted Badg of the best of them, to hunt after Glory with too great an Impatience; and they would do any base and servile thing to get a Name.

Name. We may truly say of them that they lived upon Applause; and if Fame did not trumpet them, they could not breath. But to instance in the arrogant Humour of those who were thought the modestest and most Self-denying Philosophers, viz. the *Cynicks*, their daily business was to decry the Pride of others. But whilst they did so, and profess'd to be Masters of the greatest Humility, they were the boldest and proudest Fellows imaginable: Tho' they were the greatest Censors of Pride, yet they were certainly most haughty, and under the very Garb of Humility there lurk'd an intolerable Arrogance. They were rudely clothed, to witness outwardly a Contempt of the World; but yet if a Man looked narrowly into them, he might observe they were very proud of what they wore, tho' 'twas never so coarse. Their Beards and their fullen Looks, their affected Gestures and Grimaces were Ensigns not of their Gravity, but Singularity. This made them harden their Bodies against all Injuries of Weather; this made some of them beg of Statues, and provoke common Women to rail with them, which were Instances of Affectation, not Humility. *Diogenes* in a frosty Morning stood naked in the Marketplace, to shew (as he pretended) his Patience; it happened that *Plato* passed by at that time, and knowing his vain-glorious Humour, spoke to the People that came about him to leave him alone, and then my *Cynick* would soon retire, for he was buoyed up only by

R the

The seventh TEXT

the Peoples Applause. *Diogenes* another time thought to be even with *Plato* for this, (for you must know they understood one another well enough, tho they deceived the People) and trampled upon a Neat Couch, or some such Trim Furniture which *Plato* had in his House, and cried out, *I trample on Plato's Pride*; to which *Plato* adjoyned, *but with greater Pride*. Thus they were conscious to themselves of the Distemper which they so much laboured under. As for the *Academicks*, who openly professed they knew nothing; it is too evident from their Carriage and wild Contrasts that they were conceited they had an Insight into all things; for those that undertake to dispute against every one, do thereby proclaim their Universal Knowledge. The supercilious Temper of the *Stoicks* I have partly given you an account of before, and I might here further do it by shewing you how they (above all Sects) delighted in high Strains and Paradoxes, which is an Argument that their Philosophy was starch'd and formal; that it was more for Shew and Ostentation, than to cherish in Mens Minds sound and profitable Truths.

The Arrogant and Vain-glorious Spirit of the rest of the Philosophers, and of all the Men of Parts and Worth among the Gentiles, is sufficiently obvious. — *Volito vivus per ora virum*, is *Ennius's* Rant. *Demosthenes* declared himself mightily pleased with what he heard from an Ordinary Woman, a Tankard-bearer, as he passed by her, *ἡ δὲ κερκυραία*.

Δημ.

Enquired into.

Δημ. *There goes the great Demosthenes, said she.* And his Brother Orator and Philosopher may seem to have been a great Affecter of popular Glory, when * he claimed Kindred with *Servius Tullius*, the sixth King of *Rome*; *Quaest.* he calls him his *Cousin* meerly because he was his Name-sake, but he was nothing a-kin to him. The famous *Pliny*, who was a Philosophical Man, and a grave Magistrate and Consul in *Trajan's* days, hath left a whole † Epistle to tell the World that he was infinitely transported with Applause; particularly (among other Instances which he there mentions) when one pointed at him, and said, *That is Pliny*, he professes he was never so well pleased in his Life. After these Grave Men 'tis no wonder to hear of *Martial's* *23. lib. 9.*

Sed toto legor orbe frequens, & dicitur Hic est.

And in another place, his

Ille ego sum nulli, &c.

And of *Ovid's*

Jamq; opus exegi, &c.

And *Horace* his

Exegi monumentum ære perennius

And his

— *Monstror digito prætercuntium
Romanæ fidicen lyra.*

R 2

All

The seventh TEXT

All which shew that they were tickled with Applause, and impatiently thirsted after Fame and Repute. But Christianity allows not of this, it permits us not to gasp insatiably after the Acclamations of Men. I do not say it is simply unlawful and against the Rules of Christianity to desire or accept of Honour and Praise; for 'tis certain that he who doth vertuously, cannot hate the Reward of doing so. But to look after these chiefly, and in the first place, and to make them the great End of our Actions, is altogether blamable and vitious. To *love the Praise of Men more than the Praise of God*; to do good Acts not for the Acts sake, but only for the Applause that follows them, is immoral as well as unchristian. Our chief End must be to contribute towards the Honour and Glory of God in the World, to be beneficial to Mankind, and to promote the design of our Master upon Earth. If whilst we are doing this, Repute and a Good Name accrue to us, it becomes us not to be averse to them, but to receive them as the due Attendant of Vertue; yea, as that Reward of it which God himself hath pleased to annex to it. Moreover, Christianity acquaints us that it is a sign of a mean and vulgar Spirit to act only out of a desire to be commended, and that it is truly noble and generous to despise the World, and to glory in the Cross, and to look for the Euge's of Angels, and the Applause of Heaven: This is a worthy Ambition. The Advice of our Apostle is, *Let nothing be done through vain Glory*: And again

again, *Be not desirous of vain Glory.* Christianity leads Men to a true knowledge of themselves, and that is the only Spring of Humility, and of sober and becoming Thoughts. Whereas it is the nature of all other Knowledge (as the Apostle observes) to puff up them that are Possessors of it, to swell them into high conceits of themselves. And this was the very case of the Philosophizing Gentiles, they grew big, and were ready to burst with this Tumour, or rather this Poison. Their Carriage was observed to be most absurdly proud and lofty: Fame and vain Glory principled all of them, and the aggrandizing their Names was the main thing they look'd after.

2. Their *insatiable desire of Revenge*, and their Averseness to forgive Injuries, was another deceitful and unsound Principle that they had imbibed. Their very Philosophers too often spoke the Language of the Poet,

— Nos hæc patiemur multi?

Must we suffer such Affronts, must we
undergo such Wrongs; and yet not revenge
our selves? *Vim vi repellere*, was accounted
good Morality: But it was held the mark of
a low Spirit to pass by Injuries and Wrongs.
'It is a servile and slavish thing, when we are
'used contumeliously, to suffer it without
'making Returns. * This was the Sense of
Aristotle. And that *Tully*, the great Master of
moral Offices, placeth not *Forgiveness* amongst
them, c. 2.

R 3

† De Ve rit. Christi. Relig. them, and that he reckons it not among natural Dictates, Grotius † will inform you in three or four Quotations out of that Philosopher, tho' certainly it is a Dictate of right and unbiass'd Reason. Nay, you will find that this famous Moralist || reckons *Revenge* in the number of those things which belong to the Law of Nature. He doth but invite

* Veterem ferendo inieriam inuitas novam. Terent. Persons to the commission of a new offence, who passeth by an old one, was a * Pagan Maxim. It was thought the best way to defend themselves against Injuries for the future, to take Revenge on those that were

* Ὁμοίως ἀντιχεῖν νύμφοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, νικᾶσαι τοῖς κακοποιῶσι, καὶ τῶν φίλων ἡττᾶσαι τοῖς ἐνεργούσι. Isocrat.

past. And hear what a great Moralist saith, || *Think it as base a thing to be out-done by thy Enemies in ill turns, as by thy Friends in good ones* I know this is not the constant Language

of the Pagan Philosophers; they have better Apprehensions of this thing at other times, and speak very laudably. But you see how easily their Sentiments are altered and perverted, and to what corrupt Maxims their unftable Philosophy betray'd them. But *Christianity* on the contrary inculcates nothing more than Patience and Self-denial, and a free forgiving of Injuries. We are bid by

|| Luke 17. Christ to || *forgive not seven times, but seventy*
4. *times seven, i. e.* to make it our constant and usual Practice to forgive Offences. We are enjoin'd by the Christian Morals to overcome our Enemies with Patience, or (which is more heroical) by Obligations and Cour-

tesies

tesies. * *When they hunger, we are bid to feed them, and when they thirst, to give them Drink*; that by so doing we may heap coals of Fire on their Heads; that we may, if it be possible, soften and melt them, tame and charm them by our Tenderness and Benevolence; that we may by the Flames of Charity in our own Breasts, kindle a resembling one in theirs. Our Master hath commanded us to † *forgive*, † Luke 6. *that we may be forgiven*; to pardon others, as we hope to find pardon and mercy at the Hands of our offended God. It is truly Christian to imitate him, who *makes his Sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sendeth Rain on the just and on the unjust*, who lets the greatest Delinquents share in his Favour, and communicates his Mercies and Blessings to the vilest Sinners. In short, it is the excellent and generous Nature of *Christianity*, to forgive Offences when the Criminal acknowledges them: It is yet a greater degree and height of it to take no notice of them, where the Community is not concerned, but to pass them by as not worth our observing: But the greatest and highest Glory of it, is to love our Enemies, to pray for them that persecute us, to return Good for their Evil, and to be kind and obliging even to the worst of men.

3. *Self-Murder* (which is a notorious Assault and Injury to Humane Nature) was defended by the chiefest Philosophers of them all. They held that a man need not ask leave before he went out of the World; that when they saw themselves in Danger, they

R 4 might

might be as cruel to themselves as the Gods were; yea, that it was Religious to dispatch that Life which the Gods were resolved to destroy. It was determined by the *Stoics*, that a man might kill himself rather than endure Servitude, Reproach, or long and grievous Diseases: And this *Cato* defends, if *Tully* doth not belye him, as we have no reason to think he doth. That *Stoick* it seems was a severe Common-wealth's-man, and could not fit himself to the turn of the Times. The Gods must give him a Reason why *Cæsar* vanquish'd *Pompey*; and because they would not, he fell upon his own Sword, and dispatch'd himself. This the Great Roman Philosopher approves of, and thinks it was not without God's leave that he departed hence. He expressly saith, * *God gave him a just occasion of dying, as he did Socrates*: and he reckons him among those who are *disch-rg'd and dismiss'd by God*. Some others of the most Philosophical men, either directly slew themselves, or were wilfully accessory to their own Deaths. Thus *Lycurgus*, the Great and Renowned Lawgiver of *Sparta*, pined himself to death; which Fact † *Plutarch* approves and applauds with a Jest, *viz.* that he made an end of himself by a total abstinence from Meat, to teach his Country-men Temperance. || *Cleombrotus* a Platonist, Quest. 1.1. having read *Plato's Phædo*, where *Socrates* being about to die, discours'd of the Immortality of the Soul, went and threw himself down head-long into the Sea. And other Great

* *Tully*
Quest.

† In vita
Lycurg.

|| *Cic. Tusc.*
Quest. 1.1.

Great Men of Morals, as *Empedocles*, *Democritus*, *Anaxagoras*, *Chrysippus*, yea and *Zeno* the Father of *Stoicism*, were Felons of themselves. Those who pretended to be great Despisers of Pains and Sufferings, ran away from them as soon as they felt the Anguish of them. Observe it, the very *Stoicks* who were such Unpassionate and Immoveable Moralists, were for leaving the World before their Time. This they call'd *Withdrawing themselves*, and a *fair Retiring out of the World*. And the Famous *Seneca*, in no fewer than Four Epistles, maintains this Practice. In one of which he plainly tells us, (whatever he had said at other times concerning the Great Extremities which might put a Man upon killing himself) that * his *Wife Man* need not stay till Extreme Necessity urgeth him to such a violent Action, but as soon as his Fortune begins to be suspected, as soon as he perceives there is some likelihood of his being brought into ill Circumstances, he may prevent them all by going aside. He hath this leave given him by the *Stoicks*, as well as by the *Platonists*, and other Philosophers.

But Reason and Christianity (and some of the Philosophers too in a better Mood) oppose it as a Rash and Foolish Attempt, nay as a vile and wicked Enterprize. It is an usurping on God's proper Right and Authority, who only hath Power to dispose of Man's Life. When God calls for our Lives, then we are to part with them submissively and willingly, but not before. In the mean time

* Nec hoc tantum in necessitate vitare facit, sed cum primum illi coeperit suspecta esse fortuna, &c.
Epist. 70.

time we must entertain Poverty, Sicknes, Disgrace, or whatever Crosses befall us, with invincible Patience and Resolution. We must not shamefully relinquish our Stations, and like imprudent Pilots quit the Guidance of the Vessel in the midst of a Storm. We must bear up undauntedly against the briskest Assaults, and resolve to grapple with all sorts of Hazards and Extremities. We must prepare our selves to look new Dangers in the face, and by the Divine Assistance make way through the thickest Troops of Opposition. When we are assaulted with Sufferings, we must not crouch and sneak, and fly like Cowards, but we must resolve to maintain our Post, and weather out our Miseries with a Courage becoming Christianity. Be the Way we pass through rough or smooth, difficult or easy, 'tis the Divine Appointment, and God hath not made any Calamity insupportable; it may soon wear off of it self, however Time will take it away. But we must be careful that we do not by any means put an end to it by doing so to our Lives. This is a high Offence against God, against the Community (of which we are a part) and against our selves, and Humane Nature it self. This is a manifest token of base Fear and Cowardice, and Abjection of Mind; it argues unmanly Precipitancy and Unadvisedness, a distrust of Providence, a defect of Faith, and Hope, and Christian Courage, and even black Despair it self. But how brave and noble is it, after all our hard Service

service to go off honourably, with the Comfort of having fought a good Fight, and finished our Course, and kept the Faith, and of having persevered in our Duty to the end, maugre all Discouragements and Hardships? This is true *Christian Philosophy*.

4. *Lewdness*, i. e. Immodest and Obscene Speeches, Ribaldry and loose Talk, with Lascivious Gesture and Behaviour, with Lewd and Filthy Practice, were countenanced by the greatest Pretenders to Deep Notions and Morality; yea, and were not thought contrary to the Principles of Philosophy. As for the *Stoicks*, they professedly held that there is no Obscenity in Words. And *Chrysippus* more particularly is named by *Sextus Empiricus* as the chief Assertor of this: *Chrysippus*, who was the very *Prop and Buttress* of the *Stoicks Perch* (as *Tully* tells us) was a Great Defender of this Opinion, and propagated it among his Disciples. They were wont (as the same Author saith) * to call every thing by its Name, hereby excusing and palliating their Obscenity; and he seems to take their part, † calling this Lewdness of Speech *Libertatem loquendi*, a Liberty of speaking. From tolerating of *Obscene Words*, they proceeded to license the *lewdest Actions*, and therein were justified by the concurrent Practice of other Philosophers. He that rises *Plato's Politicks*, shall find that *Plurality of Wives*, and even a *Community of Women* are allowed by him. The wisest Philosopher shews himself here most absurd, for thus he argueth:
|| Be-

* Suo
quamq;
rem nomi-
ne appel-
lare Cic.
Epist. l. 9.
Ep. 22.
† ibid.

¶ *Neel Ar.* Because all things in a Common-wealth are
ad. u. to relate to the Common Good and Publick
de Repub. Advantage, therefore to have all things in
lica. l. 5. common doth so; yea, to have the promiscu-
 * *Laert. in* ous use of Women. We are * told that
Zenone. *Diogenes, Zeno and Chrysippus* (topping men a-
 among their Parties) were of the same mind.
 † *Plutarch.* Adultery was allowed † the *Lacedemonians* by
 in *vir. Ly* the sober *Lycurgus*. Common Whores were
curgi. permitted || to the *At'enians* by the wise *Solon*.
 || *Idem in* We are told that the *Cynicks* blush'd not to
vit. Solon. act openly the most uncomely and lewd
 things.

Yea, *Sodomy* was approved of and practi-
 sed by the greatest Pretenders to Wisdom
 among the Pagans. * *Orpheus*,

* *Ille etiam Thracum Popu-
 lis fuit auctor, amorem
 in teneros transferre maris.
 Ovid. Metam. l. 10.*

who was the Head and Prince
 of them all, taught the *Thra-
 cians* this: and *Socrates* is taxed
 of this unnatural Vice, not only

by *Juvenal* and others in Railery, but by
 Authors of Great Gravity and Good Cre-
 dit, as *Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, Minutius
 Felix, Tertullian, Athenaus*. I know some
 are inclined to think that this Charge against
 † *Apolog.* *Socrates* is a Slander, and that he was clear and
 c. 46 innocent as to this matter, and that these Au-
 † *Deipno-* *Socrates* is a Slander, and that he was clear and
 Soph. l. 13. thors were too rash in borrowing such a report
 from some Poets and light Heads. And
 truly I am not averse to think so too, since
 I have made some Enquiry into the Business.
 I conceive this may be given as the fairest
 and truest Account of this Brave Man, that
 he was taken with the Society of ingenious
 and

and sweet-natur'd Young Men. Their In-
 tellectual Beauty was that which was cour-
 ted and loved by him; and this is that *Man-
 ly Beauty* which some of his Dialogues (as
Philebus and *Phædo*) commend. He having
 made choice of the Spritliest Youths he
 could meet with, took great Pains with them
 to ripen and improve those Seeds of Vertue
 which he saw in them, and to fit them for the
 Service of their Country. Among many o-
 thers, an Example of this was *Alcibiades*, a
 Young Nobleman of *Athens*, who was shaped
 and formed in his Manners by this Philoso-
 pher, and owed the Excellent Conduct of
 his whole Life to the Early Instructions of so
 wise a Master. Hence some took occasion
 to tax him as guilty of Unnatural Lust to-
 ward this and other Young Men, and of
 corrupting (in the worst sense that can be
 thought) the Youth of *Athens*. Some were
 conscious to themselves of their own Guilt,
 and knew that *πυρρεσσία* was the Vice of the
 Country; and therefore concluded *Socrates*
 to be like themselves, and that he made no
 other use of Young Mens Company than
 they did. *Aristophanes* was the Chief Man
 that set this on foot, who wrote his Comedy
 called the *Clouds*, only to abuse *Socrates*: You
 must know then (as the True Ground of
 this) that *Socrates* inveighed against the So-
 phists and Mock-Philosophers of that Age,
 men who had nothing in them of true and
 sober Philosophy, but were a Disgrace and
 Reproach to it. Hereupon these men got
 him

him jeared by *Aristophanes* in that Play of his before-named. Besides, *Socrates* had disobligh'd all the Poetick Tribe by that part of the Model of his *Common-wealth*, wherein he would have all Poets banished: Whence it is no wonder that the Poets were set against him. Indeed they were these who had the greatest hand in the Impeachment of *Socrates*, especially the *Comedians*, because *Socrates* had a more particular dislike of the *Comick Poetry*: for he being grave and composed, dislik'd that Light Humor of the Stage, which was Vain and Drolling, but at that time most taking. Yea, *Socrates* was sometimes present at, and applauded the Tragedies of *Euripides*, but would not honour with his Pretence *Aristophanes's* Comedies. Whereupon this Poet-Laureat of that Age conceived a Displeasure against the Philosopher, and seeing he would not approve of the Comick Way, he must fall under its Lash, to make the people Sport. Now *Socrates* is every-where laugh'd at; now Virulent Tongues say any thing of him; now they report he used the Company of Young men to Vicious and Lewd Purposes. But that would not suffice; a Formal Indictment was drawn up against him. The Poets take to them *Melitus* and *Anytus*, and other Conspirators, who, because out of Extream Hatred to the Philosopher, they sought his Death; insist'd not much on the former Accusation, as not Criminal enough, but accused him for perverting the Laws, by introducing new Gods and

a New Religion. If you look into the * Story, you will find that *Socrates* had the Honour to be impeach'd upon the same Athenian Law that St. † *Paul* was when he was convented before the *Arcopagites*, viz. that the *Ancient Gods* were to be worshipped, and no new ones to be introduced contrary to the Custom of the Country. It was the breaking of this Law which procured his Death; he had discovered the Unreasonableness of the Pagan Idolatry, and the Shameful Deities which were set up among the *Athenians*. This proved fatal to him, though to make him doubly guilty, they insert'd the || Accusation before-mentioned, which no Man believed, who knew either *Socrates*, or his Enemies Malice. It was this which at last bereav'd him of his Life, after they had robb'd him of his good Name by fixing the Crime of Unnatural Lust upon him.

But tho *Socrates* for the Reasons above alledged, may be thought not to be guilty of that Foul Vice, yet some other *Philosophers* of Great Name cannot be so cleared. I am loth to think that *Plato* was one of that number, but *Diogenes Laertius* saith he was, and that he disguis'd this Vice, calling it *παίδευσιν μέτῃ φιλοσοφίας*. *Aristotle*, the Prince of the *Peripateticks*, was guilty, saith *Athenaus*; so was *Zeno* the Father of the *Stoicks*, who, as both *Athenaus* and *Diogenes Laertius* testify, had a Male Sweet-heart whose Name was

* Οὗς ἰδὼν ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἐμύσησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐτίμησεν. Laert. in *Socrate*.

† Ὁν ζήσαντα διακονοῦν ἰδοὺ καὶ ἀρχαῖοι θεοὶ. Acts 17. 18.

|| Ἀλλήτῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ διαφθείραν. Laert. in *Socr.*

was *Cremonides*: And this was so frequent among the *Philosophers*, that * *Lucian* would have this Love of Boys left wholly to that sort of Men. But Graver Authors may be alledged (besides those already mentioned) as † *Pyrrh.* † *Sextus Empiricus*, who proves that this Filthy Practice was look'd upon as a thing lawful, at least indifferent, among the Men of the greatest Philosophy. *Theodoret* || saith it was approved of by *Lycurgus's* Laws: tho I know some are of Opinion that *Sparta* was not stained with this Foul Enormity.

* *Εἰ δὲ τις παῖδός τοῦ ματὸς ἐρεγόμενός φανεῖν, ἀχρεὺν τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

* *Æschin. Orat. contr. Timarch. Demosthenes & Lysias, in Orationibus.*

|| In vir. Solon. *Æschin. orat. contr. Timarch.* But the truth is this, there was at one time a Law * against this Lewd Practice, but this was soon abrogated by common Consent. Thus there was a Time when there was a Law † at *Athens* against prostituting of Boys if they were free, and against hiring them to filthy Purposes. But it is not to be doubted that the *Athenians* afterwards (as well as before) were generally guilty in this kind, and the Law of that place allowed it. This is expressly testified by *Plutarch*, who was well acquainted with the Laws and Constitutions of that Country. He || reports that *Solon*, their Great Law-giver, tolerated by Law that Unnatural kind of Lust, that he indulged it to all but Slaves; as much as to say, it was fit only for Free-men, and those of Quality. Yea, this *Plutarch* himself (as Grave an Author as he is, and fam'd for his moral Writings)

tings) hath writ shamefully * on this Subject. And in his Piece of the *Education of Children*, he seems to allow of it in *Plato* and other *Philosophers*. Other Credible Authors vouch this † for a known Truth, that the Laws of most Cities in *Greece* did not suppress that Libidinous Usage. And *St. Paul's* Testimony may be added to all these, in *Rom.*

† *Ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πόλεωσι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἀνανδρίᾳ τῷ πύς τοῖς τοῖς παῖδας ἐπιθυμοῦσι.* *Xenoph. de Repub. Lacedæm.*

1. 27. *The Men, leaving the natural use of the Woman, burned in their Lust one toward another, Men with Men, working that which is unseemly.* Which words are meant of that Filthy and Preposterous Lust, and are spoken of the Wise Men and Philosophers among the Pagans: which is a farther Proof and Confirmation of this Head of my Discourse, that the Gentile Philosophy patroniz'd Obscenity and Lewdness, and even Unnatural Acts of Lusts. Thus I am glad I have rid my Hands of this Ill Subject, which yet it was requisite to stay a while upon in pursuance of my Undertaking on these Words, which was to shew the Corruption of the Pagan Philosophy, together with that of Philosophical Men. And you see the Apostle himself thought fit to make particular mention of this flagitious Usage among them, and at the same time to reprove and condemn it, as he doth ~~in~~ *1 Cor. 6. 9.* For our most holy Religion forbids even the least Tendencies to Lewdness, and the least Indications of it; || *Inordinate Affection, Evil Concupiscence,*

|| *Col. 3. 5.*

cupifence, Lascivious Thoughts and Desires are criminal by the Evangelical Laws. We are ascertain'd by our Saviour himself, that
 * Mat. 5. an Unchaste Eye, a * Lustful Look is Adultery. All Words and Speeches that favour of Lust, all † corrupt Communications, and
 † Ephes. 4. Discourse are condemned by the Apostle. And
 29. the same Inspired Writer, with others, who knew very well what was Vice, and what was Vertue, and who fully understood the nature of the Christian Religion, and what it allows, and what it forbids, strictly commands us that we || abstain from fleshly Lusts, that we
 || I Pet. 2. 11. * make not Provision for the Flesh, to fulfil the
 * Rom. 13. Lusts thereof; that † we flee Fornication; assuring us of the Everlasting Penalty which is to be awarded against those that act contrary to these Prohibitions; || Whoremongers
 † I Cor. 6. 18. and Adulterers God will judge. Those wanton and lascivious Flames shall certainly end in those that are Eternal.

I might proceed, and instance in other Allowances incorporated into the Body of those Morals which are left us by Philosophers, as the *destroying of the Child in the Mother's Womb* (if it be safe and possible for her) when she thinks she hath had a full and sufficient number of Children; this you will find suggested by * Aristotle. And
 * Polit. 1. 7. c. 16. the *exposing of Children*, is another Allowance. Plato would have this done whenever Parents have exceeded the Bounds of getting Children, and when they grow too numerous. Aristotle is of Opinion, that

that a Child which is lame or blind, or any ways deform'd, may be cast out, and without pity or Care exposed to the wide World: And he saith it would be well if there were a Law to forbid the bringing up of Children that are any way maimed and imperfect. Thus two of the greatest Philosophers that ever were, taught People to be cruel to the Fruit of their own Loins, to be brutish and unnatural to their own Flesh, (nay, the worst of Brutes are seldom found to do so). The Practice of the Pagans was according to this Doctrine, as several Writers inform us. Thus Philo || the Jew tells us, That exposing || De Le- of Infants was usually among many Nations. gib. Spe- Herodotus relates * that the Parents in some cialib. * L. 2. c. 35. Countries were not bound to bring up their Children if they did not like it. The Indian Brachmans, tho great Pretenders to Philosophy, cast off their Children if they did not like their Humours and Conditions. It was lawful according to the Athenian Laws, † for † Petit. in Parents to expose their new-born Infants, to Leges At- cast them out of the Family, and to deny ticas. them Food. Hence among the Greek and Latin Comedians, || when they represent the || Terent. Manners of the Athenians, the exposing Heauton- of Infants is commonly brought in. This tim. Act. 4 Custom hath spread it self into many Regions Scen. 1. of the World, insomuch that the People of Aristo- phan. Ra- Madagascar throw off, and never have to do with any of their Children that are born on

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† Παιὶ δὲ Σποδίου
ἢ Τερπιάδου ἢ ἡγεμονίου
ἐστὶ νόμος, μὴ δὲν τετρα-
μένον τρέφειν. Ibid.

* clut.vit.
Lycurgi.

a Friday. Nay, this *exposing* was heretofore accompanied with downright *Murder*; for the *Lacedemonians* had an Unnatural Custom (and it was by the Decree of *Lycurgus*) * that if Children were deform'd and unhealthful, they should be cast into a deep Cavern of the Earth near the Mountain *Taygetus*. This People (who were the Civilest of all *Greece*) erected an Office on purpose for this; they appointed so many Searchers, whose business it was to examine every Infant as soon as it was born, to see its Limbs, whether they were strong and firm, to make Inspection into the several Parts, and to satisfy themselves whether there was any Lameness, Blindness, or any other Deformity. If there was, they presently ordered them to be thrown into the *Barathrum* before-mentioned; or else those Children that were at a very great distance from that place, were to be carried and left in Woods, or exposed on Rivers in Baskets, and so to be left to the Providence of Heaven. And *Plutarch* who relateth this, approves of this their murdering their Infants; for he saith (in the close of their Constitutions and Laws which he sets down) that he doth not see any thing amiss in them. I could observe to you also, that *Theft* was approved of by that wise Lawgiver *Lycurgus*, who allowed it to the *Spartans* on condition they could keep it close. It was tolerated (saith the fore-named Author) yea † enjoined by the Law to steal, but it was looked on as a base and dishonest thing to be found

† καλίστην
νενομισ-
μένην λα-
σθέντων
Plut.

guilty

guilty of it: The being taken was criminal, the not stealing cunningly was the thing that was faulty. Lastly, *Lying* had the Approbation of the Chief Philosopher among the Pagans. *It is lawful to Lie for the Good of the Common-wealth*, saith *Socrates*, as he is quoted by his Scholar * *Plato*. Thus you see what were the corrupt *Ethicks* of the Heathen World: For tho' many of these things which I have mentioned are repugnant to *True Philosophy*, yet being maintain'd, and sometimes practis'd by the Masters of Philosophy, they are justly reckoned among the *Deceits of Philosophy*. However, if these latter Instances be not so home to the purpose, it is certain that no man can pronounce so concerning the others before-mentioned, which were some of the chief Ingredients and Principles of the Gentile Philosophy.

But tho' I have given you this large Account of their mistakes in Morality, yet I will pursue this matter a little farther, and (according to what I propounded) shew you in the next place, that the *Philosophy* the Apostle speaks of was *Deceitful*, in that it was grossly mistaken about the *Happiness of Man*. It was mistaken, and consequently deceived Men as to this Grand Point. 1. By not assuring them of a Future Life. 2. By giving no notice of the Eternal Duration of it. 3. By not determining wherein True Happiness consists. 4. By not directing them to the Right Way to it.

1. It deceived them by not assuring them

S 3

of

* De Re
pub. l. 2.

of a *Future Life*. The Future Existence of the Soul (tho it was a Notion dictated by the Light of Nature and Reason, and sometimes positively and plainly asserted by some of the Philosophers, yet it) was disputed and doubted of among them at other times by reason of false Principles, which they had wilfully taken up, and thereby clouded their Reasons and the Natural Dictates of their Minds, as also because of Interest and Sensual Pleasure which stifled the Rational Actings of their Souls. Upon these Accounts a Future State was hardly believed by some of the Philosophers, and wholly opposed by others. The *Epicureans* (as you have heard) flatly denied it: And it is no wonder, seeing their Language was

* 'Ουκ ὄν' νοῖται τὸ αἰώμαλον πλὴν τῶ κενοῦ.
Laert. in Epicuro.

† 'Οι λόγοις αἰώμα-
τον εἶναι τὸν ψυχὴν μάλα
ἀρεσκον. Ibid.

¶ De Placit. Philosoph. l. 4.

after this rate, * *We can have no Notion of an Incorporeal Thing, unless it be a Vacuum: † They therefore that say the Soul is Incorporeal, talk vainly and idly.*

¶ *Plutarch attests that Democritus*

held the Soul to be corruptible, and that it perished together with the Body. It is true, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* asserted that the Soul went on Pilgrimage, and flitted from one man to another: Yea, they held, that mens Souls passed into *Brutes* as well as into other men; and he that was a man a while ago, is now an Ass, a Wolf, a Dog, or some other Animal: But this is *vain Philosophy* indeed, and all that we can build upon it (if it were true) is this, That the

the same man is often begot, and as often born, and dieth. Indeed *Plato* * brings in *Socrates* before his Death, treating of the *Immortality of the Soul*; he makes him speak some things that are Admirable, Excellent, and Divine, but other things are Poor, Mean and Frigid; he presents him as dubious and uncertain, wavering, and inconsistent with himself. That *Socrates* doubted of a Future State and the Soul's Immortality, may be gathered from that Passage of his, which *Plato* inserts, † *If these things we speak of be true. Again, Socrates saith, || One of these two is absolutely necessary, either Death utterly deprives us of all Sense, or we pass from hence to another place.* It seems he looked upon Death either as a sound Sleep, or a long Journey, but he could not certainly tell which. *Plutarch* * had this very Notion of it, and on that account concludes that Death is not Evil. After this wavering

manner speaks the Great Roman Philosopher, † "If the day of Death be accompanied with the Change of Place only, and not an utter Extinction, What can be more desirable than Death? Or, if it makes an end of us, and quite annihilates us, What is better than when we are wearied with the Labours of this Life, to fall asleep, and never to wake again? In like manner

S 4

Seneca,

* In Phz-
done, seu
de Animo,

† 'Εἰ ἀλη-
θὴς ὄν' τὰ
λεγόμενα.
Plat. Apo-
logia So-
cratis.
|| Ibid.

* De Con-
solatione
ad Apol-

† Si supremus ille dies non extinctionem, sed commutationem affert loci, quid optabilius? Si autem perimit ac delet omnino, quid melius quam in mediis vitæ laboribus obdormiscere, & ita coniventem somno consopiri sempiterno? Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. 1.

* Mors nos aut consumit
aut emittit : emittis meli-
ora restant, onere detra-
cto ; consumptis nihil re-
stat. Epist. 24.

Séneca, * "Death doth either
"consume, or sends us out of
"this World into another: If
"the latter be true, there are
"better things remain for us
"when we are sent out hence,

"and have laid aside our Terrestrial Clog
"and Burden; but if the former be true,
"then there is nothing remaining for us, being
"utterly consumed, and consequently no
"Hurt can befall us; that is our Comfort.

* Fortasse si modò sa-
pientum vera fama est,
recipitq; nos locus aliquis.
Epist. 63.

Again, he thus faintly and am-
biguously talks. * *Perhaps if*
the Report of Wise Men be true,
and if there be any such thing as
a place hereafter to receive us, &c.

Thus *Antonine* (the Royal Philosopher) can-
not tell whether Death be *σθέν; or μετάστασις*,
an Extinction, or a Translation; whether
it be an Annihilation, or a Change of
our Condition. And many †
others have thus expressed
their Doubtfulness about ano-
ther Life. But most remarkable

† — Siquis modò
extinctis sensus inest. Val.
Max. l. 4. c. 6.

is that Passage of *Xenophon* in the Life of
Cyrus, whom that wise Historian represents as
a Great Hero, and singular Pattern of Vertue.
We must expect therefore that he will make
him speak like a brave Prince, furnished with
true and sound Notions of things. He tells
us that this Great Man lying on his Death-
bed, and having certain Presages of his
approaching Departure out of the World;
commanded his Courtiers to come to him;
and

and called his Sons and Friends together,
and spake to them to this pur-
pose, || You ought not to think

"you know certainly that I
"shall be nothing after I cease
"to live here. For let me
"tell you, the Soul whilst it
"is in this Mortal Body, doth

"not live, tho it gives Life to the Body; but
"when it leaves the Body, then it proper-
"ly lives, then it acts, and is truly knowing
"and wise. The Tortures and Punishments
"inflicted on Murderers by Souls thrust out
"of their Bodies, and the Honour and Re-
"wards of Good and Innocent Minds, prove
"that Souls still subsist. When Man is dis-
"solved, it is not probable that all things
"belonging to him go to their particular
"Kind, except the Soul only. You may ob-
"serve that nothing is more like Death than
"Sleep: but even in Sleep the Soul disco-
"vers its Divinity, and never more than then,
"for it hath a prospect of things to come,
"the Soul being at that time more free than
"ever. If these things be so, reverence my

"Soul when I am dead, and do according
"to my Commands. But if these things be
"not so, but the Soul perisheth with the
"Body, yet reverence the Gods who are
"Immortal. And a little after, he saith,
"Call all the Persians and my Fellow-Soul-
"diers to my Funerals, that they may con-
"gratulate with me * that I am got to a safe
"Place and State, wherein no Evil can befall
"me,

|| Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τὸ τοῦ
σώματος δεχόμενος εἰσέλθαι αἰ-
ετῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἐν ὅπῃ
δύει τὸ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι πε-
λευτήσω, &c. Instit. Cyr.
l. 8.

* Ὅτι ἐν
τῷ αἴθερι
λεῖψῃ ἡ δὴ ἐ-
στί μου, ὡς
μὴ δύνανται
ἐν τῷ σώματι
παθεῖν, μὴ
τὴν μετὰ
τὸ θάνατον
γινώσκω, μὴ
τὴν μετὰ
τὸν θάνατον
δύειν ἐν τῷ

"me, whether it shall be my lot to be with God, or whether to be reduced to nothing. A fair Speech indeed! This was the faint Result of all the Knowledge which his Wise Tutor could let him have of another State. He had not determined whether after Death he should be taken to the Gods, or be annihilated. Thus *Philosophy*, as it was corrupted and depraved, was unsteady and doubtful about a Future Life and Happiness. Much less,

2. Had they any notice of the *Eternal Duration* of them. Those of them who held that the Soul was long-lived, had no firm Apprehension of its being Immortal. But especially the *Stoicks* failed here; *Zeno*, the Master of that Sect, † expressly asserted that the Soul remains after Death, but at length is corrupted. The Generality of this Sect went so far as to say, the Soul survives the Body a good while. But if you ask, How long? They tell you 'tis only till the Conflagration of the World. Yet here they were divided; for there were some among them who held, that the weaker sort of Souls (*viz.* of the unlearned) perish with the Body; but the stronger ones (*viz.* of Wise Men) hold out till the Conflagration. And with this agrees that Account which || *Cicero* gives of them; and *Seneca* relates the very same of this Sect of Philosophers. But the certain Knowledge and Assurance of the *Endless Duration* of Souls, and the *Eternal Reward* of Vertue, is the Purchase only of Christ's

† Τὴν ψυ-
χὴν μετὰ
θνήσκοντος
σωτῆρος
ἐμμένειν ὡς
ἐν αἰῶνι. Diog.
Laert. in
Zenone.

|| Diu
mansuetos
aiunt ani-
mos; sem-
per, ne-
gant Tusc.
Qu. l. I.

Appear.

Appearing, who hath brought Life and Immortality, *i. e.* Immortal Life, to light by the Gospel. There was but a faint shadow of it before; the Discoveries were dark and obscure, but by the arising of the Sun of Righteousness, this Darkness is dispelled, and we have gain'd a clear Manifestation of the Everlasting Subsistence of our Spirits in another World. For Christ Jesus, whose Soul was of the same nature with ours, commended his into God's Hands, and so did the Holy Martyr St. Stephen in imitation of Him; which assures us that the Souls of the Righteous are taken into God's Custody at their departure out of the Body. This, together with the *Resurrection* of our Saviour and his *ascending into Heaven*, gives us an absolute Assurance and Demonstration of our rising again, and living immortally in another World.

3. Their *Philosophy* proved *Deceitful* in not determining wherein the True Happiness of Man consisteth. The Different Notions of the diverse Schools of Philosophy about the Chief Good, proclaim aloud that they only guessed at it, and were not able to tell wherein it was plac'd. Their Mistakes were never so numerous and (which is worse) so dangerous as here. It is of infinite Consequence to understand what is the Chief Felicity of Man, what is the perfect State of Bliss, what is the Principal and Last End of Man, wherein there remains nothing further to be desired. Now, He only can acquaint us with our True Happiness who is the Author of it, the Lord

Lord of Bliss and Glory, who purchased Immortal Life for us, and is Himself the True, Sovereign, Chief Good, the Ultimate Object of our Wishes and Desires, Studies and Endeavours, the only Rest and Center of our Minds. *This is Life Eternal to know, and in knowing to enjoy the only True God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent.* It is the Utmost Happiness of Man to have, in the discharge of his proper Duty, the Favour of God, to know and love him, and to be loved of him. This is the highest Felicity our Nature is capable of, and it is no where fully discovered but in the Holy Scriptures.

4. Philosophy was mistaken, and thereby proved Deceitful in not discovering the *True certain Way to this Happiness.* And indeed how could it? It was impossible for the Philosophers to know how to regain the Favour of Heaven whilst they understood not how they lost it. They could not come to the full understanding of the true Cause of the Degenerate Condition of Mankind. Whence should they know that Man was at first created pure and holy, spotless and innocent, able to serve God with an unwearied Obedience, and that he voluntarily abused his Power and Freedom, and disobeyed the Command of his Maker, and so by an Act of his own Will apostatized from God, and plunged himself into unspeakable Misery? They could not reach this by their Natural Light and Moral Reason. The most Philosophical and Inquisitive Brains, tho they have made

made some guesses about the Corruption of Mankind, were not able to arrive to a clear account of this matter. They were apprehensive that Nature was vitiated; they perceived a strange Disorder, a horrible Shatter, but they were ignorant of the Original Spring and Source of it. And thus not knowing the Cause of Human Corruption and Depravation, it is no wonder that they light not on the Right Remedy of them. In the Gospel alone is set forth the Way for the recovery of lapsed and degenerate Souls; here is discovered the certain Method of obtaining the Pardon of our Sins, and the Assurance of God's Favour, and our Everlasting Welfare. The Contrivance of Man's Redemption by the Blood of Jesus was too high a Flight for the most improved Reason, and Light of Nature. And when it was revealed to some of the most knowing Pagans, they were loth to truckle to so low and mean a Dispensation as the Gospel, which teacheth us to trust and rely upon another's Merits. They all agreed in this, * that *there is this one good thing which is the cause and Foundation of Happiness, viz. a Man's trusting to himself, and resting upon what he can do by his own Power.* These lofty Sons of Reason counted it absurd to be beholden to another's Undertakings for their Felicity; especially it sounded as the most ridiculous thing ever heard of, to hope for Life and Happiness by the *Death* of another. St. *Augustin's* Complaint of *Tully's* Works may be the just Impeachment

* Unum bonum est, quod beatæ vitæ causa & firmamentum est, sibi fidei.
Sen. Epist.

|| Τούτων
 μόνων ἑν-
 ούςιν φι-
 λισοφίαν
 αἰσθάνη-
 ται ἡ σύμ-
 φωνία. b. c.
 * H. 12. 5.
 ἁγία φιλο-
 σοφία. Epist.
 I. 4.
 † Οὐρανί-
 ον φιλο-
 σοφία. Epist.
 I. 5.
 || Sozo-
 men. Eccl.
 Hist. I. 5.
 c. 12.

"alone which leads us and commends us to
 "him: And they are really holy, who apply
 "their Minds to this *Philosophy*. And he
 tells us that he found this to be || *the only*
certain and useful Philosophy. So the *Barbarous*
Philosophy with *Clemens Alexandrinus*, is the
Christian Religion, or the *New Testament*
 composed by those whom the Greeks stiled
Barbarians. This according to *Isidore* is * the
 † *New and Evangelical Philosophy*; and some-
 times it is called by him the † *Heavenly*
Philosophy. And in several other Fathers
 this is the word for *Christianity*; and the
 † *Doctors and Eminent Professors* of the
 Christian Church are stiled || *Philosophers*, in
 opposition without doubt to those among
 the Pagans who boasted of this Title.

Thus I have attempted to shew how the
 Apostles words are to be understood; I have
 let you see what those things are which were
 blameable in the *Greek Philosophy*, and why
 the Apostle cautions against it. I have par-
 ticularly discovered how this *Philosophy* was
 abused of old, and thereby became most
 prejudicial to *Christianity*, and how the Pro-
 fessors of it did *συναγαγῶν* (which is the
 word here used) *forcibly carry away, and make*
a Prey and Booty of too great a part of the
 World by it. Whence it is that the Apostle
 here couples *Philosophy* and *Vain-Deceit* to-
 gether.

A

A Discourse on

I S. John Chap. 3. v. 8.

----- For this purpose the Son of God
 was manifested, that he might de-
 stroy the Works of the Devil.

Wherein is shewed *What the Works of*
the Devil are.

I Will enquire into these words, not that
 they contain any *Difficulty* in them, but
 because I would lay open the *full and*
complete Meaning of them: for though I
 grant that by *the Devil's Works* is in the gene-
 ral meant all Sin and Vice (as is evident
 from the foregoing Verse, *He that committeth*
Sin is of the Devil) yet I conceive there is
 something *more Particular* intended here by
 these words. Some *Particular Works* are to
 be understood, wherein the Power, Subtily,
 or Malice of that Evil Spirit are more signa-
 lly exerted, and therefore are *Emphatically*
 here call'd *the Works of the Devil*. And this
 is that which I now design to offer; and I
 will

T

will be the larger in insisting on it, because it is of very great moment, and is not like some other Subjects which I have treated of before (that are Controversial and Disputable) and likewise because I see this is not taken notice of by Commentators.

First, *Superstition* is a remarkable *Work of the Devil*, and without doubt is meant here. This is a Reverencing and Adoring at a venture, as those Religionists at *Athens* did, who erected an Altar to an *unknown God*: It is a yielding of unreasonable and groundless Homage, and (to define it more generally) it is attributing in a religious way, more than is due to Things or Persons. It is in this large sense, a vain and groundless Fear where no Fear (*i. e.* no true cause of Fear) is. And on the other hand, it is a fond and unwarrantable Expectation of those things from creating Beings which they cannot afford us, and which they were never designed for. The Evil Spirit took care to employ the Minds of Pagans about these Matters, that he might thereby divert them from Objects of a better Nature, and take off their Thoughts from True Religion, and the Divine Author of it, and that he might hold them in a constant dependance on himself, whilst he persuaded them that these Foolish Fears and Hopes should be of singular use and advantage to them. Hence of Old they had their *Lucky* and *Unlucky Days*, on which they made superstitious and fond Remarks. The Observer of Times mentioned by *Moses*,
Deut.

Deut. 18. 10. and join'd with him that useth Divination was, I conceive, of this sort: his proper Talent was to tell what Days were Fortunate and what Unfortunate, what Events should happen on such Seasons, and what on others, and which of them should be Successful. And thus *R. David Kimchi* understands the place. The *Persians* of old had this Notion of the distinction of Days, as appears from their casting Lot from Day to Day, and from Month to Month, (*Esth.* 3. 7.) when the Design was on foot of Massacring the Jews. They were solicitous to enquire what Lucky Days and Months of the Year would happen to favour that Bloody Conspiracy. From those first Ages of the World, this Superstitious Practice was derived to the *Greeks* and *Romans*; the former of whom (as *Hesiod*, *Pythagoras*, and others acquaint us) were very great Observers of Days, critically dividing them into Good and Bad ones, and calling one kind of them * *Mothers*, and the other *Stepdames*. Hence we have *Hesiod's* Days, which he stiles so, because he treats there of the Difference of Days, some whereof are Good, others Bad, and a third sort of a middle Nature. And the latter (*i. e.* the *Romans*) out-did the *Grecians* in this vain Observation of Days, marking the Lucky ones (as they took them to be) with White Characters, and the Unlucky ones with Black, to signify the different Nature of them. They grew at last so observant of these Distinct Times, that (as *Macrobius* and others relate)
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relate) they dared not keep Court, or engage in Battel, or so much as invite their Friends to supper, or do any thing else in the course of their Lives, upon those Times which they had fondly mark'd out as Unfortunate.

To this were added many other Superstitious Usages, as *Ariolation*, *Omens*, *Auguries*, and a vast number of other kinds of *South-sayings* and *Divinations*. A very remarkable and ancient instance we have of these in King *Nebuchadnezzar*, who when he would be determined whether he should go against the *Jews* or the *Ammonites*, and be prosperous in either Expedition, betook himself to the known and usual practice of Divination, (for they generally used before the Wars to divine about the manner of it: They writ down the Names of the Countries or Cities which they designed to invade and make War against; and according as the Divination directed them, they fell upon such a particular

* Ezek. 21. 21. place): * *The King of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways to use Divination: he made his Arrows bright, he consulted with Images, he look'd in the Liver.* Where we see that (according to what we read in Profane Authors, who speak of the manner of Divination and Inchantment) he is careful of that Circumstance so much observed by that sort of Men, viz. to chuse a place where two or three ways meet, and there to go about their Business, for they thought this was very advantageous to their Designs. Having thus made choice of a convenient Post,

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he falls to the work of Divining; and that he may be sure to speed well, he uses three sorts of Divination, that by one of them at least (if the other two should fail) he might arrive to a fore-knowledge of the future Occurrence he was prying into. First, *He made his Arrows bright*: from whence some would gather, that the *Chaldean* Kings had a way of exercising their Magick Skill upon their *Weapons* before they went out to Battel, to give them Edg and Force when they came to Fight. But this is a gross mistake, because this place in *Ezekiel* represents only the *Chaldeans* way of Divining, and therefore the *Arrows* are not mention'd here with any respect to the Battel, but only they are used in order to Divination: Which was thus, according to *St. Jerom* on the place; they put several Arrows into a Quiver written with the Names of those things which they consulted about, and that Arrow which was taken out first, was the Lot; and they determined by this which City to Besiege or Invade. Which comes near the Divination in use among the * *Romans*, by certain Letters and by Rods. But I rather think that the *Chaldee Version* affords us a better Interpretation, which renders that Clause thus, *Jacet Sagittas, he casts, he throws, he shoots his Arrows up into the Air*, (where they are seen bright and glittering, and therefore are said to be made bright, which the other Account, given by *St. Jerom*, takes no notice of) to see which way they would fall, and thence to know which way to lead his Army. This

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I take to be the *βελομαντεία* used by *Nebuchadnezzar* before he went out to War: He stood *in bivio*, at the parting of the two Ways, (as was the custom of Diviners) intently observing towards which of them the Arrows fell, that he might know thereby whether the *Ammonites* or the *Jews* were to be fought with good Success. This was the very same mode of Divination which was used by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, this was the very *βελομαντεία*, the *divining by a Rod or Staff*, so frequent of old, for *βελο* is a large Word, and signifies a Rod of Iron or Steel, or Wood, or any such slender thing like a Wand, or Staff, or Arrow. The *Jews* (who at one time or other imitated all the Pagan Follies in the World) took up this Soothsaying, *Their Staff declared unto them*, *Hos. 4. 12.* i.e. they made use of this *Rhabdomancy* which was so frequent among the *Pagans*, and thereby they prognosticated concerning things to come. The *Arabians* of old (as *Christopherus à Castro* tells us) consulted their Gods by *Rods* or *Staves*: and (if I may be permitted to offer my Conjecture) this practice among them and others was borrowed, either from the Egyptian Magicians *Rods*, *Exod. 7. 12.* or from the *Rods* mention'd, *Num. 17.* where the *Israelites* were commanded to write the Names of the Princes of their Tribes; for it is certain, that the *Jews* and other Nations mutually borrowed from one another. The *Gentiles* it may be, in a fond imitation of this Ceremony, (which without doubt was grown famous, and spread abroad in the World) made use of *Rods* or *Staves* in

in Divination. This I propound in way of Conjecture and Probability, it being undeniable that the *Gentiles* aped the *Israelites* (as well as these aped them) in several things, as I shall have occasion at another time to make good in abundance of Instances, and those perhaps not hitherto taken notice of.

Secondly, *He consulted with Images*, or (as 'tis in the Hebrew) with *Teraphim*, so often spoken of in the Old Testament, which are no other than *Images for Divination*, to foretell future Events. These were a sort of *Magical Images* (for you must know that *Divination* (of which I am now speaking) and *Magick* (of which afterwards) generally went together) used by the *Gentiles*; the *Egyptians* and *Arabians* especially, called by these latter *Talisman*, * made at a certain time when they knew such Stars and Constellations were most active. The Diabolick Spirits entred at such a time into these *Images*, these *Teraphim*, and possessed them as they used to take possession of Human Bodies, and by them and in them they spoke, and moved and acted, and did strange Feats, and gave Answers to those that enquired of them, so that they may be said to be the Devil's Oracles. These Images were very early in the World, if we may credit the † Jewish † Zoar, &c. Writers, who tell us that they were used by the profligate Sinners that lived about the time of the *Flood*, and afterwards by the *Babel-builders*. But this we are sure of, that these *Magical Instruments* were made use of

by the *King of Babylon*, and that they were consulted by him in the way of *Divination*, under which *notion* I have consider'd them at present.

Thirdly, *He looked into the Liver, or the Heart*, (for the word *Cabed* signifies both) and thence this sort of *Augur* is stiled *Roeh baccabed* by the Jewish Masters, an Inspector into those parts of Animals: whereby we are to understand that common kind of *Divination* used by all the *Pagans*, especially the *Romans*, (who perhaps had it from the *Chaldeans*) viz. the looking into the Entrails of Beasts that were to be sacrificed, and from that Critical Inspection, guessing at what should come to pass.

These were the three sorts of *Divination* which *Nebuchadnezzar* applied himself to upon so great an Emergency; and besides these, there was an incredible number more which the Pagan Nations (*i. e.* almost all the World) addicted themselves to. But indeed the *Divination* by the *Fowls* of the *Air* was of the greatest account; for it

*—*Nam Dis, ut proxima
quæque,
Nunc pennæ veros, nunc
datis ore sonos.*

Ovid. Fast. l. 5.

was believ'd by the Vulgar, that * these were well acquainted with the Gods, and knew their Minds better than other Creatures, by reason of their greater nearness to them. I

will produce some particular Instances of this their Superstition, which consisted in *Auguries* and *Auspices*, *i. e.* (taking those words strictly) divining by Birds, foretelling by the flying, or sitting, or feeding, or by the Voices of these Creatures, things that should happen

pen afterwards. - Thus * *Calchas* from the number of *Sparrows* which he saw, foretold ^{ll. A.} how many Years the *Trojan* War was to last.

The *Swallows* that were seen by *Darius* when he was in his Expedition against the *Scythians*, were look'd upon as an Unlucky Auspice, and presaged his Death. *Alexander* the Great was assured by his *Augur* of a Victory before the Battel, from the flight of an *Eagle*.

† *Vulci* (a famous *Augur*) from the *Vultures* † *Varro*, that appeared to *Romulus*, gathered, that the ^{Ennius.} Roman Empire should last twelve hundred

Years. || The crowing of *Cocks* was ^{Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 10. c. 21.} Auspicious, and presaged Victory to the *Boetians* against the *Lacedemonians*. So likewise *The-*

mistocles's Army were assured of Conquest by the fortunate Crowing of those Animals.

But the *fightings* of *Cocks*, it seems, were an ill Omen, and * foretold Seditions and Civil ^{* Strabo.} Wars.

The *Bees* that were seen on the Altar before the Fight at *Pharsalia*, were reckon'd Unfortunate, and portended *Pompey's* fatal Overthrow. Several other signs and ^{cy. Sueton. Ar- temidor. l. 3. c. 5.} Omens, Good and Bad (as they accounted them, and verily believed them to be) were frequent among the Heathens, and they were

strangely affrighted or encouraged by them, both in their Journeys, and at Home. *Augustus Cæsar* was a Great observer of these, as a

† Credible Author informs us, and therefore I will mention one pretty Passage that concerns him: || When he was upon his

March to *Actium*, and prepar'd to engage the ^{† Sueton. in Octavio cap. 92.} Enemy, there met him an *As* with the ^{Idem.} Owner cap. 96.

Owner of it: the Name of the former (for it seems Asses had their Names then) was *Nicon*, which signified a *Conqueror*; and the latter's Name was *Eutyebus*, the import of which was *Fortunate*. Hereupon the Emperor took the Omen to be good, and promis'd himself Victory; and after the Victory he call'd the place *Nicopolis*, and the Image of an Ass was set up in the Temple there in remembrance of the Happy Omen.

I might add that *Sneezing* was accounted a *Sacred Sign*, and was call'd so by some of the * best Pagan Writers, and that it was held one of the *Greatest Omens* (either for Good or Evil, according to its Circumstances) by the generality of the deluded World. Thus forsooth *Sneezing* † in the Morning was held Unlucky, but at Noon or afterwards it was thought to be of another Nature. If it was heard from the left hand, it was doom'd Unfortunate, but not so on the Right: wherefore from this latter it was that *Themistocles* and *Xenophon*, two great Warriors, took their Omen of Success; the || one was encouraged by it to fight the Enemy, the * other was chosen Commander of the Army by it.

To speak more generally, viz. of the whole Set of Pagan *Divinations* and *Auguries*, they were look'd upon as certain and undoubted Prognosticks of Future Occurrences. Whenever they busied themselves about the flight, and chattering, and the pecking of Birds, and made inquiry into the Intrails of slain Beasts, or used any other way

* Hom. Odys. 6.
Aristot. de Hist. Nat. Plutarch. vit. Home- ri.
† Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 28.
c. 2.

|| Plut. in vitâ The- mistocl.
* Xenoph. Hist. l. 6.

way of Divining, they were so besotted as to think, that they could thence infallibly foretel Futurities. To which purpose there was a particular Office and College of *Augurs*, who (though their Name be from one Species only) were skilful in the whole Art of Divination, and interpreted *all the Signs of the Gods*, as they call'd them. So great Reverence was paid to this

Art, that * nothing was done at Home or Abroad without it. The old *Romans* could neither create Magistrates, nor make Laws without the Presence and Approbation of the *Augurs*, as is clear from Tully's

Books of *Laws*. *Ave sinistra populi magister esto*, was a Law of the Twelve Tables, by virtue of which all Offices and Places were disposed by Augury. Hence we are told, that some † Magistrates were reputed and stiled † *Greater*, and some *Lesser*, because the one † was created with Greater, and the other with Lesser *Auguries*. We read likewise that the *Lacedemonian Kings* admitted *Augurs* into their Councils, and constantly advised with them. Yea, among the *Persians* and *Parthians* of old, their Kings and Greatest Princes were skill'd in Augury, for they thought it was a necessary Qualification of a King to Divine. The noblest and choicest Citizens of *Rome*, were preferr'd to this *Priesthood*, (for so it was stiled by them); of the Authority and Dignity of which Tully discourseth in his *Books of Divi-*

* Nè quid inauguratò faciunt. Lex Papir. Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace, domi militiaq; omnia geri, quis est qui ignoret? Liv. lib. 6. c. 41.

† A Gell. l. 13. c. 14

Divination, and therefore in the beginning prefaceth to them in excuse of what he was to say, because he was an *Augur* himself. There he reckons up the several sorts of Divination used by the *Gentiles*, some of which I have rehearsed here: And from the whole we may observe, (which is the thing design'd by me in mustering up these Pagan Follies) that *Satan* bore a great sway in the Minds of Men, and deluded them after a strange manner, to that purpose making use of *all sorts of Creatures* (as well as the Serpent of old) to deceive Mankind. *Satan*, I say, did this, for I suppose the Conceit of those Persons who think he had no hand in these things, will be exploded by Considerate and Wise Men, who cannot but see how greatly his Cause is promoted by these Pagan Superstitions. It is evident that whilst the Minds of the *Gentiles* were detain'd and busied with these gross Vanities, a Habit of Superstition was contracted, the Great Disposer and Over-ruler of all Occurrences and Events was forgotten, Divine Providence was banished out of the World, groundless Fears and Jealousies were created, and all the true and sound Principles of Religion were destroyed. Whence it is reasonable to conclude, that the *Hellish Demons* had a hand in all this, and that from them these *Auguries* had their Original, (as * *St. Augustin* long since determin'd); and, in a word, that these were the Noted and Signal *Works of the Devil*. He took care to have these spread over

* De Doct.
Christian.
l. 2

over the whole World, that his Dominion and Power might be thereby enlarged. Every where it was the custom to consult their *Gods*, as they call'd it, i. e. in plainer and truer terms, to enquire of the Devil, by applying themselves to the Arts of Divination and Soothsaying. This is re-

presented by * *Xenophon* as the general practice of the Pagan World; and so it is by † *Tully*.

In all Places (as hath been suggested already) *Auguries* were used when-ever any thing of Consequence was to be undertaken and done, that thereby they might know (as they fancied) whether it should

prove Successful. And as for the rest of the *Omens and Signs* stiled Lucky and Unlucky; the use of them was as Catholick, and (which is worse yet) they were in esteem even among some Persons of no mean Understanding. Thus || *Plutarch*, as serious a || In Pro- Man as he was, is of Opinion that there were blem. really Good and Evil *Auguries*: And * *Pliny* * Nat. Hist. asserts (which is very strange, if we consider l. 28. c. 2. the Genius of the Man) such Divinations to be valid. And we shall find that *Caras*, *Orpheus*, *Amphiaras*, *Tiresias*, *Amphiction*, *Melampus*, and others, were the great Authors and Promoters of all sorts of *Omens* among the Credulous *Gentiles*.

Yet we may take notice of this also, that the most Noble and Generous Spirits, though not

* Πᾶσι δὲ ὄφελος καὶ
πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
κτλ. ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ;
ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκ
πνεύματος. Sympol.

† Quæ est autem gens,
aut quæ civitas, quæ non
aut extis pecudum, aut
augurum, aut sortium
prædictione moveatur?
De Divinat. l. 1.

not enlightned with Christianity, slighted these things, and look'd upon them as Delusions. Thus we read how the Gallant *Hector* answer'd *Polydamas*, who was inclined to put off the Battel, because of some Ill Omen he had receiv'd from the *Augurs*; he plainly told him, That * the only best Augury, and that which was of Divine Authority, was to fight valiantly for his Country. It was a memorable Speech of *M. Varro*, a most Wise Roman, who, perceiving the Errors and Forgeries of the *Augurs* Divinations, from their inspection into the Entrails of Beasts, freely said upon this Occasion, That the Gods were both Idle and Sordid, in lapping up their Counsels in the unsavory Bowels of Brutes, to be raked out thence by the mad Priests. *Eusebius* relates out of *Hecataeus*, an old Greek Historian, that when one *Mossolanus*, (or as others, *Mysonianus*) a Great and Notable Captain under *Alexander* the Great, and Eminent for his Skill in discharging the Warlike Bow, advanced with the Army near the Red Sea; a Soothsayer bid him stop, and make an Halt: Whereupon the Captain made bold to ask him, What was the matter? and why they were not suffered to March? The Officious *Augur* presently pointed at a Bird on the Way, and told them, It was necessary to consult that Animal, and to see which way it would fly, that so they might follow her flight by marching that way; or if she flew back, that they might return too. The Warriour being thus hindered on his March by the *Augur's* trifling stay,

* Εἰς αὐτὴν
αὐτὸς ἀει-
σέει αὐτὸν
νῆδαι σέ-
πτερας.
Il. μ.

stay, to Divine about the Success of the War by that Fowl that sat on the Way, silently drew his Bow and shot it dead upon the spot; and when he had done so, he uttered such words as these, How was it possible that silly Creature could read us our Fortune, when (you see) she could not foretel her own? How could that Animal which foresaw nothing of the Arrow, foretel us any thing of our Journey? If she had known Futurities, she had not come in the way to be kill'd by *Mysonianus*. And so he march'd on, and we do not read that he was e're the less successful for this Attempt. In relation to this, I remember *Q. Curtius*, in the Life of *Alexander* the Great, condemns that Prince for his Vanity, in minding the Superstitious Observations and Omens of the *Augurs*. The Sentiment of *Cato* in this Matter is well known; It was a Wonder to him if one Soothsayer did not fall a laughing when he saw another, they being all of them such a Cheating Tribe, and designing purposely to abuse the People. *Cicero*, who was an *Augur* himself, and one of the chief of that Worshipful College, sometimes seriously confutes the Follics of these Divinations, and at other times makes himself merry with them, and laughs at those fond Men who direct their Lives by the chattering of a Crow, by the Entrails of a Sheep, by Oracles, by Dreams, by Lots, and by Fantastick Prodigies: This is the Task of that Great Wit, in his *Second Book of Divination*. Thus among the Wisest Men, the Folly

Folly of Sooth-saying was despised and rejected, and the *Augurs* themselves were look'd upon no other than Impostors; and many of the other Pagan Superstitions began to be disesteemed and laid aside.

Now, if this was done by those that made free use of their Reasons and Judgments, it is no wonder that it was back'd by the Author of the *Christian* Religion, whose Design it was to rectify and improve those Faculties. We cannot but observe therefore, that what was hitherto said and done, was far short of what was afterwards effected towards the Time of our Saviour's Coming into the World. This *Day-Star from on High*, even before it actually visited us, and blessed our Horizon, darted such a Light into the World; that they were enabled to discern, tho in an imperfect manner, the gross Fooleries of that Superstitious Religion which was among them. And when the Glorious Light of a Saviour and Redeemer *shined forth unto a perfect day*, when the Son of God manifested himself in the Flesh, then the dark and dismal Night of *Superstition* wholly vanished in many parts of the World, and the Follies which they once embraced, grew odious and abominable. And it is most certain that the Principles and Maxims of *Christianity* do eminently overthrow the fond Surmises and frightful Observations of *Superstitious* Men. Nothing indeed could do it so effectually as the Gospel: for now under the Evangelical Oeconomy and Christian Dispensation, our Adoration

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is confined and determined, and *we know whom we Worship*; and therefore the *Δειδαμωρία* of the Gentiles can have no footing here. And as for the Dread of Future Occurrences, *Christianity* hath utterly removed it by the Right Apprehensions of things which it blesteth us with, and by teaching us to place Religion in that which is truly Religion. It effectually extirpates all Superstition, by stifling the Principles of Enthusiasm and Fancifism, by suppressing False Fears, and Childish and Groundless Terrors, by superseding all Fantastick Devotion, by putting an end to all Foolish Rites and Idle Ceremonies, all Superfluous and Needless Observances, which proceed from a Causeless Timorousness in Religion, and from False Representations of God and his Worship. All this we owe to the Truth and Doctrine revealed by *Jesus Christ*: For though considerable Discoveries were made by some Wise and Serious Persons among the Heathens, as well as Jews, yet this was nothing in comparison of what followed, when the Laws of *Christ* prevailed in the World. And particularly as for *Divinations* and *Sooth-sayings* (wherein a great part of the Gentile Religion consisted) as they were reckon'd to be Fanciful and Groundless things, and not founded on any True Reason and Bottom, even by some of the Pagans themselves (as you have heard) so they are much more rejected, confuted and baffled by *Christianity*, which is our *reasonable Service*, and requires nothing of us but what is

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just and accountable, and every way correspondent to the Dictates of our Rational Nature. This acquaints us, that all those *Superstitious Omens* are really what some of them were called by the Pagans themselves, *Bruta Fulmina*, Insignificant Flashes, meer Mormoes to fright Children and Fools, things that have no other Existence than Imagination, actuated by the *Devil* the Author of Delusion, especially of all *Superstitious Cheats*, which *Christ Jesus* came to discover and destroy.

Secondly, It is reasonable to understand by the *Works of the Devil*, the *Pagan Oracles* which were so famous of old at *Delphos*, and in other parts of *Greece*, as the *Trophonian Oracles* at *Thebes* and *Lebadia*, (both in *Boeotia*), and those other more remote ones in *Lybia* and *Egypt*, and other Countries, where were these Habitations of the *Devils*, those Dens of *Satan*, who loved to be enquired of and courted by the ignorant and besotted *Pagans*. I know there are some who think there was nothing of the Diabolical Spirit in these Oracles, but that they were only for Gain. *Calistus Rhodiginus* professeth himself to be of this Opinion; but yet before he ends the Chapter (where he asserts it) he ingenuously confesseth, That *this Business was not altogether managed without some correspondence with, and help from the Devil*. And there is a † Gentleman of late very much concern'd and moved, because we attribute it to him: *The setting up of Oracles*, saith he, *was merely for the Interest*

* *LeA. An-*
tiq. l. 2.
c. 12.
† *Sir Tho.*
P. B's. Es-
says.

of the *Priests*, and that was all. They were a *Juggle* to get *Money and Repute*, especially among the *Great Men and Princes*: Therefore he concludes, That they are *Superstitious Christians* who think they were from the *Devil*. But who sees not the *Vanity* of such an Inference as this, as if the Oracles could not be from the *Devil*, and yet for the *Priests Interest* too? These are no ways inconsistent, and therefore whilst this Gentleman makes one exclude the other, he uses a *Fallacy*, but no *Argument*. I deny not but there was Interest in the case, yea, double Interest, that of the *Devil*, as well as the other of the *Priests*. I grant him that Oracles were a *Juggle*, but a *devilish* one; and he must acknowledge the same, if he pleases to remember that there were sometimes such things foretold by them as could not possibly be foreseen and known by *Humane Skill*. But the *Knowledge and Sagacity* of the *Evil Angels* might reach them; because these *Invisible and Active Spirits* can fly up and down the *World* with infinite swiftness, and inform themselves of all Occurrences whatsoever, and are present at the most private Consults, and have learn'd, by long Experience and Observation, to dive into the Designs of Men, and to see the very Disposition and Tendency of Causes before they begin to act: Besides that, they are always caballing together, and holding Correspondence with one another, so that it is probable what one of them knows, the whole Herd of them is acquainted with, and

that in a few moments time. Hence, hence it is that the *Oracles* spoke such shrewd things *sometimes*, which it is impossible to give an account of, unless we assert that this Office was set up and maintain'd by those Invisible Demons: For 'tis certain, that the most Cunning and Subtilest Priest of them all could never have foretold those things. Again, there is ground to believe that these Ill Spirits were Managers here, because we are ascertain'd from those who describe the Manner and Circumstances of the delivery of the *Oracles*, that there was something more than *Man* in it. The Place was fill'd with amazing Noise and Horror, loud Shrieks and Howlings were heard, and sometimes the Temples were torn with Thunder-claps; the Earth trembled and quaked, and so did the Priests: These now appeared with erected Hair, with distorted Eyes, with foaming Mouths, and unusual, but frightful Voices; they beat and knock'd their Breasts with an Inhumane Fury; they raged and raved, and ran about like possessed Persons, as indeed they were. The Subterraneous Demons, whom they consulted and dealt with, put both the Earth and their Bodies into this Motion and Disorder. This looks like the truest Cause of them, and therefore we have good reason to assert, that those Pagan Priests were acted by those Evil Spirits, who generally brought them their Intelligence, and help'd them to give Answers. And this was done (if I may be permitted to offer my Conjecture)

ture) in imitation of the Celebrated *Oracle* of *Urim* and *Thummim*, and of the *Divine Inspirations* and true *Prophetic Spirit* which the Holy Scripture speaks of: for 'tis certain that the Infernal Spirits did in many Particulars emulate the things and practices which were in use among the People of God the Jews, and which are recorded in the Sacred Writings.

From what hath been said, I think we may cross the Learned Gentleman's Assertion, and with Confidence as well as Reason aver, That *they are no Superstitious Christians, who think the Pagan Oracles were from the Devil*: For we find apparent Marks and Signs of his acting in them, we see those things done which we cannot impute to any other Cause, and therefore here is no reason to cry out of *Superstition*. But on the other side, we may suspect there is something worse, and that those who so briskly oppose the Devil's acting in the Heathen Oracles, are perswaded there are no such Beings as Devils. However, 'tis certain, that these Persons shew themselves ignorant of the *Devices* of these Diabolical Spirits, whose Business it is, by all Arts and Methods imaginable, to hurt and mischief Mankind; and this of their *Oracles* was none of the least effectual to this purpose. For hereby they eclipsed the Glory of the Divine Majesty, setting up an Infallibility to confront his, out of a proud and saucy Emulation of the True God, and an insolent Ambition of being like him: They

obscured the Knowledge of the True Religion, they erected a False Worship in the World, they confirmed Men in their Errors and Superstitious Persuasions, they extinguish'd the Sense and Remembrance of their Duty, by nourishing in them false Fears and Fond Credulity, yea, a Diffidence in God's Providence, and a Trusting in the Enemy of Mankind. Hereby likewise (as hath been intimated) they abused and prophaned the most Sacred Things of Divine Institution and Appointment, viz. by an impious and prophane aping of the Holy Oracles, the Revelations, Visions and Dreams which were vouchsafed to God's own peculiar and chosen People. Thus it appears that the Design of the Pagan Oracles, was not wholly for the Interest of their Priests, but that the Devil got much more by them than they. I see reason therefore to subscribe to *Lactantius* and other Pious Fathers, who expressly tell us that they were the Invention of Satan. And indeed this was not only the belief of *Christians*, but of *Pagans* themselves. * *Porphyrius* (who was a very Inquisitive Man, and had diligently searched into the Nature of the Oracles) ingenuously confesses that the *Dæmons* were the Authors of them. And the same is acknowledged by † *Iamblicus*. And though (it is true) some of the greatest Philosophers among the *Gentiles* had not attain'd to this Notice, (or if they had, they would not let the Vulgar know it); yet I wonder that any Man who understands the

* Lib. de
Dæmoni-
bus.

† Lib. de
Mysteriis,
cap. 21.

true

true Nature of Things by the Light of the Gospel, where the Designs of the Malicious Spirits of Darknes are so fully discovered, can be a Stranger to this, and publicly tell the World that the *Oracles* were Cheats of the Priests, and not of the Devil. This I have endeavour'd to disprove; and to shew that the Cursed Dæmons made use of these on purpose to deceive and delude Mankind, to uphold their own Kingdom, and to weaken and destroy that of the Lord Jesus.

Having thus made it evident that the Pagan Oracles were the *Works of the Devil*, (which it was necessary for me to undertake in the first place under this Head) I proceed now to prove that our Saviour destroy'd those impious *Works*. This he effectually did, by curbing and lessening the Power of this Infernal Spirit, by detecting his Cheats and Forgeries, by silencing his Priests, and by striking the Devil himself dumb. It is true, even before Christ's Birth, the Histories of those Times tell us, that the Oracular Spirits did not make Answer, but began to falter, and could not play their accustomed Pranks. The Oracles did not presently cease just at our Saviour's Coming; for that they did decay before that time, is plain

from those words of * *Tully*;
"What is the meaning of the
"Cessation of the Delphick
"Oracles, not only in our
"Time, but a good while a-
"go, insomuch that nothing

U 4

* Cur isto modo jam
Oracula Delphis non e-
duntur, non modò nostrâ
ætate, sed jamdiu, ut ni-
hil possit esse contemp-
tius?

"is

"is more contemptible now than they are? Neither is it denyed that even after Christ's Death some Oracles were enquired of, and returned Answers, if *Suetonius* in the Life of *Caligula* may be credited. And *Plutarch* speaking of the Ceasing of Oracles in *Greece*, excepteth that of *Lebadia*. And other Histories, I know, mention some kind of Oracling in force till *Julian's* Time. But it is undeniable, that about the time of Christ's arrival in the World, and when he was arrived, and soon after upon the preaching of the Gospel, most of the Heathen Oracles were struck speechless, and delivered no Answers to those that came to enquire of

them. This is testified by

* *Excessu re omnes adytis,
arique reliquis*

*Dii quibus imperium hoc
fluerat. &c.*

† ——— *Delphis oracula
cessant.*

*Et genus humanum dam-
nat taligo futurum.*

* *Lucan* who lived in *Nero's* Time; and by † *Juvenal* who flourished in *Domitian's* Reign. These and other Writers complain, that *Apollo's* Oracles were ceas'd, and would tell them their Fortunes no more; that the Demons were all pack'd

away; that the Forlorn Spirits had quitted their Beloved Territories, and with horrid Groans resigned up their former Mansions. And this is it which was foretold by one of the *Sibyls* in her Mystick Verses, that a *Little Child*, even the *Blessed Babe Jesus*, should throw down Idolatry with his Hand, and stop the Mouths of the Delphick Devils. And here by the way I appeal to you, whether it was not a wonderful Fore-runner and

Prefage

Prefage of what should afterward be effected by *Christ* in this Matter, that one of the *Sibyls* was of *Delphos*, and prophesied concerning our Saviour there, in the City where the Oracle of *Apollo* was, whence she bears the Name of the *Delphick Sibyl*, because she had her chief Seat at *Delphos*, and there delivered her Oracles several Years before the *Trojan Wars*. This was a happy Prognostick of the *Blessed Change* which was to be made, i. e. that *Christ Jesus* should be preached, and the Prophecies concerning Him and the Gospel be fulfilled, in those very Places where Paganism and Idolatry so mightily prevailed. But we need not fly to the Poets: It is evident from other Writers, that upon Christ's manifesting himself to the World, yea, sometime before he actually appeared, the Oracles were generally suppressed and quashed. I will mention only *Plutarch*, a Grave Historian and Philosopher, who lived in *Trajan's* Reign, and writ two Treatises, wherein he positively attests the Cessation of the Oracles in those Days, and purposely searcheth into the Causes of it: What a strange Account doth he give there of it? You will find that he is hard put to it, and utters many Ridiculous and Absurd Things. But he is to be excused, because he could give no other, he being so unhappy as not to own the Author of Christianity, who was the Cause of this and greater Wonders in that Age. This Writer will have the Cessation of Oracles to be the Effect of Natural

ral Causes; much after the rate of Tully in his *Book of Divination*, who imputes it to the Earth become Old, so that the Fatidick Virtue was worn out through length of time; *As we see*, saith he, *many Rivers are Dried up and turned into another Course for the same Cause.* Just so *Plutarch* Philosophizeth; The Oracles (saith he) depended upon the Nature of the Soil, that is, a particular sort of Ground in those Parts, sent up a peculiar sort of Vapours and Exhalations, which with their Steam affected the Priests Brains and Spirits, and so moved them to prophesie, and made them capable of giving Answers concerning future Events, to those that came to consult them: But after a long time, this peculiar Quality and Temperament of the Earth vanished, and could not any longer supply the Priests with such a sort of Vapours as would cause Predictions; and so farewell Oracles. A very goodly Account, you'll say, especially from one of Great Learning. This is *Vain Philosophy* indeed; but let us not upbraid Him, but bless God in behalf of our selves, that we have attained to greater Light and Knowledge, and are acquainted with the True Causes of things, and are assured that those Oracles were Cheats and Delusions of the Prince of Darkness; and in plain terms, that they were *the Works of the Devil*, and therefore it was no wonder that they were destroyed by Him, who was manifested for that very Purpose. But that which I alledge this Writer for is this, that you may be satisfied from

from him of the Matter of Fact, and be thoroughly convinced that things did really happen according to our Saviour's Design, and that these Works of the Devil were destroyed. Accordingly therefore this Author tells us, that in his time the Oracles generally were cashier'd. Indeed the *Pythian* Oracle would now and then Tattle a little, but very sorry Stuff it was, he saith, and it^{*} was in Prose. <sup>* καταλα-
ιδειν.</sup> The Oracular Dæmons could not afford, it seems, to versify as they had done before; the Vein of Poetry flagg'd. And in *Baotia*, a Country which before swarm'd with Oracles, there was (he saith) but a single One left. Those that would be farther satisfied in this Matter, may consult † *Eusebius*, who † <sup>† Πραπα.
Evang. lib.</sup> hath fully treated of this Theme, shewing not only the Vanity and Falshood of the Ora- 4 & 5. cles, but particularly relating how they ceas'd at Christ's Coming: This being so largely handled by him, I remit the Reader thither.

And now I might observe concerning these Oracles, (as I did before of the *Superstitious Divinations*) that many of the bravest and wisest Heathens cared not for them, but manifestly slighted and jeer'd them, as ‖ *Demosthenes* ‖ <sup>‖ Plutarch
de Hero-
doto.</sup> could say, the Delphick Oracle did *φιλιππιζων*, had learn'd to favour *Philip* King of *Macedon*; that is as much as to say, they were Arrant Cheats, (for the Devil could Cheat and Flatter as well as the Priests) they could be corrupted with Gold, and take what part they pleas'd. The People began at last to see

see through these Impostures, and consequently their regard to them was considerably abated. They arrived to this Notion (which *Minutius Felix* insists upon) that the Observers of these Oracles were not successful, and the Despisers of them prospered. They found out at length the Reason why *Apollo* gave such Dark and Ambiguous Answers, why they were deliver'd by the Priests mutteringly and with a low Voice, so as not to be perfectly heard, namely, because by this means they could best salve their Cheating, and the Enquirers should not be able to know whether they spoke Truth or Falshood. For these Reasons *Apollo* was Sirnamed *Λογίας*, because he oftentimes put them off with *Oblique* and *Doubtful* Responses: For the Devil in these Oracles of Old professedly *equivocated*, and plaid the *Jesuite* betimes. I could set before you what the brave *Cato* thought of these Oracles, as he is represented in *Lucan*. I might transcribe a great part of *Tully's second Book of Divination*, which discovers the Vanities of these Responses, and proves them to be meer Gulls. But you know my Business at present is to evince (and I hope I have done it sufficiently) that these Lying Oracles were confuted at last by a Greater than *Cato* or *Tully*, even *Christ Jesus* our Lord. It is a known, but remarkable Passage in *Plutarch*, that the Dæmons complain'd aloud that their Great God *Pan* was dead: That was the lamentable Voice which was heard in the Grecian Sea in *Tiberius's* Reign, when

when our Saviour was Crucified. Then *Christ* through Death destroyed him who had the Power of Death, the Devil: then the Prince of this World was judged: then our Saviour, having spoiled Principalities and Powers on the Cross, triumphed over them in it. No wonder then that the Cursed Dæmons howled and lamented, when they saw their Kingdom was shaken, and began to fail; when they experimentally found that He who cried with a loud voice on the Cross, had drowned the Noise of their Juggling Oracles. And in a short time, as other Writers will inform us, this Diabolical Trade was clearly put down in the most considerable Countries of the World, which we must attribute to the sole Power and Sovereignty of that Jesus who came to destroy the Works of the Devil.

Thirdly, I understand by these Works the Diabolical Obsessions of Mens Bodies, which our Saviour did actually defeat and destroy, when he ejected the Evil Spirits out of those poor Wretches who were thus possessed by them. It is evident that at the time when *Christ* was on Earth, great Numbers of Persons laboured under this grievous Calamity; and we do not read that at any other Season such numerous Legions of them molested Mankind. But the Evangelists acquaint us, that our Lord did frequently rescue the Bodies of the Possessed from the Power and Dominion of those Foul Fiends. For though the Word *δαίμων* so often used in the Gospels, may perhaps

perhaps not be understood in the *rigour* of it in every place (for *Lunatics* and *Epileptick* Persons, when they were extraordinarily distempered, were said by the *Jews* to be possessed with an *Evil Spirit*; and in this kind was *Saul* troubled, say the Jewish Doctors); yet the Relation which those Inspired Penmen give of the Formal and Solemn Casting out of Devils by our Saviour, is a sufficient Proof to any observing Person, that, if not all, yet most of those who are call'd *Δημονιζόμενοι*, were really Possessed. For tho' that Man who is stiled a *Demoniack* in *Luke* 9. 39. is said, *σληνιάζειται*, to be a *Lunatick*, in *Matth.* 17. 15. yet all that can be gathered thence is, that this Man, and those others that were possess'd with the Devil, had Periodical Fits, that they were either *Epilepticks*, or *Distraught* at certain times; and that, as it is usual with such Persons, they were worse when the *Moon* increas'd. Therefore the *Arabick* Version of the forenamed Place in *St. Matthew* is very remarkable; *He hath a Devil, and he is exceedingly vexed in the beginnings of the Full Moon*: as much as to say, the Devil and the Disease met together, and the former was the Author of the latter. Or, we may say, the Impure Spirits chose to enter into those crazy and Diseased Bodies, when they were most disposed to Illness by the powerful Influence of the Moon. This is no Argument that they were not really possessed with the Devil; but it is a plain Proof of the contrary, and of something else,

else, viz. that *Satan* doubled his Malice, vexing and tormenting them at a time when they were least able to bear it. As for the *Reasons* why such vast Numbers of Men were thus visited when our Saviour was on Earth, these may justly be assigned; it was an Age much given to Magick and Inchantments, and the calling up of Spirits was a frequent thing in those Days: Besides, Divine Providence might so order it at that very juncture of Time for an Occasion of the more Glorious Cures. It might happen by the Particular Disposal of the Almighty, that thereby it might appear to the World, that Christ had Power over the Devils, and could, when he pleased, dislodge those mischievous Spirits, and rescue Mankind from their Tortures. The Reality and Greatness of his Sovereignty over those Infernal Powers, were to be demonstrated by those Atchievements. Moreover, it may rationally be thought that the Devils would be most busy then when Christ came into the World, and would be more interested to disturb and torment Mankind, because they saw their Kingdom was going down, and Christianity was to be exalted in the World. Now therefore it was time for the *Messias* to exert his Miraculous Power; and behold, as an effect of it, the Devils submitted to him, and at his Command presently quitted the Bodies which they had taken possession of. One Person among the rest was a famous instance of this sort, out of whom a *Legion of Devils* was ejected by Christ's

Christ's Holy Exorcism: With one Word he vanquish'd whole Regiments of the Kingdom of Darkness; he routed Armies of Infernal Dæmons. I remit you to the Evangelical Records, where you have abundant proof of the casting out of these Hellish Spirits, not only by our Saviour himself, but by his Disciples, who (as you read) came to him with these Words in their Mouths,

* Luk. 10. 17. * Lord, the Devils are subject to us: This being an Effect of that Mighty Power which Christ had invested his Followers with, Luke

† Contr. 9. 1. And therefore † Origen rationally infers, that Christ's Power was *Divine*, because at his Name the Devils left the Bodies of the *ἰερεῖς καὶ τοὶ λαοὶ*.

And this was a thing not unusual in those very Days in which this Father lived, as well as before. We are ascertain'd that the ordinary Christians, meerly by their Prayers and Invocations, ejected those Spirits, and made them confess what they were. That they had this Power in *Justin Martyr's* Days, who flourish'd in the middle of the Second Century, appears in his known Dialogue with *Trypho*, where he expressly saith, *The Devils tremble at the Name of Christ, and being adjured by that sacred Name, they become subject to us*. That they did the same in *Irenæus's* Time, which was some few Years after, is clear from his * Writings. And the same Miraculous Gift continued till *Tertullian*, at the end of the second Century, as is evident both from his *Apology* and his Book to *Scapula*.
And

* Lib. 2. cap. 58.

And St. * *Cyprian* testifies the like of his time, about the middle of the 3d. Century. So *Minutius Felix* and *Lactantius* relate how the Christians controul'd the Evil Spirits, and tell us, that not only their Words and Commands, but their bare Presence shut the Mouths of the Possessed, and made the miserable Ghosts quake and tremble. Yea, *Gregory Nazianzen* in the next Age gives this Testimony; † *The very Devils at this time tremble when Christ is call'd upon; neither is the Power and Vertue of that Name diminish'd and impaired by our Sins*. And if I deligned to expatiate, I could derive it lower, and also shew you that these and other Christian Writers commonly appeal to the Pagans concerning the Truth of these things, and alledge this Ejection of Devils as a great and undeniable Proof of the Authority of the Christian Religion, as certainly it was. But I add no more, having said enough for my purpose, which was, to make it appear, that among other *Works of the Devil*, Christ *destroyed* this in particular.

* De vanit. Idolorum.
† Orat. Apologet.

Fourthly, Is there not reason to think that St. *John* refers here to what Christ did, when by his coming he rooted out *Magick* and *Sorcery*, *Dealing with the Devil*, either by Practising Witchcraft, or Consulting with those that did, and the like Works of the Black Art, which the Cursed Spirit taught the World? These were the Devil's *Opera* which he shewed of Old, and got so much by,
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whereby he pleas'd and gratified, and at the same time bubbled the easily deluded People. Not to attend to the perverse Folly of those meer *Matter-Men* who disown Spirits, and consequently deny a *God* as well as *Devils*, (for they will rather profess Atheism, than acknowledge any such Rank of Beings.) Not to gratify these Gross Atheists so far as to take notice in this place of what they are wont to say in Defence of their mad Opinion; I shall take it for granted, that *Magical Operations* (properly so call'd) are the *Works of the Devil*, and that he was the first Founder of them, designing and endeavouring thereby to bring Men under his Dominion, and (so far as he can effect it in the Minds of Men) to exclude God and his Providence out of the World. This questionless was his Design, and was never doubted by the

* Magi non tantum sciunt dæmones, sed etiam quicquid miraculi edunt, per dæmones faciunt: illis aspirantibus & insistentibus præsfigiæ sunt, &c. Adv. Gentes.

Ancient Christians, as appears not only from * *Arnobius*, but several other Primitive Writers, though some of late are so extraordinarily civil to him, that they will not impute the Practice of *Magick* to his Assistance. Good Men! they are afraid to slander the Devil. But from the History of several Ages, we are certainly informed, that there was nothing more usual than to make a Compact with Satan; which the Magicians and Wizards effected with many direful Ceremonies. And when there was not a Formal League with the Devil,

yet

yet there was a Communication with him, because the Persons gave themselves into his Hands by their immoderate Curiosity, by their affecting to know more than was fitting, or by an impatient coveting after Wealth and Riches, or by a greedy desire of having an Ability and Opportunity to satisfy their Revenge. From that infallible and inspired *Testimony* in *Deut. 18. 10, 11*. we are assured that there were *Enchanters, Witches, Charmers, Consulters with Familiar Spirits, Wizards and Necromancers*: for these Persons, and their Practices, would not have been condemned and pronounced an *Abomination*, (as they are there) unless there had been really such. This I think is very plain and unanswerable. And truly I am apt to believe, that the Holy Ghost makes use of *so many different Words* here, on purpose to obviate and refute the vain Cavils of the Men of our Days, who are Infidels as to the Point of *Witchcraft*, and with great Confidence tell us, that there is no such thing, and that the Foundation of it, *viz.* a Compact with Evil Spirits, is a meer Forgery. Here are *six Words* to press and inculcate the same thing, (though if we be Critical, there may be found some difference, because one word may be more expressive of a particular Act of that Cursed Art than another; but I speak now of the General Notion and Import of them) that we may be thereby convinced of the Truth and Reality of the Thing, *viz.* that there were and are *Enchanters, Witches, &c.* Persons holding Corre-

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spondence

spondence with Infernal Agents, and by their Help and Assistance effecting strange things in the World. The last in *Moses's Catalogue*, are *Necromancers*, such who by Magick Incantment raised the Souls of the Dead, or the Devil rather to represent those Souls, and then consulted with him, and enquired concerning some Future Events which they were exceeding desirous to know. Of this we have an Ancient and Famous Instance in the Sacred Records, viz. the Witch of Endor, who by this Devilish Art caused the Appearance of *Samuel*, i. e. of some Evil Spirit in his Shape. And of these Hellish *Necromancers*, perhaps that of *Job* (Ch. 3. v. 8.) is to be understood, *they curse the Day*, (for the *Night* is the time proper for their Black Work) and raise up *Leviathan*, i. e. the Devil, who most fitly is compared to * the *Leviathan*. Or, in a more literal sense, *to raise up the Leviathan*, may signify, to charm and tame that Sea-Monster, and so it sets forth the Great, but Devilish Power of

* No It's Persons than Gregory the Great, Hugo Cardinalis, and M. Luther interpret *Leviathan* to be the Devil, or rather apply what is said of him to the Devil.

Magick and Incantation. As *Plutarch* saith of the *Egyptian Priests*, that by Art Magick they could tame the Crocodile, so as to make him come to their Hand. This *Necromantic Practice* is spoken of in *Isa.* 8. 19. and is called, *Seeking unto them that have Familiar Spirits, and unto Wizards that peep and mutter.* To which is added, a Reprehension with a Direction; *Should not a People seek unto their*

God?

God? Yes surely; for the Living to the Dead should they go? No certainly, that is abominable and execrable. And I question not but the Idolatrous Jews, who used *Necromancy*, are meant by those who remain among the Graves, and lodge in the Monuments, *Isa.* 65. 4. This, and the other parts of this Science, were very frequent in the World heretofore; especially they made use of it to enquire beforehand what Success they should have in their Affairs: and thus the practice of *Divination* and *Magick* was often coincident. But their Charms and Spells, and Mystical Characters, were the most frequent of all, whereby they helped and eased People in case of Sicknefs, Bodily Pains, * Luxation of Members, and all outward Calamities that befel them: whereby also they were able to inflict Diseases, and all manner of Bodily Evils, and (in brief) to produce very surprizing and astonishing Operations.

I am very ready to grant, notwithstanding what I have said, that many things have been ascribed to the Devil which he was never guilty of, or was any ways concerned in. I question not but many things have pass'd for *Magick of the worst sort* with vulgar and unthinking People, which were the meer Effects of Natural Philosophy improved and set forth by Art. The Times have been such, that a *Mathematician* and a *Magician* have been esteemed the same. But though

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* Cato de re rustic. cap. 160. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 28. c. 2.

Cato prodidit luxatis membris carmen auxiliari.

we pity the Mistakes of the Ignorant, yet we are not to attend to the Dictates of the Perverse, who avouch there is no *Diabolick Magick*, and therein destroy the Faith of all History, both Divine and Humane.

The Ancient Greek Masters in this Impious Art and Practice, who are mention'd in the Sacred Story, were the *Egyptian Sorcerers*, (of whom *Jannes* and *Jambres* were the chief, and accordingly they are call'd in the *Talmud* the *Princes of the Magicians*) *Gen.* 41. 8. *2 Tim.* 3. 8. *Baham* the *Mesopotamian* Soothsayer, *Numb.* 22. 5. the *Casdim* or *Chaldean Magi*, *Dan.* 2. 2. And the Ancient Practisers in this Art mention'd in Prophane Writers, were *Zabulus*, *Zamolxis*, *Abbaris*, *Zoroaster*, *Pafetes*, *Panocrates* and *Zachlas*, (both of them Egyptian Magicians, spoken of by *Lucian* and *Apuleius*) *Numa Pompilius*, &c. *Pythagoras* may be taken into the Number, for from several Circumstances of his Life (as

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Thus

Thus have I given you a brief Account of this Curfed Art, of the main Limbs of it, of the Authors that supported it, and of its spreading and prevailing in the World. But (which is the next thing I am to make good) by the coming of our Lord these Wicked Practices began to decay, Sorcery and Witchcraft lost their Power. Christ by his Appearing, and afterwards by his Apostles and Followers, defeated such Hellish Works. At what time, saith * *Athanasius*, did the Magick Arts and their Schools begin to be trodden down, but when God the Word appear'd among Men? It seemed to be an early Presage of Christ's Power in this kind, that the *Eastern Magi* came to him, and prostrated themselves at his Feet in his very Infancy: for I could produce the Testimonies of *Ignatius* and *Justin Martyr*, of *Origen* and *Tertullian*, of *Jerom* and *Basil*, and other Greek and Latin Fathers, to prove that these *Wise Men* (as our Translation renders it) were no other than *Sorcerers* and *Inchanters*, the worst sort of *Magicians*, who dealt with the Devil. These submitted to the Babe Jesus, and owned him to be the Lord and Sovereign of the World. Though the *Pharisees* were so malicious, impudent and blasphemous as to represent our Saviour himself as a *Magician*, as one that did his Miraculous Works by help of the Devil; yet nothing is more clear, than that in all his Discourses and Practices, his Design was to defeat the Devil's Projects, to ruine his Interest, and to destroy his Works, and consequent-

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ly *This* which is the grossest of all. So for *Necromancy*, raising the Dead, and enquiring of them, he came to *destroy this Work*, and did it effectually, by informing Men aright concerning the State of the deceased, by fixing and determining the Place of their Abode after this Life, by sending us to *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and bidding us consult and believe them, and not expect any Tidings from the Dead. The *Acts* of the Apostles acquaint us, that *Simon the Sorcerer, who bewitched the People of Samaria*, was soon reclaimed by *Philip's* preaching the Gospel there, and that he believed and was baptized, Acts 8. 9, 13. And another noted Sorcerer, was not only rebuked by *St. Paul* after this severe manner, *Thou child of the Devil*, (a fit accost to such a one as He, for *Magick* is properly the *Devil's Work*) *thou Enemy of all Righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right Ways of the Lord?* Acts 13. 10. but he was struck blind by the same Miraculous Hand, and disabled to pursue his impious Practices. *St. Peter* likewise undertook the former of these hellish Practitioners, and in the midst of his *Magick Attempts and Adventures*, brought him down headlong and defeated him, as we are informed from very Ancient Writers. When *St. Paul* preach'd at *Ephesus*, where several of the Inhabitants were given to this Vile Art, he as it were, by more Holy Charms and Spells, made them throw away their *Books of curious Arts*, that is, of Inchantment,

and

and then bring them forth, and burn them, *Acts* 19. 19.

Because this is so famous an Instance of the *destroying* these *Works of the Devil*, and because it may be enquired how the *using of curious Arts* is the same with *practising of Magick*, I will examine the Greek Word *Περίεργα* which *St. Luke* here makes use of, and let you see how fitly it is here applied. This word being no where to be found in the New Testament but in this place and in one other, we must consult other Writers, and observe how 'tis taken in them. *Περίεργα* is reckon'd by * *Quintilian* among the Faults * *Instit. Orat.* 1. 8. c. 3. of Speech, namely when Persons are too nice about it, and take too much care in the ordering of it; and thence perhaps *Apion* had the Epithet given him of *Περίεργος*, the most Curious and Quaint Grammarian. This Over-curiousness in speaking, leads to Adulation and Fawning, and therefore *Περίεργα* is defined thus by *Theophrastus* in his Characters of Morals; † *It is a kind of a dissimulation of Benevolence*: And according to him, *Περίεργος* is an Officious Flatterer, and one that doth act that Part with much Affectation and Folly. The word refers to Actions as well as Speeches, for Talkative Persons generally are Pragmatical; therefore we render *Περίεργοι* Busy-bodies, 1 *Tim.* 5. 13. who there are joined with *φλύαργοι*, Tatlers, those that exceed in Words, as the other in Doing. So it seems that Preposition *ἐν*, in this Composition, imports

imports that which is too much, that which is Superfluous and Unnecessary. And this Unnecessary and Pragmatical Over-doing, doth easily tend unto and end in *Superstition*; which indeed, according to the true Denotation of the Word, is an *Over-doing*; and the Bigotry of *Superstition* commonly ends in *Unlawful Arts*, and degenerates into *Magick*. Wherefore it was well observed by an Historian,

* Παισι γὰρ τοῖς οὖν
ὁ μόνον τὸ ἀνδραπνὴν πύ-
τα εἶναι ἠδελον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ δαίμονα
πολυπραγματεῖν. Hero-
dian. l. 4. de Antonino.

concerning one of the Roman Emperors, * that being given to a Foolish and Immoderate *Curiosity*, he was enclined not only to search into all those Occult Things which relate to

Men, but he was very busy in prying into those Secrets which are Divine, yea, and those which are Diabolical and Magical. Thus you see the Connection between these two, *Curiosity* and *Magick*, and why the using of curious Arts here is to be understood of *Magical Practices*, viz. because Mens Unlawful Curiosity leads them to these Wicked Enterprizes. Having discovered the true Origine of this word *καίριος*, and thereby settled the meaning of it in this place of the *Acts*, it remains that I farther establish this by letting you see that this is the meaning of the word, both in Ecclesiastical and Profane Writers. Thus an † Ancient Father speak-

* Irenæus
adv. Hæres.
l. 1. c. 24
ing of the *Simonians*, a sort of Hereticks that took their Name from *Simon the Sorcerer*, and who also were vers'd in his Art, saith of them, that the *Eroticks*, (or *Philtres*) the *Agogima*,

gima, the *Paredri* and *Oniropempi*, and whatever other *Perierga* there are, (i. e. whatever other *Magick Tricks* there are) are studiously practised by these Persons. And another Ancient Writer of the Church useth the word *Curiositas*, which answers to *καίριος*, for * the *Magick Art*, and particularly for the Unlawful Divination by the Stars. To which we may add that Sanction of the Emperor *Constantinus* against these Evil Practices which is inserted into the Imperial Law, and is express'd thus; * *Sileat* * In Lege

* Incantationum vires
promulgaverant, & om-
nem curiositatem usq; ad
stellarum interpretationem
designaverant. Ter-
tul. de hab. mulier. c. 2.

omnibus perpetuò divinandi curiositas, &c. Among Prophane Authors, † *Porphyrus* † *De Ab-*
may be cited, who tells us, that the Philo-
sophers used to give this Name to Magical
Operations, and that *καίριος* was of the
same import with them that *γνῶσις, πνε-
ματισμός, εἰσέλευσις & ἐξορισμός* were. In * *Catullus* * *Epi-*
and † *Horace* we shall find that *Curiosus* gram. 7.
(which answers to *καίριος*) is the *Epi-* † *Epod.*
thet from him that pries into the *Magick* Ode 17.
Secrets, or rather is the same with a *Magician*.
Thus you see what ground there is from the
denotation of the Word it self, and from the
use of it among Writers to fix that sense
upon it which we have done. But besides
this, if we take notice of the particular Place
and Persons that St. Luke here refers to, we
shall be yet farther confirmed in this mean-
ing. We may observe, that the Scene of
this Action is *Ephesus*, as is clear from the
1st.

1st and 17 verses of this Chapter. They are the *Ephesian* Converts whom this Text speaks of, these are they that had heretofore used *Curious Arts*. By minding of this (especially after what hath been said already) we may certainly gather what these *περὶερα* are, for *Ephesus* before all other Cities was addicted to these Impious Studies. Not only

* In Alexandro.

* *Plutarch*, but other very credible Writers (whom the Reader may consult) particularly take notice that the People of this place were in a more than ordinary manner enclined to, and conversant in these Arts. This was so common and notorious, that it became a Proverb, *Ἐφῆσια γράμματα* was used as a known expression to signify *Magick Learning*, as several † Ancient Writers testify. From this old Proverbial way of speaking, we may gather what St. *Luke* here means by *περὶερα*, viz. those *Ephesian Characters* or *Charms*, those *Magical Notes* and *Rites*, which that People were so famed for, and by which they did such great Feats, or seem'd to do so at least. The *Ephesians* had a certain set of Letters and Words which they used in Enchantments, and they never failed; so greatly were they befriended by the Author of them. The *Christians* call'd these *Diabolical*, but St. *Luke* here useth the word, which perhaps was receiv'd at *Ephesus* as well as in other Places; and he tells us that many of them who used these *Curious Arts*, were now weary of them, and brought their Books together, and burned them before all Men. When they

† *Plutarch*, *Athenæus*, *Hesychius*, *Suidas*, *Alexander ab Alexandro*, &c.

they came to be acquainted with the * *1st Tim. 3. γράμματα*, they soon disliked those *Ephesian* 15. Letters, and in a pious Revenge, used them in the like manner that Books of that sort used to be dealt with: for from the † *Rom. in* † *Liv. lib. 39. Sueton in Augusto* Writers and others, we are informed, that the Punishment which was wont to be executed on Books of such a Nature, was *Burning* of them: so that the very Penalty here voluntarily inflicted on these Books, acquaints us of what kind they were. That which particularly and signally shews the Efficacy of the Gospel in destroying these *Diabolical Works*, is this, that these *Ephesians* who were so addicted to Devilish Practices, and were Magical even to a Proverb, that these (I say) were reclaimed from these damnable Studies by the Preaching of St. *Paul* among them, and presently gave a demonstration of their hearty Repentance for their past enormities, by producing their Books of Inchantment, and committing them to the Flames. And that which makes this yet more remarkable is, that these Books which they thus consumed to Ashes, were of so great a Price, no less than *five Myriads of Silver*, (for so 'tis in the Greek, and I do not know why it should not be rendered so by us. This Translation is more exact than [fifty thousand Pieces of Silver]) These *Ephesians* shew'd the Truth and Sincerity of their Conversion by this one generous Instance, by parting with that which cost them so dear, and by which they could have gain'd so much.

So much for this Notable Passage in the *Acts*, which is as great and Convincing a Proof, of the Matter in Hand as could be offer'd, and therefore I thought good to insist upon it. I might go on, and let you see out of *Ecclesiastical History*, that *Conjurers* were not able to play their Magical Pranks in the presence of Holy Christians. *Tertullian* and *Lactantius* agree, that the Heathen Gods, or rather their Priests, complained that their Rites could not be performed so long as any Christians were in their Temples, or present at their Sacrifices. The Astrologers and Soothsayers of *Alexandria* cried out, that they could do little or nothing in their Wicked Art till *Athanasius*, that Good Father, was removed out of the City. And 'tis the Universal Testimony of Writers, that when Christianity waxed Great in the World; Magick dwindled, and grew less and less. It will, I think, be confessed by all Men, that the Transactions of the Devil, with Witches and Persons of a resembling Quality, are neither so frequent nor so powerful as they have been heretofore. The Light of the Gospel dispels these Works of Darkness. This we find foretold by the Prophet *Micah* concerning the *Messias*, and his appearing in the Flesh, *I will cut off Witchcrafts out of thy Hand*, Ch. 5. ver. 12. And it follows in the next Verse, *Thy graven Images also will I cut off, and thy standing Images out of the midst of thee, and thou shalt no more worship the Work of thy Hands*. Which reminds

minds me of the next thing contained in the words.

Fifthly, By *the Works of the Devil*, we must needs understand *Idolatry* and *Polytheism*; than which there was nothing more serviceable towards the promoting his Kingdom in the World. I grant, that the Pagan Priests were no Losers by Idolatry, yea, that they were Gainers by it; but 'tis absurd to infer thence, (as I have shew'd before in the like Case) that it was not *the Work of the Devil*, that it was not set up and managed by him to advance his Interest in the World. Therefore you may know how to judge of that Gentleman's Doctrine, who saith, That * *the* * *Sir Tho.* *setting up many Gods among the Gentiles was only P. B's Es-* *for the Priests Gain, because the Sacrifices and says.* *Worship done to them were so profitable to them; whereas the Worship of one God would not have brought in so much Gain. This was the sole Clause of Idolatry*, saith he. Still he is wonderfully civil and obliging, extreamly courteous and friendly to the Great Enemy of Mankind, and will not harbour any ill thoughts of him, either as to the *Pagan Oracles*; and I suppose as to *Sorcery* and *Magick*, and we are sure as to *Idolatry*. He is perswaded, (but hold there, I do not know that, for it may be he speaks not his inward Sense, I may rather say he tells us) that those most Cursed Inventions and Designs of that Hellish Impostor were none of his, and that they were only contrived by the Covetous Priests to get

a Penny. I see the Devil is a very Innocent and Harmless Creature, according to some Persons; it will be well for them if they find him so. But we have more reason to believe that he is very Spightful, Malicious and Destructive, and that he not only seeks for, but makes use of all Occurrences and Opportunities to endamage Mankind, and that he is pregnant in his Inventions to that purpose. And such we may justly reckon these to be which I have mentioned, and therefore I take them to be from another Spring than what some imagine. It is evident that they are properly the *Devil's Works*, and carry his Mark upon them: particularly as to *Idolatry* or *Polytheism*, it is plain that it is of his setting up. *Ye shall be as Gods*, was the early Insinuation and Suggestion of that Evil Spirit to our first Parents in Paradise: The Notion of *being Gods* strangely wrought upon them, and procured our Misery. This was the first Temptation of Satan, and is the first step to *Idolatry*, which of all his Works may justly be stiled his *Chief Master-piece*. It is true, the wisest of the Pagans asserted One God, and knew that there were not Different Deities, but the generality of them thought and believed otherwise; and the Philosophers themselves complied with these Vain Worshipers, and so confirmed the People in their Error. Nothing is more evident, than that the greater part of the World heretofore declared for a Multiplicity of Gods. The Idea of God, like some great

Mirror

Mirror, was broken in pieces by the Heathens, and in every one of these they saw a Deity, or fancied they did so. Every Attribute of God, was a Distinct God. But this was more pardonable; they proceeded to worship the heavenly Bodies, and ascrib'd Life and Divinity to them. Nay, they ransack'd for Gods and Goddesses below as well as above: they found them in the Earth, and in the Deep, as well as in the Heavens. The Number of these Deities had reached to thirty thousand in * *Hesiod's* Time; and they were almost as many more afterwards; for, if *Varro's* Computation be right, there were above that Number of Gods and Goddesses worshipp'd by the Europeans alone. Nor would one way of worshipping them serve their turn. There were as many various Rites and different Sacrifices, as there were Deities; the Solemnities which were performed to one, would not suffice another. Nothing forsooth would please *Ceres* but a Sow, nothing would serve *Ascalanus* but a Cock, and the most acceptable Offering to *Neptune* was a Bull. The Pagans fancied that one God delighted in this Oblation, and another in that; and therefore to be sure to please them they had Particular Services and Diversities of Worship for them. *Egypt* was the most fruitful Soil for this; it furnish'd the rest of the World with Gods. The Grecians (who afterwards stock'd the Romans) took the Names of their Gods, their Temples, their Altars, their Images, and most of their

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* Teis 38
μύητοι ἐν-
ον ἐπὶ
χθονὶ 100.
λυδοί, αἰγυ-
Δαίμονες
αὐτά, τοῖς
ἐν λαοῖς
μερὶ πλεον
ἀνθρώπων.

* In Euterpe.
† Lib. 22.
c. 43.
|| Lib. 17.

Superstitious Ceremonies from that Country, as * *Herodotus* testifieth. And with him agrees † *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who positively tells us, that all Idolatry came from Egypt. And || *Strabo* and others acquaint us, that All sorts of Living Creatures were worshipped by the Inhabitants of that place. That Sheep, and such-like Animals, had divine Respect paid to them, is attested by the most Ancient and Undoubted Annals of Holy Scripture: for it is said, in *Gen. 46. 34.* that a Shepherd is an Abomination to an Egyptian, viz. because the Egyptians did not kill or eat Sheep, or such-like Animals, but look'd upon them as Sacred. Hence *Moses* saith, * *Ex. 8. 26.* * Shall we sacrifice the Abomination of the Egyptians before their Eyes, and will they not stone us? i. e. If we sacrifice Sheep or Oxen, Creatures that they worship, and abominably idolize, they will be incensed against us. They abhorred the Jews, because they were generally Shepherds, and fed upon that sort of Animals, and used them in Sacrifice. And this, it is probable, was the reason why, when *Joseph* entertain'd his Brethren at Dinner, they did eat asunder, because it was an Abomination to the Egyptians to eat Bread with the Hebrews, *Gen. 43. 32.* For (as *Onkelos* here adds) the Hebrews eat those Animals which the Egyptians worship. And for this Cause the *Israelites* lived apart in the Land of *Goshen*. And besides, they were not permitted to Sacrifice all the time they were in Egypt, as appears from those words of God to *Moses*,
Exod.

Exod. 9. 13. Let the People go that they may serve me; i. e. that they may Sacrifice unto me, as appears from *ch. 10. 25.* which implies, that they were not permitted to Sacrifice before; and the Reason was, because the Egyptians would not let them kill, and offer in the Fire those Animals which they had so great a regard for, and even Deified. So besotted were these Gentile Adorers, that not only Irrational but Inanimate Creatures were deified by them. You might have seen the Greatest Men, to whom others bowed and did lowly obeisance, prostrate themselves to Stocks and Stones, to Wood, and Brass, and Iron, shaped into Gods; and by the Art of Masons, Carpenters and Smiths, made Deities. This was the Idolatry which obtain'd so much in the World, this was the Capital Enormity of Mankind, this was the Main Guilt which they were polluted with, as * *Tertullian* call'd it. Our Learned Dr. *Hammond* thinks this is meant by the Apostle in *Rom. 8. 20.* The creature was made subject to Vanity; for he takes *Vanitas* for the Gentile World, and *Vanity* for Idolatry, as this is called very frequently in the Old Testament. The Heathen World was every where enslaved, subjected to this Vile Sin, though not willingly, i. e. as this Author expounds it; the Devil forced them to it, otherwise he would not be appeased.

But this gross Folly and Madness was soon disgraced and discountenanced by the introducing of Christianity, and even in Egypt, the Mother and Nurse of all Idolatry, where

* Principale crimen generis humani, summus seculi reatus. De Idololat. cap. 1.

Garlicks and Onions (no very fragrant Deities) had Veneration paid them, and Cats and Crocodiles were good fashionable Gods; where they worshipp'd all things in Nature, where every thing living or dead was a Deity, even here this Prodigious Idolatry was destroy'd by Christ's Coming; for upon St. Mark's preaching there, and at Alexandria especially, Images were soon demolished, the Counterfeit Gods were thrown away, and the only True God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were worshipp'd with an unanimous Veneration. At Rome it self, and even in Nero's Palace, and in all the Territories belonging to the Roman Emperors, there were some to be found who discover'd their hatred and detestation of Idols, and adored the True God in Spirit and in Truth. But the Pagan Worship had got such deep rooting in the Hearts of men, and had by long Custom and Prescription so gained their good Will and Approbation, that almost four Centuries of Years had passed after Christ's Incarnation, before it could be universally extirpated, and the True Worship of God become the Religion of the Roman Empire. Constantine the Great made the first remarkable and generous Essay towards this Glorious Work; in his Reign it was that Idolatry received its greatest mortification: and he was succeeded by many Worthies that imitated him. *Let all the Images be pluck'd up from their Seats,* was * Honorius's Constitution; and by the Edicts of Theodosius

* In Cod.
Theodos.
l. 16. Tit.
xi.

sius and Valentinian, the Idol Temples were all demolished, and Idolatry every where in their Dominions destroyed, and all False Gods discharged. Thus the Blessed Work went on with great Life and Vigour, being set forward by Royal Hands, and those Hands being strengthened by the Son of God. Therefore the Pious Father said well, * * * *Επειδὴ ὅταν τὸ πᾶν τὸ ἰδωλολάτρειον καὶ τὸ ἀσεβεῖν ἐκλείβῃ, καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν θεὸν ἐκείνῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀποκαταστήσῃ, τότε ὁ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκείνου, &c.* *When the Madness of Idolatry and Impiety possessed the World, and the Knowledge of the True God was banish'd, to whom did it belong to instruct the World aright concerning the true worship of the Father, but to the Son? And in the same place he farther sets forth the vast spreading of Idolatry over the World, and Christianity's more powerful destroying of it. And you shall find that this Glorious Atchievement of Christ in crushing Idolatry, which was grown so prevalent every where, is made the great proof and Confirmation of the Truth of the Christian Religion; and is insisted upon with mighty Force and Reason by all the Antient Apologists for Christianity. And that this was one great Design of our Saviour's manifesting himself in the World, is evident from many Promises and Prophecies in the Old Testament concerning the Messiah and his Kingdom; as that of the Evangelical Prophets * *They shall cast their Idols of Silver, and their Idols of Gold, to the Batts, and to the Moles,* (to the Moles, fit company you will say for them that have Eyes and see not, as Idols are described by the Psalmist.)*

* Isa. 2. 20

The meaning of this Prophetick Writer is, that the enlightned and converted Gentiles shall renounce their Beloved Idolatry, and with indignation throw their Idols and Images into the dark Corners of the Earth. Whereas before they placed them in the Light, and set them up to be seen, now they shall be ashamed of them, and being ashamed of them shall hide them, and cast them into those obscure Holes where Bats and Moles lie hid under Ground. To the same

* Jer. 16. purpose is that of the Prophet * *Jeremiah*,
19. 20. *The Gentiles shall come unto thee from the Ends of the Earth, and shall say, Our Fathers inherited Lies and Vanities, (which are terms in the*

* *Isa. 28. 15. Scripture-stile to expresse False Gods) but*
* 44. 20. *we will reject them, for shall a Man make*

Jer. 13. 25. Gods to himself that are no Gods? And in fe-
Hos. 7. 1. *veral places, both Isaiah and this Prophet in-*
Am. 2. 4. *sist upon this, that the Messias should bring*
Rom. 1. 25. *the Gentiles out of the Darkness of Idolatry*

to the Light of the Gospel, and the Acknowledgment of the true God. In
Ezek. 37. 23. *there is another Prediction of the like Nature, Israel shall not defile themselves any more with Idols, nor with their Detestable Things: Which latter Clause is but an Ex-*

plication of the former, for Shikkutzim and
* *Shalsheles* (which are the words in the Original and the Septuagint) are frequently used to signify Idols, which are Detestable in the Eyes of God. And Zephaniab foretels, that

* Zeph. 2. *The Lord will famish all the Gods of the Earth:*
11. *which*

which is a very remarkable Passage, and alludes to the fond Conceipt of the Pagans, which is mention'd in Deut. 32. 38. that *their Gods did eat the Fat of their Sacrifices, and drank the Wine of their Drink-Offerings*. To which it is probable God himself was pleased to allude in Psal. 50. 13. *Will I eat the Flesh of Bulls, or drink the Blood of Goats?* And in Isa. 43. 24. *Neither hast thou filled me with the Fat of thy Sacrifices*. It was a Notion among the Heathen Worshipers, that the Gods were nourish'd with the Steam of the Sacrifices; and in relation to that, the Prophet's Prediction is, that those Gods shall be famished: they shall not, according to the fond Notion of the Gentile World, be any longer fed from the Altars, they shall be starved when Christianity takes place amongst Men, for the Pagan Sacrifices shall then be laid aside, and Idolatry cashier'd. All these Prophecies were plainly accomplished, when our Saviour came and commissioned his Apostles to preach the Gospel to the whole World. This threw down the Idolatrous Images, and in many places the very Idols themselves fell down prostrate on the Ground, and, as it were, worship'd the Holy Jesus.

But as Christ gave a fatal Blow to Idolatrous Worship, so I am more particularly to prove (under this Head) that he did confound the Worshipping of Devils, which had been a thing very fashionable in the World before Christ came into it. I say, the Wor-

shipping of Devils, the highest Strain of Idolatry, was confounded by our Saviour's appearing: for it seems the Devil could not be content to cheat the World with his Oracles, to enter into Mens Bodies, and to make Leagues and Contracts with Persons, but, (as an effort above all these) he affected to be worshipped and adored as a God. This is confess'd by *Porphyrius* in his Book of *Abstinence from Animals*: And *Eusebius* and *St. Augustin*, and other Fathers make use of what he saith there against the Pagans, whom they undertake to confute. That the Gods whom the Gentiles sometimes worship'd, were *Devils*, is also the acknowledgment of *Trismegistus* in his *Asclepius*. And it is owned by all the Wise and Understanding Heads among them, that the Service paid to many of their Gods was a kind of Adoring the Devil. It is well known that these Worshipers could, by certain Magick Spells make these Infernal Fiends come to their Images when they pleased: And when they had brought them thither, they worship'd these wicked Ghosts to appease their Fury, and that they might do them no harm. Besides, the Particulars which I insisted on before, do sufficiently evince the present Point; for the consulting the Devil when he spake in Oracles, and dealing with him by practising Witchcraft and Sorcery, were a palpable forsaking of the True God, and setting up the Devil for a God: These were giving
Divine

Divine Honour to the Prince of Darkness. And, which is most convincing, do not the infallible Oracles of Scripture expressly tell us, that the Idolatrous Jews sacrificed unto *Devils*, not to God? Deut. 32. 17. which (to confirm the Truth and Certainty of it) is repeated in *Psal.* 106. 37. *They sacrificed their Sons and Daughters unto Devils*. And if I be not mistaken, the Psalmist had before refer'd to this abominable Practice, ver. 28. *They ate the Sacrifices of the Dead*, i. e. (as I conceive) the Sacrifices that were offer'd to the *Manes*, and to the *Stygian Jupiter* or *Pluto* the God of the Dead: These are meant here by *Zibche methim*, the *Sacrifices of the Dead*. I know some Writers have lessen'd and minc'd this Idolatry, as well as that before spoken of, and tell us that the Pagans all along worship'd *God*, though under a false Representation. It is partly true, that the best of the Heathens did so, but others did not: and as for those that defend the contrary, they are confuted by downright Authority from Scripture, which acquaints us, that they worship'd even *Devils*: for sacrificing to them, is worshipping them. If they can evade this, let them. I could add, that the *Hebrew Masters* were of Opinion that some of the Jews worship'd the *Devil* in shape of a *Goat* in Woods and Deserts, because the word *Sagrir* is both *Demon* and *Hircus*, *Lev.* 17. 7. *2 Chron.* 11. 15. *Isa.* 13. 21. & 34. 14. And 'tis likely this worshipping of *Satyrs* was a piece of Devilish Idolatry which
they

* Diodor. Sic. l. 1. they learnt and brought from * Egypt, where 'twas practis'd. But this we are certain of from a more sure word, (as you heard) that the Devils themselves were adored by them. And concerning the Gentiles Worship, the Apostle is peremptory, 1 Cor 10. 20. *The things which the Gentiles sacrificed, they sacrificed to Devils, and not to God.* Whereas the Greeks used to call the Victims or Beasts which they offer'd, *εἰδωλά*; the Apostle on the contrary plainly stiles them, *εἰδωλόθυτα*, things sacrificed to Idols, 1 Cor. 8. 1, 4, 7. & 10. 19, 28. In which places Idols are no other than *Diabolick Spirits* which inhabited in those Idols.

But Christ by his coming soon put a Period to this Hellish Usage. When the Devil was so impudent as to make that offer to him, *All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me*, he presently rebuked the bold Spirit, by alledging what was written, not only in the Law, but in all Mens Hearts, that they should worship the Lord their God, and serve him only. And by the whole System of his Heavenly Doctrine he built up this Truth, and pull'd down the Contrary, and all the least Tendencies to it. After our Saviour left this Earth, his Apostles and Followers managed the same Work, and endeavour'd by all means to run down this Curfed Project of the Devil, viz. of his being worship'd. As a particular Effect of their Care to baffle this Design, we read, that the Primitive Christians solemnly

vowed

vowed at their Baptism to renounce the Devil and all his Works. By which, * faith Tertul- * De Spec-
lian, is principally meant Idolatry, yea, and the worst kind of Idolatry, a giving Divine Honour and Worship to those that are Devils, and not Gods, a Sin very common at Christ's coming into the World, the greatest part of it at that time living in this Vile Practice: therefore, saith this Father, this was made a chief part of the Baptifmal Vow, that the Profelytes and Converts to Christianity, should in a solemn manner bid Defiance to that detestable Enormity of the Heathens. Conformably to this our Learned † Catechist † Dr. Ham-
in reply to that Question, *What is meant by the Devil and all his Works?* answers thus, *Certainly the Principal thing here renounced, is the False Devil, i. e. Devils, which the Heathen World did worship so universally before Christ's Time, and against which the Catechists (who prepared all for Baptism) did first labour to fortify their Disciples, and are for that cause called in the Ancient Church Exorcists, as those that cast out these Devils.* Very near a-kin to This, is that which is added next in the Solemn Vow at Baptism, viz. *The renouncing the Vain Pomp and Glory of the World:* For that word *Pomp* in its Original meaning, refers to the Idolatrous Shows of the Heathens, it properly signifying sending of some thing, and carrying it up and down to be seen and exposed: so that hereby are denoted those Splendid Sights and Stately Processions in use of old among the Heathens; at which Solemn Times the Images,

† Dr. Ham-
mont,
Pract. Cat.
1.6. Sect. 3.
p. 375.

ges, the Thrones, the Ornaments, and all the Habiliments, as also the Oblations and Sacrifices which were to be offered to their Gods, were carried openly through the Streets, and Honour was done to these false Deities. The Ancient Fathers of the Church very strictly caution'd their Flock against these Devilish Customs; and particularly when they admitted Converts into the Church by Baptism, they took care to fortify them against them. Hence may be observed the Antiquity of the Form and Office of Baptism, which our Church makes use of at this Day. The solemn *Renunciation of the Devil and his Works, and of the Pomp and Vanity of the World*, is as old as Primitive Christianity. Yea, some Learned Men have thought, that the Apostle St. Peter alludes to it, in his 1 *Epist. Chap. 3. v. 21*, and that the *Answer of a good Conscience* there, refers to the manner of *Interrogation and Answer* used in Baptism. But this by the by. That which you are chiefly to take notice of is, that whereas the Wicked Ghosts and Dæmons were ambitious of Divine Adoration, it pleased God so to bless and succeed the Christian Religion, that in a short time this wicked Usage wore away, this cursed *Work of the Devil* came to nought, the Christian Faith being, by the Wonderful Providence of Heaven, propagated so universally through the World.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, I conceive, that by the *Works of the Devil* are meant here especially those Sins which have most of his Image upon them, and wherein men more immediately and directly resemble that Accursed Spirit; those Works which the Devil chiefly tempts men to, and which he himself is observed to practise most. As first, *Malice and Envy* are the proper Guise and Character of Devils; for these lapsed Spirits being irrecoverably damned themselves, are fired with Revenge and Malice against all Mankind; being thrust down from Heaven, they endeavour to hinder us from coming thither. Wherefore *Envy* (which is a Grieving at the Good and Welfare of others) sporting with mens Infirmities, Exposing them to Obloquy and Disgrace, delighting in the miseries of those we affect not, rejoycing at the Evils which befall others; these have all an Impress of the *Devilish Spirit* on them. Our Saviour pronounced concerning the *Pharisees*, whom he found to be envious and malicious, that *the Works of their Father they would do*, plainly giving us to understand, that these Vices are more eminently *Diabolical*. But the Laws of Christianity strictly enjoin us, * *to lay aside* * 1 Pet. 2. 1. all *Malice and Envy*, and command us to † *rejoice with them that rejoice, to weep with them that weep, and || to be kindly affectioned one towards another*, and to delight in the Welfare and Happiness of our Brethren. Again, *Rage and Passion, Bitter Strife and Contention*, may

† Rom. 12. 15.
— V. 10.

may be justly ranked among *the Devils Works*. Schism and Faction are from him, who was the first Mutineer and Rebel against Heaven, and ever since delights in Wars and Tumults, and loves to ruffle and embroil the World, and raise Tempests and Storms in it. But Christ Jesus, our blessed Peace-maker and Reconciler, came to remove all Grounds of Difference, and to introduce Universal Love and Charity. And Christianity it self is furnish'd with peaceable and healing Principles, and offers all the Motives and Incentives to it imaginable. The Laws of Christ are fully set against all undue Passion and Choler, and there are in no Institution whatsoever so severe Prohibitions of this Diabolical Temper; * *Let all Bitterness, and Wrath, and Anger, be put away from you.* † *Let not the Sun go down on your Wrath; neither give place to the Devil.* Where we learn, that the Fire of Hell burns in *Angry Breasts*; the Brimstone of the Bottomless Pit may be smelt there. He that is overcome of *Passion*, gives place to the *Devil*.

I add in the next place, that *Pride* is perfectly *Diabolical*. It was this which first infected *Lucifer* and his Fellow-Angels, and thrust them down from their Heavenly Dignity, and made them (what they now are) *Devils*. But our Saviour on the contrary throws down *Pride*, and exalts *Humility*, and commends it to all his Followers from his own Example, *Learn of me, for I am Meek and Lowly.* This is a right Christian Temper,

* Ephes 4.

31.

† V. 26, 27.

Temper, and is Heavenly and God-like; and who so fosters it in his Breast is beloved of God, and all Good Men. *Reproaching* and *Reviling* are no less *the Devil's Works*, and thence he hath his Name given him in the Greek: A *Devil* and a *Reviler* are terms convertible. It is the Office and Employ of the Evil Spirit, first to raise, and then to keep up Slanders and Contumelious Reports. But behold, our blessed Master hath left us Rules diametrically opposite to these Practices. * *We must put away from us all Evil-speaking.* † *We are not suffer'd to revile, though we be reviled: Yea, we are to be possessors of that Charity which thinketh no Evil.* ‡ 1 Cor.

To proceed, *Lying* and *Falshood*, *Craft* and *Treachery*, most sensibly discover the *Devilish* Nature. These Windings and Crooked Courses are the Goings of the Serpent. We are told, that *the Devil put it into Judas's Heart to betray Christ*, that we may thence infer, that Treachery and Perfidiousness are more immediately from that False Spirit: And for this reason chiefly our Saviour doth once and again call this Mock-Apostle || a *Devil*. But certainly nothing is more opposite to Christianity, than this base and forbidden Vice. And Christ and his Apostles, both by Precept and Example, commend Fidelity, Truth and Sincerity, and disallow of all Guile and Hypocrisy, and herein shew themselves opposite to the Wicked Spirit, who is a *Liar*, and the Father of Lies, John 8. 44.

In

In the same place it is said, *He was a Murderer from the beginning*; which suggests to us another Particular. He began betimes to exert his cruel Nature: in the first setting out of Mankind, he stir'd up *Cain* to kill his Brother; and ever since this savage and bloody Spirit hath shew'd it self in the World. It is the inseparable Property of the *Roaring Lion* to seek whom he may devour. He is the Destroyer, * *Apollyon* is his Name, and he acts agreeably to it. As for his Violence and Cruelty towards mens Bodies, in continual haunting and worrying the *Possessed*, I have said something already in this Discourse; but it is another sort of Cruelty which I am now to speak of, of which I will propound these two notable Instances: First, *The Humane Sacrifices* which were offered in most parts of the World. Secondly, *The Bloody Prizes of the Gladiators*, which prevail'd in great Cities, chiefly at *Rome*, the Mistress and Governess of the World: And I will briefly hint to you how the Christian Religion destroy'd these Works of Satan.

First, I say, *Humane Slaughter* and *Sacrifices* were no unusual things in the World. The Evil Spirit taught Parents to make a Burnt-Offering of their Children unto *Moloch*, to sacrifice them alive in the Valley of *Hinnom*; so that the Name of Hell, *Gebenna*, takes its denomination from that bloody Usage. This *Moloch* was the God of the *Ammonites*; but it appears from *Jer.* 7. 31. and *Psal.* 106. 37. that even the *Jews*, God's

Select

Select People, burnt their Sons and Daughters to this Idol; nay, although they had been particularly cautioned against it by an early Prohibition, *Levit* 18. 21. I know some of the *Rabbins hold, that the Children were not burnt or killed, but that two Fires being made, the Priests drew them between both, and that was all. But this is a Rabbinical Fancy, for 'tis clear from that place in the fore-mentioned Psalm, that the Children who were offered to *Moloch*, were slain and burnt. *They sacrificed their Sons and Daughters: Jisbechu, Mastarunt, they killed them:* And therefore it immediately follows, *They shed Innocent Blood, even the Blood of their Sons, and of their Daughters; and the Land was polluted with Blood.* Hereupon these Idolatrous Rites are called *πνευσμοὶ πλετοὶ*, *Wisd.* 14. 23. i. e. Ceremonies that were accompanied with the Slaughter and Death of their Children. But I think I can guess at the Reason why some of the Rabbins conceited that this *passing through the Fire* was not attended with the Death of the Persons, but was rather Purgative than Mortal. The Occasion of this Opinion might be this; There was a very old Custom of passing through the Fire without killing: For those that swore to clear themselves of a supposed Guilt, undertook likewise to purge themselves, and clear their Innocence, by going through, or over, or between certain Fires, or hot glowing Coals, or Irons; and if they came off unhurt, they were believ'd to be guiltless.

Z

The

* Solomon
Jarchi, D.
Kimchi,
Maimonides.

The *Grecians* of old used to swear and purge themselves from Crimes, by creeping on their Hands through some Fire, or by holding a red hot Iron in their Hands: For thus one in * *Sophocles's Antigona* offer'd to swear and clear himself. St. † *Cyril* treats of this old Piece of Superstition: And our own Histories tell us, that our Ancestors in this Island were no strangers to such a kind of *Ordeal*. This perhaps might give some Jewish Writers occasion to imagine, that this kind of *Fiery Tryal* is spoken of, when the Scripture saith, *The Children pass'd through the Fire to Moloch*; and to think it was only a Consecrating or Initiating the Persons into the Pagan Rites, a Previous Purgation or *Februation*, as || *Vossius* calls it, (for he holds they were not burnt, but only pass'd between two Fires; though in another place he is of another opinion.) But this is a gross Mistake, for the fore-named Text informs us, that it was a *Bloody Rite*; and accordingly *Philo*, a Learned and Sagacious Jew, as well as *Eusebius* and other Christian Fathers, assert it to be of that Nature, and explode the contrary Opinion.

But who hath not read of the Barbarous Effusion of Humane Blood on the Altars of the *Puinims*? The *Jews*, it is probable, had it from them, and particularly from the *Canaanites*, who (as we are ascertain'd from *Deut. 12. 31.*) were infected with this Cruelty: *Their Sons and their Daughters they burnt in the Fire to their Gods.* And an impious Ex-

ample

* *Hæc*
† *Conr.*
Julian.
l. 1c.

|| *De Idolat.* l. 2.
c. 9.

ample of this we have in 2 *Kings* 3. 27. where we read, that the King of *Moab* offer'd up the King of *Edom's* Son (the Heir of the Kingdom) for a Burnt-Offering. These Heathens were not content with Sacrificing of *Beasts*, but they must needs offer *Humane Sacrifices* to their *Dæmons*. And it is strange to see how this Vile Usage spread it self, and prevail'd among all Nations. That it did so among the old *Grecians*, is testi-

fied by several Authors * *Prophane* and † *Ecclesiastical*: Particularly we are told by || *Porphyrius*, that the *Lacedemonians* used this Cruelty, and sacrificed a Living Man to *Mars*. The rest of the * *Grecians* did the same, or the like: Yea, * *Suid.* in this Practice was Authorized by the Oracle it self, which ordered the *Greeks* to Sacrifice *Agamemnon's* Daughter to *Diana*, to appease her Goddessship. The Persons thus Sacrificed, were called *καταδύματα*, Purgatory or Expiatory Oblations; to which some Critics have thought the Apostle alludes, in 1 *Cor. 4. 13.* where he saith, that himself, and the rest of the Christians of that Time, were *καταδύματα*, Devoted, Accursed, Abominable in the Eyes of the World, and destined for Slaughter. Among the *Trojans* likewise sacrificing of humane Blood was in use, as we learn from *Homer* and *Virgil*. So among the *Persians* Men and Women were usually kill'd in Sacrifice to *Mithra*. How-

Z 2

ever,

* *Virgil. Æneid. 2. Diodor. Sicul.*
† *Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 6.*
|| *De Abstin. lib. 2.*

† J. Mart ever, great † Torments were to be under-
 Apol. 2. gone by all that were entred into the Rites
 Tertul. de of their Worship: No less than fourscore
 Præscript. kinds of Punishments they were to suffer
 Suidas in first. That the *Africans*, and particularly the
 Miſſæ. *Carthaginians*, sacrificed Children to their

* Diodor. Siculus, Ju-
 fin. Tertul. Apol. c. 4.
 Minutius Felix, Lactanti-
 us, lib. 1. c. 21. Euseb.
 Præp. Evang. 4.

† In vita Pelopidæ.

* Heliodor. l. 9.

† Evag. Eccl. Hist. l.
 6. c. 33.

|| Mela l. 2. c. 1.

* Porphy. de Abst. n.

† Curt. Hist. l. 4.

this Bloody Folly. Nor were the Old Inhabit-
 ants of this Island, where we live free from
 this Wild and Extravagant Practice. The
British Druids held, that the Wrath of their
 Gods could not be appeased in some Cases
 but with the Life of Man; and accordingly
 (as * *Dio Cassius* and † *Tacitus* report) the
 People of this Isle, led on by their Priests,
 frequently offer'd these Barbarous Sacrifices.

* In Ne-
 rone.
 † Annal.
 14.

* Vossius de Idololat. l. 2.
 c. 5. Selden de D's Syr.
 Syntag. l. c. 6. Grotius de
 Satisfact. And. Deut. 18.
 10. Dr. Stillingfleet of
 Christ's Satisfaction

* Writers: Nay, † *Plutarch*
 tells us, that those amongst
 them that had no Children,
 bought some of poor People
 to Sacrifice them. This was
 the Practice of the * *Ethiopi-
 ans*, † *Saracens*, || *Scythians*,
 * *Phœnicians* and † *Tyrians*. Our
 Neighbours, the Ancient *Gauls*
 and *Germans* (as *Cæsar de Bello
 Gall. l. 6.* relates) were guilty of

Thus you may be satisfied from divers Au-
 thors, and many more than I
 have named, (for this I own
 to be a brief Collection made
 from them, as I see * Others
 have done before me) that
 the Custom of *Sacrificing Men*
 did

did almost universally obtain in the World.
 Nothing was more common with them, than
 to offer up an Innocent Person to the Gods
 in time of some Imminent Danger, to paci-
 fy their Wrath and remove the Publick
 Calamity. This Example of Devilish Cru-
 elty was very frequent among the Pagans
before our Saviour's Coming, and a while
after: But as soon as Christianity had got
 any footing in the World, it began to disap-
 pear. After Christ had offer'd himself a Sa-
 crifice on the Cross, and his Holy Religion
 was propagated, this Custom of *Sacrificing
 Men* ceased in a great part of the World. It
 is true, this Cruel and Tyrannical Sway of
 the Evil Spirit is not yet wholly destroyed.
 The Sacrificing of Children to the * Devil, * Hackluit,
 was in use not long ago among the *Americans*. Purchas,
 We read of the Dreadful and Astonishing
 Apparitions of Satan to the People of *Flo-
 rida* and *Brasil*, and other Countries where
 Paganism is still in its Meridian. These
 Devil-Worshippers complain, that he cuts
 and tears their Flesh, and miserably torments
 their poor Carcasses. Indeed those that give
 an Account of the *Americans* and *Indians*,
 (as *Acoſta* and others) do constantly take
 notice, that flaying and cutting their Bodies
 are usual in their Worship. But it is to be
 hoped, that this and all other Acts of Cru-
 elty will at last be abandoned, when the
 Christian Faith shall arrive among those
 Bloody Men. We are to bless God, that
 Z 3 there

there are any Effects of it already in those parts of the World, and to pray that there may be yet a larger and more vigorous Influence of the Laws of Christianity, which are against nothing more than *Cruelty* and *Bloodshed*.

Secondly, The *Bloody Spectacles of the Gladiators* were no small instance of the *Devil's Empire* in the Pagan World, which delighted in Slaughter, and made it one of their Publick Sports to see Men kill one another upon the Theater. It was usual not only to expose Men to fight with Beasts, and at last to be torn by them, but they kept others to fight with their own Kind, and to dispatch one another. Of the former

* In Spectaculis primum deliciarum genus est mori homines, impleri ferarum alvos humanis carnibus, cum circumstantium volupate & conspectientium lætitia. De Gubernator. lib. 6.

Bishop *Salvian*; * "In those Spectacles, saith he, the main thing that pleased them was, to feast their Eyes with the slaughter of Men, and to see Wild Beasts gorge themselves with Humane Flesh, and that with an incredible Satisfaction and Delight. This was the Lot of some Condemned Malefactors, and of some that were taken Captive in War. These who had fought with *Men*, were now compell'd to fight with *Beasts*, and so to lose their Lives. And some think that the Blessed *St. Paul* was put upon this sharp Service

Service at *Ephesus*, for they take that to be the meaning of his words, when he saith, *He fought with Beasts at Ephesus*, 1 Cor. 15. 32. i. e. not with *Wicked Men* (as it is generally interpreted) who are Irrational and Savage Creatures, and Men only in Shape, but really with *Wild Beasts*, with whom he was condemned to fight for his Life, this being the Punishment inflicted on him. This is the Interpretation which *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Ambrose* give of the Words: and it will not seem strange, if we duly consider these following things.

1. When there is a plain and express place of Scripture, 'tis not safe to invade it by flying to Metaphors. Which is the Case here: *St. Paul* saith, *he fought with Beasts*; and we may very well understand it in the plain and obvious Sense of the Words; wherefore we are to chuse this Literal Sense before a Metaphorical one: Especially if we consider,

2. That this was in those Times and afterwards an usual Punishment inflicted on the *Christians*. * *Christianos ad Leones*, was the * *Tertul.* Peoples Cry: Though, I grant, that *meerly to* Apol. c. 40 *be thrown to the Beasts* was another thing; there was no fighting then, they were thrown to them to be torn in pieces presently, and to be devoured, as that Glorious Martyr † *Ignatius* was. But Others were exposed to fight † *Euseb.* Eccl. Hist. 1. 3. c. 33. with them, and that on the Publick Theaters; and they were armed for that purpose,

and if they could get the mastery of the Beasts (of which the Instances are very rare) they were set free: which known Custom and Practice it is likely the Apostle's *ἡμεῖς* in the forenamed place, may be well applied.

3. It is remarkably said [*at Ephesus*]; for in this Celebrated Place, that Bloody sort of Prizes was very usual, as we are informed by *Artemidorus* and others.

|| Oneiro-
crit. l. i.
c. 9.

4. What you read to have been the Consequent of the great Uproar against St. Paul at Ephesus, the dragging his Companions into the Theater, Acts 19. 29, 31. seems to have a particular relation to this very thing.

5. Those words in 1 Cor. 4. 9. *We are made a Spectacle (ὁράματα) unto the World*, may be thought to be an Allusion to this his fighting on the Publick Stage; especially if you mind the words immediately following, *God hath set forth us as 'twere appointed to Death*, designed by our Adversaries to that Fatal Combate

6. This is more than intimated to the *Corinthians*, 2 Cor. 1. 8. where he acquaints them with his Trouble which came to him in Asia, (of which *Ephesus* was the Chief City) how he was press'd out of measure above strength, in so much that he despaired even of Life: And in the next Verse he tells them, that he had the Sentence of Death in himself: And then in the next words he thankfully acknowledgeth God's Hand in delivering him
from

from so great a Death. All which Passages seem to refer very plainly to this *Deadly Encounter with the Beasts at Ephesus*: Or at least it appears hence, (as the Learned Dr. *Hammond* and Dr. *Lightfoot* acknowledg) that St. Paul was designed, appointed by the Multitude to this Punishment, although God disappointed their Bloody Designs. If it be objected, that the Apostle makes no mention of this among his Dangerous and Bloody Adventures which he particularly recounts in 2 Cor. 11. 23, &c. This Answer may suffice, that the Apostle underwent more than he particularly sets down; but in those general words [*in Deaths oft*] he comprehends all: Yea, these very words may particularly refer to his fighting with Wild Beasts, which certainly had been attended with Death, unless the Divine Providence had in an extraordinary manner interposed. So that this Objection is of no Force, and cannot hinder us from taking the words in their proper meaning. In brief, I will say this, although perhaps none of these forementioned Texts singly taken, may be thought sufficient to induce us to a belief of what I have propounded; yet if we consider them altogether, I think they will not fail to render it very probable. This is all I suggest, leaving every one to determine as they please. Though St. Paul was deliver'd from so great and imminent a Death, and that by no less than a Miracle perhaps, yet in these Bloody Com-
bates

*Præclara
ædilitas /
unus Leo,
ducenti
bestiarii.
Cic. Orat.
pro Sest.

bates the Beasts generally got the better : yea, sometimes one Lion was hard enough for * two hundred Men ; and when this happen'd, it was a Worthy and Noble Prize indeed, for they always esteemed these Games according to the Number of the Persons that were dispatched by the Beasts : when the most men were killed upon the Spot, the sport was at the highest, which shews how *Devilish* it was.

But the *latter sort of Prizes*, viz. where Men fought with their own Kind, was the worst. In these Bloody and Inhumane Matches, they first brought Slaves on the Theater to combat one another, and afterwards others of better Quality. Besides, some were *hired* to undertake this Employment, and some were *bred up* and *disciplined* to it. It grew an Art to Diet, to Arm, to fit them for this Purpose.

† Id autem spectaculi
genus erat quod omni fre-
quentia atq; omni gene-
re hominum celebratur,
quo multitudo maxime
delectatur. Cic. Orat. pro
Sestio.

Nor can it be express'd how † the People were taken with this sport, and how they flock'd to it. No Entertainment pleas'd them like this Bloody Fencing. Here they could kill Men at their pleasure ; by turning up the Thumb they could at any time adjudge the Combatants to continue the Fight, and they had power to keep them Fighting till they died on the Place : And when any of them did so, others were presently fetched and placed

placed in their room, to fight with the Victor, till one of them fell Dead on the Spot. *Lastantius* hath well expressed it thus ; || “ They
“ shew themselves very an-
“ gry, and grow enraged, un-
“ less one of the Combatants
“ be slain very speedily : and
“ as if they thirsted after Hu-
“ mane Blood, they hate all
“ Delays, and call for other
“ fresh Fighters that are not
“ weary and faint, but will briskly fall on,
“ and thereby satiate the Eyes of the Spectators.

|| Irascuntur etiam pug-
nantibus, nisi celeriter al-
ter è duobus occisus est :
& tanquam humanum san-
guinem sitiant, oderunt
moras, alios illis compa-
res dari possunt recenti-
ores, ut quam primum o-
culos suos satient. Lib. 6.
c. 20.

From these Passages we may be informed how mad the World was upon Slaughter and Bloodshed : We see what strange Immoralities these Civilized People admitted among them, what Barbarous and Outragious Usages were approved of by them. This I might well mention as one instance of the *Devil's working* among them. But the *Christians* continually declaimed against those Bloody Games, they preach'd and wrote against these Inhumane Combates ; and at last * the Christian Emperors strictly forbid them. You may read in the Ancient Apologists, how these Unlawful and Mad Shews are struck at, and how the Christians are particularly warned against them. A Christian was not permitted to be a Spectator of them, but by his Profession and Character,

* Euseb. in
vit. Con-
stant. M.
l. 4.

† Athenagoras, in Legat. pro Christian.

racter, he was obliged to declare against them, and draw off others (if he could) from being present at them. Hear the words of one of the most Learned Apologizers for the Christian Religion against the Pagans; “We, † saith he, abstain from, and are averse to these spectacles of the Sword-Players, being persuaded that there is no great difference between being a spectator of these bloody Prizes, and an Author of the Bloodshed there committed. Thus the Primitive Christians shew’d their Abhorrence of these Entertainments, and so at length they came to be wholly laid aside, and accounted utterly unlawful. Thus this *Work of the Devil* was destroyed: which we cannot but attribute to the manifestation of the Son of God upon the Earth, and to his Holy Institution, which promotes Tender-heartedness and Pity, and condemns whatever is savage and bloody.

But the *Slaughter and Murder of Souls* are the worst and highest Cruelty, the main Work and Business of that implacable Enemy of Mankind. Those cursed Spirits being fallen themselves from God, endeavour the Apostacy of all Mankind; and this they do, by drawing Men into Error, and by tempting them to Sin and Wickedness. They are as busy in debauching mens Minds by Erroneous Opinions and False Doctrines, as they are in any other Design; and they get as much by it: for by corrupting mens Understandings and Notions, they prepare the way for all other

other mischiefs to ensue. *Heresies* are of the *Devil*, and lead to him; and therefore *Poly-carp* knew what he said, when he call’d *Marcion* (that Arch-Heretic) the *First-born of Satan*. But the inveigling to Practical Error, which is no other than *Vice*, gives him chiefly his Denomination of *Tempter*; and consequently those who allure others to Vice, those who entice them to Evil Courses, are to be call’d by no softer Terms, than those of *Murderers* and *Devils*; for *Tempting*, i. e. drawing others to Sin, is properly the *Work of the Devil*; this is that which he constantly practiseth, and takes so much delight in. But the blessed Founder of Christianity is a Saviour and Lover of Souls, who thus expostulated when he was on Earth; *What is a Man profited, if he shall gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul? or what shall a Man give in exchange for his Soul?* This Jesus was Loving and Kind-hearted, and submitted to a painful and ignominious Death, to give an undeniable Demonstration of his Compassion to the Souls of Men. He ascended the Cross, and shed his Blood there, to convince the World how Tender he was of their Immortal Concerns, and Everlasting Welfare: And let me speak a Great Word, He would even now leave all his Glories, and die once more for Man, if it were necessary for the procuring of his Happiness.

Lastly, *Carnality, Lewdness* and *Uncleanness*, may fitly be stiled the *Devil’s Works*. It is well known, that these prevailed even in the most

solemn

solemn Rites and Devotions of the Pagans. As the Poets represent the Gods Lewd and Lascivious, so the most serious Authors tell us of the Impure and Filthy Sacrifices, the Villanous and Beastly Rites performed to them. They relate the Obscene Feasts of *Bacchus* and *Priapus*, of *Flora* and *Venus*, and acquaint us that they kept their *Lupercalia*, or Festivals of *Pan*, in running up and down naked, behaving themselves in that lewd manner which cannot be named without injuring chaste and modest Ears. Of the *Eleusinian* Solemnities, in Honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*,

* Adv. Va. we have some Account from * *Tertullian*:
lentin. and the Religious Ceremonies of *Isis* were

† De Idid.
& Ostr. 11.

as lewd and obscene, saith † *Plutarch*. It is certain, that Lewdness and Wantonness were the very Ingredients of their Worship, and their very Temples were *Stews*. *Arnobius* makes it his Business in his fifth Book, to shew how obscene and unchaste, how immodest and shameless their Rites and Ceremonies, their Stories and Relations of their Gods were. In brief, *Uncleanness* hath been so eminently confirmed to be the Work of the Devil, that the Foul Fiends have sometimes assumed Bodies to act it in, as || some have thought. But Christ coming in the Flesh, destroyed even the Deeds of the Flesh: he chose to be born of a pure Virgin, that he might give a Pattern of spotless Purity in the World; and the Design of his Holy Institution, was to sanctify mens Bodies and Souls, and to fit them for the unstained Pleasures of another Life. Thus I have finish'd my Task, having largely and parti-

|| S. Augustin. de civ. Dei. lib. 15
Bodin.
contr.
Wier.

particularly shew'd you what the Works of the Devil are, either such Works as are done by that Evil Spirit, or such Vices and Practices in Men, as more nearly approach to the Devilish Nature and Temper; and I have at the same time proved that our Saviour and his Religion, do over-throw and destroy these Works of the Infernal Spirit.

I will only add a Critical Remark on that manner of Expression in the Text, [*ἵνα λύσῃ*] that he may loose (our English Word, it is likely, coming from thence) or dissolve, &c. for that is the exact rendring of the Word. This supposes Bonds and Fetters: We were in Durance and Captivity, we were shut and lock'd up * in the Prison-house, we were under the power of Satan and dominion of Sin: but the merciful Jesus came to rescue and redeem Mankind, to knock off their Fetters, and to set them at Liberty. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, and for this only. He came not (as the Jews fondly imagined concerning their Messias) to be a great Earthly Monarch, to wage War, and to beat the Romans out of Judea, and to make his people Rich and Wealthy, and to promote them to great Honours. This alas was a poor Design, and not worthy of the Messias: but he came to effect a thing of greater moment, even of Universal Concern, and that which is more Noble and Glorious than all Worldly Empire and Sovereignty. He came to free his people from the Tyranny of Satan; to vanquish the Prince of Darkness who had enslaved all Mankind.

Or,

A Discourse on 1 John 3. 8.

Or, this Word gives us a true Notion of our Saviour's Design, thus: The Devil had corrupted Man, had been the great Instrument at first of depraving his very Nature, and ever since he hath made it his Work to debauch Mens Minds and Manners, and by all ways imaginable, to render them like unto himself. Hereupon the Son of God was sent, *ὁ υἱ τοῦ θεοῦ*, that he might *dissolve, defeat, undo* these Works of the Devil. This is the short and plain Account of the Grand End of Christ's being manifested in the World, of his Incarnation; Doctrine, Life, Sufferings, Death, and all his Undertakings whatsoever; it was no other than this, *to undo, to annul* all that the Devil had done in the World. Christ's task was to *pull down* what *Satan* had *built up*, to untie, to untwist all his Knots and Intrigues, to baffle all his Plots and Contrivances, to unravel the Inchantments of the Evil Spirit, to break the Snares of Satan, and to destroy the Destroyer.

F I N I S.

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