

and therefore it cannot be imagined, that they should so far degrade Angels below Men, as not to acknowledge them, to have any thing at all *Incorporeal*.

But we shall now Instance in some few amongst many of these *Ancients*, who plainly asserted both *Devils* and *Angels* to be *Spirits Incorporate*; and not to Be meer *Bodies*, but only to *Have Bodies*; that is, to consist of *Soul* and *Body*, or *Incorporeal* and *Corporeal Substance* joyned together. That Angels themselves *Have Bodies* is every where declared by *St. Austine*, in his Writings; he affirming, that the *Bodies* of Good men after the *Resurrection*, shall be *Qualia sunt Angelorum Corpora*, Such as are the *Bodies* of *Angels*, and that they shall be *Corpora Angelica in Societate Angelorum*, *Angelical Bodies*, fit for *Society* and *Converse* with *Angels*: and declaring the difference, betwixt the *Bodies* of *Angels* and of *Devils*, in this manner, *Dæmones antequam transgredirentur, Cælestia Corpora gerebant, quæ conversa sint ex pœna in Aeream Qualitatem, ut jam possint ab Igne Pati*, That though *Devils* before the *Transgression* had *Celestial Bodies* as *Angels* now have, yet might these afterwards in way of *Punishment*, be changed into *Aerial ones*, and such as now may suffer by *Fire*. Moreover the same *St. Austin*, some where calleth *Good Angels*, by the name of *Animæ Beatæ atque Sanctæ*, *Happy and Holy Souls*. And though it be true, that in his *Retractions* he recalleth and correcteth this; yet was this only a *Scruplesity* in that *Pious Father*, concerning the meer word, because he no where found in *Scripture*, *Angels* called by the name of *Souls*: it being far from his meaning even there to deny them, to be *Incorporeal Spirits*, joyned with *Bodies*. And certainly he who every where concludes, *Humane Souls* to be *Incorporeal*, cannot be thought to have supposed, *Angels* to have nothing at all but *Body* in them. Again *Claudianus Mamertus*, writing against *Faustus*, who made *Angels* to be meer *Bodies*, without *Souls*, or any thing *Incorporeal*, maintaineth in way of *Opposition*; not that they are meer *Incorporeal Spirits*, without *Bodies* (which is the other *Extream*) but that they consist of *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal*, *Soul* and *Body*, Joyned together; he writing thus of the *Devils*, *Diabolus ex Duplici diversaque Substantia constat: & Corporeus est & Incorporeus*, The *Devil* consisteth of a double and different *Substance*; he is *Corporeal*, and he is also *Incorporeal*. And again of *Angels*, *Patet Beatos Angelos, Utriusque Substantiæ, & Incorporeos esse in ea sui parte, qua ipsis Visibilis Deus; & in ea itidem Parte Corporeos, qua hominibus sunt ipsi Visibiles*. It is manifest, that the blessed *Angels*, are of a *Two-fold Substance*; that they are *Incorporeal*, in that part of theirs wherein *God* is *Visible* to them, and again *Corporeal*, in that other *Part*, wherein themselves are *Visible* to men. Moreover *Fulgentius* writeth concerning *Angels* in this manner; *Planè ex Duplici eos esse Substantia asserunt Magni & Docti Viri. Id est, Ex Spiritu Incorporeo, quo à Dei contemplatione nunquam recedunt; & ex Corpore per quod ex tempore hominibus apparent. Corpora vero Ætherea, id est, Ignea, eos dicunt habere, Dæmones vero Corpus Aereum*. Great and learned men affirm, *Angels* to consist of a *Double Substance*, that is, of a *Spirit Incorporeal*, whereby they contemplate *God*; and of a *Body* whereby they are sometimes *Visible* to men; as also that they have
Ethereal

In Psal. 85.

In Psal. 145.

De Gen. ad

Lit. L. 3. c. 10.

L. 2. c. 11.

L. 3.

L. 3. De Trin.

Ethereal or Fiery Bodies, but Devils Aereal. And perhaps this might be the meaning of *Joannes Thessalonicensis*, in that Dialogue of his, read and approved of in the Seventh Council, and therefore the meaning of that Council it self too, when it is thus declared, *νοερός μὲν αὐτὰς ἢ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία γινώσκει, ἔ μὴν ἀσωμάτους πάντι καὶ ἀορατοῦς, λεπτοσώματους ἢ, καὶ ἀεράδης, ἢ πυράδης, &c.* That the *Catholick Church acknowledges Angels, to be Intellectual, but not altogether Incorporeal and Invisible; but to have certain Subtle Bodies, either Aairy or Fiery.* For it being there only denied, that they were *Altogether Incorporeal*, one would think the meaning should not be, that they were *Altogether Corporeal*; nor indeed could such an Opinion be fastened upon the *Catholick Church*; but that they were partly *Incorporeal*, and partly *Corporeal*; this being also sufficient in order to that design, which was driven at in that Council. However *Psellus*, who was a Curious Enquirer into the Nature of *Spirits*, declares it not only as his own Opinion, but also as agreeable to the Sense of the *Ancient Fathers*, *ὡς ἐν ἀσωμάτων τὸ δαιμόνιον ἔστι φύλον, μετὰ σώματι δὲ γὰρ, That the Demoniack or Angelick kind of Beings, is not altogether Incorporeal, or Bodiless, but that they are conjoyned with Bodies, or have Cognate Bodies belonging to them.* Who there also further declares the Difference, betwixt the *Bodies of Good Angels* and of *Evil Demons*, after this manner, *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀγγελικόν, αὐγὰς τινὰς ἔξανίχον ξείνας, τοῖς ἐκτός ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔστιν ἀφόρητόν τε καὶ ἀνυπόστατον τὸ δαιμόνιον δὲ, εἰ μὲν τοῖσιν δῆποτε ἦν, ἐν οἷσιν εἶπεν, ἔοικεν δὲ ἐν, ἐωσφόρον Ἡρακλῆ τὴν ἐκπεσόντα καίνομαζοῦσθαι. νῦν δὲ ἀλλὰ ροφῶδες οἶον καὶ ἀμωρὸν ἔστι, καὶ τοῖς ἔμμασι λυπηρὸν, γυμνωθέν τῷ συζύγῳ φωτός. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀγγελικὸν παντάπασι ἔστι αἴθρον. διὸ καὶ διὰ πάντα ἔστι σερρεῖ διαδύον καὶ δῖον, καὶ τῷ ἡλιακῆς ἀκτῖνῶν ὄν ἀπαθήσασθαι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ διὰ σώματων διαφανῶν ἴσσαν, ἀποσέγει τὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀλαμπῆ ὡς καὶ κλάσιν ὑπομένειν, ἅτε δὴ ἐνυλον ἔχουσιν. τὰ δὲ ἔστιν ἔστι πρόστατες, οἷα μηδεμίαν ἔχοντι πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντήσασιν. τὰ δὲ δαιμόνια σώματα, καὶν ὑπὸ λεπτότητι ἀφανῆ καθίστανται, ἀλλ' ἔμας ἐνυλά πη, καὶ ἐμπαθῆ, καὶ μάστιγ' ὅσα τὸς ὑπὸ γῆν ὑποδέδωκε τόπος. ταῦτα γὰρ τοσαύτην ἔχει τὴν σύστασιν, ὡς καὶ αἰφῆς ὑποπίπτειν, καὶ πλεθρομένηα ὀδυνᾶσθαι, καὶ πρὸς πρὸς σμυλῆσαντα κείσθαι. *The Angelical Body sendeth forth Rays and Splendours, such as would dazzle Mortal Eyes, and cannot be born by them. But the Demoniack Body, though it seemeth to have been once such also, (from Isaias his calling him that fell from Heaven Lucifer) yet is it now Dark and Obscure, Foul and Squalid, and grievous to behold, it being deprived of its Cognate Light and Beauty. Again the Angelical Body, is so devoid of gross Matter, that it can pass through any Solid thing, it being indeed more Impassible, than the Sunbeams; for though these can Permeate Pellucid Bodies, yet are they hindered by Earthy and Opake, and refracted by them; whereas the Angelical Body is such, as that there is no thing so Imporous or Solid, that can resist or exclude it. But the Demoniack Bodies, though by reason of their Ten-**

P. 94.

Information of *Marcus* the Monk, a person formerly Initiated in the *Diabolick Mysteries*; and of great *Curiosity*, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀεὶ πνεῦμα διό-
 λος ὃν καὶ φύσιν αἰσθητικὴν καὶ πᾶν ἑαυτὸ μέσθαι, ἀμέσως ὁρᾷ τε καὶ αἰσ-
 εῖ, καὶ τὰ τῆ ἀφῆς ὑπομένει πάλιν, διακείμενον ὀδυνᾶται καὶ τῆ σωματικῶν
 τὰ σεραῖα ταύτη τέτων διενεγκόν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆ διερεθύντων, μόλις
 ἢ ἑδαμῶς ἐλθεται τὸ ἢ διακείμενον ἐνθὺς συμφύεται, καθάπερ ἀέρῳ ἢ καὶ ὑ-
 δατῶ μέρη μεταξὺ τινῶ ἐμπιπτόντα σεραῖα· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἰσχυρὸν ἢ λόγῳ
 τῆ τὸ πνεῦμα συμφύεται, πλὴν ἀνιάται κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ γίνεσθαι τὴν διαίρεσιν.
*The Demoniack Spirit or Subtle Body, being in every part of it capable of
 Sense, does immediately See and Hear, and is also Obnoxious to the affe-
 ctions of Touch: insomuch that being suddainly divided or cut in two, it
 hath a Sense of Pain, as the Solid Bodies of other Animals have; it differ-
 ing from them only in this, that those other Bodies, being once discontinu-
 ed, are not easily consolidated together again, whereas the Demoniack Body,
 being divided, is quickly redintegrated by Coalescence, as Air or Water. Ne-
 vertheless it is not without a Sense of Pain, at that time, when it is thus
 divided, &c.* Moreover the same *Marcus* affirmeth the Bodies of
 these Demons to be Nourished also, though in a different manner,
 from ours, τρέφονται οἱ μὲν δι' εἰσπνοῆς, ὡς τὸ ἐν ἀρτηρίαις καὶ ἐν νεύροις
 πνεῦμα· οἱ δὲ δι' ὑσρέτησιν, ἀλλ' ἔσμάτι καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἄσπερ σπόγγ-
 οῖ καὶ ὀσκαυδόμενα, ἅπαντες μὲν τῆ ἀσπυκόμενης ὑσρέτησιν ἔχουσιν.
*They are some of them Nourished by Inspiration, as the Spirit contained
 in the Nerves and Arteries; others by sucking in the adjacent Moisture;
 not as we do by mouths, but as Sponges and Testaceous Fishes.* And now
 we may venture to conclude, that this Opinion of Angels being not
 meer *Abstract Incorporeal Substances*, and *Unbodied Minds*, but con-
 sisting of Something *Incorporeal*, and Something *Corporeal*, that is,
 of *Soul or Spirit*, and *Body* Joyned together, is not only more agree-
 able to *Reason*, but hath also had more suffrages amongst the Anci-
 ent Fathers, and those of greater weight too, than either of those
 Two other *Extreams*, viz. That Angels are meer *Bodies*, and have
 nothing at all *Incorporeal* in them; or else, that they are altogether
Incorporeal, without any *Bodily Indument or Clothing*.

Notwithstanding which this latter Opinion hath indeed prevailed
 most in these Latter Ages; Time being rightly compared to a *River*,
 which quickly sinks the more *Weighty* and *Solid things*, and bears
 up only the *Lighter* and more *Superficial*. Though there may be
 other Reasons given for this also, as partly because the *Aristotelick*
Philosophy when generally introduced into *Christianity*, brought in
 its *Abstract Intelligences* along with it; and partly because, some *Spu-
 rious Platonists* talking so much of their *Henades* and *Noes*, their
Simple Monads and *Immoveable Unbodied Minds*, as the Chief of
 their *Generated and Created Gods*; probably some *Christians* might
 have a mind, to vie their *Angels* with them. And lastly, because
Angels are not only called in *Scripture Spirits*, but also by *Several*
 of the *Ancients* said to be *Incorporeal*; whilst this in the mean time, was
 meant only either in respect of that *Incorporeal Part*, *Soul or Mind*,
 which they supposed to be in them, or else of the *Tenuity* and *Sub-
 tlety* of their *Bodies* or *Vehicles*. For this account does *Psellus* give
 hereof, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῦσι, εἰωθὸς ὅτι, τὰ παχύτερα τῆ
 σωματικῶν

P. 30. 33.

σωμάτων σωματάδι λέγειν· ὃ ἡ λεπτομερές ἔστι καὶ τὴν ὄψιν διαφυγόνον, καὶ τὴν ἀφῶ ἀσώματον, ἔ μόνον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἑσπεύοντων ἀξιόσοι λέγουσιν· It is usual both with Christian Writers, and Pagans too, to call the Grosser Bodies Corporeal, and those which by reason of their Subtlety avoid both our Sight and Touch, Incorporeal. And before Psellus, Joannes Thessalonicensis, in his Dialogue, approved in the Seventh Council; εἰ δὲ περὶ ἑσπεύοντων ἀσώματων καλεσμένους τὰς ἀγγέλους, ἢ δαίμονας, ἢ ψυχάς, ὡς μὴ ὄντας ἐκ συμμίξεως τῶν ὑλικῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων, καὶ ποιῶντα σώματα παχέα καὶ ἀντίτυπα, οἷα ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν, ἕτως αὐτὰς περιηρόμεθα· If you find Angels, or Demons, or Separate Souls called sometimes Incorporeal, you must understand this in respect of the Tenuity of their Bodies only; as not consisting of the Grosser Elements, nor being so Solid and Antitypous as those which we are now Imprisoned in. And before them both, Origen in the Proeme of his Peri Archon, where citing a passage out of an Ancient Book, Intituled, The Doctrine of Peter, wherein our Saviour Christ is said to have told his Disciples, That he was not δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον, an Incorporeal Demon, though rejecting the Authority of that Book; he thus interprets those words; non idem sensus ex isto sermone ἀσώματων indicatur, qui Græcis vel Gentilibus auctoribus ostenditur, quum de Incorporeâ Naturâ à Philosophis disputatur. In hoc enim Libello, Incorporeum Demonium dixit, pro eo quod ipse ille quicumque est habitus vel circumscriptio Demonici Corporis, non est similis huic nostro Crassiori, vel Visibili Corpori: sed secundum sensum ejus qui composuit illam Scripturam, intelligendum est quod dixit; non esse tale Corpus quale habent Demones, quod est naturaliter Subtile, & velut Aura Tenue; & propter hoc vel imputatur à multis vel dicitur Incorporeum; sed habere se Corpus Solidum & Palpabile. The word ἀσώματων, or Incorporeal, is not to be taken here, in that sense wherein it is used, by the Greek and Gentile Writers, when they Philosophised concerning the Incorporeal Nature. But a Demon is here said to be Incorporeal, because of the Disposition of the Demoniack Body, not like to this Gross and Visible Body of ours. So that the sense is, as if Christ should have said, I have not such a Body, as the Demons have, which is naturally Subtile, Thin and Soft, as the Air, and therefore is either supposed to be by many, or at least called Incorporeal, but the Body which I now have, is Solid and Palpable. Where we see plainly that Angels, though supposed to have Bodies, may notwithstanding be called Incorporeal, by reason of the Tenuity and Subtlety of those Bodies, comparatively with the Grossness and Solidity of these our Terrestrial Bodies. But that indeed which now most of all inclineth some to this Perswasion, That Angels have nothing at all Corporeal hanging about them, is a Religious regard to the Authority of the Third Lateran Council, having passed its Approbation upon this Doctrine; as if the Seventh Oecumenical (so called) or Second Nicene, wherein the contrary was before owned and allowed, were not of equal force, at least to counterbalance the other.

But though this Doctrine of Angels, or all Created Understanding Beings Superiour to men, having a Corporeal Indument or Clothing, does so exactly agree with the Old Pythagorick Cabbala, yet have we reason to think, that it was not therefore meerly borrowed or derived,
from

from thence, by the *Ancient Fathers*; but that they were led into it, by the Scripture it self. For first, the *Historick Phenomena* of Angels in the Scripture, are such, as cannot well be otherwise Salved, than by supposing them to have Bodies; and then not to lay any stress upon those words of the Psalmist, *Who maketh his Angels Spirits, and Ministers a flame of fire* (though with good reason by the *Ancient Fathers* interpreted to this sense) because they may possibly be understood otherwise, as sometime they are by *Rabbinical Commentators*: nor to insist upon those passages of *S. Paul*, where he speaks of the *Tongues of Angels*, and of the *Voice of an Arch-Angel*, and such like, there are several other Places in Scripture, which seem plainly to confirm this Opinion. As first, that of our Saviour before mentioned to this purpose, *Luke the 20. the 35.* *They who shall be accounted worthy, to obtain that world, and the Resurrection from the dead, neither Marry nor are given in Marriage, neither can they die any more; for they are Equal unto the Angels.* For were Angels utterly devoid of all Bodies, then would the Souls of Good men, in a State of Separation, and without any Resurrection, be rather Equal to Angels, than after a Resurrection of their Bodies. Wherefore the Natural meaning of these words seems to be this, (as *St. Austin* hath interpreted them) that the Souls of Good men; after the Resurrection, shall have *Corpora Angelica*, *Angelical Bodies*, and *Qualia sunt Angelorum Corpora*, such Bodies as those of Angels are. Wherein it is supposed, that Angels also have Bodies, but of a very different kind from those of ours here. Again, that of *St. Jude*, where he writeth thus of the Devils; *The Angels which kept not their First Estate* (or rather according to the *Vulgar Latin*, *Suum Principatum*, *Their own Principality*) *but left their Proper Habitation* (or *Dwelling House*) *hath be reserved in everlasting Chains, under darkness, unto the Judgement of the Great Day.* In which words, it is first Implied, that the Devils were Created by God Pure, as well as the other Angels, but that they kept not τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν, *Their own Principality*, That is, their Lordly Power and Dominion over their Worser and Inferiour part, they having also a certain Duplicity in their Nature, of a Better and Worser Principle, of a Superiour Part, which ought to Rule and Govern, and of an Inferiour, which out to be Governed: nor is it indeed otherwise, easily conceivable, how they should be Capable of Sinning. And this Inferiour Part in Angels, seems to have a respect to something that is Corporeal or Bodily in them also, as well as it hath in men. But then in the next place, *St. Jude* addeth, as the Immediate Result and Natural Consequent of these Angels Sinning, that they thereby Left or Lost, τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, *Suum Proprium Domicilium*, That is, not only, their Dwelling Place at Large, those *Ethereal Countries*, and *Heavenly Regions* above, but also their Proper Dwelling House, or Immediate Mansion; to wit their Heavenly Body. For as much as that Heavenly Body, which Good men expect after the Resurrection, is thus called by *St. Paul*, τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανόσ, *Our Habitation, or Dwelling House that is from Heaven.* The Heavenly Body is the Proper House or Dwelling, Clothing or Indument, both of Angelical and Humane Souls; and this is that which makes them fit Inhabitants for the Heavenly Regions. This I say was the Natural effect and Consequent of these Angels Sinning, their Leaving or Loosing, their Pure
Heavenly

De Gen. ad
Lit. L. 3.

Heavenly Body, which became thereupon forthwith Obscured and In-
 crassated; the Bodies of Spirits Incorporate, always bearing a Corre-
 spondent Purity or Impurity to the different disposition of their Mind
 or Soul. But then again, in the last place, that which was thus in
 Part, the Natural Result of their Sin, was also by the Just Judgment
 of God, converted into their Punishment; For their *Ethereal Bodies*,
 being thus changed into *Gross, Aerial, Feculent, and Vaporous* ones,
 themselves were Immediately hereupon, as St. Peter in the Parallel
 Place expresseth it, *ταρταρωθέντες*, Cast down into *Tartarus*, and there
 Imprisoned, or Reserved in *Chains Under Darknes*, until the Judg-
 ment of the Great Day. Where it is observable that the word *ταρ-*
ταρῶν, used by St. Peter, is the very same, that *Apollodorus*, and other
 Greek Writers frequently make use of, in a like case, when they speak
 of the *Titan's* being Cast down from Heaven: which seems to have
 been Really nothing else, but this Fall of *Angels Poetically Mythologi-*
zed. And by *Tartarus* here in all probability, is meant this Lower
Caliginous Air, or Atmosphere of the Earth, according to that of St.
Austin, concerning these Angels, *Post Peccatum in hanc sunt detrusi Ca-*
liginem, ubi tamen & Aer, That after their Sin, they were thrust down
down into the Misty darknes of this Lower Air. And here are they,
 as it were *Chained and Fettered* also, by that same Weight of their
Gross and heavy Bodies, which first sunk them down hither, this not
 suffering them to reascend up, or return back to those *Bright Ethereal*
Regions above. And being thus for the present *Imprisoned* in this
Lower Tartarus, or Caliginous Air or Atmosphere, they are indeed here
 Kept and Reserved in Custody, unto the Judgment of the Great Day,
 and *General Assizes*: however they may notwithstanding in the mean
 time, seem to *Domineer and Lord* it for a while here. And Lastly
 our Saviours, *Go ye Cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil*
and his Angels, seems to be a clear Confirmation of Devils being
 Bodied; because First to Allegorize this *Fire* into nothing but *Re-*
morse of Conscience, would indanger the rendering of other Points
 of our Religion uncertain also; but to say that *Incorporeal Substan-*
ces Ununited to Bodies, can be tormented with *Fire*, is as much as in
 us lieth, to expose *Christianity* and the Scripture, to the Scorn and
 Contempt of all *Philosophers, and Philosophick Wits*. Wherefore *Psellus*
 laies no small stress upon this Place, *εἰμὲν μὲν ὡς εἶπεν τὸ τῆς σωτῆρος λό-*
γων πεπεσμένον ταῦτα, πρὸς κολαθίσασθαι φασιόντων τὸς δαίμονας.
ὁ πᾶς δὲ ἰὸν παθεῖν ἀσώματους οὐκ ἔστι; τὸ γὰρ ἀσώματον ἀμήχανον παθεῖν ὑπὸ σώ-
ματι. ἀνάσσει γὰρ σώμασιν αὐτὸς τίς κολάσει ὑποδέχεσθαι πεφυκόσι πάσιν.
I am also convinced of this, That Demons have Bodies, from the words of
our Saviour affirming, That they shall be Punished with Fire: which how
could it be, were they altogether Incorporeal? it being Impossible for that
which is both it self Incorporeal, and Vitally Ununited to any Body, to
suffer from a Body. Wherefore of necessity it must be granted, by us
Christians, that Devils shall receive Punishment of Sense and Pain here-
after, in Bodies capable of Suffering.

De Gen. ad
 Lit. L. 3. c. 10.

P. 374

Now if *Angels* in general, that is, all *Created Beings Superiour* to
 men, be *Substances Incorporeal*, or *Souls Vitally United to Bodies*;
 though not always the same, but sometimes of one kind and some-
 times

times of another; and never quite Separate from all *Body*; it may seem probable from hence, that though there be other *Incorporeal Substances* besides the *Deity*, yet *Vita Incorporea*, a *Life perfectly Incorporeal* in the forementioned *Origenick Sense*, or *Sine Corporeæ Adjectionis Societate Vivere*, to Live altogether without the Society of any *Corporeal Adjection*, is a Privilege properly belonging to the *Holy Trinity* only; and consequently therefore, that *Humane Souls* when by *Death*, they are Develted of these *Gross Earthly Bodies*, they do not then Live and Act Compleatly, without the *Conjunction* of any *Body*, and so continue till the *Resurrection* or *Day of Judgment*: this Being a priviledge which not so much as the *Angels themselves*, and therefore no *Created Finite Being*, is capable of; the *Imperfection* of whose *Nature* necessarily requires the *Conjunction* of some *Body* with them, to make them up *Complete*; without which it is unconceivable, how they should either have *Sense* or *Imagination*. And Thus doth *Origen* Consentaneously to his own Principles, Conclude, ἢ τῇ ἑαυτῆς φύσιν ἀσώματον καὶ ἀόρατον ψυχῆ, ἐν παντί σωματικῶ τῶν τόπων τυγχάνουσα, δεῖται σώματι ὁμοίᾳ τῇ φύσιν τῶν τόπων ἐκείνου. ὅπερ ὅτι μὲν φορεῖ, ἀπεκδυσαμένη πρότερον ἀναλήξιον μὲν, περίεσσαν ἢ ἄς πρὸς τὰ δ' ἄλλοις. ὅτι ἢ ἐπεκδυσαμένη ὡ πρότερον εἶχε, δεομένη κρείττονον ἐκδυσαμένη εἰς τὰς καθαρωτέρας καὶ αἰθεραίας καὶ ἑρηνικὰς τόπους. *Our Soul, which in its own Nature is Incorporeal and Invisible, in whatsoever Corporeal place it Existeth; doth always stand in need of a Body, suitable to the Nature of that place respectively. Which Body it sometimes beareth, having Put Off that which before was necessary, but is now Superfluous, for the Following State; and sometimes again Putting On something, to what before it had, now standing in need of some better Clothing, to fit it for those more Pure Ethereal and Heavenly places.* But in what there follows, we conceive that *Origen's* sense having not been rightly understood, his words have been altered and perverted, and that the whole place ought to be read thus, καὶ ἐπεκδυσατο μὲν ἐπι τὴν τῆδε γενεὴν ἐρχομένη, τὸ χρησίμον πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ ὑτέρα τ' κώσης, ἕως ἢν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεκδυσατο ἢ ὑπ' ἐκείνου, ὃ ἦν ἀναλήξιον τῶν ἐπι γῆς μέλλοντι διαζῆν. ἔτα πάλιν οὐτὸ πινὸς Γῆνης, καὶ ὅτι οἰκίας ἀναλήξιαις πρὸς τῶν Γῆνιν, καταλύεσθαι μὲν φασιν οἱ λόγοι τὴν ἐπι γῆν οἰκίαν τῶν Γῆνης, τὸ ἢ Γῆνιν ἐπεκδυσασθαι οἰκίαν ἀχρεοπρόβιον, αἰάνιον ἐν τοῖς ἑρηνοῖς. λέξοι ἢ οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἄνθρωποι, τὸ μὲν φθαρτὸν ἐκδυσασθαι αὐτὸ ἀφθαρτὸν. *The Sense whereof is this, The Soul descending hither into Generation, Put on first, that Body which was useful for it whilst to continue in the Womb; and then again afterward, such a Body as was necessary for it, to Live here upon the Earth in. Again it having here a Two fold kind of Body, the one of which is called Γῆνιν by St. Paul; (being a more subtle Body, which it had before) the other the Superinduced Earthly House, necessarily subservient to this Schenos here; the Scripture Oracles affirm, that the Earthly House of this Schenos, shall be corrupted or dissolved, but the Schenos it self, Superindue or Put On a House not made with hands, Eternal in the Heavens: The same declaring that the Corruptible shall put on Incorruption, and the Mortal Immortality. Where it is plain, that Origen takes that Γῆνιν in St. Paul (1 Cor. 5. 1.) for a subtle Body, which the Soul had before its Terrene Natiuity,*

Cont. Cels. L.
7. p. 353.

Nativity, and which Continues with it after death; but in good men will at last *Superindue*, or *Put on* (without Death) the Clothing of *Immortality*. Neither can there be a better *Commentary* upon this place of *Origen*, than those *Excerpta* out of *Methodius* the Martyr in *Photius*, though seeming to be *Vitiated* also; where, as we conceive, the sense of *Origen* and his Followers, is first contained in those words, ἐπερὶ τὸ Σκῆνωμα, καὶ τὸ Σκῆνωμα ἢ οἰκία, καὶ ἐπερὶ ἡμεῖς ὄντες τὸ Σκῆνωμα, *Thus Origen plainly in his Fifth Book, (p. 244.)* That in *St. Paul* the τὸ Σκῆνωμα is *One thing*; and the *Earthly House* of this Σκῆνωμα *Another thing*; and *We, that is, our Souls* a *Third thing, distinct from both*. And then it is further declared in this that follows, τὸ ζῶντος κατὰλυθείσης τῆς ἀνωμύρου τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἀναστάσεως ἔξοαν οἰκίαν αἱ ψυχαὶ ὡς τὰ θεῶν, ἕως ἂν ἀνακαινοποιηθῶσιν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναλάβαμεν τὴν οἰκίαν. ὁ δὲν καὶ σενάζομεν μὴ θέλοντες τὸ σῶμα ἀπεκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ λοιπῷ ἐπενδύσασθαι ζῶντι. τὸ γὰρ οἰκητήριον τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ὃ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἢ ἀθανάσια. *That this short Life of our Earthly Body being destroyed, our Soul shall then have before the Resurrection, a dwelling from God; until we shall at last, receive it renewed, restored, and so made an Incorruptible House. Wherefore in this we groan, desirous not to put off, all Body, but to put on Life or Immortality upon the Body which we shall then have. For that House which is from Heaven, That we desire to put on, is Immortality.* Moreover that the Soul is not altogether *Naked* after *Death*, the same *Origen* endeavours to confirm further from that of our Saviour concerning the *Rich Man* and *Lazarus*, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κολαζόμενος πλούσιος, καὶ ὁ ἐν κλύποις Ἀβραάμ πένης ἀναπαύομενος, πρὸς τὴν παρασίτας τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ πρὸς τὴν συντελείαν τῆς αἰῶνος, καὶ διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀναστάσεως, διαδύσκουσι ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ σώματι χεῖται ἡ ψυχή. *The Rich man Punished, and the Poor man refreshed in Abraham's bosom, before, the Coming of our Saviour, and before the end of the world, and therefore before the Resurrection, plainly teaches, that even now also after Death, the Soul useth a Body. He thinketh the same also to be further proved from the Visible Apparition of Samuel's Ghost, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Σαμουὴλ φαινόμενος, ὡς δὴλόν ἔστιν ὁμοίως ἂν, παρίσταν ὅτι σῶμα περιένητο, Samuel also visibly appearing after Death, maketh it manifest, that his Soul was then clothed with a Body. To which he adds in Photius, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἅμα τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ χῆμα, ὁμοίως τὰ παχῆ καὶ γίνω σῶματι, &c. That the Exteriour Form and Figure of the Souls Body after Death, doth resemble that of the Gross Terrestrial Body here in this Life. All the Histories of Apparitions, making Ghosts or the Souls of the Dead, to appear in the same Form, which put it off, but their Bodies had before. This therefore, as was observed, is that which Origen understands, by τὸ σκῆνωμα in *St. Paul*; not this Gross Terrestrial Body, but a certain Middle Body betwixt it, and the Heavenly, which the Soul after Death, carries away with it. Now this Opinion of the Learned Origen, was never reckoned up by the Ancient Fathers, or his greatest Adversaries, in the Catalogue of his Errors; nor does *Methodius* the Martyr, who was so great an *Anti-Origenist*, where he mentions this *Origenick* Opinion in *Photius*, seem to tax it otherwise, than as *Platonically* Implying, the Soul to be *Incorporeal*. *Methodius* himself on the contrary contending, not that the Soul Hath a Body conjoined with it after Death, as a distinct thing from it, but that it self Is a Body; ὁ θεὸς μόνος ἀδίτα ἀσώματος ἂν, αἱ δὲ ψυχαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δημιουργοῦ καὶ πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων, σώματα νοερὰ ὑπέρχουσι, εἰς λόγῳ θεωρητὰ μέλη δια-*

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κεκόσμηται,

καὶ ὁμιλῶνται, ταύτην λαβῆσαι τῷ διατύπωσιν· ἴδεν καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἄδῃ, καὶ γλαῖσσαν, καὶ δάκτυλον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέλη ἰσχυρῶν ἔχον· ἔχον ὡς σώματος ἑτέρου συνυπάρχοντες αὐταῖς ὡταῖς ἀδύσ· ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὰ φύσιν αἱ ψυχὰι παντὸς ἀπυρμνωθεῖσαι περιελήματος ταυαῦται καὶ τὴν ἑσῶαν ὑπέχουσι, *God is alone is praised as Incorporeal and Invisible: but Souls are made by him, (who is the Father of all things) Intellectual Bodies, ornamentally branched out (as it were) into Members distinguishable by Reason, and having the same Form and Signature, with the outward Body. Whence is it, that in Hades (or Hell) we Read of a Tongue, and a Finger, and other Members, not as if there then were another Invisible Body Coexisting with these Souls, but because the Souls themselves are in their own Nature (when strip'd naked of all Clothing) according to their very Essence such.* We say therefore; if one of these two Opinions must needs be entertained, that either the Soul it self *Is a Body*, or else that it *Hath a Body* after Death; the Latter of them which was *Origen's*, ought certainly much to be prefer'd before the Former, whether held in *Tertullian's* sense, that all *Substance*, and consequently God himself, is *Body*; or else in that of *Methodius*, that all *Created Substance* is such; God alone being *Incorporeal*.

But we have already showed, that *Origen* was not Singular in this Opinion, *Irenæus* before him having asserted the same thing, that Souls after Death, are *Adapted to certain Bodies*, (where the word in the Greek probably was *περὶ σωματίων*) which have the same Character with these *Terrestrial ones*; and *Philoponus* after him, who was no *Pagan* but *Christian Philosopher*, Dogmatizing in like manner. We might here add, that *Joannes Theſſalonicensis*, in that Dialogue of his, read in the Seventh Synod, seemeth to have been of the same Perswasion also, when he affirmeth of Souls, as well as *Angels* and *Demons*, that they were, ὄρα πάντες ὡς πλείων αἰσθητῶς πλεονάνεις, τὰ εἶδη τῶν οὐκ ὄντων σωμάτων, *Often seen by many Sensibly, in the Form of their own Bodies.* However it is a thing, which *Pſellus* took for granted, where speaking of Devils, Insinuating their Temptations into mens Souls, by affecting immediately the *Phantastick Spirit*, he writeth after this manner, ὁ λέγων, πῆρ ἄθεν μὲν ἂν ἰχυρῶτερας δέεται κρυαῖς, ἀχρὲ ἢ γινόμενον, εἰς τὸ τῷ ἀκούσῃ ἔς ψυχεῖων ὑποφωνεῖ· καὶ εἰ ἐνὶν αὐτῷ συνήλθοι πνύματι τῷ ψυχῆς, ἔθεν ἂν ἐδεήθη ψόφου, ἀλλ' ἵν ὁ καὶ βέλῃσιν λόφῳ ἀψόφου κελύθῳ πρὸς τὸ δεχόμενον ἐζηγόμενος, ὁ φασὶ καὶ ταῖς ψυχῆς ἕξῆσαι τῶν σωμάτων εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταύτας ἀπλήντως ὁμιλεῖν ἀλλήλαις· *When one man speaks to another from afar off, he must (if he would be heard) make a loud cry or noise, whereas if he stood near to him, he might softly whisper into his ear. But could he immediately approach to the Spirit (or Subtle Body of the Soul,) he should not then need so much as to make a Whisper, but might silently and without noise, communicate whatsoever thoughts of his own to him, by Motions made thereupon. And this is said to be the way, that Souls, going out of these Bodies converse together; they communicating their thoughts to one another without any Noise.* For *Pſellus* here plainly supposeth, Souls after Death, to have πνεῦμα, that is, a certain *subtle Body*, adhering to them, by Motions upon which, they may silently converse with each other. It is true indeed, that *St. Austin* in his Twelfth Book *De Genesi ad Literam*, does not himself close with this Opini-

P. 94.

De Genesi ad
Literam c. 32.

on,

on, of the Souls Having a Body after Death, but much less of its Being a Body: nevertheless does he seem to leave every man to his own Liberty therein, in these words; *Si autem Quaritur, dum Anima de Corpore exierit, Utrum ad aliqua loca Corporalia feratur, an ad Incorporalia Corporalibus similia; an verò nec ad ipsa, sed ad illud quod & Corporibus & Similitudinibus Corporum est Excellentius; Citò quidem responderim; ad Corporalia loca eam vel non ferri nisi cum aliquo Corpore, vel non localiter ferri. Jam utrum habeat aliquod Corpus, Ostendat qui Potest; Ego autem non puto. Spiritalem enim arbitror esse non Corporalem, ad spiritalia vero pro meritis fertur, aut ad Loca Pœnalia similia Corporibus.* But if it be demanded, when the Soul goes out of this Body, whether it be carried into any Corporal Places, or to Incorporals like to Corporals, or else to neither, but to that which is more excellent than both Bodies, and the likenesses of Bodies; the Answer is ready; that it cannot be carried to Corporal Places, or not Locally carried any whither, without a Body. Now whether the Soul have some Body, when it goes out of this Body, let them that can show: but for my part, I think otherwise. For I suppose the Soul to be Spiritual and not Corporal, and that after Death it is either carried to Spiritual things, or else to Penal Places like to Bodies, such as have been represented to some in Extases, &c. Where St. Austin himself, seems to think, the Punishment of Souls after Death, and before the Resurrection, to be Phantastical, or only in Imagination. Whereas there could not be then so much as Phantastick Punishments neither, nor any Imagination at all in Souls, without a Body; if that Doctrine of Aristotle's be true, that Phancy or Imagination, is nothing else but a Weaker Sense; that is, a thing which results from a Complication of Soul and Body both together. But it is observable that in the forecited place, that which St. Austin chiefly opposed, was the Souls Being a Body, as Tertullian, Methodius, and others had asserted; but as for its Having a Body, he saith only this, *Ostendat qui potest, Let him that can shew it;* He granting in the mean time, that the Soul cannot be Locally carried any whither at all after Death, nor indeed be in any place, without a Body. However the same St. Austin, as he elsewhere condemneth, the Opinion of those, who would take the Fire of Hell Metaphorically, acknowledging it to be Real and Corporeal; so does he somewhere think it not improbable, but after Death, and before the Resurrection, the Souls of men may suffer, from a certain Fire, for the consuming and burning up of their dross, *Post istius sanè Corporis Mortem, donec ad illum Veniatur, qui post Resurrectionem Corporum futurus est Damnationis & Remuneracionis Ultimus Dies; Si hoc temporis Intervallo, Ejusmodi Ignem dicuntur perpeti quem non sentiant illi, qui non habuerint tales mores & amores in hujus Corporis Vita, ut Eorum Ligna, & Fœnum, & Stipula Consumantur: alii vero sentiunt qui ejusmodi secum edificia portaverunt, &c. non redarguo, quia forsitan Verum est.* If in this Interval of Time, betwixt the Death of the Body, and the Resurrection or Day of Judgment, the Souls of the Dead be said to suffer such a Fire as can do no Execution, upon those who have no Wood, Hay, nor Stubble to burn up; but shall be felt by such as have made such Buildings or Superstructures, &c. I reprehend it not, because perhaps it is True. The Opinion here mentioned, is thus Expressed by Origen, in his Fifth

De Civ. D.
Lib. 21. c. 26.

C. Cels. L. 3. 240.
 Book against *Celsus*, which very place *St. Austin* seems to have had respect to, ἡ συνιδὴν ὅτι ἄρα περὶ Ἑλλήνων πῶς ἔδοξε, τὸ πῦρ καὶ θάλασσαν ἐπιγὰρ τὰ κέλευθα· εἰκὸς δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν δεομένων ἢ διὰ τῆς πυρρῆς θύρας καλοῦσθαι μὲν καὶ ἡ κατακαλοῦσθαι τὰς μὴ ἔχουσας ὕλην δεομένῳ ἀναλυεσθαι ὑπὸ ἐκείνης τῆς πυρρῆς· καλοῦσθαι ἢ καὶ κατακαλοῦσθαι τὰς ἐν τῇ διὰ τῶν πρῶτων καὶ λόγων καὶ νοημάτων τροπικῶς λεγομένην οἰκοδομῆν ξύλα, χέρτον, ἢ καλάμην οἰκοδομήσαντας· *Celsus did not understand, That this Fire as well according to the Hebrews and Christians, as to some of the Greeks, will be Purgatory to the World; as also to every one of those persons, who stand in need of such Punishment and Remedy by Fire; which Fire can do no Execution upon those, who have no combustible Matter in them, but will be felt by such as in the Moral structure, of their Thoughts, Words, and Actions, have built up Wood, Hay, and Stubble. Now since Souls cannot suffer from Fire, nor any thing else in way of Sense or Pain, without being Vitally United to some Body, we may conclude, that St. Austin when he wrote this, was not altogether abhorrent, from Souls having Bodies after Death.*

Hitherto have we declared, How the *Ancient Asserters of Incorporeal Substance*, as *Unextended*, did repel the Assaults of *Atheists* and *Corporealists* made against it; but especially, How they quitted themselves of that *Absurdity*, of the *Illocality* and *Immobility* of *Finite Created Spirits*, by Supposing them always to be *Vitally United* to some Bodies, and consequently, by the *Locality* of those their respective Bodies, determined to *Here* and *There*: according to that of *Origen*, ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν δεῖται σώματος, διὰ τὰς τοπικὰς μεταβάσεις, *Our Soul stands in need of a Body, in order to Local Motions.* We shall in the next place declare, what *Grounds of Reason* there were, which induced those Ancients, to assert and maintain a thing so repugnant to *Sense* and *Imagination*, and consequently to all *Vulgar Apprehension*, as a *Substance* in it self *Unextended*, *Indistant*, and *Indivisible*, or *Devoid of Magnitude* and *Parts*. Wherein we shall only represent the Sense of these *Ancient Incorporealists*, so far as we can, to the best advantage, in order to their *Vindication*, against *Atheists* and *Materialists*; our selves in the mean time, not asserting any thing; but leaving every one that can, to make his own Judgment; and so either to close with this, or that other following *Hypothesis*, of *Extended Incorporeals*.

Now it is here observable, That it was a thing formerly taken for granted on both sides, as well by the *Asserters*, as the *Deniers of Incorporeal Substance*, That there is but *One kind of Extension* only; and Consequently that whatsoever hath *Magnitude* and *Parts*, or *One Thing Without Another*, is not only *Intellectually* and *Logically*, but also *Really* and *Physically Divisible* or *Discernible*, as likewise *Antitypous* and *Impenetrable*; so that it cannot *Coexist* with a *Body*, in the same Place, from whence it follows, that whatsoever *Arguments* do evince, That there is some other Substance besides *Body*, the same do therefore *Demonstrate*; according to the Sense of these Ancients, (as well *Corporealists* as *Incorporealists*) that there is *Something Unextended*; it being supposed by them both alike, that whatsoever is *Extended*

Extended, is Body. Nevertheless we shall here principally propound such Considerations of theirs, as tend directly to Prove, That there is something *Unextendedly Incorporeal*: And that an *Unextended Deity* is no *Impossible Idea*; to wit from hence, because there is something *Unextended* even in our very Selves. Where not to repeat the forementioned Ratiocination of *Simplicius*, That *whatsoever can Act and Reflect upon its Whole Self*, cannot possibly be *Extended*, nor have *Parts Distant* from one another; *Plotinus* first argues after this manner, τί τοίνυν φήσουσιν, οἱ τινὲ ψυχῶ σώμα εἶναι λέγοντες, πρῶτον μὲν P. 460. ὅτι ἕκαστα μέρη τῆ ψυχῆς τὸ ἐν ταῖ αὐτῶ σώματι, πότερον ἕκαστον ψυχῶ, οἷα ἔστι καὶ ἡ ὄλι; καὶ πάλιν τῶ μέρη τὸ μέρος; ἔθεν ἄρα τὸ μέρος συνεβάλλετο τῇ ὅσῃ αὐτῆς· καίτοι ἔδειξε ποῦ τινος ὄντος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄλον πολλαχῆ, ὅπερ σώματι παρεῖναι ἀδύνατον, εἰ πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὄλον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὄλον ὑπέρχεν· εἰ ἡ ἕκαστον τῶ μέρων ἡ ψυχὴν φήσουσιν, ἔξ ἀψύχων ψυχῆ αὐτοῖς ὑπέξει· *What then will they say, who contend, that the Soul is a Body (or Extended?) whether or no will they grant concerning every Part of the Soul in the same Body (as that of it which is in the Foot, and that in the Hand, and that in the Brain, &c.) and again every Part of those Parts, that each of them is Soul, such as the Whole? If this be consented to, then is it plain, that Magnitude or such a Quantity, would confer nothing at all, to the Essence of the Soul, as it would do, were it an Extended Thing: but the Whole, would be in many Parts or Places; which is a thing that cannot possibly belong to Body; That the same Whole, should be in more; and That a Part, should be, what the whole is. But if they will not grant, every Part of their Extended Soul, to be Soul, then according to them must the Soul be Made up, and Compounded of Soul-less Things. Which Argument is else where again thus propounded by him, εἰ ἡ En. 4. L. 7. c. 3. ἕκαστον ζῶν ἔχει, καὶ ἐν ἀρκεί· εἰ ἡ μηδενὸς αὐτῶ ζῶν ἔχουτος ἡ σύνθεσις πεποιθεῖ ζῶν, ἀτοπον· μάλλον ἡ ἀδύνατον συμφορησιν σωμάτων ζῶν ἐρχάζεσθαι, καὶ ἔν γενησὶν τὰ ἀνόντα· *If every one of the Parts of this Extended Soul, or Mind, have Life in it, then would any one of them alone be sufficient. But to say, that though none of the Parts alone have Life in them, yet the Conjunction of them altogether, maketh Life, is absurd; it being impossible, that Life and Soul should result from a Congeries of Lifeless and Souless things; or that Mindless things put together, should beget Mind. The sum of this Argumentation is this, That either every part of an Extended Soul is Soul, and of an Extended Mind, Mind; or not. Now if no Part of a Soul, as supposed to be Extended, alone be Soul or have Life and Mind in it, then is it certain that the Whole resulting from all the Parts, could have no Life nor Mind; because Nothing can (Causally) come from Nothing. It is true indeed, that Corporeal Qualities and Forms, according to the Atomick Physiology, result from a Composition and Contexture of Atoms or Parts, each of which taken alone by themselves, have nothing of that Quality or Form in them,**

— Ne ex Albis Alba rearis;
Aut ea quæ Nigrant, nigro de Semine nata.

You are not to think, that White things are made out of White principles, nor Black things out of Black; but the Reason of the difference here

here is plain, because these *Qualities* and *Forms* are not *Entities Really* distinct from the *Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion* of Parts, but only such a Composition of them, as cause different *Phancies* in us; but *Life* and *Understanding, Soul and Mind*, are *Entities Really* distinct from *Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion* of Parts, they are neither meer *Phancies*, nor *Syllables* of things, but *Simple and Uncompounded Realities*. But if every supposed *Part* of a *Soul* be *Soul*, and of a *Mind, Mind*; then would all the rest of it besides any *One Part*, be *Superfluous*: or indeed every supposed *Part* thereof, would be the *Same with the Whole*; from whence it follows, that it could not be *Extended*, or have any *Real Parts* at all, since no *Part* of an *Extended* thing, can possibly be the *Same with the Whole*.

Again the same Philosopher endeavours further to prove, that the *Humane Soul* it self, is *Unextended and Indivisible*, from its *Energies and Operations*, and that as well those of *Sensation* as of *Intellection*, **First therefore from External Sensations**, he Reasons in this manner,

P. 461. ἐπι μέμνη αἰσθάνεσθαι τινος ἐν αὐτῷ δεῖ εἶναι, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. καὶ εἰ διὰ πολλῶν αἰσθητικῶν πλεῖν τὰ εἰσόντα, ἢ πολλὰ ὡς ἐν πίστευσι, καὶ δι' ἐνός ποιήσων, ὅσον πρόσωπον· ἢ ἄλλο μὲν εἶνός ἄλλο ἢ ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτον ὅμῃ πάντων· καὶ εἰ τὸ μὲν δι' ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ δὲ δι' ἀκοῆς, ἐν τῷ δεῖ εἶναι εἰς ὃ ἀμφω· ἢ πᾶς ἂν εἴποι ὅτι ἕτερον ταῦτα, μὴ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὅμῃ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ἐλθόντων· *That which perceiveth in us, must of necessity be One thing, and by One and the same Indivisible, perceive all; and that whether they be more things, entering through several Organs of Sense, as the many Qualities of one Substance; or One Various and Multiform thing, entering through the same Organ; as the Countenance or Picture of a man. For it is not One thing in us, that perceives the Nose, another thing the Eyes, and another thing the Mouth; but it is one and the self same thing, that perceiveth all. And when one thing enters through the Eye, another through the Ear, these also must of necessity come all at last to one Indivisible, or else they could not be compared together, nor one of them affirmed to be different from another? The several Sentiments of them meeting no where together in One. He concludes therefore, that this One thing in us, that sensibly perceives all things, may be resembled to the Centre of a Circle, and the several Senses, to Lines drawn from the Circumference, which all meet in that one Centre. Wherefore that which perceives and apprehends all things in us, must needs be Really One, and the very same; that is, Unextended and Indivisible. Which Argument, is yet further pursued by him, more particularly thus. If that which sensibly perceiveth in us, be Extended, so as to have Distant Parts, one without another, then one of these Three things must needs be affirmed; That either Every Part of this Extended Substance of the Soul perceives a Part of the Object only; or every Part of it the Whole Object, or else all comes to some One Point, which alone perceives, both the several Parts of the Object, and the Whole, all the other, being but as Circumferential Lines leading to this Center. Now of the Former of those Three Plotinus thus; μετέθ' οὕτω τῷ, Συμμεροῦσι ἂν· ἄγε ἄλλο ἄλλο μέγε, καὶ μηδὲνα ἡμῶν ὅλας τῶ αἰσθητῶ ἀντιλήψιν ἔχον· ὡς περ ἂν εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν ἄλλο· σὺ δὲ ἄλλο αἰσθητῶ· *If the Soul be a Magnitude, then must it be divided together with the Sensible Object, so that one Part of the Soul must**

must perceive one Part of the Object, and another, another; and nothing in It, the Whole Sensible: just as if I should have the sense of one thing, and you of another. Whereas it is plain by our Internal Sense, That it is One and the Self same thing in us, which perceives, both the Parts and the Whole. And of the Second, he writeth in this manner, εἰ ἢ ὅτι πᾶν παντὸς αἰσθητέαι. ἐς ἀπέρος διαρρέειται τὸ μέγεθος πεφυρότων, ἀπέρος ἐν αἰσθητέαι καὶ ἕκαστον αἰσθητὸν συμπεριέεται γίνεσθαι ἐκάστω οἷον τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπέρος ἐν τῷ ἐγχεμονέντι ἡμῶν εἰκόνας. But if every Part of the Extended Soul, perceive the Whole Sensible Object, since Magnitude is Infinitely Divisible, there must be in every man Infinite Sensations, and Images of one and the same Object. Whereas we are Intimately Conscious to our selves, That we have but only One Sensation of One Object at the same time. And as for the Third and Last Part of the Disjunction, That what Sensibly Perceives in every one, is but One Single Point, either Mathematical or Physical. It is certain first that a Mathematical Point, having neither Longitude, Latitude, nor Profundity, is no Body nor Substance, but only a Notion of our own Mind, or a Mode of Conceiving in us. And then as for a Physical Point or Minimum, a Body so Little that there cannot possibly be any Less, Plotinus asserting the Infinite Divisibility of Body, here explodes the thing it self. However he further intimates, that If there were any such Physical Minimum, or Absolutely Least Body or Extensum, this could not possibly receive upon it a Distinct Representation and Delineation, of all the several Parts of a Whole Visible Object at once, as of the Eyes, Nose, Mouth, &c. in a man's Face or Picture; or of the Particularities of an Edifice: nor could such a Parvitude or Atom as this, be the Cause of all Animal Motions. And this was one of Aristotle's Arguments, whereby he would prove Unextended Incorporeals, πᾶς τῶν ἀμερῶν τὸ μέγιστον. If the Soul were Indivisible as a Point, how could it Perceive, that which is Divisible? that is, take notice of all the Distinct Parts of any Extended Object, and have a Description of the whole of them at once upon it self? The Sum of the whole Argumentation is this, That If the Soul be an Extended Substance, then must it of necessity be either a Physical Point or Minimum, the Least Extensum that can possibly be, (if there be any such Least, and Body or Extension be not Infinitely Divisible) or else it must consist of more such Physical Points, joyned together. As for the former of these, it hath been already declared to be Impossible, that one Single Atom, or Smallest Point of Extension, should be able distinctly to perceive all the variety of things: to which might be added, That to suppose every Soul to be but one Physical Minimum, or Smallest Extensum, is to imply such an Essential Difference in Matter or Extension, as that some of the Points thereof, should be Naturally devoid of all Life, Sense, and Understanding, and others again Naturally Sensitive and Rational. Which Absurdity though it should be admitted, yet would it be utterly Unconceivable, how there should come to be, One such Sensitive and Rational Atom in every man and no more, and how this should constantly remain the same, from Infancy to Old-Age, whilst other Parts of Matter Transpire perpetually. But as for the Latter; If Souls be Extended Substances, consisting of More Points, one without another; all Concurring in every Sensation,

sation, then must every one of those *Points*, either Perceive a *Point* and *Part* of the *Object* only, or else the *Whole*. Now if every *Point* of the *Extended Soul*, Perceive only a *Point* of the *Object*, then is there no *One Thing* in us, that *Perceives the Whole*; or which can compare one *Part* with another. But if every *Point* of the *Extended Soul*, Perceive the *Whole Object* at once, consisting of many *Parts*, then would there be *Innumerable Perceptions* of the same *Object* in every *Sensation*; as many, as there are *Points* in the *Extended Soul*. And from both those *Suppositions*, it would alike follow, that no man is *One Single Percipient* or *Person*, but that there are *Innumerable distinct Percipients* and *Persons* in every man. Neither can there be any other *Supposition* made, besides those *Three* forementioned; as That the whole *Extended Soul*, should Perceive both the *Whole Sensible Object*, and *All its several Parts*, no *Part* of this *Soul* in the mean time having any *Perception* at all by it self; because the *Whole* of an *Extended Being*, is nothing but *All the Parts* taken together; and if none of those *Parts* have any *Life, Sense, or Perception* in them, it is *Impossible*, that there should be any in the *Whole*. But in very truth, to say that the *Whole Soul* Perceiveth all, and no *Part* of it any thing; is to acknowledge it, not to be *Extended*, but to be *Indivisible*; which is the *Thing* that *Plotinus* contends for.

And that *Philosopher* here further insists upon *Internal Sensations* also, and that Συμπάθεια, or ὁμοπάθεια, That *Sympathy*, or *Homopathy*, which is in all *Animals*, to the same purpose: It being *One* and the *Same* thing in them, which *Perceives Pain*, in the most distant *Extremities* of the *Body*; as in the *Sole* of the *Foot*, and in the *Crown* of the *Head*, and which moves one *Part* to succour and relieve another labouring under it, which could not possibly be by *Traduction* of all, to one *Physical Point*, as the *Centre*, for divers *Reasons*. Εἰ τοίνυν χτ' διαδδον ἔχ οἰόντε τιμῆ ἀιθρον τῆ τοῖστῃ γίνασθαι, μή ἢ σώματι οἷος οἷου, ἄλλῃ παθόντι, ἄλλο γινώσκον ἔχον (παντὶς γὰρ μεγέθους τὸ μὲν ἄλλο, τὸ ἢ ἄλλο ἔστι) δ' εἰ τοῖστων τίθεσθαι τὸ ἀιθανόμενον, οἷον πανταχῆς ὡτῆ ἐαυτῶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι. τῆτο ἢ ἄλλῳ τιμῆ ὄντων ἢ σώματι ποῖον προσήκῃ. Since therefore these *Sympathetick Senses*, cannot possibly be made by *Traduction*, at last to *One thing*; and *Body* being *Bulkie* or *Out-swelling Extension*, *One Part* thereof *Suffering*, another cannot *Perceive* it, (for in all *Magnitude*, *This is One thing*, and *That Another*) it followeth, that what *Perceives* in us, must be every where, and in all the *parts* of the *Body*, *One* and the *Same* thing with it self. Which therefore cannot be it self *Body*, but must of necessity be some other *Entity* or *Substance Incorporeal*. The *Conclusion* is, that in *Men* and *Animals*, there is *One thing Indivisibly* the *Same*, that *Comprehendeth the Whole Outside* of them, *Perceiveth* both the *Parts*, and the *Whole* of *Sensible Objects*, and all transmitted through several *Senses*; *Sympathizeth* with all the *Distant Parts* of the *Body*; and *Acteth* entirely upon all. And this is properly called, *I My Self*, not the *Extended Bulk* of the *Body*, which is not *One* but *Many Substances*, but an *Unextended* and *Indivisible Unity*, wherein all *Lines* Meet, and *Concentre*, not as a *Mathematical Point*, or *Least Extensum*; But as one *Self-Active, Living, Power, Substantial, or Inside-Being*, that *Containeth, Holdeth, and Connecteth* all together. Lastly,

Lastly, the forementioned Philosopher endeavours yet further to prove, the *Human Soul* to be *Unextended* and *Devoid of Magnitude*, and *Indivisible*, from its *Rational Energies* or *Operations*, its νοητῶν νοήσεις; and ἀμεγέδων ἀνπλήτης, *Intellections of Intelligibles*, and *Apprehensions of things Devoid of Magnitude*, πῶς γὰρ μέγεθος ἐν τῷ μὴ μέγεθος νοήσῃ; καὶ τὰς μεμειωμένον τὸ μὴ μεμειωμένον; For how could the Soul (saith he) if it were a *Magnitude*, *Understand that which hath no Magnitude?* and with that which is *Divisible*, *Conceive what is Indivisible?* Now it is certain, that we have *Notions* of many things which are ἀφάνταστα, altogether *Unimaginable*, and therefore have nothing of *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Thicknes* in them, as *Virtue*, *Vice*, &c. ἀμέγεδρος ἡ οὐσία. Plot. p. 463. καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων νόσις. ὡσεὶ καὶ περιόντα καὶ τὰς ἀμερεῖ αὐτῆς ὑποδέξεται, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν ἀμερεῖ κείσεται. *Justice and Honesty, and the like, are things Devoid of Magnitude, and therefore must the Intellections of them, needs be such too. So that the Soul must receive these, by what is Indivisible, and Lodge them in that which is Indivisible.* We have also a *Notion* not only of meer *Latitude* or *Breadth*, *Indivisible* as to *Thicknes*; and of *Longitude* or a *Line*, *Indivisible* both as to *Breadth*, and *Thicknes*; but also of a *Mathematical Point*, that is every way *Indivisible*, as to *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Thicknes*. We have a *Conception* of the *Intension* of *Powers* and *Vertues*, wherein there is nothing of *Extension* or *Magnitude*. And indeed all the *Abstract Essences* of things, (or the αὐτοτέλειαι) which are the *First Objects* of *Intellection*, are *Indivisible*: εἰ δὲ ἦν ἐν ὕλῃ εἰδῶν τὰς νοήσεις φήσασαν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χωριζομένων γε γίνονται τὰ ἴσῃ χωρίστος, ἢ γὰρ μετὰ σαρκῶν, &c. And though we apprehend *Forms* that are in *Matter* too, yet do we *Apprehend them as Separated and Abstracted from the same*; there being nothing of *Flesh* in our *Conception* of a *Man*, &c. Nay, the *Soul* *Conceives Extended things themselves, Unextendedly and Indivisibly*; for as the *Distance* of a whole *Hemisphere* is contracted into a narrow *Compass* in the *Pupil* of the *Eye*, so are all *Distances* yet more contracted in the *Soul* it self, and there *Understood Indistantly*; For the *Thought* of a *Mile Distance*, or of *Ten thousand Miles*, or *Semidiameters* of the *Earth*, takes up no more *Room* in the *Soul*, nor *Stretches* it any more, than does the *Thought* of a *Foot* or *Inch*, or indeed of a *Mathematical Point*. Were that which perceiveth in us a *Magnitude*, then could it not be, ἴσων παντὶ ἀιδήσῃ, *Equal to every sensible*, and alike perceive, both *Lesser* and *Greater Magnitudes*, than it self: but least of all could it perceive, such things as have no *Magnitude* at all. And this was the other *Part of Aristotle's Argumentation*, to Prove the *Soul* and *Mind* to be *Unextended* and *Indivisible*, πῶς γὰρ νοήσῃ τὸ ἀμερες μεμειωμένον; For how could it perceive, that which is *Indivisible*, by what is *Divisible*? He having before Demanded, How, is could apprehend things *Divisible*, and of a *Great Extension*, by a *meer Point* or *Absolute Parvitude*. Where the *Soul*, or that which *Perceives* and *Understands*, is according to *Aristotle*, neither *Divisible*, as a *Continued Quantity*, nor yet *Indivisible*, either as a *Mathematical*, or as a *Physical Point*, and *Absolute Parvitude*; but as that which hath in it self, no *Out-Swelling Distance*, nor *Relation* to any *Place*, otherwise than

as it is Vitally United to a Body; which, (where ever it be,) it always *Sympathizes* with, and *Acts* upon.

Besides which, these *Ancient Asserters* of *Unextended Incorporeals*, would in all probability confirm that Opinion from hence; Because we can not only *Conceive Extension* without *Cogitation*, and again *Cogitation* without *Extension*; from whence it may be Inferred, that they are *Entities Really Distinct*, and *Separable* from one another, (we having no other *Rule*, to Judge of the *Real Distinction* and *Separability* of things then from our *Conceptions*) but also are not able to *Conceive Cogitation* with *Extension*. We cannot conceive a *Thought*, to be of such a certain *Length, Breadth, and Thickness*, *Mensurable* by *Inches* and *Feet*, and by *Solid Measures*. We cannot *Conceive Half*, or a *Third Part*, or a *Twentieth Part* of a *Thought*, much less of the *Thought* of an *Indivisible Thing*; neither can we *Conceive every Thought* to be of some certain *Determinate Figure*, either *Round* or *Angular*; *Spherical, Cubical, or Cylindrical*, or the like. Whereas if whatsoever is *Unextended*, be *Nothing*, *Thoughts* must either be mere *Non-Entities*, or else *Extended* too, into *Length, Breadth* and *Thickness*; *Divisible* into *Parts*; and *Mensurable*; and also (where *Finite*,) of a certain *Figure*. And consequently all *Verities* in us (they being but *Complex Axiomatical Thoughts*) must of necessity be *Long, Broad, and Thick*, and either *Spherically* or *Angularly Figurate*. And the same must be affirmed, of *Volitions* likewise, and *Appetites* or *Passions*, as *Fear* and *Hope, Love* and *Hatred, Grief* and *Joy*; and of all other things belonging to *Cogitative Beings*, (*Souls* and *Minds*) as *Knowledge* and *Ignorance, Wisdom* and *Folly, Vertue* and *Vice, Justice* and *Injustice, &c.* that these are either all of them *Absolute Non-Entities*; or Else *Extended* into *Three Dimensions* of *Length, Breadth, and Profundity*; and *Mensurable* not only by *Inches* and *Feet*, but also by *Solid Measures*, as *Pints* and *Quarts*: and last of all (where they are *Finite* as in men) *Figurate*. But if this be *Absurd*, and these things belonging to *Soul* and *Mind*, (though doubtless as great *Realities* at least, as the things which belong to *Bodies*) be *Unextended*, then must the *Substances* of *Souls* and *Minds* themselves be *Unextended* also. Thus *Plotinus* of *Mind*, Νῆς ἡ διασείς ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς, *Mind is not Distant from it self*: and indeed were it so, it could not be *One thing*, (as it is) but *Many*; every *Conceivable Part* of *Distant* and *Extended Substance*, being a *Substance* by it self. And the same is to be said of the *Humane Soul*, though it *Act* upon *Distant Parts* of that *Body*, which it is united to, that it self notwithstanding, is not *Scattered* out into *Distance*, nor *Dispersed* into *Multiplicity*, nor *Infinitely Divisible*; because then it would not be *One Single Substance*, or *Monade*, but a *Heap of Substances*. *Soul* is no more *Divisible*, than *Life*; of which the forementioned *Philosopher* thus, ἀεὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῶν μετεῖς; ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ πᾶν ἢν ζῶν, τὸ μὲν ζῶν ἐν ἑσσι, *Will you divide a Life into two? then the whole of it being but a Life, the half thereof, cannot be a Life*. Lastly, if *Soul* and *Mind*, and the things belonging to them, as *Life* and *Cogitation, Understanding* and *Wisdom, &c.* be *Out-spread* into *Distance*, having one *Part* without another, then can there be no *Good Reason* given, why they should not be, as well
Really

Really and Physically, as Intellectually Divisible; and One Part of them Separable from another: since as Plotinus, πάντες μεγέθεις τὸ μὲν ἄλλο, τὸ δ' ἄλλο, In all Magnitude or Extension, This is One thing, and That Another. At least no Theist ought to deny, but that the Divine Power, could Cleave, or Divide a Thought, together with the Soul wherein it is into Many Pieces; and remove them to the Greatest Distances from one another, (for as much as this implies no manner of Contradiction, and whatsoever is Conceivable by us, may be done by Infinite Power) in which case, neither of them alone, would be Soul or Mind, Life or Thought, but all put together, make up one entire Mind, Soul, Life, and Thought.

Wherefore, the Sense of the Ancient Incorporealists, seems to have been as follows. That there are in Nature, Two Kinds of Substances specifically Differing from one another. The First ὄσμοι, Bulks or Tumours, a meer Passive Thing. The Second δυνάμεις, Self-Active Powers or Vertues, or φῶς δραστήου, the Energetick Nature. The Former of these, is nothing else but Magnitude or Extension, not as an Abstract Notion of the Mind, but as a Thing Really Existing without it. For when it is called, *Res Extensa*, the meaning is not, as if the *Res* were One thing, and the *Extension* thereof Another, but that it is *Extension*, or *Distance*, Really Existing, or the Thing thereof (without the Mind) and not the *Notion*. Now this in the Nature of it, is Nothing but *Aliud Extra Aliud*, One thing without Another, and therefore perfect *Alterity*, *Disunity*, and *Divisibility*. So that no *Extensum* whatsoever, of any Sensible Bigness, is Truly and Really, One Substance, but a Multitude or Heap of Substances, as Many as there are *Parts* into which it is *Divisible*. Moreover one Part of this *Magnitude*, always Standing Without another, it is an *Essential Property* thereof to be *Antitypous* or *Impenetrable*, that is, to Jostle or Shoulder out, all other *Extended Substance* from *Penetrating* into it, and *Co-Existing* with it, so as to Possess and take up the same Room or Space. One yard of *Distance*, or of *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Thickness*, cannot possibly be added to another, without making the Whole *Extension* Double to what it was before, since one of them must of necessity stand without the other. One *Magnitude* cannot *Imbibe* or *Swallow* up another, nor can there be any *Penetration* of *Dimensions*. Moreover *Magnitude* or *Extension* as such, is meer *Outside* or *Outwardness*, it hath nothing *Within*, no *Self-Active Power* or *Vertue*, all its *Activity*, being either *Keeping out* or *Hindering*, any other *Extended Thing*, from *Penetrating* into it: (which yet it doth meerly by its being *Extended*, and therefore not so much by any *Physical Efficiency*, as a *Logical Necessity*.) or else *Local Motion*, to which it is also but *Passive*; no *Body* or *Extension* as such, being able to *Move* it self, or *Act* upon it self.

Wherefore were there no other Substance in the World besides this *Magnitude* or *Extension*, there could be no *Motion* or *Action* at all in it; no *Life*, *Cogitation*, *Consciousness*, No *Intellection*, *Appetite* or *Volition* (which things do yet make up the Greatest part of the Universe) but all would be a dead *Heap* or *Lump*: nor could any one Sub-

stance, Penetrate another, and Co-Exist in the same Place with it. From whence it follows of necessity, that besides this *Outside Bulky Extension*, and *Tumourous Magnitude*, there must be another kind of *Entity*, whose *Essential Attribute* or *Character*, is *Life*, *Self-Activity*, or *Cogitation*. Which first, that it is not a meer *Mode* or *Accident* of *Magnitude* and *Extension*, is plain from hence, because *Cogitation* may be as well *Conceived* without *Extension*, as *Extension* without *Cogitation*; whereas no *Mode* of any thing can be *Conceived* without that whereof it is a *Mode*. And since there is unquestionably, much more of *Entity* in *Life* and *Cogitation*, than there is in meer *Extension* or *Magnitude*, which is the *Lowest* of all *Being*, and next to *Nothing*; it must needs be *Imputed*, to the meer *Delusion* and *Imposture* of *Imagination*, that men are so prone to think, this *Extension* or *Magnitude*, to be the only *Substance*, and all other things besides, the meer *Accidents* thereof, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* again into it. For though that *Secondary* and *Participated Life*, (as it is called) in the *Bodies of Animals*, be indeed a meer *Accident*, and such as may be *Present* or *Absent* without the *Destruction* of its *Subject*; yet can there be no *Reason* given, why the *Primary* and *Original Life* it self, should not be as well a *Substantial Thing*, as meer *Extension* and *Magnitude*. Again that *Extension* and *Life*, or *Cogitation*, are not *Two Inadequate Conceptions* neither, of one and the self same *Substance*, considered brokenly and by *piecemeal*; as if either all *Extension* had *Life* and *Cogitation* *Essentially* belonging to it, (as the *Hylozoists* conclude) or at least all *Life* and *Cogitation* had *Extension*; and consequently all *Souls* and *Minds*, and even the *Deity* it self were, either *Extended Life and Cogitation*; or *Living and Thinking Extension* (there being nothing in *Nature* *Unextended*; but *Extension* the only *Entity*, so that whatsoever is devoid thereof, is *ipso facto*, *Absolutely Nothing*) This, I say, will also appear from hence, because as hath been already declared, we cannot *Conceive* a *Life* or *Mind* or *Thought*, nor any thing at all belonging to a *Cogitative Being* as such (as *Wisdom*, *Folly*, *Vertue*, *Vice*, &c.) to be *Extended* into *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Thicknes*, and to be *Mensurable* by *Inches*, *Feet*, and *Yards*. From whence it may be concluded, that *Extension*, and *Life* or *Cogitation*, are no *Inadequate Conceptions* of One and the self same thing, since they cannot be *Complicated* together into one, but that they are distinct *Substances* from each other. *Lives* and *Minds*, are such *Tight and Compact Things* in themselves, and have such a *Self-Unity* in their *Nature*, as that they cannot be lodged, in that which is wholly *Scattered* out from it self into *Distance*, and *Dispersed* into *Infinite Multiplicity*; nor be spread all over upon the same as coextended with it. Nor is it conceivable, how all the several *Parts* of an *Extended Magnitude*, should *Joyntly* concur and contribute, to the *Production* of *One* and the same *Single* and *Indivisible Cogitation*; or how that whole *Heap* or *Bundle* of things, should be *One Thinker*. A *Thinker*, is a *Monade*, or one *Single Substance*, and not a *Heap* of *Substances*: whereas no *Body* or *Extended thing*, is *One*, but *Many Substances*, every *Conceivable* or *Smallest part* thereof, being a *Real Substance* by it self.

But this will yet further appear, if we consider, what kind of *Acti-*

on *Cogitation* is. The *Action* of an *Extended Thing* as such, is nothing but *Local Motion*, Change of *Distance*, or *Translation* from *Place* to *Place*, a meer *Outside* and *Superficial* thing; but it is certain, that *Cogitation*, (*Phancy*, *Intellection*, and *Volition*) are no *Local Motions*; nor the meer *Fridging* up and and down, of the *Parts* of an *Extended Substance*, changing their *Place* and *Distance*; but it is Unquestionably, an *Internal Energie*; that is, such an *Energie* as is *Within* the very *Substance* or *Essence*, of that which *Thinketh*; or in the *Inside* of it. From which *Two kinds of Energies*, we may now conclude, that there are also *Two kinds of Entity* or *Substance* in *Nature*; the *One meer Outside*, and which hath *Nothing Within it*; the *Other* such a kind of *Entity*, as hath an *Internal Energie*; *Acteth From it self*, and *Within it self*, and *Upon it self*; an *Inside Thing*, whose *Action* is *Within* the very *Essence* or *Substance* thereof. It being plain, that the *Cogitative* or *Thinking Nature*, is such a thing, as hath an *Essential Inside* or *Profundity*. Now this *Inside* of *Cogitative Beings*, wherein they thus *Act* or *Think* *Internally* within themselves, cannot have any *Length*, *Breadth*, or *Thickneß* in it, because if it had, it would be again a meer *Outside thing*. Wherefore had all *Cogitative Beings*, (*Souls* and *Minds*) *Extension* and *Magnitude* never so much belonging to them, as some suppose them to have, yet could this for all that, be *Nothing* but the meer *Outside* of their *Being*, besides which, they must of necessity have also, an *Unextended Inside*, that hath no *Outswelling Tumour*, and is not *Scattered* into *Distance*, nor *Dispersed* into *Multiplicity*, which therefore could not possibly *Exist* a *Part* in a *Part*, of the supposed *Extension*, as if one *Half* of a *Mind* or *Thought*, were in *One Half* of that *Extension*, and another in another; but must of necessity be *All Undividedly*, both in the *Whole* of it, and in every *Part*. For had every *Twentieth* or *Hundredth Part* of this *Extensum*, not the *Whole* of a *Life* or *Mind* in it, but only the *Twentieth* or *Hundredth Part* thereof, then could none of them have any true *Life* or *Mind* at all, nor consequently the *Whole* have any. Nor indeed is it otherwise conceivable, how a whole *Quantity* of *Extended Substance* should be *One thing*, and have *One Personality*, one *I My self* in it all, were there not *One Indivisible thing*, *Presiding* over it, which *Held it* all together, and *Diffused* it self thorough all. And thus do we see, how this *Whole in the Whole* and *in every Part* (do men what they can) will like a *Ghost* still haunt them, and follow them every where. But now it is *Impossible*, that *One* and the self same *Substance*, should be both *Extended* and *Unextended*. Wherefore in this *Hypothesis* of *Extended Understanding Spirits*, having *One Part* without *Another*, there is an *Undiscerned Complication* of *Two Distinct Substances*, *Extended* and *Unextended*, or *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal*, both together; and a *Confusion* of them into *One*. Where notwithstanding, we must acknowledge, that there is so much of *Truth* aimed at; as that all *Finite Incorporeal Substances*, are always *Naturally* united to *Some Bodies*, so that the *Whole* of these *Created Animals*, is *Completed* and *Made up* of *Both* these together, an *Extended Inside*, and an *Unextended Outside*; both of them *Substances* indeed *Really distinct*, but yet *Vitally United*, each to other.

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The Sum of all is, That there are *Two kinds of Substances in Nature*, the First *Extension or Magnitude*, Really Existing without the Mind, which is a thing that hath no *Self-Unity* at all in it, but is *Infinite Alterity* and *Divisibility*, as it is also meer *Outside* and *Outwardness*, it having nothing *Within*; nor any other *Action* belonging to it, but only *Locally to Move*, when it is Moved. The Second, *Life and Mind*; or the Self Active *Cogitative Nature*, an *Inside Being*, whose *Action* is not *Local Motion*, but an *Internal Energy*, *Within* the *Substance* or *Essence* of the *Thinker* himself, or in the *Inside* of him; which therefore (though *Unextended*, yet) hath a certain *Inward Recess*, *Báθος*, or *Essential Profundity*. And this is a thing which can *Act* all of it *Entirely*, upon either a *Greater or Lesser Quantity of Extended Substance* or *Body*, and its *Several Parts*, *Penetrating* into it, and *Co-existing* in the same *Place* with it. Wherefore it is not to be looked upon, either as a *Mathematical*, or as a *Physical Point*, as an *Absolute Parvitude* or the *Least Extensum* possible; it having not only such an *Essential Inside*, *Báθος*, or *Profundity* in it, wherein it *Acteth* and *Thinketh* within it self, but also a certain *Amplitude of Active Power ad Extra*, or a *Sphere of Activity* upon *Body*. Upon which account, it was before affirmed by *Plotinus*, that an *Unextended Incorporeal*, is a thing *Bigger* than *Body*; because *Body* cannot *Exist* otherwise, than a *Point* of it in a *Point* of *Space*, whereas this *One and the same Indivisible*, can at once both comprehend a *Whole Extensum* within it, and be *All* of it in every *Part* thereof. And *Lastly*, all *Finite Incorporeals*, are always *Naturally United* to some *Body* or other; from both which together, is *Completed* and *Made up*, in every *Created Understanding Being*, one entire *Animal*, consisting of *Soul* and *Body*, and having *Something Incorporeal*, and *something Corporeal* in it; an *Unextended Inside*, and an *Extended Outside*; by means whereof, it is determined to *Here* and *There*, and *Capable* of moving *Locally*, or *Changing Place*.

Thus have we represented the sense of the *Ancient Unextended Incorporealists* to the best advantage that we could; in way of *Answer* to the premised *Atheistick Argument*, against *Incorporeal Substance*; and in order to the *Vindication* of them from the *Contempt* of *Atheists*; And we do affirm, that the forementioned *Argumentations* of theirs, do evince, That there is some other *Substance* besides *Body*, which therefore according to the *Principles* of these *Atheists* themselves, must be acknowledged to be *Unextended*, it being concluded by them that whatsoever is *Extended* is *Body*. But whether they do also, absolutely prove, that there is, *ἡμία ἀμεγέθους, ἀδιάσπαστος, ἀμερής*, and *ἀδιάλετος*, *A Substance Devoid of Magnitude, Indistant, Without Parts, and Indivisible*; this we shall leave others to make a *Judgment* of. However it is certain that *Atheists* who maintain the contrary, must needs assert, that every *Thought*, and whatsoever belongeth to *Soul*, *Mind*, (as *Knowledge*, *Virtue*, &c.) is not only *Mentally* and *Mathematically Divisible*, so that there may be *Half*, a *Third Part*, or a *Quarter* of a *Thought*, and the *Rest*, supposed; but also *Physically Separable*, or *Discerpible*, together

gether with the Soul wherein it is. They must also deny, that there is any *Internal Energy* at all, or any other Action besides that *Outside superficial Action*, of *Local Motion*, and Consequently make all Cogitation nothing but *Local Motion*, or Translation. And Lastly, they must maintain, that no Substance can Co-exist with any other *Substance* (as Soul with Body) otherwise than by *Juxta-Position* only, and by Possessing the Pores, or filling up the Intervals thereof; as a Net with the water.

And this is the First Answer to the forementioned *Atheistick Argument*, against *Incorporeal Substance*. That though whatsoever is *Extended* be Body, yet Every thing is not *Extended*, but that *Life* and *Mind* or *Cogitation*, are an *Unextended*, Indistant and Indivisible *Nature*. But as we have already intimated, There are other Learned Asserters of *Incorporeal Substance*, who lest, *God* and *Spirits*, being thus made *Unextended*; should quite Vanish into Nothing; Answer that *Atheistick Argumentation* after a different manner; by granting to these Atheists, that Proposition, that *whatsoever Is*, is *Extended*; and what is *Unextended* is *Nothing*; but then denying that other of theirs, That *whatsoever* is *Extended* is *Body*: They asserting, Another *Extension*, Specifically Differing from that of Bodies. For whereas *Corporeal Extension*, is not only *Impenetrable*, so as that no one Part thereof, can Enter into another, but also both *Mentally* and *Really Divisible*; one Part being in its Nature Separable from another; they affirm, that there is another *Incorporeal Extension*, which is both *Penetrable*, and also Indiscernible; so that no One Part thereof, can possibly be Separated from another, or the *whole*; and that to such an *Incorporeal Extension*, as this, belongeth *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Understanding*, the Deity having such an *Infinite Extension*, but all Created *Spirits*, a Finite and Limited one: which also is in them supposed to be *Contractible* and *Dilatable*. Now it is not our part here, to oppose *Theists*, but *Atheists*: wherefore we shall leave these *Two Sorts of Incorporealists* to dispute it out friendly amongst themselves; and indeed therefore with the more *Moderation*, *Equanimity*, and *Toleratation* of Dissent Mutually; because it seemeth, that Some are in a manner Fatally Inclined, to think one way in this Controversie, and Some another. And what ever the Truth of the Case be, it must be acknowledged, that this Latter *Hypothesis*, may be very useful and Serviceable to retain some in Theism, who can by no means admit, of a *Deity*, or Any thing else, *Unextended*. Though perhaps, there will not be wanting others also; who would go in a middle way betwixt these Two, or Compound them together; by supposing the *Deity* to be indeed altogether *Unextended*, and all of it Every where; but *Finite Incorporeals* or *Created Spirits*, to have an *Unextended Inside*, a *Life* or *Mind*, Diffusing it self into a certain *Amplitude of Outward Extension*, whereby they are Determined to a Place; yet so as to be all in every Part thereof; which *Outward Extension*, is therefore not to be Accounted *Body*, because *Penetrable*, *Contractable*, and *Dilatable*; and because no one Part thereof is *Separable* from the rest, by the Rushing or Incurfion of any *Corporeal* thing upon them. And thus is the

Atheist

Atheists Argument, against Incorporeal Substance, Answered Two manner of ways; First, That there *Is Something Unextended*; and Secondly, That *If there were none, yet must there of necessity be, a Substance otherwise Extended than Body is*, so as to be neither *Antitypous* nor *Discerpible*. And Our selves would not be Understood here, Dogmatically to Assert any thing in this Point, save only what all *Incorporealists* do agree in; To wit, That besides *Body*, which is *Impenetrably* and *Divisibly Extended*, there is in Nature another *Substance*, that is both *Penetrable* of *Body* and *Indiscerpible*; or which doth not Consist, of *Parts Separable from one another*. And that there is at least, such a Substance as this, is unquestionably manifest, from what hath been already declared.

But the *Atheist* will in the next place, give an Account of the *Original* of this *Errour* (as He calls it) of *Incorporeal Substance*, and Undertake to show, from what *Mistake* it proceeded; which is yet another *Pretended Confutation* thereof. Namely, that it sprung Partly from the *Abuse* of *Abstract Names* and *Notions*, Men making *Substances* of them, and Partly from the *Scholastick Essences*, Distinct from the Things themselves, and said to be *Eternal*. From both which Delusions and Dotages together, the *Atheist* conceives, that Men have been first of all much Confirmed in the *Belief* of *Ghosts* and *Spirits*, *Demons* and *Devils*, *Invisible Beings* called by several Names. Which Belief had also another *Original*, mens *Mistaking* their own *Phancies* for *Realities*. The Chief of all which affrightful *Ghosts* and *Spectres*, according to these *Atheists* is the *Deity*, the *Oberon*, or *Prince* of *Fairies* and *Phancies*. But then whereas men by their Natural Reason, could not conceive otherwise, of these *Ghosts* and *Spirits*, then that they were a kind of *Thin*, *Aerial Bodies*; their Understandings have been so *Enchanted* by these *Abstract Names* (which are indeed the *Names of Nothing*) and those *Separate Essences* and *Quiddities* of *Scholasticks*, as that they have made *Incorporeal Substances* of them. The *Atheistick Conclusion* is; That they who assert an *Incorporeal Deity*, do Really but make a *Scholastick Separate Essence*, or the meer *Abstract Notion* of an *Accident*, a *Substantial Thing*, and a *Ghost* or *Spirit*, presiding over the whole world.

To which our Reply in General first of all is, That all this, is Nothing but *Idle Romantick Fiction*, The Belief of a *Deity* and *Substance Incorporeal*, standing upon none of those *Imaginary Foundations*. And then as for that *Impudent Atheistick Pretence*, That the *Deity* is *Nothing* but a *Figment* or *Creature* of Men's *Fear* and *Imagination*, and therefore the *Prince* of *Fairies* and *Phancies*. This hath been already Sufficiently Confuted, in our *Answer* to the First *Atheistick Argumentation*. Where we have also over and above shew'd, that there is not only a *Natural Prolepsis* or *Anticipation* of a *God* in the Minds of Men, but also that the *Belief* thereof, is Supported by the strongest and most *Substantial Reason*; His *Existence* Being indeed *Demonstrable*, with *Mathematical Evidence*, to such as are capable; and not blinded with *Prejudice*, nor *Enchanted* by the *Witchcraft* of *Vice*, and *Wickedness*, to the *Debauching* of their Understandings. It hath been

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to 663.

been also shewed, that the Opinion of other *Ghosts* and *Spirits* besides the *Deity*, Sprung not meerly from *Fear* and *Phancy* neither, as *Childrens Bugbears*, but from *Real Phenomena*; *True Sensible Apparitions*, with the *Histories* of them in all Ages, without which the Belief of such things could never have held up so Generally and Constantly in the World. As likewise that there is no Repugnancy at all to Reason, but that there may be as well, *Aerial* and *Etherial*, as there are *Terrestrial Animals*; and that the *Dull and Earthy Stupidity* of mens Minds, is the Only thing which makes them, so prone to think, that there is no *Understanding Nature*, Superior to Mankind; but that in the world, all is *Dead* about Us; and to disbelieve the *Existence* of any thing, which themselves Cannot, either *See* or *Feel*. Assuredly, The *Deity* is no *Phancy*; but the Greatest *Reality* in the world, and that without which, there could be *Nothing* at all *Real*; it being the only *Necessary Existent*; and Consequently *Atheism* is either meer *Sottishness*, or else a strange kind of *Irreligious Fanaticism*.

We now further add, that the *Belief* of *Ghosts* and *Spirits Incorporeal*, and consequently of an *Incorporeal Deity*, sprung neither from any Ridiculous Mistake of the *Abstract Names* and *Notions* of meer *Accidents*, for *Substances*, nor from the Scholastick *Essences*, said to be *Eternal*. For as for the Latter, none of those Scholasticks ever Dream'd, that there was any *Universal Man*, or *Universal Horse*, Existing alone by it self, and Separate from all Singulars; nor that the *Abstract Metaphysical Essences* of men, after they were Dead, Subsisting by themselves, did Walk up and down amongst Graves, in *Airy Bodies*. It being absolutely impossible, that the *Real Essence* of any thing should be *Separable* from the thing it self, or *Eternal*, when that is not so. And were the *Essences* of all things, look'd upon by these *Scholasticks*, as *Substances Incorporeal*, then must they have made all things, (even Body it self,) to be *Ghosts*, and *Spirits*, and *Incorporeals*; and *Accidents* also, (they having their *Essences* too) to be *Substantial*. But in very Truth, these *Scholastick Essences*, said to be *Eternal*, are nothing but the *Intelligible Essences* of things, or their *Natures* as *Conceivable*, and *Objects* of the Mind. And in this Sense, is it an acknowledged *Truth*, that the *Essences* of things, (as for example of a *Sphere*, or *Triangle*) are *Eternal*, and such as were never *Made*, because there could not otherwise be, *Eternal Verities* concerning them. So that the True meaning of these *Eternal Essences*, is indeed no other than this, *That Knowledge is Eternal*; or that there is an *Eternal Mind*, that comprehendeth the *Intelligible Natures* and *Ideas* of all things, whether *Actually* existing, or *Possible* only; their *Necessary* relations to one another, and all the *Immutable Verities* belonging to them. Wherefore though these *Eternal Essences* themselves, be no *Ghosts* nor *Spirits*, nor *Substances Incorporeal*, they being nothing but *Objective Entities* of the Mind, or *Noemata*, and *Ideas*; yet does it plainly follow, from the *Necessary Supposition* of them (as was before declared) That there is *One Eternal Unmade Mind*, and Perfect *Incorporeal Deity*, a *Real and Substantial Ghost* or *Spirit*, which comprehending *It self*, and all the *Extent* of its own *Power*, the *Possibilities* of things, and their *Intelligible Natures*, together with an *Exem-*

plar or Platform of the whole World ; Produced the same accordingly.

But our *Atheistick Argumentator*, yet further urges, That those *Scholasticks* and *Metaphysicians*, who because *Life* or *Cogitation*, can be considered alone *Abstractly*, without the *Consideration* of *Body*, therefore conclude it not to be the *Accident* or *Action* of a *Body*, but a *Substance* by it self, (and which also after men are Dead, can Walk amongst the Graves) that these, (I say) do so far Abuse, those *Abstract Names* and *Notions* of meer *Accidents*, as plainly to make *Substances Incorporal* of them. To which therefore we Reply also, That were the *Abstract Notions* of *Accidents* in General, made *Incorporal Substances*, by those Philosophers aimed at ; then must they have supposed all the *Qualities* or *Affections* of *Bodies*, such as *Whiteness* and *Blackness*, *Heat* and *Cold*, and the like, to have been *Substances Incorporal* also ; a thing yet never heard, or thought of. But the Case is far otherwise, as to *Conscious Life*, or *Cogitation*, though it be an *Abstract* also ; because this, is no *Accident of Body*, as the *Atheist* (Serving his own *Hypothesis*,) securely takes it for granted, nor indeed, of any thing else ; but an *Essential Attribute*, of another *Substance*, distinct from *Body*, (or *Incorporal* ;) after the same manner, as *Extension* or *Magnitude*, is the *Essential Attribute of Body*, and not a meer *Accident*.

And now having so copiously Confuted, all the most Considerable *Atheistick Grounds*, we are necessitated to dispatch those that follow, being of lesser Moment, with all possible Brevity and Compendiousness. The *Four* next, which are the *Fifth*, *Sixth*, *Seventh*, and *Eighth*, *Atheistick Argumentations*, pretend to no more than only this, to disprove a *Corporeal Deity* ; or from the Supposition, That there is no other *Substance* in the World besides *Body*, to infer the *Impossibility* of a *God*, that is, of an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, the *Maker* and *Governour* of the Whole World : all Which therefore signifie nothing at all, to the Asserters of a *Deity Incorporal*, who are the only *Genuine Theists*. Nevertheless, though none but *Stoicks*, and such other *Corporealists*, as are notwithstanding *Theists*, be directly concerned in an Answer to them ; yet shall we first, so far consider the *Principles* of the *Atheistick Corporealism*, contained in those Two Heads, the *Fifth* and *Sixth*, as from the Absolute *Impossibility* of these *Hypotheses* to Demonstrate, a *Necessity* of *Incorporal Substance* ; from whence a *Deity* will also follow.

Here therefore, are there *Two Atheistick Hypotheses*, founded upon the Supposition ; That *All* is *Body* ; The First, in the way of *Qualities*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, which we call the *Hylopathian* ; The Second in the way of *Unqualified Atoms* ; which is the *Atomick*, *Corporealism* and *Atheism*. The Former of these, was the most Ancient, and the First *Sciography*, or *Rude Delineation* of *Atheism*. For *Aristotle* tells us, That the most *Ancient Atheists*, were those who supposed, *Matter* or *Body*, that is *Bulkie Extension*, to be the only *Substance*, and *Unmade thing*, that out of which all things

things were Made, and into which all things are again Resolved; Whatsoever is else in the world, being nothing, but the *Passions*, *Qualities*, and *Accidents* thereof, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, or *Producible* out of *Nothing*, and *Reducible to Nothing* again. From whence the Necessary Consequence is, That there is no *Eternal Unmade Life* or *Understanding*; or that *Mind*, is no *God*, or *Principle* in the Universe, but Essentially a *Creature*.

And this *Hylopathian Atheism*, which supposeth whatsoever is in the Universe, to be either the Substance of *Matter* and *Bulk*, or else the *Qualities* and *Accidents* thereof, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, hath been called also by us *Anaximandrian*. Though we deny not, but that there might be formerly, some Difference amongst the Atheists of this Kind; nor are we ignorant, that *Simplicius* and others, conceive *Anaximander*, to have asserted besides *Matter*, *Qualities* also *Eternal* and *Unmade*, or an *Homœomery*, and *Similar Atomology*, just in the same manner as *Anaxagoras* afterwards did, save only, that He would not acknowledge any *Unmade Mind* or *Life*; *Anaximander* supposing all *Life* and *Understanding* whatsoever, all *Soul* and *Mind*, to have Risen up, and been Generated from a Fortuitous *Commixture* of those *Similar Atoms*, or the *Qualities* of *Heat* and *Cold*, *Moist* and *Dry*, and the like, Contempered together. And we confess, that there is some probability for this Opinion. Notwithstanding which, because there is no Absolute certainty thereof, and because all these Ancient Atheists agreed in this, that *Life* and *Understanding*, are either *First* and *Primary*, or else *Secondary Qualities* of *Body*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*; Therefore did we not think fit, to *Multiply Forms* of *Atheism*, but rather to make but one kind of *Atheism*, of all this, calling it indifferently, *Hylopathian*, or *Anaximandrian*.

The *Second Atheistick Hypothesis*, is that *Form of Atheism* described Under the *Sixth Head*, which likewise supposing *Body* to be the only *Substance*; and the *Principles thereof*, devoid of *Life* and *Understanding*; does reject all *Real Qualities*, according to the *Vulgar Notion* of them, and Generate all things whatsoever, besides *Matter* meerly from the *Combinations*, of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, or the *Contextures* of *Unqualified Atoms*, *Life* and *Understanding* not excepted: Which therefore according to them being no *Simple Primitive* and *Primordial* thing, but *Secondary*, *Compound*ed and *Derivative*, the meer *Creature* of *Matter* and *Motion*, could not possibly be a *God* or *First Principle* in the Universe. This is that *Atomick Atheism*, called *Democritical*; *Leucippus* and *Democritus* being the *First Founders* thereof. For though there was before them, another *Atomology*, which made *Unqualified Atoms*, the *Principles* of all *Bodies*, it supposing besides *Body*, *Substance Incorporeal*, yet were these, as *Laertius* declareth, the *First* that ever made, ἀνευ ἰσθητῶν ἄπειρος, *Senseless Atoms the Principles of all things whatsoever*, even of *Life* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*.

Indeed it cannot be denied, but that from these *Two Things* granted, That all is *Body*, and That the *Principles* of *Body*, are devoid of

all *Life* and *Understanding*, it will follow unavoidably, that there can be, no *Corporeal Deity*. Wherefore the *Stoicks* who professed to acknowledge no other *Substance* besides *Body*, and yet nevertheless, had a strong *Perswasion* of the *Existence* of a *God*, or an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, the *Maker* of the whole *World*, denied that other *Proposition* of the *Atheistick Corporealists*, that the *Principles* of all *Bodies* were devoid of *Life* and *Understanding*, they asserting an *Intellectual Fire*, *Eternal* and *Unmade*, the *Maker* of the whole *Mundane System*, Which *Postulatum*, of a *Living Intellectual Body Eternal*, were it granted to these *Stoicks*, yet could not this their *Corporeal God* notwithstanding, be *Absolutely Incorruptible*, as *Origen* often inculcateth, ὁ θεός τοῖς Στωικοῖς ἔστι σῶμα, ἐν αἰδούμενοις λέγειν αὐτὸν τρεπτόν, καὶ δι' ὅλων ἀλλοιωτὸν καὶ μεταβλητὸν, καὶ ἀπαξιαπλᾶς δυνάμενον φθαρῆναι, ὡς τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ φθῆσθαι αὐτὸν. *God to the Stoicks, is a Body, and therefore Mutable, Alterable, and Changeable, and he would indeed be perfectly Corruptible, were there any other Body to act upon him. Wherefore he is only Happy in this, that he wants a Corrupter or Destroyer.* And thus much was therefore rightly urged, by the *Atheistick Argumentator*, that no *Corporeal Deity*, could be *Absolutely* in its own *Nature Incorruptible*, nor otherwise than by *Accident only Immortal*, because of its *Divisibility*. For were there any other *Matter* without this *World*, to make *Inroads* or *Incurfions* upon it, or to *Disunite* the *Parts* thereof, the *Life* and *Unity* of the *Stoical Corporeal God*, must needs be *Scattered* and *Destroyed*. And therefore of this *Stoical God*, does the same *Origen* thus further write, ὁ τῶν Στωικῶν θεός, ἀπὸ σῶμα τυθέντων, ὅτε μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν ἔχει τὴν ὅλην ἔσταν, ὅταν ἢ ἐκπύρωσις ἢ ὅτε ἢ ἐπιμέρης γίνεσθαι αὐτῆς, ὅταν ἢ διακόσμησις· ἔδὲ τῶ δειδυνῆσθαι Στοιχεῖσθαι τὴν φυσικὴν τῶ θεῷ ἔννοιαν, ὡς πᾶσι ἀφάρθῃ καὶ ἀπλᾶ, καὶ αἰσιν· ἄτῃ, καὶ ἀδιαρέτῃ· *The God of the Stoicks being a Body, hath sometimes the whole for its Hegemonick in the Conflagration; and sometimes only a part of the Mundane Matter. For these Men were not able to reach, to a clear Notion of the Deity, as a Being every way Incorruptible, Simple, Uncompounded, and Indivisible.* Notwithstanding which, these *Stoicks*, were not therefore to be ranked amongst the *Atheists*, but far to be preferred before them, and accounted only a kind of *Imperfect Theists*.

L. I. C. Cels.
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But we shall now make it evident, that in both these *Atheistick Corporealisms*, (agreeing in those *Two* things, That *Body is the only Substance*, and That the *Principles of Body are not Vital*) there is an *Absolute Impossibility*; not only because, as *Aristotle* objecteth, they supposed no *Active Principle*; but also because their bringing of *Life* and *Understanding* (being *Real Entities*) out of *Dead* and *senseless Matter* is also the *Bringing* of *Something* out of *Nothing*. And indeed the *Atomick Atheist*, is here of the two rather the more *Absurd* and *Unreasonable*, for as much as he discarding all *Real Qualities*, and that for this very *Reason*, because *Nothing can come out of Nothing*, doth himself notwithstanding, produce *Life*, *Sense*, and *Understanding* (*Unquestionable Realities*) out of meer *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*; that is, indeed, *Out of Nothing*. Wherefore there being an *Absolute Impossibility*, of both these *Atheistick Hypotheses*, (neither of

of which is able to salve the *Phænomenon* of *Life* and *Understanding*) from that confessed Principle of theirs, that *Matter* as such, hath no *Life* nor *Understanding* belonging to it, it follows unavoydably, that there must be some other *Substance* besides *Body* or *Matter*, which is Essentially *Vital* and *Intellectual*: 'Ου γὰρ πάντα χεῖται ἐπιπέδῳ ζωῆς, *Because all things cannot possibly have a Peregrine, Adventitious and Borrowed Life*, but something in the Universe, must needs have *Life* Naturally and Originally. All *Life* cannot be meerly *Accidental*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, producible out of nothing and *Reducible to Nothing* again, but there must of Necessity be, some *substantial Life*, Which Point (That all *Life*, is not a meer *Accident*, but that there is *Life Substantial*) hath been of late with much Reason and Judgment, insisted upon, and Urged by the Writer Of the *Life of Nature*. Neither must there be only, such a *Substantial Life*, as is Naturally *Immortal* for the future, but also such as is *Eternal*, and was never Made; all other *Lives* and *Minds* whatsoever, (none of which could possibly be Generated out of *Matter*) being derived from this *Eternal Unmade Fountain*, of *Life* and *Understanding*.

Which thing, the *Hylozoick Atheists* being well aware of; namely, that there must of Necessity be, both *Substantial* and *Eternal Unmade Life*; but supposing also *Matter* to be the only Substance; thought themselves necessitated, to attribute to all *Matter* as such, *Life* and *Understanding*, though not *Animalish* and *Conscious*, but *Natural* only: they conceiving, that from the *Modification* thereof alone by *Organization*, all other *Animalish Life*, not only the *Sensitive* in *Brutes*, but also the *Rational* in *Men*, was derived. But this *Hylozoick Atheism*, thus bringing all *Conscious* and *Reflexive Life* or *Animality*, out of a Supposed *Senseless Stupid* and *Inconscious Life* of Nature, in *Matter*, and that meerly from a different *Accidental Modification* thereof, or *Contexture* of Parts, does again plainly bring *Something out of Nothing*, which is an *Absolute Impossibility*. Moreover this *Hylozoick Atheism*, was long since and in the first Emersion thereof Solidly Confuted by the *Atomick Atheists*, after this manner; If *Matter* as such, had *Life*, *Perception*, and *Understanding* belonging to it, then of Necessity must every *Atom* or *Smallest Particle* thereof, be a *Distinct Percipient* by it self; from whence it will follow, that there could not possibly be, any such *Men* and *Animals* as now are, Compounded out of them, but every *Man* and *Animal*, would be a *Heap* of *Innumerable Percipients*, and have *Innumerable Perceptions* and *Intellections*; whereas it is plain, that there is but one *Life* and *Understanding*, one *Soul* or *Mind*, one *Perceiver* or *Thinker* in every one. And to say, that these innumerable *Particles* of *Matter*, Do all *Confederate* together; that is, to make every *Man* and *Animal*, to be a *Multitude* or *Common-wealth* of *Percipients* and *Persons* as it were clubbing together; is a thing so *Absurd* and *Ridiculous*, that one would wonder, the *Hylozoists* should not rather chuse, to recant that their *Fundamental Error*, of the *Life of Matter*, than endeavour to seek Shelter and Sanctuary for the same, under such a *Pretence*. For though *Voluntary Agents* and *Persons*, may Many of them, resign up their wills to One, and by that means, have all but as it were One

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Artificial Will, yet can they not possibly resign up their *sense* and *Understanding* too, so as to have all but one *Artificial Life, Sense, and Understanding*: much less could this be done, by *Senseless Atoms, or Particles of Matter* supposed, to be devoid of all *Consciousness* or *Animality*. Besides which, there have been other *Arguments* already suggested, which do sufficiently *Evince*, that *Sense* and *Understanding* cannot possibly belong to *Matter* any way, either *Originally* or *Secondarily*, to which more may be added else where.

And now from these Two things, That *Life* and *Understanding* do not *Essentially* belong to *Matter* as such, and that they cannot be *Generated* out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, it is *Demonstratively Certain*, that there must be some other *Substance*, besides *Body* or *Matter*. However, the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists* taking it for granted, that the *First Principles* of *Body*, are devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*, must either acknowledge a *Necessity*, of some other *Substance* besides *Body*, or else deny the *Truth* of that *Axiom*, so much made use of by themselves, That *Nothing can come out of Nothing*. And this was our *Second Undertaking*, to shew that from the very *Principles* of the *Atheistick Corporealism*, represented in the *Fifth* and *Sixth* Heads, *Incorporeal Substance* is, against those *Atheists* themselves *Demonstrable*.

Our *Third* and *Last* was this, That there being undeniably *Substance Incorporeal*, the Two next following *Atheistick Argumentations*, built upon the contrary *Supposition*, are therefore altogether *Insignificant* also, and do no *Execution* at all. The first of which (being the *Seventh*) *Impugning* only, such a *Soul of the World*, as is *Generated* out of *Matter*, is not properly *Directed* against *Theism* neither, but only such a *Form* of *Atheism* (sometime before mentioned) as indeed cometh nearest to *Theism*. Which though concluding all things to have sprung *Originally*, from *Senseless Matter, Night* and *Chaos*; yet supposes things from thence to have ascended *Gradually*, to higher and higher perfection; *First, Inanimate Bodies*, as the *Elements*, then *Birds* and other *Brute Animals* (according to the fore-mentioned *Aristophanick Tradition*, with which agreeth this of *Lucretius*,

Principio Genus Alituum, variaeque Volucres.)

Afterward *Men*; and in the last place *Gods*; and that not only the *Animated Stars*, but *Jupiter* or a *Soul of the world*, *Generated* also out of *Night* and *Chaos*, as well as all other things. We grant indeed, that the *True* and *Real Theists* amongst the *Ancient Pagans* also, held the *World's Animation*, and whosoever denied the same, were therefore accounted *Absolute Atheists*. But the *World's Animation*, in a larger *Sense*, signifies no more than this, That all things are not *Dead* about us, but that there is a *Living Sentient* and *Understanding Nature Eternal*, that first *Framed* the *World*, and still *Presideth* over it: and it is certain, that in this *Sense*, all *Theists* whatsoever, must hold the *World's Animation*. But the *Generality* of *Pagan Theists* held the

World's

World's Animation also in a stricter Sense; as if the World were Truly and Properly an *Animal*, and therefore a *God*, Completed and made up, of *Soul and Body together*, as other *Animals* are. Which *Soul* of this great *World-Animal*, was to some of them the *Highest* or *Supreme Deity*, but to others only a *Secondary God*, they supposing an *Abstract Mind* *Superiour* to it. But *God's* being the *Soul of the World* in this *Latter Paganick* Sense, and the *World's* being an *Animal* or a *God*; are things *Absolutely* disclaimed and renounced by us. However this *Seventh Atheistick Argument*, is not directed against the *Soul* of the world in the Sense of the *Paganick Theists* neither, this being, as they think, already *Confuted*, but in the Sense of the *Atheistick Theogonists*; not an *Eternal Unmade Soul* or *Mind*, but a *Native* and *Generated* One only, such as resulted from the *Disposition* of *Matter*, and *Contexture* of *Atoms*, the *Offspring* of *Night* and *Chaos*: the *Atheists* here pretending, after their *Confutation* of the *True* and *Genuine Theism*, to take away all *Shadows* thereof also, and so to free *Men* from all manner of *Fear*, of being obnoxious to any *Understanding Being*, *Superiour* to themselves. Wherefore we might here omit the *Confutation* of this *Argument*, without any detriment at all, to the *Cause* of *Theism*. Nevertheless because this in *General*, is an *Atheistick Assertion*, That there is no *Life* and *Understanding*, presiding over the *Whole World*, we shall briefly examine the *Supposed* Grounds thereof, which alone will be a sufficient *Confutation* of it. The *First* of them therefore is this, that there is no other *Substance* in the world besides *Body*; The *Second*, That the *Principles* of *Bodies*, are devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*; and the *Last*, That *Life* and *Understanding* are but *Accidents* of *Bodies* resulting from such a *Composition* or *Contexture* of *Atoms*, as produceth soft *Flesh*, *Blood*, and *Brains*, in *Bodies* *Organized*, and of *Humane* Form. From all which, the *Conclusion* is, that there can be no *Life* and *Understanding* in the *Whole*, because it is not of *Humane* Form, and *Organized*, and hath no *Blood*, and *Brains*. But neither is *Body*, the only *Substance*, Nor are *Life* and *Understanding* *Accidents* resulting from any *Modification* of *Dead* and *Lifeless* *Matter*; Nor is *Blood* or *Brains*, that which *Understandeth* in us; but an *Incorporeal Soul* or *Mind*, *Vitally* united to a *Terrestrial Organized Body*; which will then understand with far greater advantage, when it comes to be *Clothed* with a *Pure*, *Spiritual* and *Heavenly* One. But there is in the *Universe* also, a higher kind of *Intellectual Animals*, which though consisting of *Soul* and *Body* likewise, yet have neither *Flesh*, nor *Blood*, nor *Brains*, nor *Parts* so *Organized* as ours are. And the most *Perfect* *Mind* and *Intellect* of all, is not the *Soul* of any *Body*, but *Complete* in it self, without such *Vital Union* and *Sympathy* with *Matter*. We conclude therefore, that this *Passage* of a *Modern* *Writer*; *We Worms, cannot conceive how, God can Understand without Brains*; is *Vox Pecudis*, the *Language* and *Philosophy*, rather of *Worms* or *Brute Animals*, than of *Men*.

The next, which is the *Eighth Atheistick Argumentation*, is briefly this, that whereas the *Deity* by *Theists* is generally supposed, to be a *Living Being* *Perfectly* *Happy*, and *Immortal* or *Incorruptible*; there

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can be no such *Living Being Immortal*, and Consequently, none *Perfectly Happy*. Because all *Living Beings* whatsoever, are *Concretions of Atoms*, which as they were at first *Generated*, so are they again liable to *Death and Corruption*; Life being no *Simple Primitive Nature*, nor *Substantial thing*, but a meer *Accidental Modification of Compounded Bodies* only, which upon the *Disunion of their Parts*, or the *Disordering of their Contexture*, vanisheth again into *Nothing*. And there being no *Life Immortal*, *Happiness* must needs be a meer *Insignificant Word*, and but a *Romantick Fiction*. Where first, This is well, that the *Atheists* will confess, that according to their Principles, there can be no such thing at all, as *Happiness*; because no *Security of Future Permanency*; all *Life* perpetually coming *Out of Nothing*, and whirling back into *Nothing* again. But this *Atheistick Argument*, is likewise *Founded*, upon the *Former Error*; That *Body* is the *Only Substance*, the *First Principles* whereof are devoid of all *Life and Understanding*; whereas it is certain, that *Life* cannot possibly result, from any *Composition of Dead and Lifeless things*; and therefore must needs be a *Simple and Primitive Nature*. It is true indeed, that the *Participated Life*, in the *Bodies of Animals* (which yet is but improperly called *Life*, it being *Nothing*, but their being *Actuated*, by a *Living Soul*) is a meer *Accidental thing*, *Generable and Corruptible*; since that *Body* which is now, *Vitally united to a Living Soul*, may be *Disunited again from it*, and thereby become a *Dead and Lifeless Carcase*: but the *Primary or Original Life* it self is *Substantial*, nor can there be any *Dead Carcase of a Humane Soul*. That which hath *Life Essentially* belonging to the *Substance of it*, must needs be *Naturally Immortal*, because no *Substance* can of it self *Perish, or Vanish into Nothing*. Besides which, there must be also, some, not only *Substantial*, but also *Eternal Unmade Life*, whose *Existence is Necessary*, and which is *Absolutely Unannihilable* by any thing else; which therefore must needs have, *Perfect Security of its own future Happiness*; And this is an *Incorporeal Deity*. And this is a *Brief Confutation, of the Eighth Atheistick Argument*.

But the *Democritick Atheist* proceeds, endeavouring further to *Disprove a God*, from the *Phenomena of Motion and Cogitation*; in the *Three following Argumentations*. First therefore, whereas *Theists*, commonly bring an *Argument from Motion*, to *Prove a God*, or *First Unmoved Mover*, the *Atheists* contend on the contrary; that from the very *Nature of Motion*, the *Impossibility of any such First Unmoved Mover*, is clearly *Demonstrable*. For, it being an *Axiom of undoubted Truth*, concerning *Motion*, That, *Whatsoever is Moved, is Moved by some other thing*; Or, *That Nothing can Move it self*; it follows from thence *Unavoydably*, That there is *No Æternum Immobile*, *No Eternal Unmoved Mover*; but on the contrary, that there was *Æternum Motum*, an *Eternal Moved*; Or, *That One thing was Moved by Another*, from *Eternity Infinitely*, *Without any First Mover or Cause*,

Cause, Because, as *Nothing could move it self*; So could nothing ever *Move Another*, but what was it self before *Moved*, by Something else.

To which we Reply; That this Axiom, *Whatsoever is Moved, is Moved by Another, and not by It self*, was by *Aristotle*, and those other Philosophers, who made so much use thereof, restrained to the *Local Motion of Bodies* only; That *no Body Locally Moved*, was ever Moved Originally from it self, but from something else. Now it will not at all follow from hence, That therefore *Nihil Movetur nisi à Moto*, That *No Body was ever Moved but by some other Body*, that was also before Moved, by Something else; or, That of necessity, *One Body was moved by another Body*, and that by *another*, and so backwards, *Infinitely*, without any *First Unmoved* or *Self-Moving* and *Self-Active Mover*; as the *Democritick Atheist* fondly Conceits. For the Motion of Bodies might proceed (as Unquestionably it did) from something else, which is not Body, and was not Before *Moved*. Moreover the *Democritick Atheist*, here also without any Ground imagines, That were there but *One Push* once given to the world, and no more; this Motion would from thence forward, always continue in it, one Body still moving another, to all Eternity. For though this be indeed a Part of the *Cartesian Hypothesis*, that according to the *Laws of Nature*, A Body Moving, will as well continue in Motion, as a Body Resting in Rest, until that Motion be Communicated and Transferred to some other Body; yet is the Case different here, Where it is supposed, not only one Push to have been given to the world at first, but also the same *Quantity of Motion or Agitation*, to be constantly Conserved and Maintained. But to let this pass, because it is something a Subtle Point; and not so rightly Understood by many of the *Cartesians themselves*. We say, that it is a thing Utterly *Impossible*, That *One Body should be Moved by Another Infinitely*, without any first *Cause* or *Mover*, which was *Self Active*; and that not from the Authority of *Aristotle* only, Pronouncing *ἔτε δυνατόν ὄθεν ἢ ἀρχῆ τῆ κινήσεως ἵεναι εἰς ἀπείρον*, &c. That in the *Causes of Motion*, there could not *Possibly be an Infinite Progress*; but from the Reason there subjoyned by *Aristotle*, Because, *εἴπερ μὲν ἔστι τὸ πρῶτον, ὅλας ἀπὸν ἔθεν ἔστι*, If there were no *First Unmoved Mover*, there could be no *Cause of Motion* at all. For were all the *Motion*, that is in the World, a *Passion*, from something else, and yet no *First Unmoved Active Mover*; then must it be a *Passion* from no *Agent*, or without an *Action*; and Consequently proceed from Nothing, and either *Cause it self*, or be *Made without a Cause*. Now the Ground of the *Atheists* Error here, is only from hence, because He taketh it for granted, That there is no other *Substance* besides *Body*, nor any other *Action* but *Local Motion*; from whence it comes to pass, that to Him, this Proposition, *No Body can Move it self*, is one and the same with this, *Nothing can Act from It self*, or be *Self-Active*.

And thus is the *Atheistick Pretended Demonstration* against a *God*, or *First Cause*, from *Motion*, abundantly Confuted; we having made it Manifest, that there is no *Consequence* at all in this Argument,

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That because No Body can Move it Self, therefore there can be no First *Unmoved Mover*; as also having discovered, the *Ground* of the *Atheists Error* here, their taking it for granted, that there is *Nothing* but *Body*; and lastly having plainly showed, that it implies a *Contradiction*, there should be *Action* and *Motion* in the *World*, and yet *Nothing Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*: So that it is *Demonstratively* certain from *Motion*, that there is a *First Cause* or *Unmoved Mover*. We shall now further add, That from the Principle acknowledged by the *Democritick Atheists* themselves, That *No Body can move it self*, it follows also undeniably, that there is some *Other Substance besides Body*, something *Incorporeal*, which is *Self-Moving* and *Self-Active*, and was the *First Unmoved Mover* of the *Heavens* or *World*. For if no *Body* from *Eternity*, was Ever able to Move it self, and yet there must of necessity be some *Active Cause* of that *Motion* which is in the *World* (since it could not Cause it self) then is there unquestionably, some *Other Substance* besides *Body*, which having a *Power of Moving Matter*, was the *First Cause* of *Motion*, it Self being *Unmoved*.

Moreover it is certain from hence also, That there is another *Species of Action*, distinct from *Local Motion*, and such as is not *Heterochinesse*, but *Autochinesse* or *Self-Activity*. For since the *Local Motion* of *Body* is *Essentially Heterochinesse*, not Caused by the Substance it self Moving, but by something else Acting upon it, that *Action* by which *Local Motion* is First Caused, cannot be it self *Local Motion*, but must be *Autochinesse* or *Self-Activity*, That which is not a *Passion* from any other *Agent*, but springs from the immediate *Agent* it self; which *Species of Action* is called *Cogitation*. All the *Local Motion* that is in the *World*, was First Caused by some *Cogitative* or *Thinking Being*, which not Acted upon by any thing without it, nor at all *Locally Moved*, but only *Mentally*; is the *Immoveable Mover* of the *Heaven*, or *Vortices*. So that *Cogitation* is in *Order of Nature*, before *Local Motion*, and *Incorporeal* before *Corporeal Substance*, the Former having a *Natural Imperium* upon the Latter. And now have we not only *Confuted* the *Ninth Atheistick Argument*, from *Motion*, but also *Demonstrated* against the *Democritick Atheists* from their own Principle, that there is an *Incorporeal* and *Cogitative Substance*, the *First Immoveable Mover* of the *Heavens*, and *Vortices*; that is, an *Incorporeal Deity*.

But the *Democritick Atheist*, will yet make a further Attempt, to prove that there can be *Nothing Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*, and that no *Thinking Being* could be a *First Cause*; He laying his *Foundation* in this Principle, That *Nothing taketh its Beginning from it self*, but from the *Action* of some other *Agent* without it. From whence he would infer, that *Cogitation* it self is *Heterochinesse*, the *Passion* of the *Thinker*, and the *Action* of something without it; no *Cogitation* ever rising up of it self without a *Cause*: and that *Cogitation* is indeed, *Nothing but Local Motion*, or *Mechanism*; and all *Living Understanding Beings* *Machines*, Moved from without: and then make this *Conclusion*. That therefore no *Understanding Being* could possibly be a *First Cause*. He further adding also, that no *Understanding*

derstanding Being as such, can be *Perfectly Happy* neither, as the *Deity* is supposed to be, because *Dependent* upon *Something* without it; and this is the *Tenth Atheistick Argumentation.*

Where we shall First consider, that which the *Democritick Atheist* makes his *Fundamental Principle*, or *Common Notion* to disprove all *Autochinese* or *Self-Activity* by. That *Nothing* taketh *Beginning* from it self, but from the *Action* of some other thing without it. Which *Axiom*, if it be Understood of *Substantial Things*, then is it indeed acknowledged by us to be unquestionably true, it being the same with this, That *No Substance* which once was not, could ever possibly cause it self or bring it self into *Being*; but must take its *Beginning* from the *Action* of something else; but then it will make *Nothing* at all against *Theism*. As it is likewise True, That *No Action* whatsoever, (and therefore no *Cogitation*;) taketh *Beginning* from it self, or causeth it self to be, but is always produced by some *Substantial Agent*, but this will no way advantage the *Atheist* neither. Wherefore if he would direct his *Force* against *Theism*, he ought to understand this Proposition thus, That *No Action* whatsoever, taketh *Beginning* from the *Immediate Agent*, (which is the *Subject* of it) but from the *Action* of some other thing without it; or, That *Nothing* can *Move* or *Act* otherwise, then as it is *Moved* and *Acted* upon, by something else. But this is only to beg the *Question*, or to Prove the thing in *Dispute*, *Identically*, That *Nothing* is *Self-Active*, because *Nothing* can *Act* from it self. Whereas it is in the mean time, undeniably certain, That there could not possibly be any *Motion* or *Action* at all in the *Universe*, were there not something *Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*, for as much as otherwise all that *Motion* or *Action* would be a *Passion* from *Nothing*, and be *Made* without a *Cause*.

And whereas the *Atheists* would further prove, that no *Cogitation*, Taketh its *Beginning* from the *Thinker*, but always from the *Action* of some other thing without it, after this manner; Because it is not *Conceivable*, why This *Cogitation*, rather than that, should start up at any time, were there not some *Cause* for it, without the *Thinker*. Here in the first place we freely grant, that our *Humane Cogitations*, are indeed commonly *Occasioned*, by the *Incurfions* of *Sensible Objects* upon us; as also, that the *Concatenations* of those *Thoughts* and *Phantasms* in us, which are distinguished from *Sensations*, (whether we be asleep or awake) do many times depend upon *Corporeal* and *Mechanical Causes* in the *Brain*. Notwithstanding which, that all our *Cogitations*, are *Obruded*, and *Imposed* upon us from without; and that there is no *Transition* in our *Thoughts* at any time, but such as had been before in *sense*; (which the *Democritick Atheist* avers) this is a *Thing*, which we absolutely deny. For, had we no *Mastery* at all over our *Thoughts*, but they were all like *Tennis-Balls*, *Banded*, and *Struck* upon us, as it were by *Rackets* from without; then could we not steadily and constantly carry on any *Designs* and *Purposes* of *Life*. But on the contrary that of *Aristotle's*, is most true, (as will be elsewhere further *Proved*) that *Man* and all *Rational Beings*, are in some sense, ἀρχὴ πνεύματος, a *Principle* of *Actions*, subordinate to the *Deity*; which

which they could not possibly be, were they not also, a *Principle of Cogitations*, and had some Command over them; but these were all as much determined, by Causes without, as the *Motions* of the Weathercock are. The *Rational Soul* is it self an *Active* and *Bubling Fountain of Thoughts*; that perpetual and Restless Desire, which is as *Natural* and *Essential* to us, as our very *Life*, Continually Raising up and Protruding, New and New Ones, in us; which are as it were Offered to us. Besides which, we have also, a further *Self Recollective Power*, and a Power of *Determining* and *Fixing* our Mind and Intention, upon some certain Objects, and of Ranging our Thoughts accordingly. But the Atheist is here also to be taught, yet a Further Lesson; that an Absolutely *Perfect Mind*, (such as the *Deity* is supposed to be,) doth not (as *Aristotle* writeth of it) ὅτε μὲν νοεῖν ὅτε ἢ ἔ νοεῖν, *Sometimes Understand, and sometime not Understand*; it being Ignorant of Nothing, nor Syllogizing about any thing; but comprehending all *Intelligibles*, with their Relations and Verities at once, within it self; and its *Essence* and *Energie*, being the same. Which Notion, if it be above the Dull Capacity of *Atheists*, who measure all *Perfection* by their own *Scantling*, this is a thing, that We cannot help.

But as for that *Prodigious Paradox of Atheists*, that *Cogitation* it self, is nothing but *Local Motion* or *Mechanism*, we could not have thought it possible that ever any man should have given entertainment to such a Conceit; but that this was rather, a meer Slander raised upon Atheists; were it not certain from the Records of Antiquity, That whereas the old *Religious Atomists*, did upon Good Reason, reduce all *Corporeal Action* (as Generation, Augmentation, and alteration) to *Local Motion*, or *Translation* from place to place; (there being no other *Motion* besides this Conceivable in Bodies) the ancient *Atheizers* of that *Philosophy* (*Leucippus* and *Democritus*) not contented herewith, did Really carry the business still on further, so as to make *Cogitation* it self also; Nothing but *Local Motion*. As it is also certain, that a Modern Atheistick Pretender to Wit, hath publicly owned this same Conclusion, That *Mind is Nothing else but Local Motion in the Organick parts of Mans Body*. These men have been sometimes indeed a little Troubled, with the *Phancy, Apparition, or Seeming of Cogitation*, that is The *Consciousness* of it, as knowing not well what to make thereof; but then they put it off again, and satisfie themselves worshipfully with this, that *Phancy* is but *Phancy*, but the *Reality of Cogitation*, nothing but *Local Motion*; as if there were not as much Reality in *Phancy* and *Consciousness*, as there is in *Local Motion*. That which inclined these men so much, to this Opinion, was only because, they were Sensible and Aware of this, that if there were any other *Action*, besides *Local Motion* admitted, there must needs be some other *Substance* acknowledged, besides *Body*. *Cartesius* indeed undertook to defend Brute Animals, to be Nothing else but *Machines*, but then he supposed that there was Nothing at all of *Cogitation*, in them, and Consequently nothing of true *Animality* or *Life*, no more, than is in *Artificial Automaton*, as a *Wooden Eagle*, or the like; Nevertheless, this was justly thought to be Paradox enough.

But

But that *Cogitation* it self, should be *Local Motion*, and *Men* nothing but *Machines*; this is such a *Paradox*, as none but either a Stupid and Be-
 fotted, or else an *Enthusiastick*, Bigotical, or Fanatick Atheist, could
 possibly give entertainment to. Nor are such men as these, fit to be
 Disputed with, any more than a *Machine* is.

But whereas the *Atheistick Objecter*, adds also over and above, in
 the last place, that no *Understanding Being* can be *Perfectly Happy* nei-
 ther, and therefore not a *God*, because *Essentially Dependent* upon
 something else without it; This is all one as if he should say, That
 there is no such thing as *Happiness* at all in *Nature*; Because it is cer-
 tain, that without *Consciousness* or *Understanding* nothing can be *Happy*
 (since it could not have any *Fruition* of it self) and if no *Understand-*
ing Being can be *Happy* neither, then must the *Conclusion* needs be,
 that of the *Cyrenaicks*, that *ἡδοναίμωνία ἀνύπαρκτον*, *Happiness* is a *meer*
Chimera, a *Phantastick Notion* or *Fiction* of *Mens Minds*; a thing
 which hath no *Existence* in *Nature*. These are the men, who after-
 wards Argue from *Interesse* also against a *God* and *Religion*. Not-
 withstanding that they confess their own Principles to be so far, from
 promising *Happiness* to any, as that they absolutely Cut off, all Hopes
 thereof. It may be further observed also in the last place, that there
 is another of the Atheists Dark Mysteries here likewise couched,
 That there is no *Scale* or *Ladder* of *Entity* and *Perfection* in *Nature*,
 one above another; the whole Universe from top to bottom, being
 Nothing but One and the same *Senseless Matter*, diversly *Modified*:
 As also, that *Understanding* as such, rather speaks *Imperfection*; it
 being but a *meer Whifling*, *Evanid*, and *Phantastick thing*; so that the
 most absolutely Perfect, of all things in the Universe, is *Grave*, *Solid*,
 and *substantial Senseless Matter*: of which more afterwards. And
 thus is the Tenth Atheistick Argumentation also Confuted.

But the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, will make yet a fur-
 ther *Affault*, from the *Nature* of *Knowledge*, *Understanding*, after this
 manner; If the World were Made by a *God*, or an *Antecedent Mind*
 and *Understanding*, having in it self an *Exemplar* or *Platform* there-
 of, before it was made, then must there be *Actual Knowledge*, both in
 order of *Nature*, and *Time*, before *Things*; whereas *Things* which
 are the *Objects* of *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, are unquestionably
 in order of *Nature* before *Knowledge*; this being but the *Signature*
 of them, and a *Passion* from them. Now the only *Things*, are *Singu-*
lar Sensibles or *Bodies*. From whence it follows, that *Mind* is the
Youngest and most *Creaturely Thing* in the world; or that the *World*
 was before *Knowledge* and the *Conception* of any *Mind*; and no *Know-*
ledge or *Mind*, before the world as its *Cause*. Which is the *Eleventh*
Atheistick Argumentation.

But we have Prevented our selves here in the *Answer* to this *Argu-*
ment, (which would make all *Knowledge*, *Mind*, and *Understanding*
Junior to the *World*, and the very *Creature* of *Sensibles*;) having al-
 ready Fully Confuted it; and clearly Proved, That *Singular Bodies*,
 are not the only *Things*, and *Objects* of the *Mind*, but that it con-
 taineth

raineth its *Immediate Intelligibles within it self*; which *Intelligibles* also are *Eternal*, and That *Mind* is no *Phantastick Image* of *Sensibles*, nor the *Stamp* and *Signature* of them, but *Archetypal* to them; the *First Mind* being That of a *Perfect Being*, comprehending it self, and the *Extent* of its own *Omnipotence*, or the *Possibilities* of all things. So that *Knowledg* is *Older* than all *Sensible things*; *Mind Senior* to the *World*, and the *Architect* thereof. Wherefore we shall refer the *Reader* for an *Answer* to this *Argument*, to *Page 729.* and so onwards, where the *Existence of a God*, (that is, a *Mind before the World*) is *Demonstrated* also, from this very *Topick*, viz. the *Nature of Knowledge and Understanding.*

We shall in this place only add; that as the *Atheists* can no way *Salve* the *Phenomenon* of *Motion*, so can they much less that of *Cogitation*, or *Life and Understanding.* To make which yet the more *Evident*, we shall briefly represent, a *Syllabus* or *Catalogue* of the many *Atheistick Hallucinations* or *Delirations*, concerning it. As *First*, That *Senseless Matter* being the only *Substance*, and all things else but *Accidental Modifications* thereof; *Life and Mind* is all a *meer Accidental Thing*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, *Producible* out of *Nothing*, and *Reducible* to *Nothing* again; and that there is no *Substantial Life* or *Mind* any where. In *Opposition* to which, we have before proved, That there must of necessity be some *Substantial Life*, and that *Humane Souls* being *Lives Substantial*, and not *meer Accidental Modifications* of *Matter*, they are consequently in their own *Nature Immortal*, since *No Substance* of it self ever *vanisheth* into *Nothing.*

Again the *Democriticks*, and other *Atheists* conclude, that *Life* and *Mind*, are no *Simple* and *Primitive Natures*, but *Secondary* and *Compoundd things*; they resulting from certain *Concretions* and *Contextures* of *Matter*, and either the *Commixtures* and *Contemporations* of *Qualities*, or else the *Combinations* of those *Simple Elements* of *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*; and so being *Made up*, of that which hath *Nothing* of *Life* or *Mind* in it. For as *Flesh* is not *Made*, out of *Fleshy Particles*, nor *Bone* out of *Bony*, (as *Anaxagoras* of old dreamed) so may *Life* as they conceive, be as well *Made* out of *Lifeless Principles*, and *Mind* out of that which hath no *Mind* or *Understanding* at all in it: just as *Syllables* *Pronounceable*, do result from *Combinations* of *Letters*, some of which are *Mutes*, and cannot by themselves be *Pronounced* at all, others but *Semi-Vocal.* And from hence do these *Atheists* infer, that there could be no *Eternal Unmade Life* or *Mind*, nor any that is *Immortal* or *Incorruptible*; since upon the *Dissolution* of that *Compages* or *Contexture* of *Matter*, from whence they *Result*, they must needs *Vanish* into *Nothing.* Wherefore according to them, there hath probably, sometime heretofore been, no *Life* nor *Understanding* at all in the *Universe*, and there may possibly be *None* again. From whence the *Conclusion* is, That *Mind* and *Understanding*, is no *God*, or *Principle* in the *Universe*; it being *Essentially Factitious*, *Native* and *Corruptible*; or as they express it in *Plato*, $\delta\mu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma \epsilon\kappa \delta\mu\tau\acute{o}\omega\iota$, *Mortal* from *Mortal things*: as also, That the *souls* of men, cannot subsist *Separately*, after *Death*,

Death, and walk up and down in *Airy Bodies*; no more than the *Form* of a *House* or *Tree*, after the *Dissolution* thereof, can subsist by itself Separately, or appear in some other *Body*. But all this *Foole-ry* of *Atheists*, hath been already *Confuted*, we having before shewed, that *Life* and *Understanding* are *Active Powers*, *Vigours*, and *Perfections*, that could never possibly result from meer *Passive Bulk*, or *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, however *Modified* and *Compounded*; because *Nothing* can come *Effectively* from *Nothing*. Neither is there any *Consequence* at all in this, that because *Flesh* is not made out of *Fleshy Principles*, nor *Bone* out of *Bony*, *Red* out of *Red things*, nor *Green* out of *Green*; therefore *Life* and *Understanding*, may as well be *Compounded*, out of things *Dead* and *Senseless*: because these are no *Syllables* or *Complexions*, as the others are, nor can either the *Qualities* of *Heat* and *Cold*, *Moist* and *Dry*; or else *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, however *Combined* together, as *Letters* Spell them out, and make them up; but they are *Simple* and *Primitive things*. And accordingly it hath been proved, that there must of necessity be, some *Eternal Unmade Life* and *Mind*: For though there be no necessity that there should be any *Eternal Unmade Red*, or *Green*, because *Red* and *Green* may be *Made* out of things not *Red* nor *Green*, they and all other *Corporeal Qualities* (so called) being but several *Contextures* of *Matter*, or *Combinations*, of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, causing those several *Phan- cies* in us: and though there be no necessity, that there should be *Eternal Motion*, because if there were once no *Motion* at all in *Matter*, but all *Bodies* *Rested*, yet might *Motion* have been *Produced* by a *Self-Moving* or *Self Active Principle*; And *Lastly*, though there be no necessity that there should be *Eternal Unmade Matter* or *Body* neither, because had there been once no *Body* at all, yet might it be *Made* or *Produced* by a *Perfect Omnipotent Incorporeal Being*: nevertheless is there an *Absolute Necessity*, that there should be *Eternal Unmade Life*, and *Mind*, because were there once no *Life* nor *Mind* at all, these could never have been produced out of *Matter* altogether *Lifeless* and *Mindless*. And though the *Form of a House* cannot possibly *Exist* Separately from the *Matter* and *Substance* thereof, it being a *Meer Accidental Thing*, resulting from such a *Compages* of *Stone*, *Timber* and *Mortar*, yet are *Humane Souls* and *Minds*, no such *Accidental Forms* of *Compounded Matter*, but *Active Substantial things*, that may therefore subsist Separately from these *Bodies*, and *Enliven* other *Bodies* of a different *Contexture*. And however some that are no *Atheists*, be over prone to conceive, *Life*, *Sense*, *Cogitation*, and *Consciousness* in *Brutes*, to be *Generated* out of *Dead*, *Senseless*, and *Unthinking Matter*, (they being disposed thereunto by certain *Mistaken Principles*, and *ill Methods* of *Philosophy*) nevertheless is this unquestionably in it self, a *Seed of Atheism*; because if any *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Consciousness*, may be *Produced* out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, then can no *Philosophy* hinder, but that all might have been so.

But the *Democritick Atheists*, will yet venture further to deny, that there is any thing in *Nature* *Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*, but that
whatsoever

whatsoever *Moveth* and *Acteth*, was before *Moved* by something else, and *Made to Act* thereby; and again, that from some other thing; and So backward Infinitely; from whence it would follow, that there is no *First in the Order of Causes*, but an *Endless Retro-Infinity*. But as this is all one, as to Affirm, that there is no such thing at all as *Life in the World*, but that the Universe is a *Compages of Dead and Stupid Matter*, so has this *Infinity in the Order of Causes* been already exploded for an *Absolute Impossibility*.

Nevertheless the *Atheists* will here advance yet an *Higher Paradox*; That all *Action* whatsoever, and therefore *Cogitation, Phancy,* and *Consciousness* it self, is Really Nothing else but *Local Motion*; and Consequently not only Brute-Animals, but also Men themselves meer *Machins*, Which is an equal, either *Sottishness or Impudence*, as to assert, a *Triangle to be a Square*, or a *Sphere, a Cube, Number to be Figure*, or any thing else to be any thing: and it is Really all one as to affirm, that there is indeed no such thing in our selves, as *Cogitation*: there being no other *Action in Nature*, but *Local Motion and Mechanism*.

Furthermore the *Democritick and Epicurean Atheists*, Universally agree in this, that not only *Sensations*, but also all the *Cogitations* of the *Mind*, are the meer *Passions* of the *Thinker*, and the *Actions* of *Bodies* Existing without, upon him: though they do not all declare themselves, after the same manner herein. For First, the *Democriticks* conclude, that *sense* is Caused by certain *Grosser Corporeal Effluvia*, streaming from the *Surfaces of Bodies* Continually, and entering through the *Nerves*; But that all other *Cogitations of the Mind*, and mens either sleeping or waking *Imaginations*, proceed from another sort of *Simulachra, Idols and Images*, of a more Fine and Subtle Contexture, coming into the *Brain*, not through those open *Tubes, or Channels of the Nerves*, but immediately through all the smaller *Pores of the Body*: so that, as we never have *sense* of Any thing, but by means of those *Grosser Corporeal Images*, obtruding themselves upon the *Nerves*; so have we not the least *Cogitation* at any Time in our *Mind* neither, which was not Caused by those *Finer Corporeal Images*, and *Exuvions Membranes*, or *Effluvia*, rushing upon the *Brain, or Contexture of the Soul*. Διευκρινεῖ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν καὶ διανοητικὴν τῶν αἰσθητικῶν καὶ διανοητικῶν εἰδωλῶν ἕξασθεν περιόντων· μηδενὶ γὰρ ἐπιτάμην μηδετέραν χάρις τῶν περὶ σπιρίτου, *Leucippus and Democritus determined, that as well Noesis as Aisthesis, Mental Cogitation as External Sensation, was Caused by certain Corporeal Idols, coming from Bodies without; since neither Sensation nor Cogitation, could otherwise possibly be produced.* And thus does *Laertius* also represent the sense of these *Atheistick Philosophers*, that the *Effluvia* from *Bodies* called *Idols*, were the only *Causes*, τῶν καὶ ψυχῶν κινήσεων καὶ βελημιμάτων ἐκείνων καὶ ἠδῶ καὶ παθῶν, *Of all the Motions, Passions, and Affections, and even the very Volitions of the Soul.* So that as we could not have the least *Sensation, Imagination, nor Conception*, of any thing otherwise than from those *Corporeal Effluvia*, rushing upon us from *Bodies* without, and begetting the same in us, at such a time; so neither could we have

have any *Passion*, *Appetite*, or *Volition*, which we were not in like manner, *Corporeally Passive* to. And this was the Ground of the *Democritick Fate*, or *Necessity* of all *Humane Actions*, maintained by them, in opposition to the τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, or *Liberty of Will*, which cannot be conceived without *Self-Activity*, and something of *Contingency*. They supposing *Humane Volitions* also, as well as all the other *Cogitations*; to be *Mechanically Caused* and *Necessitated*; from those *Effluvious Images* of Bodies, coming in upon the *Willers*. And however *Epicurus* sometime pretended to Assert *Liberty of Will*, against *Democritus*; yet forgetting himself, did he also here securely *Philosophize*, after the very same manner.

Nunc age que moveant Animum res, accipe paucis;

Qua veniunt veniant in Mentem, percipe paucis.

Principio hoc dico Rerum Simulachra vagari, &c.

Lucret. L. 4.

P. 358. 360.

But others there were amongst the *Ancient Atomists*; who could not conceive *Sensations* themselves, to be thus *Caused* by *Corporeal Effluvia*, or *Exuvious Membranes*, streaming from Bodies *Continually*, and that for *Divers Reasons* alledged by them; but only by a *Pressure* from them upon the *Optick Nerve* by Reason of a *Tension* of the *Intermediary Air* or *Æther* (being that which is called *Light*) whereby the distant Object is *Touched* and *Felt*, οἷον διὰ βέλτερας, as it were by a *Staff*. Which *Hypothesis* concerning the *Corporeal Part* of *Sense*, is indeed much more *Ingenious*, and agreeable to *Reason* than the *Former*. But the *Atheizers* of this *Atomology*, as they supposed *sense* to be *Nothing* else but such a *Pressure* from Bodies without; so did they conclude *Imagination* and *Mental Cogitation*, to be but the *Reliques* and *Remainders* of those *Motions* of *Sense* formerly *Made*, and *Conserved* afterwards in the *Brain* (like the *Tremulous Vibrations* of a *Clock* or *Bell*, after the *striking* of the *Hammer*, or the *Rolling* of the *Waves*, after that the *Wind* is ceased) *Melting*, *Fading*, and *Decaying* insensibly by degrees. So that according to these, *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, is *Nothing* but *Fading* and *Decaying Sense*, and all our *Volitions* but *Mechanick Motions* caused from the *Actions* or *Trussions* of Bodies upon us. Now though it be true, that in *Sensation*, there is alwayes a *Passion Antecedent*, made upon the *Body* of the *Sentient* from without; yet is not *Sensation* it self this very *Passion*; but a *Perception* of that *Passion*; much less can *Mental Conceptions* be said to be the *Action* of *Bodies* without; and the meer *Passion of the Thinker*; and least of all *Volitions* such; there being plainly here, something ἐφ' ἡμῶν, *In our own Power*, (by means whereof, we become a *Principle of Actions*, accordingly deserving *Commendation* or *Blame*;) that is, something of *Self-Activity*.

Again according to the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, all *Knowledge* and *Understanding* is Really the same thing with *sense*: the Difference between these Two, to some of them being only this, That what is commonly called *Sense*, is *Primary and Original Knowledge*, and *Knowledge* but *Secondary*, or *Fading* and *Decaying Sense*: but to others, that *Sense* is *Caused* by those more *Vigorous Idols*, or *Efflu-*

via from Bodies, intromitted through the Nerves; but Understanding and Knowledge, by those more Weak and Thin, Umbratile and Evanescent ones, that penetrate the other smaller Pores of the Body: so that both ways, Understanding and Knowledge, will be but a Weaker Sense. Now from this Doctrine of the Atheistick Atomists, that all Conception and Cogitation of the Mind whatsoever, is Nothing else but Sense and Passion from Bodies without, this Absurdity first of all follows unavoidably, that there cannot possibly be, any Error, or False Judgment, because it is certain, that all Passion is True Passion, and all Sense or Seeming, and Appearance, True Seeming and Appearance. Wherefore though some Sense and Passion, may be more Obscure than other, yet can there be none False; it self being the very Essence of Truth. And thus Protagoras, one of these Atheistick Atomists, having First asserted, That Knowledge is Nothing else but Sense, did thereupon admit this as a Necessary Consequence, That $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha \delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$, Every Opinion is True; because it is Nothing but Seeming and Appearance, and every Seeming and Appearance is truly such: and because it is not possible, for any one to Opine that which is Not, or to Think otherwise than he Suffers. Wherefore Epicurus being Sensible of this Inconvenience, endeavoured to Salve this Phenomenon of Error and False Opinion or Judgment, consistently with his own Principles, after this manner, That though all Knowledge be Sense and all Sense True, yet may Error arise notwithstanding, Ex Animi Opinatu, From the Opination of the Mind, adding something of its own, over and above, to the Passion and Phansie of Sense. But herein he shamefully contradicts himself; For if the Mind in Judging, and Opining, can Superadd any thing of its own, over and above, to what it Suffers, then is it not a meer Passive Thing, but must needs have a Self-Active Power of its own, and consequently will prove also Incorporeal, because no Body can Act otherwise, than it Suffers, or is Made to Act by something else without it. We conclude therefore, That since there is such a thing as Error, or False Judgment, all Cogitations of the Mind cannot be meer Passions; but there must be something of Self-Activity in the Soul it Self, by means whereof, it can give its Assent, to things not clearly Perceived, and so Err.

Again from this Atheistick Opinion, That all Knowledge is Nothing else but Sense, either Primary or Secondary, it follows also; That there is no Absolute Truth nor Falshood, and that Knowledge is of a Private Nature, Relative, and Phantastical only, or meer Seeming; that is, Nothing but Opinion: because Sense is plainly, Seeming, Phantasse, and Appearance; a Private thing and Relative to the Sentient only. And here also did Protagoras, according to his wonted Freedom, admit this Consequence, That Knowledge being Sense, there was no Absoluteness at all therein, and That nothing was True otherwise, than $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omega\iota$, To this and to that man so Thinking; That every man did, but $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon} \mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu \delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\lambda\theta\eta$, Opine only his Own things; That $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \chi\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\omega\pi\omicron$, Every man was the Measure of Things, and Truth to himself; and Lastly, $\tau\acute{\circ} \phi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega \tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota \omega\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$, That whatsoever Seemed to every one, was True to him to whom it Seemed. Neither could Democritus himself, though a man of more discretion than Protagoras, dissemble this Consequence from

from the same Principle asserted by him, that Understanding is *Phantastical*, and Knowledge but *Opinion*; he owning it sometimes before he was aware, as in these words of his, γινώσκων καὶ ἀνθρώπων τῶνδε τῶ κακόνι, ὅτι αἰτίας ἀπὸ Μαικίου. *We ought to Know Man, according to this Rule, That he is such a thing, as hath Nothing to do with Absolute Truth*; and again, αἰτία (or ἐπεὶ) ἔδεν ἴσμεν ὅτι ἔδενός, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ-
 ρμῆ ἐκείσιν ἢ δόξαι. *We know nothing Absolutely, concerning any thing; and all our Knowledge is Opinion.* Agreeably to which, he determined, that mens Knowledge was diversified by the Temper of their Bodies, and the Things without them. And Aristotle Judiciously observing both these Doctrines, That there is no Errour or False Judgment, but every Opinion True; and again, That Nothing is Absolutely True but Relatively only; to be Really and Fundamentally One and the same; imputeth them both together, to Democritus, in these words of his, ἔδεν εἶναι ἀληθές. ὅλας δὲ διὰ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν φερέσιν μὲν τῶ ἀσθενῶν, τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ τῶ ἀσθενῶν ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἀληθές εἶναι, Democritus held, that there was Nothing Absolutely True: but because he thought Knowledge or Understanding, to be Sense; therefore did he conclude that whatsoever Seemed according to Sense, must of necessity be True (not Absolutely, but Relatively) to whom it so Seemed. These Gross Absurdities did the Atheistick Atomists plunge themselves into, whilst they endeavoured to Salve the Phenomenon of Cogitation, Mind, or Understanding, agreeably to their own Hypothesis. And it is certain, that all of them, Democritus himself not excepted, were but meer Blunderers in that Atomick Physiology, which they so much pretended to, and never rightly Understood the Same. For as much as that with Equal Clearness teaches these Two things at once, That Sense indeed is Phantastical and Relative to the Sentient; But that there is a Higher Faculty, of Understanding and Reason in us, which thus discovers the Phantastick of Sense, and reaches to the Absoluteness of Truth; or is the Criterion thereof.

But the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists will further Conclude, that the only Things or Objects of the Mind, are Singular Sensibles, or Bodies Existing without it; which therefore must needs be in Order of Nature, before all Knowledge, Mind, and Understanding whatsoever; this being but a Phantastick Image or Representation of them. From whence they Infer, that the Corporeal World, and these Sensible things, could not possibly be Made, by any Mind or Understanding; because Essentially Junior to them, and the very Image and Creature of them. Thus does Aristotle Observe, concerning both Democritus and Protagoras, that they did ὑπολαμβάνειν τὰ ὄντα μόνον εἶναι τὰ αἰσθητὰ, Suppose the only Things or Objects of the Mind to be Sensibles; and that this was the Reason, why they made Knowledge to be Sense, and therefore Relative and Phantastical: But we have already Proved, that Mind and Understanding is not the Phantastick Image of Sensibles or Bodies; and that it is in its own Nature not Eclypsal, but Archetypal, and Architeconical of all. That it is Senior to the World, and all Sensible Things, it not looking abroad, for its Objects any where without, but containing them within it self; The first Original Mind, being an Absolutely perfect Being, Comprehending it self, and the Extent of its

own Omnipotence, or all Possibilities of things, together with the Best Platform of the whole, and producing the same accordingly.

But it being plain, that there are besides *Singulars*, other *Objects* of the *Mind Universal*; from whence it seems to follow, that *Sensibles*, are not the only *Things*; some *Modern Atheistick Wits*, have therefore invented, this further device to maintain the Cause, and carry the Business on; That *Universals* are nothing else but *Names* or *Words*, by which *Singular Bodies* are called, and Consequently, that in all *Axioms* and *Propositions*, *Sententious Affirmations* and *Negations* (in which the *Predicate* at least is *Universal*) we do but *Add* or *Subtract*, *Affirm* or *Deny*, *Names* of *Singular Bodies*: and that *Reason* or *Syllogism*, is Nothing but the *Reckoning* or *Computing*, the *Consequences* of these *Names* or *Words*. Neither do they want the *Impudence*, to *Affirm*, that besides those *Passions* or *Phantasies*, which we have from things by *Sense*; we know Nothing at all of any thing, but only the *Names*, by which it is called. Then which there cannot be a greater *Sottishness* or *Madness*: For if *Geometry*, were nothing but the *Knowledge* of *Names* by which *Singular Bodies* are called, as it self could not deserve that *Name* of a *Science*; so neither could its *Truths* be the same in *Greek* and in *Latine*: and *Geometricians*, in all the several distant *Ages* and *Places* of the *World*, must be supposed to have had, the same *Singular Bodies* before them, of which they *Affirmed* and *Denied*, those *Universal Names*.

In the Last place, the *Epicurean* and *Anaximandrian Atheists*, agreeably to the *Premised Principles*, and the *Tenor* of their *Hypothesis*, do both of them endeavour to *Depreciate* and *Undervalue*, *Knowledge* or *Understanding*, as a thing which hath not any *Higher Degree* of *Perfection* or *Entity* in it, than is in *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*. It being according to them, but a *Passion* from *Singular Bodies* Existing without, and therefore both *Junior*, and *Inferior* to them; a *Tumult* raised in the *Brain*, by *Motions* made upon it, from the *Objects* of *Sense*; That which Essentially includeth in it, *Dependence* upon Something else; at best, but a *Thin* and *Evanid Image* of *Sensibles*, or rather an *Image* of those *Images* of *Sense*; a meer *Whifling* and *Phantastick* thing; upon which account they conclude it, not fit to be attributed, to that which is the *First Root* and *Source* of all things, which therefore is to them no other, than *Grave* and *Solid*, *Senseless Matter*; the only *Substantial*, *Self-Existent*, *Independent* thing, and Consequently the most *Perfect* and *Divine*. *Life* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind* are to them, no *Simple* and *Primitive Natures*, but *Secondary* and *Derivative*, or *Syllables* and *Complexions* of things, which Sprung up afterwards, from certain *Combinations* of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, or *Contemperations* of *Qualities*; *Contextures* either of *Similar* or *Dissimilar* *Atoms*. And as themselves are *Juniors* to *Senseless Matter* and *Motion*, and to those *Inanimate Elements*, *Fire*, *Water*, *Air* and *Earth*, the *First*, and most *Real Productions* of *Nature* and *Chance*; so are their *Effects*, and the *Things* that belong to them, comparatively with those other *Real Things* of *Nature*, but *Slight*, *Ludicrous*, and *Umbratil*; as *Land-ship*

ship in Picture, compared with the Real Prospect, of High Mountains, and Low Valleys, Winding or Meandrous Rivers, Towering Steeples, and the Shady Tops of Trees and Groves: as they are accordingly, commonly disparaged, under those Names of *Notional* and *Artificial*. And thus was the Sence of the *Ancient Atheists* represented by *Plato*; φασι τὰ μὲν μέγιστα ἢ κάλλιστα ἀπεργάζεσθαι φύσιν ἢ τύχην, τὰ δὲ μικρότερα τεχνίω. ἢν δὲ παρὰ φύσεως λαμβάνουσιν, τὼ τῶν μεγάλων ἢ πρώτων γένεσιν ἔργων, πλάττειν ἢ τεύχουσιν πάντα τὰ μικρότερα, ἃ δὲ τεχνικῶς περὶσσεύονται. *They say, that the Greatest and most Excellent Things of all, were made by Senseless Nature, and Chance: but all the Smaller and more Inconsiderable, by Art, Mind, and Understanding; which taking from Nature, those First and Greater Things as its Ground-work to Act upon, doth Frame and Fabricate all the other Lesser Things, which are therefore Commonly called Artificial.* And the Mind of these *Atheists*, is there also further declared, by that *Philosopher* after this manner. The *First, most Real, Solid and Substantial things in the whole World, are those Elements, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, made by Senseless Nature and Chance, without any Art, Mind, or Understanding: and next to these the Bodies of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and this Terrestrial Globe, produced out of the foresaid Inanimate Elements, by Unknowing Nature or Chance likewise, without any Art, Mind or God.* The *Fortuitous Concourse of Similar or Dissimilar Atoms, begetting this whole System and Compages of Heaven and Earth; τεχνίω δὲ ἕσπερον ὅσα τῶν ὑπεραν γνομένων, ἄλλω θνήσκω ὅσα θνήσκων, ὑπερῶ γυννηκέναι παιδίας πινὰς ἀληθείας ἢ ἱσθόρα μετεχέουσας, ἀλλ' εἰδὼν ἅηα ξυγγωνῆ ἑαυτῶν, οἷον ἢ γερφικῆ, ἢ τὰ ἐξῆς.* *But that afterwards, Art or Mind and Understanding, being Generated also in the last place, out of those same Senseless and Inanimate Bodies or Elements, (it rising up in certain Smaller Pieces of the Universe, and Particular Concretions of Matter, called Animals) Mortal from Mortal things, did produce certain other Ludicrous things, which partake little of Truth and Reality, but are meer Images, Umbrages and Imitations, as Picture and Landskip, &c. but above all, those Moral Differences of Just and Unjust, Honest and Dishonest, the meer Figments of Political Art, and Slight Umbratil Things, compared with Good and Evil Natural; that consist in nothing, but Agreement and Disagreement with Sense, and Appetite: τὰ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἄλλα νόμῳ δὲ ἕτερα, τὰ δὲ δίκαια ἔδδ τὸ ἀδίκον φύσιν.* *For, as for Things Good and Honest, those that are such by Nature, differ from those which are such by Law; but as for Just and Unjust, there is by Nature no such thing at all.* The *Uphot and Conclusion of all is, That there is no such Scale or Ladder in Nature, as Theists and Metaphysicians suppose, no Degrees of Real Perfection and Entity one above another, as of Life and Sense, above Inanimate Matter, of Reason and Understanding above Sense; from whence it would be Inferred, that the Order of things in Nature, was in Way of Descent, from Higher and Greater Perfection, Downward to Lesser and Lower, which is indeed to Introduce a God. And that there is no such Scale or Ladder of Perfection and Entity, they endeavour further to prove from hence, because according to that Hypothesis, it would follow, that every the Smallest and most Contemptible Animal, that could see the Sun, had a Higher degree of Entity and Perfection*

in it, than the Sun it self; a thing ridiculously Absurd: or else according to *Cotta's* Instance; *Idcirco Formicam anteponendam esse huic Pulcherimæ Urbi, quòd in Urbe Sensus sit nullus, in Formica non modo Sensus, sed etiam Mens, Ratio, Memoria.* That therefore every *Ant* or *Pismire*, were far to be preferred, before this most beautiful City of *Rome*; because in the City, there is no Sense; whereas an *Ant* hath not only Sense, but also *Mind, Reason and Memory*; that is, a certain *Sagacity* superiour to Sense. Wherefore they conclude that there is no such *Scale* or *Ladder* in Nature, no such *Climbing Stairs* of *Entity* and *Perfection*, one above another, but that the whole *Universe* is *One Flat and Level*, it being indeed all, Nothing but the same *Uniform Matter*, Under several *Forms, Dresses, and Disguises*; or *Variegated* by *Diversity of Accidental Modifications*: one of which, is that of such Beings as have *Phancy* in them, commonly called *Animals*; which are but some of *Sportful* or *Wanton Natures*, more trimly *Artificial* and *Finer Gamaiens*, or *Pretty Toys*; but by reason of this *Phancy*, they have no *Higher Degree* of *Entity* and *Perfection* in them, than is in *Senseless Matter*: as they will also, be all of them quickly transformed again, into other seemingly dull, *Unthinking* and *Inanimate Shapes*. Hitherto the *Sense* of *Atheists*.

But the *Pretended Grounds*, of this *Atheistick Doctrine*, (or rather *Madness*) have been already also confuted, over and over again. *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, is not a meer *Passion* from the thing *Known*, Existing without the *Knower*, because to *Know* and *Understand*, as *Anaxagoras* of old determined, is $\nu\epsilon\gamma\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$, to *Master* and *Conquer* the thing *Known*, and consequently not merely to *Suffer* from it, or *Passively* to *Lie Under* it, this being $\nu\epsilon\gamma\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, to be *Mastered* and *Conquered* by it. The *Knowledge* of *Universal Theoremes* in *Sciences*, is not from the *Force* of the thing *Known* existing without the *Knower*, but from the *Active Power*, and *Exerted Vigour* or *Strength*, of that which *Knows*. Thus *Severinus Boetius*; *Videsne ut in cognoscendo, cuncta sua potius Facultate, quàm eorum quæ cognoscuntur Utantur?* Neque id injuria, nam cum omne *Judicium* *Judicantis Actus* existat, necesse est ut suam quisque *Operam*, non ex *Alienâ*, sed ex propria *Potestate* perficiat. See you not, how all things in *Knowing*, use their own *Power* and *Faculty*, rather, than that of the thing *Known*? For since *Judgment* is the *Action* of that which *Judgeth*, every thing must of necessity perform its own *Action*, by its own *Power*, *Strength*, and *Faculty*, and not by that of another. *Sense* it self is not a meer *Passion*; or *Reception* of the *Motion* from *Bodies* without the *Sentient*, for if it were so, then would a *Looking-Glass*, and *Other Dead things* *See*: but it is a *Perception* of a *Passion*, made upon the *Body* of the *Sentient*, and therefore hath something of the *Souls* own *Self-Activity* in it. But *Understanding* and the *Knowledge* of *Abstract Sciences*, is neither *Primary Sense*, nor yet the *Fading* and *Decaying Remainers*, of the *Motions* thereof, but a *Perception* of another kind, and more *Inward* than that of *Sense*; not *Sympathetical* but *Unpassionate*, the *Noemata* of the *Mind*, being things distinct from the *Phantasmata* of *Sense* and *Imagination*; which are but a *Kind* of *Confused Cogitations*. And though the *Objects* of *Sense* be only *Singular Bodies*, Existing without the *Sentient*, yet are
not

Conf. L. 5.
Pro. 4.

not these *Sensibles* therefore, the only *Things* and *Cogitables*; but there are other *Objects* of *Science*, or *Intelligibles*, which the *Mind* containeth within it Self. That *Dark Philosophy* of some, tending so directly to *Atheism*, That there is *Nothing in the Mind* or *Understanding* which was, not *First* in *Corporeal Sense*, and derived in way of *Passion* from *Matter*, was both *Elegantly* and *Solidly* *Confuted* by *Boetius* his *Philosophick Muse*, after this manner,

Boët Conf.
L. 5. M. 4.

Quondam Porticus attulit,
Qui Sensus & Imagines,
Credant Mentibus imprimi;
Mos est equore paginae,
Pressas Figere literas.
Nihil motibus explicat,
Notis subdita Corporum,
Rerum reddit imagines,
Cernens omnia Notio?
Aut quæ cognita dividit?
Alternumque legens iter,
Nunc decidit in Infima;
Veris falsa redarguit?
Longe Causa potentior,
Impressas patitur notas.
Et Vires Animi movens,
Cum vel Lux oculos ferit,
Tum Mentis Vigor excitus,
Ad Motus similes vocans,

Obscuros nimium Senes,
E Corporibus extimis,
Ut quondam Celeri stylo
Quæ nullas habeat notas,
Sed Mens si propriis vigens
Sed tantum patiens jacet
Cassasque in Speculi vicem
Unde hæc sic animis viget
Quæ vis singula prospicit?
Quæ divisa recolligit?
Nunc Summis Caput inserit,
Tum sese referens sibi
Hæc est Efficiens magis
Quam quæ Materia modo
Præcedit tamen Excitans
Vivo in corpore Passio.
Vel Vox auribus instrepit:
Quas intus species tenet,
Notis applicat exteris.

It is true indeed, that the *ΝΟΗΤΩΝ*, or *Thing Understood*, is in order of *Nature* before the *Intellection* and *Conception* of it, and from hence was it, that the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* concluded, that *Νῆς*, *Mind* or *Intellect*, was not the very *First* and *Highest* *Thing* in the *Scale* of the *Universe*, but that there was another *Divine Hypostasis*, in order of *Nature* before it, called by them "Εν and Τ' ἀγαθόν, *One* and *The Good*, as the *ΝΟΗΤΩΝ* or *Intelligible* thereof. But as those *Three Archical Hypostases* of the *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, are all of them *Really* but *One* θεῖον or *Divinity*: And the *First* of those *Three*, (*Superiour* to that which is properly called by them, *Mind* or *Intellect*) is not supposed therefore to be *Ignorant* of it self: So is the *First Mind* or *Understanding*, no other, than that of a *Perfect Being*, *Infinitely Good*, *Fecund*, and *Powerful*, and *virtually* *Containing* all things; comprehending it self and the *Extent* of its own *Goodness*, *Fecundity*, *Vertue*, and *Power*; that is, all *Possibilities* of things, their *Relations* to one another, and *Verities*; a *Mind* before *Sense*, and *Sensible Things*. An *Omnipotent Understanding Being*, which is it self its own *Intelligible*, is the *First Original* of all things. Again, that there must of necessity be some other *Substance* besides *Body* or *Matter*, and which in the *Scale of Nature* is *Superiour* to it, is evident from hence, because otherwise, there could be no *Motion* at all therein, no *Body* being ever able to move it self. There must be something *Self-Active* and *Hylarchical*, something that can *Act* both from

from it self, and upon Matter, as having a *Natural Imperium*, or Command over it. *Cogitation* is in order of Nature, before *Local Motion*. *Life* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*, are no *Syllables* or *Complexions* of things, *Secondary* and *Derivative*, which might therefore be made out of things devoid of *Life* and *Understanding*; but *Simple*, *Primitive*, and *Uncompounded* Natures: they are no *Qualities* or *Accidental Modifications* of *Matter*, but *Substantial Things*. For which Cause *Souls* or *Minds* can no more be Generated out of *Matter*, than *Matter* it Self, can be Generated out of Something else: and therefore are they both alike (in some sense) Principles, Naturally Ingenerable and Incorruptible; though both *Matter*, and all *Imperfect Souls* and *Minds*, were at first Created by one *Perfect Omnipotent Understanding Being*. Moreover Nothing can be more Evident than this, that *Mind* and *Understanding* hath a *Higher Degree* of *Entity* or *Perfection* in it, and is a *Greater Reality* in Nature, than meer *Senseless Matter* or *Bulkie Extension*. And Consequently the things which belong to *Souls* and *Minds*, to *Rational* and *Intellectual Beings* as such, must not have *Less*, but *More Reality* in them, than the things which belong to *Inanimate Bodies*. Wherefore the Differences of *Just* and *Unjust*, *Honest* and *Dishonest*, are greater *Realities* in Nature, than the Differences of *Hard* and *Soft*, *Hot* and *Cold*, *Moist* and *Dry*. He that does not perceive any *Higher Degree* of *Perfection*, in a *Man*, than in an *Oyster*, nay than in a *Clod of Earth* or *Lump of Ice*, in a *Piece of Past*, or *Pye-Crust*, hath not the Reason or Understanding of a *Man* in him. There is unquestionably, a *Scale* or *Ladder of Nature*, and *Degrees of Perfection* and *Entity*, one above another, as of *Life*, *Sense*, and *Cogitation*, above *Dead*, *Senseless* and *Unthinking Matter*; of *Reason* and *Understanding* above *Sense*, &c. And if the *Sun* be Nothing but a *Mass of Fire*, or *Inanimate Subtle Matter* Agitated, then hath the most Contemptible Animal, that can see the *Sun*, and hath *Consciousness* and *Self-enjoyment*, a *Higher Degree* of *Entity* and *Perfection* in it, than that whole *Fiery Globe*; as also than the *Materials*, (*Stone*, *Timber*, *Brick* and *Mortar*) of the most Stately Structure, or *City*. Notwithstanding which, the *Sun* in other regards, and as its vastly Extended *Light* and *Heat*, hath so great an Influence, upon the *Good* of the whole *World*, *Plants* and *Animals*; may be said to be a far more *Noble* and *Useful* thing in the *Universe*, than any one *Particular Animal* whatsoever. Wherefore there being plainly a *Scale* or *Ladder of Entity*; the *Order* of Things was unquestionably, in way of *Descent*, from *Higher Perfection*, *Downward* to *Lower*, it being as *Impossible*, for a *Greater Perfection* to be produced from a *Lesser*, as for *Something* to be Caused by *Nothing*. Neither are the *Steps* or *Degrees* of this *Ladder*, (either upward or downward) *Infinite*; but as the *Foot*, *Bottom*, or *Lowest Round* thereof, is *Stupid* and *Senseless Matter*, devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*; so is the *Head*, *Top*, and *Summity* of it, a *Perfect Omnipotent Being*, Comprehending it self, and all Possibilities of things. A *Perfect Understanding Being*, is the *Beginning* and *Head* of the *Scale* of *Entity*; from whence things *Gradually Descend* downward; lower and lower, till they end in *Senseless Matter*. N̄S̄S̄
πρότιον νεογενέσιον, *Mind is the Oldest of all things*, Senior to the Elements,

lements, and the whole Corporeal World; and likewise according to the same Ancient Theists, it is κύριον ἢ φύσιν, by Nature Lord over all, or hath a Natural Imperium and Dominion over all; it being the most Hegemonical thing. And thus was it also affirmed by Anaxagoras, Νῆς βασιλεὺς ἕσπετος τε ἢ γῆς, that Mind is the Sovereign King of Heaven and Earth.

We have now made it evident, that the Epicurean and Anaximandrian Atheists, who derive the Original of all things from Senseless Matter, devoid of all Manner of Life, can no way Salve the Phenomenon of Cogitation (Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind) no more than they can that of Local Motion. And the Reason why we have insisted so much upon this Point, is because these Atheists, do not only pretend to Salve this Phenomenon of Cogitation without a God, and so to take away the Argument for a Deity from thence; but also to Demonstrate the Impossibility of its Existence, from the very Nature of Knowledge, Mind, and Understanding. For if Knowledge, be in its own Nature, Nothing but a Passion from Singular Bodies Existing without the Knower; and if Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind, be Junior to Body, and Generated out of Senseless Matter, then could no Mind or Understanding Being, Possibly be a God, that is a First Principle, and the Maker of all things. And though Modern Writers, take little or no Notice of this, yet did Platō anciently, make the very State of the Controversie, betwixt Theists and Atheists principally to consist in this very thing, viz. Whether Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind, were Juniors to Body, and Sprung out of Senseless Matter, as Accidental Modifications thereof, or else were Substantial things, and in order of Nature Before it. For after the Passages before Cited, he thus concludeth,

κινδυνύει δὲ λέγων ταῦτα, πῦρ ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆν ἢ ἀέρα, πρῶτα ἰδέσθαι τῆς πάντων εἶναι, ἢ τῆς φύσιν ὀνομάζειν ταῦτα αὐτὰ, ψυχῶν ἢ ἐκ τούτων ὑστέρων· εἴκοι ἢ κινδυνύειν, ἀλλὰ ὄντως σημαίνειν ταῦτα ἡμῶν τῷ λόγῳ. Ἄρ' ἐν πρὸς Διὸς οἶον πῆ- γνῃ πινὰ ἀνοήτους δόξης ἀνδρῶν κἀμὲν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι οἱ τῆς αἰὲρ φήσεως ἐφή- λαντο ζητημάτων. Pl. L. 10. De Leg.

These men seem to suppose, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, to be the very First things in the Universe, and the Principles of all, calling them only Nature; but Soul and Mind, to have sprung up afterwards out of them. Nay, they do not only Seem to suppose this, but also in Express Words declare the same. And thus (by Jupiter) have we discovered, the very Fountain of that Atheistick Madnes, of the Ancient Physiologers; to wit, their making Inanimate Bodies, Senior to Soul and Mind. And accordingly, that Philosopher addresses himself to the Confutation of Atheism, no otherwise than thus, by proving Soul not to be Junior to Senseless Body, or Inanimate Matter, and Generated out of it; ὁ πρῶτον γενέσεως ἢ φθορῆς αἰτίον ἀπάντων, τῶν ἢ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ ὑστέρων ἀπεφήναντο εἶναι γεγονόσ, οἱ τῶν τῆς ἀσθενῶν ψυχῶ ἀπεργασάμενοι λόγοι· ὁ ἢ ὑστέρων πρότερον· ὁθεν ἡμαρτήκασι αἰετῶν ἢ ὄντως εἰσάσας ψυχῶ ἠννοκέναι κινδυνύεισιν μὲν ὁλίγοις ἑυμπαυτες, οἶον τῶ ὄν τυχερῶν ἢ δύναμιν ἢν ἔχῃ· τῆς τε ἄλλων αὐτῆς πέρι ἢ δὴ ἢ γενέσεως, ἢ εἰ πρῶτοις ἔτι, σώματων ἔμπεροθεν πάντων γενομένων, ἢ μεταβολῆς πῶ- σις ἀρχῆ· That which is the First Cause of the Generation and Corruption of all Things, the Atheistick Doctrine supposes, not to have been

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First Made; but what is indeed the Last thing, to be the First, And hence is it, that they erre concerning the Essence of the Gods. For they are ignorant what kind of thing Soul is, and what power it hath; as also especially concerning its Generation and Production, That it was First of all made before Body, it being that which Governs the Motions, Changes, and Transformations thereof. But if Soul be First in Order of Nature before Body, then must those things which are Cognate to Soul, be also before the Things which appertain to Body; and so Mind and Understanding, Art and Law be before Hard and Soft, Heavy and Light; and that which these Atheists call Nature, (the Motion of Inanimate Bodies) Junior to Art and Mind, it being Governed by the same. Now that Soul is in order of Nature before Body, this Philosopher demonstrates only from the Topick or Head of Motion, because it is Impossible, that one Body should Move another Infinitely, without any First Cause or Mover; but there must of Necessity be something Self-Moving, and Self-Active, or which had a power of Changing it Self, that was the first Cause of all Local Motion in Bodies. And this being the very Notion of Soul, that it is such a thing, as can Move or Change it self (in which also the Essence of Life consisteth.) He thus inferreth, *ἰκανότατα δὲ φησὶ ψυχὴ τῶν πάντων πρῶτον γεννημένη τε ἀρχὴ κινήσεως.* It is therefore sufficiently demonstrated from hence, that Soul is the Oldest of all things in the Corporeal World; it being the Principle of all the Motion, and Generation in it. And his Conclusion is, *ἀρχαῖς ἀρχὴ ἐκινήσεως ἀν' ἧμεν ψυχῶν μὲν πρῶτον γεγενῆσθαι σώματι ἡμῶν, σώμα δ' ὀπίστερον, τε καὶ ὑστερον, ψυχῆς ἀρχόντος, ἀρχόμενον καὶ φθόν.* It hath been therefore rightly affirmed by us, that Soul is Older than Body, and was Made Before it, and Body Younger and Junior to Soul; Soul being that which Ruleth, and Body that which is Ruled. From whence it follows that the Things of Soul also, are Older than the things of Body; and therefore Cogitation, Intellection, Volition, and Appetite, in order of Nature before Length, Breadth and Profundity. Now it is Evident, that Plato in all this Understood, not only the Mundane Soul, or his Third Divine Hypostasis, the Original of that Motion that is in the Heavens and the whole Corporeal Universe, but also all other Particular Lives and Souls whatsoever, or that whole Rank of Beings called Soul; he supposing it all to have been at first made, before the Corporeal System, or at least to have been in order of Nature Senior to it, as Superiour and more excellent, (that which Ruleth being Superiour to that which is Ruled) and no Soul or Life whatsoever, to be Generated out of Senseless Matter.

Wherefore we must needs here condemn that Doctrine of some Professed Theists and Christians of Latter Times, who Generate all Souls, not only the Sensitive in Brutes, but also the Rational in Men, out of Matter. For as much as hereby, not only that Argument for the Existence of a God, from Souls, is quite taken away; and nothing could hinder but that Senseless Matter might be the Original of all things; if Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind sprung out of it; but also the Atheist will have an advantage, to prove the Impossibility of a God from hence. Because if Life and Understanding, in their own Nature be Factitious, and Generable out of Matter, then
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are they no *Substantial Things*, but *Accidental* only, from whence it will plainly follow, that no Mind could possibly be a *God*, or *First Cause* of all things, it being not so much as able to Subsist by it Self. Moreover if Mind as such, be *Generable*, and *Educible out of Nothing*, then must it needs be in its own Nature *Corruptible* also, and *Reducible to Nothing* again; whereas the Deity is both an *Unmade* and *Incorruptible Being*. So that there could not possibly be according to this *Hypothesis*, any other *God*, than such a *Jupiter*, or *Soul of the World*, as the *Atheistick Theogonists* acknowledged, that Sprung out of *Night*, *Chaos*, and *Non-Entity*, and may be again Swallowed up into that *Dark Abyss*. Senseless Matter therefore, being the only *Unmade* and *Incorruptible thing*; and the Fountain of all things, *Even of Life and Understanding*; it must needs be acknowledged to be the *Only Real Numen*.

Neither will the Case be much different, as to some others; who though indeed they do not professedly Generate, the *Rational*, but only the *Sensitive Soul*, both in Men and Brutes; yet do nevertheless maintain, the *Humane Soul* it self, to be but a meer *Blank*, or *White Sheet of Paper*, that hath nothing at all in it, but what was *Scribed* upon it, by the *Objects of Sense*; and Knowledge or Understanding to be nothing but the *Result of Sense*, and so a *Passion* from Sensible Bodies existing without the Knower. For hereby, as they plainly make *Knowledge and Understanding*, to be in its own Nature, *Junior to Sense*, and the very *Creature of Sensibles*; so do they also imply, the *Rational Soul and Mind* it self, to be as well *Generated* as the *Sensitive*, wherein it is *Virtually Contained*: or to be nothing but a *Higher Modification of Matter*; agreeably to that *Leviathan-Doctrine*, That men differ no otherwise from *Brute Animals*, then only in their *Organization*, and the *Use of Speech or Words*.

In very truth, Whoever maintaineth, that any *Life or Soul*, any *Cogitation or Consciousness*, *Self-Perception* and *Self-Activity*, can spring out of Dead, Senseless and Unactive Matter, the same can never possibly have any *Rational Assurance*, but that his own Soul, had also a like *Original*, and Consequently is *Mortal and Corruptible*. For if any *Life and Cogitation* can be thus *Generated*, then is there no Reason, but that all Lives may be so; they being but *Higher Degrees* in the same Kind: and neither *Life*, nor any thing else, can be in its own Nature *Indifferent*, to be either *Substance or Accident*, and sometimes one, sometimes the other: but either all *Life, Cogitation, and Consciousness*, is *Accidental, Generable and Corruptible*; or else none at all.

That which hath inclined so many, to think the *Sensitive Life* at least, to be nothing but a *Quality or Accident of Matter*, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* into it, is that strange Protean Transformation of Matter, into so many seemingly *Unaccountable Forms and Shapes*, together with the *Scholastick Opinion* thereupon, of *Real Qualities*; that is, *Entities* distinct from the *Substance of Body*, and its *Modifications*, but yet *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible*, into

it. They concluding that as *Light*, and *Colours*, *Heat* and *Cold*, &c. according to those *Phancies* which we have of them, are *Real Qualities* of *Matter*, distinct from its *Substance* and *Modifications*, so may *Life*, *Sense*, and *Cogitation*, be in like manner *Qualities* of *Matter* also *Generable* and *Corruptible*. But these *Real Qualities* of *Body* in the *Sense* declared, are things that were long since justly exploded, by the *Ancient Atomists*, and expunged out of the *Catalogue* of *Entities*, of whom *Laertius* hath Recorded, that they did ἐξέβαλον τὰς ποιότητες, quite cashier and banish *Qualities* out of their *Philosophy*: they resolving all *Corporeal Phenomena*, and therefore those of *Heat* and *Cold*, *Light* and *Colours*, *Fire* and *Flame*, &c. intelligibly, into nothing but the *Different Modifications* of *Extended Substance*, viz. *More or Less Magnitude* of *Parts*, *Figure*, *Site*, *Motion* or *Rest*, (or the *Combinations* of them) and those different *Phancies* Caused in us by them. Indeed there is no other *Entity*, but *Substance* and its *Modifications*. Wherefore the *Democriticks* and *Epicureans*, did most shamefully contradict themselves, when pretending to reject and explode, all those *Entities* of *Real Qualities*, themselves nevertheless, made *Life* and *Understanding*: such *Real Qualities* of *Matter*, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* again into it.

There is nothing in *Body* or *Matter*, but *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion* or *Rest*; now it is *Mathematically Certain*, that these however *Combin'd* together, can never possibly *Compound* or *Make up Life* or *Cogitation*: which therefore cannot be an *Accident* of *Matter*, but must of necessity be a *Substantial* thing. We speak not here of that *Life* (improperly so called) which is in *Vulgar Speech* attributed to the *Bodies* of *Men* and *Animals*: for it is plainly *Accidental* to a *Body*, to be *Vitally United* to a *Soul*, or not. Therefore is this *Life* of the *Compound*, *Corruptible* and *Destroyable*, without the *Destruction* of any *Real Entity*; there being nothing *Destroyed*, nor *Lost* to the *Universe*, in the *Deaths* of *Men* and *Animals*, as such; but only a *Disunion* or *Separation* made, of those *Two Substances*, *Soul* and *Body* one from another. But we speak here of the *Original Life* of the *Soul* it self, that this is *Substantial*, neither *Generable* nor *Corruptible*, but only *Creatable* and *Annikilable* by the *Deity*. And it is strange, that any men should persuade themselves, that that which *Rules* and *Commands*, in the *Bodies* of *Animals*, moving them up and down, and hath *Sense* or *Perception* in it, should not be as *Substantial*, as that *Stupid* and *Senseless Matter*, that is *Ruled* by it. Neither can *Matter*, (which is also but a meer *Passive* thing) *Efficiently* produce *Soul*, any more than *Soul Matter*: no *Finite Imperfect Substance*, being able to produce another *Substance* out of *Nothing*. Much less can such a *Substance* as hath a *Lower Degree* of *Entity* and *Perfection* in it, *Create* that, which hath a *Higher*. There is a *Scale* or *Ladder* of *Entities* and *Perfections* in the *Universe*, one above another, and the *Production* of things cannot possibly be in *Way* of *Ascent* from *Lower* to *Higher*, but must of necessity be in *Way* of *Descent* from *Higher* to *Lower*. Now to produce any *One Higher Rank* of *Being*, from the *Lower*, as *Cogitation* from *Magnitude* and *Body*, is plainly to *invert* this *Order*, in the *Scale* of the *Universe*, from
Downward

Downwards to *Upwards*; and therefore is it *Atheistical*; and by the Same reason, that One *Higher Rank* or Degree in this *Scale*, is thus unnaturally Produced from a Lower, may all the rest be so produced also. Wherefore we have great reason to stand upon our Guard here, and to defend this *Post* against the *Atheists*; That no *Life* or *Cogitation*, can either *Materially* or *Efficiently* result from *Dead* and *Senseless Body*; or that Souls being all *Substantial*, and *Immaterial* things, can neither be *Generated* out of *Matter*, nor *Corrupted* into the same, but only *Created* or *Annihilated* by the *Deity*.

The Grand Objection against this *Substantiality* of *Souls Sensitive*, as well as *Rational*, is from that Consequence, which will be from thence inferred, of their *Permanent Subsistence* after Death, their *Perpetuity*, or *Immortality*. This seeming very absurd, that the Souls of Brutes also should be *Immortal*, or subsist after the *Deaths* of the *Respective Animals*: But especially to Two Sorts of Men; First, such as scarcely in good earnest believe, their own Soul's *Immortality*; and Secondly, such *Religionists*, as conclude, that if *Irrational* or *Sensitive Souls*, subsist after Death, then must they needs go presently, either into Heaven or Hell. And *R. Cartesius* was so sensible of the *Offensiveness* of this *Opinion*, that though he were fully convinced of the necessity of this *Disjunction*, that either *Brutes* have nothing of *Sense* or *Cogitation* at all, or else they must have some other *Substance* in them besides *Matter*, he chose rather to make them meer *Senseless Machins*, then to allow them *Substantial Souls*. Wherein avoiding a *Lesser Absurdity* or *Paradox*, he plainly plunged himself into a Greater; scarcely any thing being more generally received, than the *Sense* of *Brutes*. Though in truth all those, who deny the *Substantiality* of *Sensitive Souls*, and will have *Brutes* to have nothing but *Matter* in them, ought consequently according to Reason, to do as *Cartesius* did, deprive them of all *Sense*. But on the contrary, if it be evident from the *Phænomena*, that *Brutes* are not meer *Senseless Machins* or *Automata*, and only like *Clocks* or *Watches*, then ought not *Popular Opinion* and *Vulgar Prejudice* so far to prevail with us, as to hinder our Assent, to that which sound Reason and Philosophy clearly dictates, that therefore they must have something more than *Matter* in them. Neither ought we, when we clearly conceive any thing to be true, as this, That *Life* and *Cogitation* cannot possibly rise, out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*; to abandon it, or deny our Assent thereunto because we find it attended with some *Difficulty*, not easily *Extricable* by us, or cannot free all the *Consequences* thereof from some *Inconvenience* or *Absurdity*, such as seems to be in the *Permanent Subsistence* of *Brutish Souls*.

For the giving an Account of which notwithstanding, *Plato* and the Ancient *Pythagoreans*, proposed this following *Hypothesis*. That *Souls* as well *Sensitive*, as *Rational*, being all *Substantial*, but not *Self-Existent*, (because there is but one Fountain, and Principle of all things) were therefore Produced or Caused by the *Deity*. But this; not in the *Generations* of the respective *Animals*; it being indecorous that this *Divine Miraculous Creative Power*, should constantly
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lacquey by and attend upon Natural Generations; as also incongruous, that *Souls* should be so much Juniors to Every Atom of Dust, that is in the whole World; but either all of them from Eternity; according to those who Denied the *Novity* of the *World*; or rather according to others, who asserted the *Cosmogonia*, in the first beginning of the *World's Creation*. Wherefore, it being also *Natural* to *Souls* as such, to *Actuate* and *Enliven* some Body, or to be as it were *Clothed* therewith, these as soon as *Created*, were immediatly *Invested* with certain *Thin* and *Subtle Bodies*, or put into *Light Ethereal* or *Aereal Chariots* and *Vehicles*; wherein they subsist both before their Entrance into other *Gross Terrestrial Bodies* and after their *Egress* out of them. So that the *Souls* not only of men, but also of other *Animals*, have sometimes a *Thicker*, and sometimes a *Thinner Indument* or *Clothing*. And thus do we understand *Boetius*, not only of the *Rational*; but also of the other *Inferior Sensitive Souls*, in these Verses of his,

*Tu Causis Animas paribus Vitasque Minores,
Provehis, & Levibus sublimes Curribus aptans,
In Cælum Terramque feris.*

Where his *Light Chariots*, which all *Lives* or *Souls* at their very First Creation, by *God* are placed in; and in which being wafted, they are both together as as it were Sowed into the *Gross Terrestrial Matter*; are *Thin, Aereal* and *Ethereal Bodies*. But this is plainly declared by *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*, after he had spoken of the *Souls* of *Demons* and *Men*, in this manner; ἡ γὰρ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνάγκη πρὸ τῆς θνητῶν σωμάτων, αἰθέροις ἢ ἀκινήτοις τισὶ κινήσει σώμασιν, ὡς κατ' ἴσιν ἔχουσιν τὸ κινεῖν, *And every Soul, must of necessity have, before these Mortal Bodies, certain Eternal and easily moveable Bodies, it being Essential to them to move.* There is indeed mention made by the same *Proclus*, and others, of an Opinion of ἀλογοὶ δαίμονες, *Irrational* or *Brutish Demons*, or *Demoniack Aereal Brutes*, of which he sometime speaks doubtfully, as ἔπερ γὰρ εἰσὶν ἀλογοὶ δαίμονες, ὡς οἱ θεουργοί, *If there be any Irrational Demons, as the Theurgists affirm.* But the *Dispute, Doubt* or *Controversie* here only was, Whether there were any such *Irrational Demons Immortal* or no. For thus we learn from these Words of *Ammonius* upon the *Porphyrion Isagoge*, οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασὶν εἶναι τι δαιμονίων ἀλόγων γένος ἀθάνατον, οἱ δὲ φασὶ ἡ τὸ τοῖστων γένος θνητὸν εἶναι, *Some affirm, that there is a certain kind of Irrational Demons Immortal; but others, that all these Irrational or Brutish Demons, are Mortal: Where by Irrational Demons Immortal, seem to be understood, such as never Descend into Terrestrial Bodies, (and these are there disclaimed by Ammonius) but the Mortal Ones, such as act also upon Gross Terrestrial Bodies, obnoxious to Death and Corruption.* As if *Ammonius* should have said, There are no other *Brutish* or *Irrational Demons*, than only the *Souls* of such *Brute Animals*, as are here amongst us, sometimes acting only *Aereal Bodies*. Thus according to the ancient *Pythagorick Hypothesis*; There is neither any *New Substantial* thing now *Made*, which was not before, nor yet any *Real Entity Destroyed* into *Nothing*; not only no *Matter*, but also no *Soul* nor *Life*:
God

L. 5 p. 250.

L. 4 p. 283.

God after the First Creation, neither making any *New Substance*, nor yet *Annihilating* any thing made. He then Creating nothing that was not fit to be Conserved in Being, and which could not be well Used and Placed in the Universe; and afterward never Repenting him of what he had before done. And Natural Generations and Corruptions, being nothing but *Accidental Mutations, Concretions and Secretions*, or *Anagrammatical Transpositions* of *Præ- and Post-Existing* things, the same *Souls and Lives* being sometimes United to one Body, and sometimes to another, Sometimes in *Thicker* and sometimes in *Thinner Clothing*; and sometimes in the *Visible*, sometimes in the *Invisible*: (they having *Aereal* as well as *Terrestrial Vehicles*;) and never any Soul quite naked of all Body. And thus does *Proclus* complain of some as *Spurious Platonists*, οἱ φθείροντες τὸ ὄχημα ἀναλίσκοντες In Tim. p. 33 d. *ζῶσαι ποτε πάντες σώματα ἔξω ποιεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν*, Who Destroying the Thinner Vehicles of Souls, were therefore necessitated sometimes, to leave them in a State of Separation from all Body; or without any Corporeal Indument. Which *Cabbala* probably derived from the *Egyptians*, by *Pythagoras*; was before fully represented by us out of *Ovid*, though that *Transmigration* of Humane Souls there into *Ferine Bodies*, hath not been by all acknowledged, as a *Genuine Part* thereof. And the same was likewise insisted upon by *Virgil. Georg. L. 4.* as also owned and confirmed by *Macrobius*, for a Great Truth, *Constat secundum veræ rationis Assertionem, quam nec Cicero nescit, nec Virgilius ignorat, dicendo,* *Summ. Scip. L. 2. C. 12.*

Nec Morti esse Locum; —

Constat inquam, Nihil intra Vivum Mundum perire, sed eorum quæ interire videntur, solam mutari Speciem. It is manifest according to Reason and True Philosophy, which neither Cicero, nor Virgil, were unacquainted with, (the Latter of these affirming, That there is no place at all left for Death) I say, it is manifest, that none of those things, that to us seem to die, do absolutely perish, within the Living World, but only their Forms changed.

Now how extravagant soever this *Hypothesis* seem to be, yet is there no Question, but that a *Pythagorean* would endeavour to find some Countenance and Shelter for it, in the Scripture; especially that place which hath so puzzled and *non-plus'd* Interpreters, *Rom. 8. 19.* For the Earnest expectation of the Creature, waiteth for the Manifestation of the Sons of God. For the Creature was made subject unto *Vanity*, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope. Because the Creature it self also shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God. For we know, that the whole Creation Groaneth, and Travelleth in pain together; until now. And not only they, but our selves also which have the First Fruits of the Spirit, Groan within Our selves, Waiting for the Adoption, even the Redemption of our Bodies. Where it is first of all evident, ~~with~~ that the *κτίσις*, Creature or Creation Spoken of, is not the very same with the *τέκνα* or *υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the Children or Sons of God, but something distinct from them. Wherefore in the next place the *Pythagorean* will add, that it must of necessity be understood, either of the *Inanimate Creature only*, or of the *Lower Animal Creation*, or else of both these together.

gether. Now though it be readily acknowledged, that there is a *Prosopopœia* here; yet cannot all those Expressions for all that, without difficulty and violence be understood, of the *Inanimate Creation* only, or *Senseless Matter*. *Viz.* That this hath ἀποκαρῶδον, an *Earnest Expectation* of some future Good to it self; That it is now made *Subject* ματαύωσιν, to *Vanity*, *Frustration* and *Disappointment* of *Desire*; and φθορᾶ, to *Corruption* and *Death*: And that ἔχ' ἐκδου, not *Willingly*, but *Reluctantly*; And yet ἐπ' ἐλπίδι too, In *Hope* notwithstanding of some further Good to follow afterward; and that it doth in the mean time στενεάζειν and σινοδιδν *Groan* and *Travel* in *Pain* together, till it be at length delivered, from the *Bondage of Corruption*, into the *glorious Liberty of the Children of God*. Moreover, in the *Generations* and *Corruptions of Senseless Bodies*, as of *Minerals* and *Vegetables*, or when for example, *Oyl* is turned into *Flame*, *Flame* into *Smoke*; *Water* into *Vapour*, *Vapour* into *Snow* or *Hail*; *Grass* into *Milk*, *Milk* into *Blood* and *Bones*; and the like, there is I say in all this, no *Hurt* done to any thing, nor any *Real Entity* destroyed, all the *Substance* of *Matter* still remaining intirely the same, without the least diminution, and only *Accidental Transformations* thereof made. All this, is *Really Nothing*, but *Local Motion*; and there is no more *Toyl* nor *Labour* to an *Inanimate Body* in *Motion*, than in *Rest*; it being altogether as *Natural* for a *Body* to be *Moved* by something else, as of it self to *Rest*. It is all nothing, but *Change of Figure*, *Distance*, *Site*, and *Magnitude of Parts*, causing several *Sensations*, *Phancies*, and *Apparitions* in us. And they who would have the meaning of this place to be, That all such like *Mutations*, and *Alternate Vicissitudes* in *Inanimate Bodies*, shall at Length quite cease, these *Groaning* in the mean time, and *travelling in Pain*, to be delivered from the *Toylsome Labour* of such *Restless Motion*, and to be at *Ease* and *Quiet*; by taking away all *Motion* thus, out of a fond regard, to the *Ease* and *Quiet* of *Senseless Matter*, they would thereby *ipso facto Petrify*, the whole *Corporeal Universe*, and consequently the *Bodies of Good Men* also after the *Resurrection*, and *Congel* all into *Rockie Marble* or *Adamant*. And as vain is that other *Conceit* of some, that the whole *Terrestrial Globe*, shall at last be *Vitrified*, or turned into *Transparent Crystal*, as if it also *Groaned* in the mean time for this. For whatsoever *Change* shall be made of the *World*, In the *New Heaven*, and the *New Earth* to come, it is *Reasonable* to think, that it will not be made; for the sake of the *Senseless Matter*, or the *Inanimate Bodies* themselves, to which all is alike, but only for the *Sake of Men* and *Animals*, the *Living Spectators*, and *Inhabitants* thereof, that it may be fitter, both for their *Use* and *Delight*. Neither indeed can those words; For the *Creature* it self shall be delivered from the *Bondage of Corruption*, into the *Glorious Liberty of the Children of God*, be understood of any other, than *Animals*; for as much as this *Liberty of the Children of God*, here meant, is their being *Cloathed*, instead of *Mortal*, with *Immortal Bodies*; of which no other *Creatures* are *Capable*, but only such as consist of *Soul* and *Body*. And that πᾶσα κτίσις, that *Whole Creation*, which is said afterwards to *Groan* and *Travel in Pain*, together, may be well understood, of all That of the *Creation*, which *Can Groan*, or be

be *sensible* of Evil or Misery. Wherefore the *Pythagorean* would interpret this place, of the *Lower Animal Creation* only, which is *Sensible* of Good and Evil; That as this, was *Unwillingly*, or against its own *Inclination* (after the *Fall* of man, or *Lapse* of Souls) made subject to *Vanity*, and the *Bondage* of *Corruption*, *Pain*, *Misery* and *Death*, in those *Gross Terrestrial Bodies*: In the manifestation of the *Sons of God*, when they in stead of these *Mortal Bodies*, shall be clothed with *Celestial* and *Immortal ones*, then shall this *Creature* also have its certain share in the *Felicity* of that *Glorious Time*, and partake in some *Measure* of such a *Liberty*, by being *Freed* in like manner from these their *Gross Terrestrial Bodies*, and now living only in *Thin Aerial* and *Immortal ones*: and so a *Period* put to all their *Miseries* and *Calamities*, by him who *made not Death*, neither hath *pleasure* in the *Destruction* of the *Living*, but *Created* whatsoever liveth, to this end, that it might *have its Being*, and enjoy it self. But however thus much is certain, that *Brute Animals*, in this place cannot be quite excluded; because the *πᾶσα κτίσις* the *Whole Creation*, will not Suffer that: and therefore a *Pythagorist* would conclude it a warrantable *Inference*, from this *Text* of *Scripture*, That that whole *Rank* in the *Creation*, of *Irrational & Brutish Animals*, below *Men*, shall not be utterly *Annihilated*, in the *Consummation* of things, or *Future Renovation* of the *World*, quite strip'd of all this *Furniture*; *Men* being then left alone in it: but that there shall be a *Continuation* of this *Species* or *Rank* of *Being*. And not only so neither; as if there should still be a constant *Succession* of such *Alternate Generations* and *Corruptions*, *Productions* or *Births* and *Deaths* of *Brute Animals*, to all *Eternity*; but also that the *Individuals* themselves shall continue the same, for as much as otherwise there would be none at all delivered from the *Bondage* of *Corruption*. And *Lastly*, that these very *Souls* of *Brutes*, which at this time *Groan* and *Travel* in *Pain*, shall themselves be made *partakers* of that *Liberty* of the *Children of God*; since otherwise, they should be *With Child*, or *Parturient* of *Nothing*; *Groaning* not for themselves, but others. But enough of this *Pythagorick Hypothesis*, which supposing all manner of *Souls*, *Sensitive* as well as *Rational*, to be *Substantial* things, and therefore to have a *Permanency* after *Death*, in their distinct *Natures*, allows them certain *Thin Aerial Ochemata*, or *Vehicles*, to *Subsist* in, when these *Gross Terrestrial ones* shall fail them.

But let these *Aerial Vehicles* of the *Souls* of *Brutes* go for a *Whimsy* or meer *Figment*; nor let them be allowed, to *Act* or *Enliven* any other, than *Terrestrial Bodies* only, by means whereof they must needs be, immediately after *Death*, quite *Destitute* of all *Body*; they *Subsisting* nevertheless, and not vanishing into *Nothing*, because they are not meer *Accidents*, but *Substantial* things: We say that in this case, though the *Substances* of them remain, yet must they needs continue in a *State* of *Insensibility* and *Inactivity*, unless perhaps they be again afterwards united to some other *Terrestrial Bodies*. Because though *Intellection* be the *Energie* of the *Rational Soul* alone, without the *Concurrence* of *Body*, yet is the *Energie* of the *Sensitive*, always *Conjoined* with it: *Sense* being, as *Aristotle* hath rightly determined,

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terminated,

terminated, a *Complication* of *Soul* and *Body* together, as *Weaving* is of the *Weaver* and *Weaving Instruments*. Wherefore we say, that if the *Irrational* and *Sensitive Souls* in *Brutes*, being *Substantial* things also, be after *Death* quite destitute of all *Body*, then can they neither have *sense* of any thing, nor *Act* upon any thing, but must continue for so long a time, in a State of *Insensibility* and *Inactivity*. Which is a thing therefore to be thought the less *Impossible*, because no man can be certain, that his own *Soul* in *Sleep*, *Lethargies*, and *Apoplexies*, &c. hath always an uninterrupted *Consciousness* of it self; and that it was never without *Thoughts*, even in the *Mother's Womb*. However there is little *Reason* to doubt, but that the *Sensitive Souls* of such *Animals*, as *Lie Dead* or *Asleep* all the *Winter*, and *Revive* or *Awake* again, at the *Approaching warmth* of *Summer*, do for that time continue, in a State of *Inactivity* and *Insensibility*. Upon which account, though these *Souls* of *Brutes* may be said in one *Sense* to be *Immortal*, because the *Substance* of them, and the *Root of life* in them, still remains, yet may they in another *Sense*, be said also to be *Mortal*, as having the *Exercise* of that *Life* for a time at least, quite suspended. From whence it appears, that there is no *Reason* at all, for that *Fear* and *Suspicion* of some; That if the *Souls* of *Brutes* be *Substantial*, and continue in *Being* after *Death*, they must therefore needs go either to *Heaven* or *Hell*. But as for that *Supposed Possibility*, of their *awakening* again afterwards, in some other *Terrestrial Bodies*, this seemeth to be no more, than what is found by *dayly Experience*, in the *Course* of *Nature*, when the *Silk-worm* and other *Worms*, dying, are transformed into *Butterflies*. For there is little *Reason* to doubt, but that the same *soul* which before *Acted* the *Body* of the *Silk-worm*, doth afterward *Act* that of the *Butterfly*: upon which account it is, that this hath been made by *Christian Theologers*, an *Emblem of the Resurrection*.

Hitherto have we declared *Two* several *Opinions*, concerning the *Substantial Souls* of *Brutes*, supposed therefore to have a *Permanent Subsistence* after *Death*, one of *Plato's* and the *Pythagorean's*, that when they are devided of these *Gross Terrestrial Bodies*, they *Live* and have a *Sense* of themselves, in *Thin Aerial* ones. The other, of such as *Exploding* these *Aerial Vehicles* of *Brutes*, and allowing them none but *Terrestrial Bodies*, affirm the *Substances* of them *Surviving Death*, to continue in a State of *Inactivity* and *Insensibility*, *Sleep*, *Silence*, or *Stupor*. But now to say the *Truth*, there is no *Absolute Necessity*, that these *Souls* of *Brutes*, because *Substantial*, should therefore have a *Permanent Subsistence* after *Death* to all *Eternity*; Because though it be *True*, that no *Substance* once *Created* by *God*, will of it self ever vanish into nothing, yet is it true also, that whatsoever was *Created* by *God* out of *Nothing*, may possibly by him be *Annihilated* and *Reduced* to nothing again. Wherefore when it is said, that the *Immortality of the Humane Soul* is *Demonstrable by Natural Reason*, the meaning hereof is no more than this, that its *Substantiality* is so *Demonstrable*; from whence it follows, that it will *Naturally* no more perish or vanish into *Nothing*, than the *Substance* of *Matter* it self: and not that it is *Impossible*, either for it, or *Matter*

ter, by Divine Power to be Annihilated. Wherefore the assurance that we have of our own Souls Immortality, must depend upon something else, besides their *Substantiality*, namely a *Faith* also in the *Divine Goodness*, that he will conserve in Being or not Annihilate, all such *Substances Created* by him; whose *Permanent Subsistence*, is neither Inconsistent with his own *Attributes*, nor the *Good of the Universe*; as this of Rational Souls unquestionably is not; they having both *Morality* and *Liberty of Will*, and thereby being capable of *Rewards* and *Punishments*, and Consequently *Fit Objects* for the *Divine Justice* to display it self upon. But for ought we can be certain, the case may be otherwise, as to the *Souls of Brute Animals* devoid both of *Morality* and *Liberty of Will*, and therefore *Uncapable of Reward* and *Punishment*, That though they will not Naturally of themselves, vanish into Nothing, yet having been Created by God, in the *Generations* of the *Respective Animals*, and had some enjoyment of themselves for a time, they may by him again be as well Annihilated in their Deaths and Corruptions: and if this be Absolutely the Best, then doubtless is it so. And to this seemeth agreeable the Opinion of *Porphyrius* amongst the Philosophers, when he affirmed every *Irrational Power* or *Soul*, to be resolved into the *Life of the Whole*; that is, Retracted and Resumed into the Deity, and so Annihilated as to its *Creaturely Nature*. Though possibly there may be another Interpretation of that Philosophers meaning here, *Viz.* That all the *Sensitive Souls* of Brutes, are Really but one and the same *Mundane Soul*, as it were Out-flowing, and variously Displaying it self, and Acting upon all the several parts of Matter, that are capable to receive it, but at their Deaths retiring again back into it self. But we have Sufficiently retunded the Force of that *Objection* against the *Ingenerability* of all *Souls*, and the *Substantiality* of those of Brutes also, from their consequent *Permanence* after Death; we having shewed, That notwithstanding this their *Substantiality*, there is no *Absolute Necessity*, of their *Perpetuity* after Death, and *Permanency* to all *Eternity*, or else that if they do continue to Subsist, (God Annihilating no Substance) unless they have *Aerial Vehicles* to Act, they must remain in a State of *Inactivity*, and *Insensibility*, *Silence*, or *Sleep*.

Now therefore if no *Souls*; no *Life* nor *Cogitation*, could possibly be ever Generated out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, they being not meer *Accidents*, but *Substantial things*, which must in this case have come from *Nothing*; then either all *Souls* Existed of themselves from *Eternity*, or else there must of Necessity be some *Eternal Unmade Life and Mind*, from whence all the other *Lives* and *Minds* were derived. And that this was the Doctrine of the Ancient Theists, That no *Soul* or *Mind*, no *Life* or *Understanding*, was ever Generated out of *Matter*, but all Produced by the Deity, the Sole Fountain of *Life* and *Understanding*; might be here proved, were it needful, at large by sundry Testimonies, but it may sufficiently appear from those Verses of *Virgil*, First in his Sixth *Aeneid*, where after he had spoken of God, as a Spirit and Mind diffused thorough out the whole world, he addeth,

*Inde hominum pecudumque genus, Vitæque Volantum,
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore Pontus,*

That from thence, are the Lives of all Men and Beasts, Birds flying in the Air, and Monsters swimming in the Sea. And again in his *Georgicks*, where after these words,

— Deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque Tractusque Maris, Cælumque profundum,

That God passeth, through all Tracts, of Earths, Seas, and Heavens, He subjoineth,

*Hinc Pecudes, Armenta, Viros, genus omne Ferarum
Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere Vitas.
Scilicet huc Reddi deinde & Resoluta Referrî,
Omnia, nec Morti esse locum.*

And from Hence, not only Men, but also all manner of Brute Animals and Beasts, when produced into this world, do every one derive their Lives or Souls, as also at their Deaths they render the same back again, to him, in whose hand or custody they remain undestroyed; so that there is no place any where in the world, left for Death. This was therefore undoubtedly, the Genuine Doctrine of the Ancient Theists, however some of late, have Deviated and Swerved from it; That no Life was Generated out of Matter, but all Created by the Deity, or Derived from it, the Sole Fountain of Lives and Souls.

And it is a Truth so evident, That Life being Substantial, and not a meer Accidental thing Generated and Corrupted, there must therefore of Necessity, be Some Eternal Unmade Life and Mind, from whence all other Lives and Minds are derived, That the Hylozoick Atheists themselves (in this far wiser than the Atomicks) were fully convinced thereof: Nevertheless being strongly possessed with that Atheistick Prejudice, that there is no other Substance besides Body, they Attribute this first Original Unmade Life and Understanding, to all Matter as such, (but without Animal Consciousness) as an Essential part thereof, or Inadequate Conception of it. From which Fundamental Life of Nature in Matter, Modified by Organization, they phancy the Lives of all Animals and Men, to have proceeded. So that though the Modified Lives of Animals and Men, as such, according to them be Accidental things, Generated and Corrupted, produced out of Nothing and reduced to Nothing again, yet this Fundamental Life of Matter, which is the Basis upon which they stand, being Substantial, is also Eternal and Incorruptible. These Hylozoists therefore, to avoid a Deity, Suppose every Atom of Senseless Matter, to have been from all Eternity, Infallibly Omniscient, that is, to know all things without either Error or Ignorance, and to have a Knowledge before Sense, and Underived from Sensibles (quite contrary to the Doctrine of the Atomick Atheists, who make all Knowledge Sense, or

or the Product thereof) though without any *Animal Consciousness* and *Self-Perception*.

But as nothing can be more *Prodigiouſly Abſurd*, than thus to attribute *Infallible Omnſcience*, to every *Atom of Matter*; ſo is it alſo directly *Contradictious*, to ſuppoſe *Perfeſt Knowledge, Wiſdom, or Underſtanding*, without any *Conſciouſneſs* or *Self-Perception*; *Conſciouſneſs* being *Effential to Cogitation*: as alſo, that the *Subſtantial and Fundamental Life* in men and other *Animals*, ſhould never *Periſh*, and yet *Notwithſtanding* their *Souls and Perſonalities*, in *Death*, utterly vaniſh into *Nothing*. Moreover this *Hypotheſis*, can never poſſibly *Salve* the *Phænomenon* of *Men and Animals* neither; not only becauſe no *Organization* or *Modification* of *Matter* whatſoever, could ever produce *Conſciouſneſs* and *Self-Perception*, in what was before *Inconſciouſ*; but alſo becauſe every *Smalleſt Atom* thereof being ſuppoſed to be a *Percipient* by it ſelf, and to have a *Perfeſt Life and Underſtanding* of its own, there muſt be in every one *Man and Animal*, not one, but a *Heap or Commonwealth* of innumerable *Percipients*. Laſtly, whereas theſe *Hylozoick Atheiſts*, make every *Atom of Matter Omnſcient*, but nothing at all *Omnipotent*, or aſſert *Perfeſt Knowledge*, without any *Perfeſt Power*, a *Knowledge* without *Senſe* and *Undeived* from *Senſibles*; we demand of them, where the *Intelligibles*, or *Objects* of this *Knowledge* are? and whence the *Ideas* thereof are derived? for ſince they proceed not in a way of *Paſſion* from *Senſibles* Exiſting without, nor could reſult from thoſe *Atoms* neither as *Comprehending* themſelves; they muſt needs *Come* from *Nothing*, and many of them at leaſt, be the *Conceptions of Nothing*. There cannot poſſibly be any other *Original* by the wit of man deviſed, of *Knowledge and Underſtanding*, than from an *Absolutely Perfeſt and Omnipotent Being*, *Comprehending* it ſelf, and the *Extent* of its own *Infinite Power*, or all *Poſſibilities* of things, that is, all *Intelligibles*. But there can be but *One* ſuch *Omnipotent Being*, and therefore no more, than *One Original*, and *Eternal Unmade Mind*, from whence all the other *Minds* are *Derived*. Wherefore this *Hylozoick Atheiſm*, is nothing but the *Breaking and Crumbling* of the *Simple Deity*, *One Perfeſt Underſtanding Being*, into *Matter*, and all the ſeveral *Atoms* of it.

And now have we made it manifeſt, that theſe *Atheiſts*, are ſo far from being able to diſprove a *God*, from this *Topick* of *Cogitation, Knowledge or Underſtanding*, that they cannot poſſibly *Salve* the *Phænomenon* thereof, without a *God*; it indeed affording *Invincible Arguments* of his *Exiſtence*. For *Fiſt*; If no *Life or Cogitation, Soul or Mind*, can poſſibly *Spring* out of *Matter or Body*, devoid of *Life and Underſtanding*; and which is nothing but a *Thing Extended*, into *Length, Breadth and Thickneſs*; then is it ſo far from being *True*, that all *Life and Underſtanding* is *Junior* to *Senſeleſs Matter*, and the *Off-ſpring* thereof; that of neceſſity, either all *Lives and Souls*, were *Self-Exiſtent* from *Eternity*, or elſe there muſt be *One Perfeſt Unmade Life and Mind*, from whence all other *Imperfeſt ones* were derived: there muſt be an *Eternal Knowledge*, before *Senſe* and

Senſibles;

Sensibles; which is that that hath printed the *Stamps* and *Signatures* of it self, upon the Matter of the whole world. Indeed nothing can be more certain than this, that all *Knowledge* and *Understanding* in Our selves, is not a meer *Passion* from *Singular Sensibles*, or *Bodies* Existing without us, as the forementioned *Atheists* also conclude; (from whence they would again Infer, that *Knowledge* as such, is in its own Nature *Junior* to *Sensibles*, and the meer *Creature* of them, and Consequently no *Creator*.) There being nothing which comes to us, from the *Objects* of Sense without, but Only *Local Motion* and *Pressure*, and there being other *Objects* of the Mind, besides *Singular Sensibles*; not only all *Universals*, but also such *Intelligibles*, as never were nor can be in *Sense*. Now if our *Humane Knowledge* and *Understanding* be not a *Passion* from things Existing without us; then can it have no other *Original*, than in way of *Participation*, from a *Perfect Mind*, the *Mind* of an *Infinitely Fecund* and *Powerful Being*, comprehending It self, and in It self all things; all the *Possibilities* of things before they were Made, their *Respects* and the *Verities* belonging to them. So that a *Perfect Omnipotent Being* together with the *Possibilities* of things contained in it; is the *First* Νοῦτον, *Intelligible*, or *Object* of *Mind* and *Understanding*, by which all other *Singulars* are Understood. And were there no such *Perfect*, *Infinitely Fecund*, and *Powerful Being*, there could have been, no *Mind* or *Understanding* at all. As also, were there no *Perfect Mind*, viz. That of an *Omnipotent Being* Comprehending It self, and all *Possibilities* of things virtually contained in it; all the *Knowledge*, and *Intelligible Ideas*, of our *Imperfect Minds*, must needs have Sprung from *Nothing*. And thus is the Existence of a *God*, again Demonstrated, from that *Phænomenon* of *Knowledge* or *Understanding*.

HAVING quite Routed and Vanquished the *Atheists Main Body*, we shall now blow away the Remainder of their weaker and scattered Forces (viz. Their *Objections* against *Providence*, their *Queries*, and their *Arguments* from *Interest*) with a Breath or two. Their *First Objection* is against *Providence*, as to the *Fabrick* of the World, from the *Faultiness* of the *Mundane System*, Intellectually considered, and in Order to Ends; *Quia tantà stat Prædita Culpà*; That *Because it is so Ill-Made*, therefore it could not be made by a *God*. Where the *Atheist* takes it for granted, that whosoever asserts a *God*, or a *Perfect Mind* to be the *Original* of all things, does therefore *ipso facto* suppose All things to be *Well Made*, and as they should be. And this doubtless was the Sense of all the *Ancient Theologers*; however some *Modern Theists* deviate there from; these Concluding the *Perfection* of the *Deity*, not at all to consist in *Goodness*; but in *Power* and *Arbitrary Will* only. As if to have a *Will* determined by a *Rule* or *Reason* of Good, were the *Virtue* of *Weak*, *Impotent*, and *Obnoxious* Beings only, or of such as have a *Superior* over them to give *Law* to them, that is of *Creatures*; but the *Prerogative* of a
Being

Being *Irresistibly Powerful*, to have a *Will* absolutely *Indifferent* to all things, and *Undetermined* by any thing but it self; or to *Will* nothing because it is *Good*, but to make its own *Arbitrary* or *Contingent* and *Fortuitous Determination*, the *Sole Reason* of all its *Actions*, nay the very *Rule* or *Measure*, of *Goodness*, *Justice*, and *Wisdom* it self. And this is supposed by them, to be the *Liberty*, *Sovereignty*, and *Dominion* of the *Deity*. Wherefore such *Theists* as these, would think themselves altogether *Unconcerned*, in these *Atheistick Objections* against *Providence*, or in *Defending*, the *Fabrick* of the *World*, as *Faultless*; they being as ready as the *Atheists* themselves, to acknowledge, that the *World* might really have been much better made, than now it is; (Only that it must be said to be *Well*, because so made) but pretending nevertheless, that this is no *Impeachment* at all of the *Existence* of a *God*, *Quia Deus non tenetur ad Optimum*, *Because God is No way Bound or Obliged to the Best*; he being indeed according to them, nothing but *Arbitrary Will Omnipotent*. But what do these *Theists* here else, then whilst they deny, the *Fortuitous Motion* of *Senseless Matter*, to be the *First Original* of all things, themselves in the mean time, *Enthroned Fortuitousness* and *Contingency*, in the *Will* of an *Omnipotent Being*, and there give it an *Absolute Sovereignty* and *Dominion* over all? So that the *Controversie* betwixt the *Atheists*, and these *Theists*, seems to be no other than this; Whether *Senseless Matter Fortuitously Moved*, or a *Fortuitous Will Omnipotent*, such as is altogether undetermined, by *Goodness*, *Justice* and *Wisdom*, be the *Sovereign Numen*, and *Original* of all things. Certainly, we *Mortals* could have little better *Ground*, for our *Faith* and *Hope*, in such an *Omnipotent Arbitrary Will* as this, then we could have in the *Motions* of *Senseless Atoms*, furiously agitated; or of a *Rapid Whirlwind*. Nay one would think, that of the *Two*, it should be more desirable, to be under the *Empire* of *Senseless Atoms*, *Fortuitously* moved, then of a *Will* altogether *Undetermined* by *Goodness*, *Justice*, and *Wisdom*, armed with *Omnipotence*; because the *Former* could harbour no *Hurtful* or *Mischievous Designs*, against any, as the *Latter* might. But this *Irrational Will*, altogether *Undetermined* by *Goodness*, *Justice*, and *Wisdom*, is so far from being the *Highest*, *Liberty*, *Sovereignty* and *Dominion*; the *Greatest Perfection*, and the *Divinest* thing of all; that it is indeed nothing else but *Weakness* and *Impotency* it self, or *Brutish Folly* and *Madness*. And therefore those *Ancients* who affirmed, that *Mind was Lord over all*, and the *Supream King* of *Heaven* and *Earth*, held at the *Same* time, that *Good* was the *Sovereign Monarch* of the *Universe*, *Good Reigning* in *Mind* and together with it; because *Mind* is that which orders all things for the *Sake* of *Good*, and whatsoever doth otherwise, was according to them, not Νῆς, but ἄνοια, not *Mens*, but *Dementia*, and consequently no *God*. And thus does *Celsus* in *Origen* declare the *Nature* of *God*, ἡ ἰδὴ τὸ πλιμμελὲς ὀρέξεως, ἡ δὲ τὸ πεπλανημένως ἀνοίας, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας φύσεως θεὸς ἔστιν ἀρχηγός, *God is not the President or Head of Irregular and Irrational Lust or Appetite, and of loose Erratick Disorderliness, but of the Just and Righteous Nature.* And though this were there misapply'd by him, against the *Christian Doctrine* of the *Resurrection* (not understood) yet is the *Passage* highly

P. 246.

highly approved by *Origen*; he adding further in Confirmation thereof, and that as the general Sense of Christians too, φαμὲν ὅτι ἔδυναται αἰχρῆ. ὁ θεός, ἐπεὶ ἔστι ὁ θεός δυνάμενος μὴ εἶναι θεός, εἰ γὰρ αἰχρῆν τι δ' ἔσ' ὁ θεός, ἢ ἔστι θεός. *We Christians (who hold the Resurrection) say as well as you, that God can do nothing, which is in it self Evil, Inept, or Absurd; no more than he is able not to be God. For if God do any Evil he is no God.* And again, ἔδεν μὴ πρέπον εἶναι τῷ ὁ θεός βέβηται, ἀναίρετικον τυγχάνον τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν θεόν, *God willeth nothing Unbecoming himself, or what is truly Indecorous; for as much as this is inconsistent with his Godship.* And to the same purpose *Plotinus*, * ποιῆι τὸ θεῖον ὡς πέφυκε, πέφυκε ἢ ἢ τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν, ἢ τὸ καλὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις αὐτῆς ἢ τὸ δίκαιον συνεκφέρει, εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐνὶ ταῦτα, τῷ ἂν εἴη; *The Deity acteth according to its own Nature and Essence; and its Nature and Essence displaieih Goodness and Justice: For if these Things be not there, where should they else be found? And again elsewhere, θεός ὅπερ ἔχειν εἶναι, ἔ τίνων ἔτω συνέση, ἀλλ' ἔδεν ἔτω. τὸ δ' ἔδ' ἔδ' τῷ, ἀρχὴ τῷ ὅσα ἔδ' ἔδ'. *God is Essentially That which Ought to be; and therefore he did not Happen to be such as he is: and this First Ought to be, is the Principle of all things whatsoever, that Ought to be.* Wherefore the Deity is not to be conceived, as meer Arbitrariness, Humour, or Irrational Will and Appetite Omnipotent, (which would indeed be but Omnipotent Chance) but as an Overflowing Fountain of Love and Goodness, Justly and Wisely dispensing it self, and Omnipotently reaching all things. The Will of God, is Goodness, Justice, and Wisdom; or Decorousness, Fitness, and Ought it self, Willing; so that the τὸ βέλτιστον, that which is Absolutely The Best, is νόμος ἀπαραδέχαιος, an Indispensable Law to it, because its Very Essence. God is μέτρον πάντων, an Impartial Ballance, lying Even Equal and Indifferent to all things, and Weighing out Heaven and Earth, and all the Things therein, in the most just and exact Proportions, and not a Grain too much or too little of any thing. Nor is the Deity therefore Bound or Obliged to do the Best, in any way of Servility (as men fondly imagine this to be contrary to his Liberty) much less by the Law and Command of any Superiour (which is a Contradiction) but only by the Perfection of its own Nature, which it cannot possibly deviate from, no more than Ungod it self. In Conclusion therefore, we acknowledge the *Atheists* Argument to be thus far Good; that If there be a God, then of Necessity must all things be Well made, and as they Should be; & vice versâ. But no *Atheist* will ever be able to prove, that either the Whole System of the World, could have been Better Made, or that so much as any one thing therein is Made Ineptly.*

So likewise, p. 247. ἀλλὰ ἡ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔδεν οὐδε τι παρολογοῦν ἔπε παρ' ἐαυτὴν ἐργάσασθαι ἔστι ὁ θεός. According to Us also, God can do nothing that is Absurd, or besides Reason.
* P. 265.

P. 743.

There are indeed many things in the *Frame of Nature*, which we cannot reach to the Reasons of, they being made by a Knowledge far Superior and Transcendent, to that of Ours, and our Experience and Ratiocination, but Slowly discovering the *Intrigues* and contrivances of Providence therein; Witness the *Circulation of the Blood*, the *Milkie* and *Lymphatick* Vessels, and other things, (without which the *Mechanick* Structure of the Bodies of Animals cannot be understood) all but so lately brought to light: wherefore we must not conclude, that whatsoever

soever we cannot find out the Reason of, or the use that it serveth to, is therefore *Ineptly Made*. We shall give one Instance of this; The *Intestinum Cœcum*, in the Bodies of Men and other Animals seems at first sight, to be but a meer *Botch* or *Bungle* of Nature, and an *Odd* impertinent *Appendix*; neither do we know that any *Anatomist* or *Physiologer*, hath given a Rational Account thereof, or discovered its Use, and yet there being a *Valve* at the Entrance of it, these Two both together, are a most *Artificial Contrivance* of Nature, and of great advantage for Animals, to hinder the *Regurgitation* of the *Fæces* upward, towards the *Ventricle*.

The First *Atheistick Instance* of the *Faultiness* of things, in the *Frame of Nature*, is from the *Constitution* of the Heavens, and the *Disposition* of the *Æquator* and *Ecliptick*, intersecting each other in an *Angle*, of Three and Twenty Degrees and upwards; whereby as they pretend, the *Terrestrial Globe*, is rendred much more *Uninhabitable*, than otherwise it might be. But this is built upon a *False Supposition* of the Ancients, that the *Torrid Zone*, or all between the *Tropicks*, was utterly *Uninhabitable* by reason of the *Extremity of Heat*. And it is certain, that there is nothing which doth more demonstrate a *Providence* than this very thing, it being the most *Convenient Site* or *Disposition*, that could be devised, as will appear if the *Inconveniences* of other *Dispositions* be considered, especially these *Three*; First, If the *Axes* of those *Circles* should be *Parallel*, and their *Plains* *Coincident*; *Secondly*, If they should *Intersect* each other in *Right Angles*; and *Thirdly*, (which is a Middle betwixt both) If they should cut one another in an *Angle of Forty Five Degrees*. For it is evident, that each of these *Dispositions* would be attended with far greater *Inconveniences* to the *Terrestrial Inhabitants*, in respect of the *Length of Days and Nights*, *Heat and Cold*. And that these two *Circles* should continue thus, to keep the same *Angular Intersection*, when *Physical* and *Mechanick Causes*, would bring them still nearer together; this is a farther *Eviction* of a *Providence* also.

In the next place, the *Atheist* supposes, that according to the general *Perfwasion* of *Theists*, the world and all things therein, were Created only for the *Sake of Man*, he thinking to make some advantage for his *Cause* from hence. But this seemeth, at first, to have been an *Opinion* only, of some *strait-laced Stoicks*, though afterward indeed recommended to others also, by their own *Self-love*, their *Over-Weaning*, and *Puffy Conceit* of themselves. And so *Fleas* and *Lice*, had they *Understanding*, might conclude the *Bodies* of other greater *Animals* and *Men* also, to have been made only for them. But the *Whole* was not properly made for any *Part*, but the *Parts* for the *Whole*, and the *Whole* for the *Maker* thereof. And yet may the things of this *Lower World*, be well said, to have been *Made*, *Principally*, (though not *Only*) for *Man*. For we ought not to *Monopolize* the *Divine Goodness* to our selves, there being other *Animals* *Superiour* to us, that are not altogether *Unconcerned* neither in this *Visible Creation*: and it being reasonable to think, that Even the *Low-*

Thm Plato,
μέγ@ μὴν
ἐνεκα ὄλης,
ἢ ἕχ ὄλον
μέγας ἐνε-
κα. De Leg.
p. 903.

er *Animals* likewise, and whatsoever, hath *Conscious Life*; was made partly also, to *Enjoy* it self. But *Atheists*, can be no *Fit Judges*, of *Worlds* being made *Well* or *Ill*, either in general, or respectively to *Mankind*, they having no *Standing Measure* for *Well* and *Ill*, without a *God* and *Morality*, nor any *True Knowledge* of themselves, and what their own *Good* or *Evil* Consisteth in. That was at first but a *Fromard Speech*, of some sullen discontented Persons, when things falling not out agreeably, to their own *Private*, *Selfish*, and *Partial Appetites*, they would *Revenge* themselves, by *Railing* upon *Nature*, (that is, *Providence*) and calling her a *Stepmother* only to *Mankind*, whilst she was a *Fond*, *Partial*, and *Indulgent Mother* to other *Animals*; and though this be *Elegantly* set off by *Lucretius*, yet is there nothing but *Poetick Flourish*, in it all, without any *Philosophick Truth*. The *Advantages* of *Mankind* being so notoriously conspicuous above those of *Brutes*.

But as for *Evils* in general, from whence the *Atheist* would conclude, the *God* of the *Theist*, to be either *Impotent* or *Envious*; it hath been already declared, that the *True Original* of them, is from the *Necessity* of *Imperfect* Beings, and the *Impossibility* of things; but that the *Divine Art* and *Skill*, most of all appeareth, in *Bonifying* these *Evils*, and making them like *Discords* in *Musick*, to contribute to the *Harmony* of the *Whole*, and the *Good* of *Particular Persons*.

Moreover a great part of those *Evils*, which men are afflicted with, is not from the *Reality* of Things, but only from their own *Phancy* and *Opinions*, according to that of the *Moralist*, ταρταρα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔστι τὰ προσματά, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ προσματῶν δόματα, It is not Things themselves that disturb men, but only their Own Opinions concerning things; and therefore it being much in our own *Power* to be freed from these, *Providence* is not to be *Blamed* upon the account of them. *Pain*, is many times nearly linked with *Pleasure*, according to that *Socratick Fable*, That when *God* could not reconcile their *Contrary Natures* (as he would) he *Tyed* them *Head* and *Tayl* together. And good men know that *Pain* is not the *Evil* of the *Man*, but only of the *Part* so affected, (as *Socrates* also) τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ μὲν, It goes no further than the *Leg* where it is. But this is many times very *Serviceable*, to free us from the *Greater Evils* of the *Mind*; upon which all our *Happiness* dependeth. To the *Atheists* who acknowledge no *Malum Culpæ*, No *Evil* of *Fault*, (*Turpitude*, or *Disbonesty*) *Death* is the *Greatest* and *most Tragical* of all *Evils*. But though this according to their *forlorn Hypothesis*, be nothing less than an *Absolute Extinction* of *Life*; yet according to the *Doctrine* of the *Genuine Theists*, which makes all *Souls Substantial*, no *Life* of it self (without *Divine Annihilation*) will ever quite *Vanish* into *Nothing*, any more than the *Substance* of *Matter* doth. And the *Ancient Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* have been here so *Kind*, even to the *Souls* of *Brutes* also, as that they might not be left in a *State of Inactivity* and *Insensibility* after *Death*, as to bestow upon them certain *Subtle Bodies*, which they may then continue to *Act* in. Nor can we think otherwise, but that *Aristotle* from this *Fountain*, derived that *Doctrine* of his in his

Second

Second Book, *De Gen. An.* c. 3. where after he had declared the *Sensitive Soul*, to be *Inseparable* from *Body*, he addeth, *πόσις ἐν ψυχῆς δύναμις ἐτέρη σώματος ἔοικε κεκοινωνηκέναι καὶ ἑστέρας τῆς καλεσμένων στοιχείων· ὡς ἡ διαφέρειν τιμότητι αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ ἀτιμία ἀλλήλων, ἕτω καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη διαφέρει φύσιν·* All Souls therefore, seem to have another Body, and Diviner than that of the Elements; and as themselves differ in Dignity and Nobility, so do these Bodies of theirs, differ from one another. And afterwards calling this Subtle Body *πνεῦμα*, or a Spirit, he affirmeth it to be, *ἀνάλογον τῷ τῆς ἄστρον στοιχείῳ*, Analogous to the Element of the Stars. Only as *Galen*, and *S. Austin*, and others have conceived, *Aristotle* deviated here from the *Pythagoreans* in this, that he supposed the *Sensitive Soul* it self, to be really nothing else, but this Very Subtle and Star-like Body, and not a distinct Substance from it, using it only as a *Vehicle*. Nevertheless he there plainly affirmeth the *Mind* or *Rational Soul*, to be really distinct from the *Body*, and to come into it *From Without Pre-Existing*; and consequently, should acknowledge also its *Aster-Immortality*. But whatsoever *Aristotles* Judgment were (which is not very Material) it is Certain that *Dying*, to the *Rational* or *Humane Soul*, is nothing but a withdrawing into the *Tyring house*, and putting off the *Clothing* of this *Terrestrial Body*. So that it will still continue after death, to live to *God*, whether in a *Body*, or without it. Though according to *Plato's* Express Doctrine, the *Soul* is never quite Naked of all *Body*, he writting thus, *αἰὲν ψυχὴ ἐπιτεταγμένη σώματι, τότε μὲν ἄλλῳ τότε ἡ ἄλλῳ·* De Leg. 10. p. 903. the *Soul* is always conjoyned with a *Body*, but sometimes of one kind, and sometimes of another; which many *Christian Doctors* also, as is before declared, have thought highly probable. However our *Christian Faith*, assures us, that the *Souls* of *Good men*, shall at length be clothed, with *Spiritual* and *Heavenly Bodies*, such as are, in *Aristotle's* Language, *ἀνάλογα τῷ τῆς ἄστρον στοιχείῳ*, Analogous to the Element of the Stars. Which *Christian Resurrection* therefore, to *Life* and *Immortality*, is far from being, as *Celsus* reproched it, *Καλῆκων ἐλπίς*, The Meer Hope of Worms. And thus much shall suffice, in way of *Confutation*, of the *First Atheistick Objection* against *Providence*, which is the *Twelfth Argumentation* propounded, in the *Second Chapter*.

The *Thirteenth Atheistick Argument*, or *Second Objection* against *Providence*; is from the *Seeming Confusion* of *Humane Affairs*; That all things fall alike to all; the *Innocent* and the *Nocent*, the *Pious* and the *Impious*, the *Religious* and the *Prophane*: nay, That many times the *Worser Causes* and *Men*, prevail against the *Better*, as is intimated in that *Passage* of the *Poet*, though in the *Person* of a *Theist*,

Victrix Causa Deo placuit, sed Victa Catoni;

And That the *Unjust* and *Ungodly*, often flow in all kind of *Prosperity*, whilst the *Innocent* and *Devout* Worshippers of the *Deity*, all their *Lives* long, conflict with *Adversity*. Whereas were there a *God* and *Providence*, as they conceive, *Prophane* and *Irreligious Persons* would be presently *Thunder-struck* from *Heaven*, or otherwise made remarkable *Objects* of *Divine Vengeance*, as also the *Pious* *Miraculously*

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lously protected and rescued from Evil and Harms.

Now we grant indeed, that this Consideration hath too much puzzled and staggered *Weak Minds* in all Ages. Because *Sentence against an Evil Work is not executed speedily, therefore is the heart of the Sons of men fully set in them to do Evil.* And the *Psalmist* himself, was sometime much perplexed with this *Phænomenon*, the *Prosperity* of the *Ungodly*; who *set their Mouths against Heaven, and whose Tongue walketh through the Earth*; so that he was *Tempted to think, He had cleansed his Heart in Vain, and Washed his hands in Innocency*; (till at length entring into the *Sanctuary of God*, his *Mind* became *Illuminated*, and his *Soul* fixed in a firm *Trust and Confidence upon Divine Providence*; *Whom have I in Heaven but thee, &c. My Flesh and my Heart faileth, but God is the Strength of my Heart, and my Portion for ever.*) For as some will from hence be apt to infer, That there is no *God* at all, but that blind *Chance* and *Fortune* steer all (*the Fool hath said in his heart, there is no God*;) So will others conclude, That though there be a *God*, yet he either does not know things done here below, (*How does God Know? and is there Knowledge in the most High?*) or else will not so far *Humble* himself, or *Disturb* his own *Ease* and *Quiet*, as to concern himself in our *Low Humane Affairs*.

Thus did
some in Pla-
to from
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clude, εἶναι
μὲν θεῶν,
τῶν δ' ἀνθρώ-
πων ἀμε-
λεῖν πραγ-
μάτων. De
Leg. 10.

First of all therefore we here say, That it is altogether unreasonable, to require that *Divine Providence* should *Miraculously* interpose upon every turn, in *Punishing the Ungodly* and *Preserving the Pious*, and thus perpetually interrupt the *Course of Nature*, (which would look but like a *Botch* or *Bungle*, and a violent business) but rather carry things on ἀψόφῳ καὶ ἄκωκῳ, in a *Still and Silent Path*, and shew his *Art and Skill*, in making things of themselves fairly unwind, and clear up at last into a *Satisfactory Close*. *Passion* and *Self-Interest* is blind, or short sighted; but that which steers the whole world is no *Fond*, *Pettish*, *Impatient* and *Passionate* thing; but an *Impartial*, *Disinterested*, and *Uncaptivated Nature*. Nevertheless it is certain, that sometimes we have not wanted *Instances*, in *Cases* extraordinary, of a θεὸς ἀπὸ μνηστῆρος, *God appearing, as it were Miraculously upon the Stage*, and manifesting himself in taking immediate *Vengeance* upon *Notorious Malefactors*, or delivering his *Faithful Servants* from imminent *Dangers* or *Evils Threatned*; as the same is often done also, by a secret and *Undiscerned overruling*, of the things of *Nature*. But it must be granted, that it is not always thus, but the *Periods of Divine Providence*, here in this *World*, are commonly *Longer*, and the *Evolutions* thereof *Slower*: According to that of *Euripides*, which yet has a *Tange of Prophaneness* in the *Expression*,

ΜΕΛΛῃ τὸ θεῖον δ' ὄρεται τοῖστων φύσιν,

The Deity is Slow or Dilatory, and this is the Nature of it. For it is not from *Slackness* and *Remissness* in the *Deity*, but either from his *Patience* and *Long-suffering*, he willing that men should *Repent*, or else to teach us *Patience* by his *Example* (as *Plutarch* suggesteth) or that

that all things may be carried on with the more *Pomp* and *Solemnity*; or Lastly, for other particular Reasons, as *Plutarch* ventures to assign one, why it might not be expedient, for *Dionysius* the Tyrant, though so *Prophane* and *Irreligious* a Person, to have been cut off suddainly. But *Wicked* and *Ungodly* Persons often times fail not, to be met withal at last, and at the long run, here in this *Life*, and either in *Themselves* or *Posterity* to be notoriously Branded with the Marks of *Divine Displeasure*: according to that of the Poet, *Rarò antecedentem scelestum, &c.* It is seldom that *Wickedness* altogether escapes *Punishment*; though it come slowly after, limping with a *Lame Foot*; and those *Proverbial Speeches* amongst the *Pagans*,

Ὅψε θεῶν ἀλεῖσι μύλοι, ἀλεῖσι ὃ λεπία.

*Mills of the Gods, do slowly wind,
But they at length to powder grind.*

And; *Divine Justice* steals on *Softly* with *Woollen Feet*, but *Strikes* at last with *Iron Hands*.

Nevertheless we cannot say, that it is always thus neither, but that *Wicked Persons*, may possibly sometimes, have an *Uninterrupted Prosperity* here in this *Life*, and no visible Marks of *Divine Displeasure* upon them: but as the generously vertuous, will not *Envy* them upon this account, nor *repine* at their own condition they knowing, that ἑδὲν κακὸν τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἑστ' αὐτῷ φαύλω ἀγαθόν, *There is neither any thing truly Evil to the Good, nor Good to the Evil*; so are they so far from being staggered herewith, in their *Belief* of a *God* and *Providence*, that they are rather the more confirmed, in their *Perswasions* of a *Future Immortality* and *Judgment* after *Death*, when all things shall be set straight and right, and *Rewards* and *Punishments* *Impartially* Dispensed. That of *Plutarch* therefore, is most true here, εἰς ἓν ὁ λόγος ὁ τῶ θεῶ τῷ πέρνοιαν ἅμα καὶ τῷ διαμονῆ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς βεβαιῶν, καὶ δάπτειν ἐν ἓν ἀπολιπεῖν ἀναμείβοντα δάπτειν, *That there is a Necessary Connexion betwixt those Two things, Divine Providence, and the Permanence or Immortality of Humane Souls, one and the same Reason confirming them both; neither can one of these be taken alone without the other.* But they who because *Judgment* is not presently Executed upon the *Ungodly*, blame the *Management* of things as *Faulty*, and *Providence* as *Defective*, are like such *Spectators* of a *Dramatick Poem*, as when wicked and injurious Persons are brought upon the *Stage*, for a while *Swaggering* and *Triumphing*; impatiently cry out against the *Dramatist*, and presently condemn the *Plot*: whereas if they would but expect the winding up of things, and stay till the last *Close*, they should then see them come off with *shame* and sufficient punishment. The *Evolution* of the *World*, as *Plotinus* calls it, is ἀληθέστερον ποίημα, a *Truer Poem*, and we men *Histrionical Actors* upon the *Stage*, who notwithstanding insert something of our *Own* into the *Poem* too; but *God Almighty*, is that *skilful Dramatist*, who always connecteth that of ours which went before, with what of his follows after, into good *Coherent Sense*; and will

at last make it appear, that a *Thred* of exact *Justice* did run through all, and that *Rewards* and *Punishments* are measured out in *Geometrical Proportion*.

Lastly, it is in it self Fit, that there should be some where, a *Doubtful* and *Cloudy State* of things, for the better Exercise of *Vertue* and *Faith*. For as there could have been no *Hercules*, had there not been *Monsters* to subdue, so were there no such Difficulties to encounter with, no Puzles and Entanglements of things, no Temptations and Tryals to assault us; *Vertue* would grow *Languid*; and that Excellent *Grace* of *Faith*, want due *Occassions* and *Objects* to exercise it self upon. Here have we therefore, such a State of things, and this World is as it were a *Stage* erected, for the more Difficult part of *Vertue* to Act upon; and where we are to Live by *Faith* and not by *Sight*: That *Faith*, which is the *Substance* of *Things to be Hoped for*, and the *Evidence* of *things not Seen*; a Belief in the *Goodness*, *Power*, and *Wisdom* of God, when all things are *Dark* and *Cloudy* round about us. *The Just shall live by his Faith*.

We have now sufficiently Confuted, the *Second Atheistick Objection* also, against *Providence*, as to the *Conduct* and *Oeconomy* of *Humane Affairs*. Nevertheless this is a large Field, and much more might be said in *Defense* of *Providence*, both as to these and other Instances, had we room here to Expatiate in. Wherefore, for a Supplement of what remains, we shall refer the Reader, to the Writings of others, who have professedly undertaken, *Apology's* for *Providence*, both as to the *Fabrick*, and *Oeconomy* of the World; but especially the Learned and Ingenious Author of the *Divine Dialogues*. Only we shall here add Some few *Considerations* not so much for the *Confutation* of *Atheists*, as for the better *Satisfaction* of such *Religionists*, who too easily Concluding, That *all Things might have been much Better than they are*; are thereupon apt to call in Question the *Divine Attribute* of *Goodness* in its full Extent; which yet is the only Foundation of our *Christian Faith*.

First, therefore we say, that in *Judging* of the Works of *God*, we ought not to consider, the *Parts* of the World alone by themselves; and then because we could Phancy much *Finer* things, thereupon blame the *Maker* of the *Whole*. As if one should attend only to this *Earth*, which is but the Lowest and most Dreggy Part of the Universe; or blame Plants, because they have not Sense, Brutes because they have not Reason, Men because they are not Demons or Angels, and Angels because they are not Gods, or want *Divine Perfection*. Upon which Account, God should either have made nothing at all, since there can be nothing besides himself *Absolutely Perfect*; or else nothing but the Higher Rank of *Angelical Beings*, free from Mortality and all those other Evils, that attend mankind; or such *Fine things*, as *Epicurus* his Gods were feigned to be, living in certain delicious Regions, where there was neither Blustering Winds, nor any Lowring Clouds; nor Nipping Frosts, nor Scorching Heat, nor Night nor Shadow; but the Calm and Unclouded *Æther* always, Smiling with gentle Serenity.

Whereas

Whereas were there but one kind of thing, (the Best) thus made; there could have been no *Musick* nor *Harmony* at all, in the World for want of *Variety*. But We ought in the first place, to consider the *Whole*, Whether that be not the *Best*, that Could be Made, having all that belongeth to it; and then the *Parts* in reference to the *Whole*, whether they be not in their several Degrees and Ranks, *Congruous* and *Agreeable* thereunto. But this is a thing which hath been so well insisted upon by *Plotinus*, that we cannot speak better to it, than in his Words. Ὅλον γὰρ τι ἐποίησε πάσχαλον, καὶ αὐταρχικόν, καὶ φίλον P. 256. αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς αὐτῷ, τοῖς τε κωλύουσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν ὡσαύτως προσφύουσιν. ὁ τοίνυν ὅλον ἅπασαν τὴν μερῶν τὸ ὅλον αἰπιάμενος, ἀτοπὸν ἂν εἴη τῆς αἰτίας. τά τε γὰρ μέρη πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὅλον δεῖ σκοπεῖν εἰ σύμφωνα καὶ ἀρμόζοντα ἐκείνῳ, καὶ τὸ ὅλον σκοπούμενον, μὴ πρὸς μέρη ἄττα μικρὰ βλέπειν. τῆτο γὰρ ἔστι τὸν νόστον αἰτιωμένους ἀλλὰ πῶς αὐτῷ χάρις λαβόντες, οἷον εἰ, καὶ τὰ ἕξῃς. *God made the Whole most Beautiful, Entire, Compleat, and Sufficient; all agreeing friendly with it self and its parts; both the Nobler and the meaner of them being alike Congruous thereunto. Whosoever therefore, from the Parts thereof will blame the whole, is an Absurd and Unjust Censurer. For we ought to Consider the Parts, not alone by themselves, but in reference to the whole, whether they be Harmonious and Agreeable to the same. Otherwise we shall not blame the Universe, but some of its Parts only, taken by themselves; as if one should blame the Hair or Toes of a man, taking no notice at all of his Divine Visage and Countenance; or omitting all other Animals, one should attend only to the most contemptible of them: or lastly overlooking all other men, consider only the most Deformed Thermites. But that which God made was the Whole as one thing; which he that attends to, may hear it speaking to him after this manner. God Almighty hath made me, and from thence came I, Perfect and Compleat, and standing in need of nothing, because in me are contained all things; Plants and Animals, and Good Souls, and Men happy with Virtue; and innumerable Demons, and many Gods. Nor is the Earth alone in me adorned, with all manner of Plants, and Variety of Animals; or does the Power of Soul, extend at most no further than to the Seas; as if the whole Air and Æther and Heaven, in the mean time, were quite devoid of Soul, and altogether unadorned with Living Inhabitants. Moreover all things in me desire Good, and every thing reaches to it, according to its Power and Nature. For the whole World depends upon that First and Highest Good, the Gods themselves who reign in my several parts, and all Animals and Plants, and whatsoever seems to be Inanimate in me. For Some things in me, partake only of Being, some of Life also, some of Sense, some of Reason, and some of Intellect above Reason. But no man ought to require Equal things from Unequal; nor that the Finger should see, but the Eye; it being enough for the Finger to be a Finger, and to perform its own Office. And again afterwards,* ὡς περ τεχνίτης ἔστι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ ζῶν ὀφθαλμῶς ποιεῖ, ἕτως ἔστι ὁ λόγος πάντα θεῶς εἰργάζετο. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θεῶς, τὰ δὲ δαίμονας δὲ ἀτέρων φύσιν, εἶτα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ζῶν ἐφεξῆς, ἔστι φθόνῳ, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ ποιικίαν νοεῶν ἔχοντι. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς περ οἱ ἀπειροὶ γραμμικῆς τέχνης αἰπιάσθαι, ὡς ἔστι κατὰ τὰ χρώματα πανταχῶς, ὁ δὲ ἄρα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀπέδρακεν ἐκάστῳ τόπῳ ἢ εἰς τὸ εἶδος μὴ μὲν φοιτο, ὅτι μὴ πάντες ἴσως εἶναι αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ἕξῃς. *As an Artificer*

ficer would not make all things in an Animal to be Eyes; so neither has the Divine λόγος, or Spermatick Reason of the World made all things Gods; but some Gods, and some Demons, and some Men, and some Lower Animals. Not out of Envy, but to display its own Variety and Fecundity. But we are like Unskilful Spectators of a Picture, who condemn the Limner, because he hath not put bright Colours every where: whereas he had suited his Colours to every part respectively, giving to each such as belonged to it. Or else are we like those who would blame a Comedy or Tragedy, because they were not all Kings or Heroes that acted in it, but some Servants and Rustick Clowns, introduced also, talking after their Rude fashion. Whereas the Dramatick Poem would neither be Compleat, nor Elegant and Delightful, were all those Worser Parts taken out of it.

Again; We cannot certainly conclude that the Works of God and his Creation do not transcend those narrow Limits, which Vulgar Opinion and Imagination sets them; that commonly terminates the Universe, but a little above the Clouds, or at most supposes the Fixed Stars, being all fastned in One Solid Sphere, to be the Utmost Wall, or Arched Roof, and Rowling Circumference thereof. Much less ought we, upon such Groundless Suppositions, to infer, That the World might therefore have been made much Better than it is, because it might have been much more Roomy and Capacious. We explode the Atheistick Infinity of Distant Worlds; nor can we admit that Cartesian, seemingly more Modest, Indefinite Extension of one Corporeal Universe, which yet really according to that Philosophers meaning, hath Nullos Fines, no Bounds nor Limits at all. For We perswade our selves that the Corporeal World, is as Uncapable of a Positive Infinity of Magnitude, as it is of Time; there being no Magnitude so Great, but that more still might be Added to it. Nevertheless, as we cannot possibly Imagine the Sun, to be a Quarter, or an Hundredth Part so big as we know it to be; so much more may the whole Corporeal Universe, far transcend those narrow Bounds, which our Imagination would circumscribe it in. The New Celestial Phenomena, and the late Improvements of Astronomy and Philosophy made thereupon, render it so probable, that even this Dull Earth of ours is a Planet, and the Sun a Fixed Star, in the Centre of that Vortex, wherein it moves, that many have shrewdly suspected, that there are other Habitable Globes, besides this Earth of ours, (which may be Sayled round about in a year or two) as also more Suns, with their respective Planets, than One. However the Distance of all the Fixed Stars from us, being so Vast, that the Diameter of the Great Orb, makes no discernible Parallax in the Site of them; from whence it is also probable, that the other Fixed Stars are likewise vastly distant from one another; This, I say, widens the Corporeal Universe to us, and makes those Flammantia Mœnia Mundi, as Lucretius calls them, Those Flaming Walls of the World, to fly away before us. Now it is not reasonable to think, that all this Immense Vastness, should lie Waste, Desert, and Uninhabited, and have nothing in it, that could Praise the Creator thereof, save only this One Small Spot of Earth. In my Father's House, (saith our Saviour) are Many Mansions. And Baruch,

ruch (Chap. 3. appointed by our Church to be read publickly) of Israel, how great is the House of God, and how large is the place of his Possession? Great and hath no End, High and Unmeasurable. Which yet we understand not, of an Absolute Infinity, but only such an Immense Vastness, as far transcends Vulgar Opinion and Imagination.

We shall add but one thing more; That to make a right Judgment of the Ways of Providence, and the Justice thereof, as to the Oeconomy of mankind, we must look both Forwards and Backwards; or besides the Present, not only upon the Future; but also the Past Time. Which Rule is likewise thus set down by Plotinus, *ὅδ' ἐκεῖνον ἀποελπιτέον ἢ λόγον, ὅς ἔστι πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐκάστη φησὶ βλέπειν· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πρόωθεν περιόδους; καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ μέλλον.* Neither is that Doctrine of the Ancients to be neglected, that to give an Account of Providence, we ought to look back upon former Periods, as well as forward, to What is Future. Indeed he and those other Philosophers, who were Religions, understood this so, as to conclude a Pre-Existent State of all Particular Souls, wherein they were at first Created by God Pure; but by the Abuse of their own Liberty Degenerated, to be a Necessary Hypothesis, for the Salving that Phenomenon, of the Depraved State of Mankind in general here in this Life. And not only so, but they endeavoured in like manner to give an account also, of those Different Conditions of Particular Persons as to Morality, from their Infancy, and their other different Fates here, deriving them all, *ἐκ τῶν προεβιωμένων*, from their several Demeanors heretofore in a Pre-Existent State. And there have not wanted Christian Doctors, who have complied with these Philosophers in both. But our Common Christianity only agrees thus far; as to suppose a Kind of Imputative Pre-Existence in Adam, in whom all were created Pure, and so consequently involved in his after miscarriage, to salve the Pravity of Humane Nature; upon which account we are all said to be, *φύσσει τέκνα ὀργῆς*, by Nature Children of Wrath. But as for the different Conditions of Persons, and their several Fates, more disadvantageous to some than others this indeed the Generality of Christian Doctors, have been content to resolve, only into an Occult, but Just Providence. And thus does Origen himself sometimes modestly pass it over. As in his Third Book against Celsus, ** πολλοὶς καὶ τὰ τῆ ἀνατροπῆς τοῖστας γεγέννηται, ὡς μηδὲ φαντασθαι ἐπιτρέπεται τῶν κερηθένων λαβεῖν· ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καὶ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἢτοι ἐν παιδικοῖς εἶναι ἀκολάστον ἀνδρῶν, ἢ δεσποτῶν ἢ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ κωλύσει τινὶ ψυχῷ ἀναελέπην κακοδαιμονία· τὰς δὲ οὐδὲ τῶτων αἰτίας πάντως μὲν εἰκὸς εἶναι, ἐν τοῖς τῆ προνοίας λόγοις· πᾶσιν ἢ αὐτὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ ευχερέος.* It happeneth to many; so to have been brought up from their very Childhood, as that, by one means or other, they could have no opportunity at all of thinking of the Better things, &c. And it is very probable, that there are Causes of these things in the Reasons of Providence, though they do not easily fall under Humane Notice.

P. 264.

Thus Hierocles, *ἐν ἀμελεῖται ὁ ἀγαθὸς νῦν γινόμενος, καὶ παλαιῶν μνημόνων ἐφελάται στήματα.* 157. P. 134.

But there is yet a Third Atheistick Objection against Providence behind; That it is impossible, any One Being should Animadvert and Order all things in the Distant places of the world at once; and were

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this possible, yet would such Infinite Negotiosity be very Uneasie and Distractious to it, and altogether Inconsistent with Happiness. Nor would a Being Irresistibly Powerful, concern it self in the Good or Welfare of any thing else; it standing in Need of nothing; and all Benevolence and Good will arising from Indigency and Imbecillity. Wherefore such a Being, would wholly be taken up in the Enjoyment of it self, and its own Happiness; utterly Regardless of all other things.

To which the Reply is, First; That though our selves and all Created Beings, have but a Finite *Animadversion*, and Narrow Sphere of Activity, yet does it not therefore follow, that the Case must be the same with the Deity, supposed to be a Being Infinitely Perfect, ἀπεργ-δύναμις, that hath no manner of Defect, either of Knowledge or Power in it. But this is a meer *Idolum Specus*, an *Idol of the Cave or Den*, Men Measuring the Deity, by their own Scantling, and Narrowness. And indeed were there Nothing at all, but what we our selves could fully Comprehend, there could be no God. Were the Sun an Animal, and had Life Co-Extended with its Rays and Light, it would see and perceive every Atom of Matter, that its out stretched Beams reached to, and touched. Now all Created Beings, are themselves in some sense, but the Rays of the Deity; which therefore cannot but Feel and Sensibly Perceive, all these its own Effluxes and Emanations. Men themselves can order and manage Affairs, in several distant Places at once, without any Disturbance, and we have innumerable Notions of things in our Mind, that lie there easily together, without Crowding one another, or Causing any Distraction to us.

Nevertheless the Minds of weak Mortals may here be somewhat eased and helped by considering, what hath been before suggested. That there is no necessity, God Almighty should αὐτογεῖν ἅπαντα, do all things himself Immediately and Drudgingly; but he may have his Inferiour Ministers and Executioners under him, to discharge him of that Supposed Encumberment. As First of all, an Artificial Plastick Nature, which without Knowledge and Animal Consciousness, disposes the Matter of the Universe, according to the Platform or Idea of a Perfect Mind, and forms the Bodies of all Animals. And this was the Reason why we did before insist so much upon this Artificial Regular and Methodical Nature; namely that Divine Providence, might neither be excluded, from having an Influence upon all things in this Lower World, as resulting only from the Fortuitous Motions of Senseless Matter, unguided by any Mind; nor yet the Deity be supposed to do every thing it self Immediately and Miraculously, without the Subservient Ministry of any Natural Causes; which would seem to us Mortals, to be not only a Violent, but also an Operose, Cumber-som, and Moliminous Business. And thus did Plato acknowledge, that there were, ἐμπερον φύσεως αἰτίαι αἷς ὑπερεστέαις χεῖται ὁ θεός. Certain Causes of a Prudent, that is, Artificial and Orderly Nature, which God makes use of, as Subservient to himself, in the Mundane Oeconomy. Besides which those Instincts also impressed upon Animals, and which they are Passive to, directing them to Act for Ends either not understood, or not attended to by them, in order to their own Good
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and the Good of the Universe, are another part of that *Divine Fate*, which inserted into things themselves, is the *Servant* and *Executioner* of *Providence*. Above all which there are yet other *Knowing* and *Understanding Ministers*, of the Deity, as its *Eyes* and *Hands*; *Demoniack* or *Angelick Beings*, appointed to preside over Mankind, all Mundane Affairs, and the Things of Nature, they having their several distinct Offices and Provinces assigned them. Of which also *Plato* thus, τέτοις εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες προσεταμένοι ἐκάσταις, ἔπι τὸ ὅλον καὶ τὰ μέρη αὐτῶν πάλαι καὶ πρόσθετος. There are certain Rulers or Presidents appointed by that Supreme God, who Governs the whole world, over all the several things and Parts therein, even to the smallest Distribution of them. All which Inferiour Causes, are constantly over looked and supervised by the Watchful Eye of God Almighty, himself, who may also sometimes *Extraordinarily Interpose*.

We need not therefore, restrain and confine *Divine Providence*, to a Few Greater things only, as some do, that we may thereby consult the ease of the Deity, and its *Freedom from Distractiōn*, but may and ought to Extend it, to all things whatsoever, *Small* as well as *Great*. And indeed the *Great things* of the World cannot well be ordered neither, without some regard to the *Small* and *Little*: ἔδὲ γὰρ ἀνὰ ὀλίγων τὰς μεγάλας φασὶν οἱ λιθολόγοι λίθους εὖ κείσθαι. As *Architec̄ts* affirm, that great stones cannot be well placed together in a Building, without little. Neither can *Generals* of Armies, nor *Governours* of Families, nor *Masters* of Ships, nor *Mechanick Artificers*, discharge their several Functions, and do their Works respectively as they ought, did they not mind the *Small things* also as well as the *Great*, μὴ τοίνυν (saith the forementioned Philosopher) τὸν θεὸν ἀξιόσμενον ποτὲ θνητῶν δημιουργῶν, φαιλότερον, οἱ τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἔργα, ὅσπερ ἂν ἀμείνους ἄσιν, τίσιν ἀμελέσειεν καὶ τελεάσειεν μᾶ τὴν τεχνὴν ὀλίγων καὶ μεγάλων ἀπεργάζεσθαι. Let us not therefore make God Almighty Inferiour to Mortal Opificers who by one and the same Art, can order Small things as well as Great: and so suppose him to be *Supine* and *negligent*. Nevertheles the *Chief Concernment* and Employment of *Divine Providence* in the World; is the *Oeconomy* of *Souls*, or *Government* of *Rational Beings*; which is by *Plato* contracted into this Compendium, ἔδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον τῶν περὶ τὴν λείπειν πλὴν μετακινεῖν τὸ μὲν ἀμείνονα καὶ βελτίω εἰς βελτίω τόπον χεῖρον ἢ εἰς τὸ χεῖρον, &c. There is no other work left, for the Supreme Governour of all, then only to *Translate Better Souls* into *Better places* and *Conditions*, and *Worser* into *Worser*: or, as he after addeth, to dispose of every one in the world in such a manner as might best render, νικῶσαν ἀρετῶν, ἠθωμένην ἢ κακίαν, *Virtue victorious, and triumphant over Vice*. And thus may the *slow* and *Imperfect wits* of Mortals, be satisfied; that *Providence* to the Deity, is no *Moliminous, Laborious, and Distractious* thing.

But that there is no higher Spring of Life in Rational Animals, than *Contracted Self Love*, and that all *Good Will* and *Benevolence*, arises only from *Indigency* and *Imbecillity*, and That no Being whatsoever is concerned in the welfare of any other thing, but only what it self stands in Need of; and Lastly therefore, That what is Irresistibly Po-

werful and Needs nothing; would have no manner of *Benevolence*, nor concern it self in the *Good and Welfare* of any thing whatsoever; This is but another *Idol of the Atheists Den*; and only argues their Bad Nature, Low-sunk Minds, and Gross Immorality. And the same is to be said also of that other Maxim of theirs, That what is perfectly Happy, would have nothing at all *To Do*, but only enjoy its own *Ease and Quiet*: whereas there is nothing more troublesome to our selves, than this ἀπεργεῖα, *this having Nothing to Do*; and the *Activity* of the Deity or a Perfect Being, is altogether as *Easie* to it, as its *Essence*.

The *Atheistick Queries* come next to be Answered; which being but *Three*, are Naturally to be disposed in this order: First, *If there were a God or Perfect Being, who therefore was sufficiently Happy in the enjoyment of himself, Why would he go about to make a World?* Secondly, *If he must needs make a World, why did he not make it sooner? this Late production thereof, looking, as if he had but newly awaked out out of a long sleep, throughout Infinite Past Ages, or else had in length of time contracted a Satiety of his Solitude.* Thirdly and Lastly, *What Tools or Instruments? what Machines or Engines had he? or How could he move the Matter of the whole world; especially if Incorporeal; because then he would run through all things, and could not lay hold nor fasten upon any thing.*

To the First therefore, we say, That the reason why God made the World, was from his own *Overflowing and Communicative Goodness*, that there might be other Beings also *Happy* besides him, and enjoy themselves. Nor does this at all clash, with God's making of the world, for his own *Glory and Honour*, though *Plotinus* were so shy of that, γελοῖον ἵνα τιμᾶται, ἢ μεταφερόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαλλομαστοποιᾶν τῆς ἐν- τῶνδε, *It is ridiculous to say, that God made the world, that he might be Honoured; this being to transfer the affections of humane Artificers and Statuaries upon him.* But the chief Reason of his saying so, was, because that Philosopher conceived, the World to have proceeded, not so much from the *Will of the Deity*, as the *Necessity of its Nature*. Though this be true also, that God did not make the World, meerly to *Ostentate his Skill and Power*; but to communicate his Goodness, which is chiefly and properly his *Glory*, as the *Light and splendor of the Sun*, is the *Glory of it*. But the Atheist demands, *What hurt had it been for us, never to have been made?* and the Answer is easie, we should then never have enjoyed any *Good*; or been capable of *Happiness*; and had there been no Rational Creatures at all made, it must have been either from *Impotent Sterility* in the *Deity*, or else from an *Invidious, Narrow and Contracted Selfishness*; or want of *Benignity, and Communicative Goodness*; both which are Inconsistent with a Perfect Being. But the *Argument* may be thus Retorted upon these Atheists; *What Hurt would it be for us, to Cease to Be, or Become Nothing?* And why then are these Atheists as well as others, so *Unwilling to Die?*

But then in the next place they Urge; *Why was not the World made.*

made Sooner, since this Goodness of God was without Date, and from Everlasting? But this *Question* may be taken in two different Sentes, Either, *Why was not the world from Eternity, as God and his Goodness are Eternal?* or else *Secondly, If the World could not be from Eternity, yet notwithstanding Why was it not sooner, but so lately made?* In both which *Queries* the *Atomick Atheists* take it for granted, that the System of the World was not from Eternity, but had a beginning. Now we say, That the Reason why the world was not *Made from Eternity*, was not from any Defect of *Goodness* in the *Divine Will*, but because there is an *Absolute Impossibility* in the thing it self; or because the *Necessity* and *Incapacity* of such an *Imperfect Being* hindered. For we must confess, that for our parts, we are prone to believe, That could the world have been from Eternity, it should certainly have been so. And just thus does *Philoponus*, in his *Confutation of Proclus* his Arguments for the World's Eternity, declare himself, and no otherwise. P. 4.
 και ημεεις ἀρχη μὴ εἶναι τὸ κόσμον αἰδίων ὑποτιθέμενοι, ὅτι τὸ εἶναι τὸ θεὸν αἰεὶ ἀρχαῖον ἀφαιρέσμεθα, ὅτι ἀδύνατον τὸ δημιουργοῦν αὐτῷ κατηγοροῦμεν δυνάμεως. ἀλλὰ μὴ δύνασθαι αἰεὶ εἶναι τὸ κόσμον δι' αὐτὴν τὴν τῷ θεῷ γινόμενος φύσιν ὑπεπιθέμεθα. *Our selves also supposing, the world not to have been Eternal, do neither ascribe this to any Defect either of Godness or of Power in the Deity, but only to the Impossibility of the Thing it self.* Where in the following words, he gives a Two fold Account of this *Impossibility*, of the worlds Eternity, ὅτι τὸ τὸ ἀπείρον κατ' ἐνέργειαν ὑποσῆναι, ἢ διεξίτητον εἶναι, ἀδύνατον ἦν. καὶ ὅτι συναίδιον εἶναι τῷ ποιῆντι τὸ γινόμενον φύσιν ἐν ἑχθῇ. *First because, There can be nothing Actually Infinite, and yet Run through, as all the Past Duration of the World hath been; and Secondly, because that which is Made or brought into Being by another, as a distinct thing from it, cannot be Co-Eternal with its Maker.* Where it is probable, that *Philoponus* being a Christian, designed not to oppose the *Eternal Generation* of the Son of God, but only to assert, that Nothing which was properly *Made or Created by God*, and nothing which was not it self *God*, could be from *Eternity*, or without Beginning. And now we see, How those *Atheistick Exceptions* against the *Novity* of the *Divine Creation*, as if God must therefore either have *Slept from Eternity*, or else have at length contracted a *Satiety* of his former *Solitude*, and the like; do of themselves quite vanish into Nothing. But then as to the *Second Sense* of the *Question, Why the World, though it could not possibly be from Eternity, yet was no sooner, but so lately made?* we say, that this is an *Absurd Question*; both because *Time* was made together with the *World*, and there was no *Sooner* or *Later*, before *Time*; and also because, Whatsoever had a beginning, must of necessity be once but a *Day Old*. Wherefore the World could not possibly have been so *Made by God in time*, as not to be once, but *Five or Six Thousand years old*, and no more; as now it is.

And as for the Third and Last *Query*; *How God could move and command the Matter of the whole World? especially If Incorporeal?* We Reply; First, That all other things being derived from God as their only Fountain and Original, and Essentially depending on him, who by his *Absolute Power* also, could Annihilate whatsoever he Created;

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ted; he must needs have a *Despotick Power* over all; and every thing whatsoever be *Naturally Subject* and *Obsequious* to him. And since no *Body* can possibly *Move it self*; that which first moved *Matter*, must of necessity be *Incorporeal*; nor could it move it by *Local Motion*, as one *Body* moves another, or as *Engines* and *Machines* move, by *Trusion* or *Pulsion*, they being before moved, but must do it by another kind of *Action*, such as is not *Local Motion*, nor *Heterocinesse*, but *Autocinesse*; that is, by *Cogitation*. Wherefore that *Conceit* of the *Atheists*, that an *Incorporeal Deity* could not possibly move the *Matter* of the *World*, because it would run through it, and could not fasten or lay hold thereupon; is *Absurd*, because this moves *Matter* not *Mechanically*, but *Vitally*, and by *Cogitation* only. And that a *Cogitative Being* as such, hath a *Natural Imperium* over *Matter* and *Power* of *Moving* it, without any *Engines* or *Machines*, is unquestionably certain, even from our own *Souls*; which move our *Bodies* and *Command* them every way, meerly by *Will* and *Thought*. And a *Perfect Mind*, presiding over the *Matter* of the whole world, could much more irresistibly, and with *Ininitely* more ease, move the whole *Corporeal Universe*, meerly by *Will* and *Cogitation*; then we can our *Bodies*.

The Last *Head* of *Atheistick Argumentation*, is from *Interest*. And first, the *Atheists* would persuade, that it is the *Interest* of *mankind in General*, and of every particular person, that there should be no *God*, that is, no *Being Infinitely Powerful*, that hath no *Law*, but its own *Will*; and therefore may punish whom he pleases *Eternally* after *Death*.

To which our *First Reply* is; That if there be a *God*, and *Souls* be *Immortal*, then is it not any man's *Thinking* otherwise, that will alter the *Case*, nor afford the *Atheists* any *Relief* against those two *Imagined Evils* of theirs. For *Things* are *Sullen*, and will be as they are, what ever we *Think* them, or *Wish* them to be: and men will at last discover their *Errour*, when perhaps it may be too late. *Wishing* is no *Proving*; and therefore this *Atheistick Argument*, from *Interest*, is no *Argument* at all against the *Existence* of a *God*, it being nothing but the ignorant wish, and vain desire of *Be-sotted Atheists*.

In the next place this *Wish* of *Atheists*, is altogether founded, upon a *Mistaken Notion* of *God Almighty* too, That he is nothing but *Arbitrary Will Omnipotent*; which indeed is not the most *Desirable* thing. But as it hath been often declared, the *Will* of *God* is the *Will* of *Goodness*, *Justice*, and *Wisdom* it self *Omnipotent*. His *Will* is not meer *Will*, such as hath no other *Reason* besides it self; but it is *Law*, *Equity* and *Chancery*; it is the $\tau\theta$ *Nov*, or *Ought it self*, *Decreeing*, *Willing*, and *Acting*. Neither does *God* Punish any, out of a delight in *Punishment*, or in the *Evil* and *Suffering* of the *Persons* Punished; but to those who are not $\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$, altogether *Incurable*, $\delta\iota\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$, his *Punishment* is *Physick*, in order to their recovery and amendment; so that the *Sourse* and *Fountain* thereof is *Goodness* and
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the *Persons* themselves Punished. But to such as are *Incurable*, the Punishment inflicted on them, is Intended for the *Good of the Whole*. So that this *Attribute of Justice* in God, doth not at all Clash, with the *Attribute of Goodness*, it being but a *Branch* thereof or particular *Modification* of the same. *Goodness* and *Justice* in God, are always *Complicated* together; neither his *Goodness* being *Fondness*, nor his *Justice* *Cruelty*; but he being both *Good* in *Punishing*, and *Just* in *Rewarding* and *Dispensing Benefits*. Wherefore, it can be the *Interest* of none, that there should be no *God* nor *Immortality*; unless perhaps of such *Desperately* and *Incurably Wicked* persons, who abandoning their true *Interest* of being *Good*, have thereupon no other *Interest* now left them, than *Not to be*, or become *Nothing*.

To be without a *God*, is to be without *Hope* in the *World*, for *Atheists* can have neither *Faith* nor *Hope*, in *Senseless Matter*, and the *Fortuitous Motions* thereof. And though an understanding *Being*, have never so much *Enjoyment* of it self for the present, yet could it not possibly be *Happy*, without *Immortality*, and *Security* of the *Future Continuance* thereof. But the *Atheists* conclude, that there is *Nothing Immortal*, and that all *Life* *Perishes* and *Vanishes* into *Nothing*; and consequently also, that εὐδαιμονία ἀνθρώπων, *Happiness* is a thing, that hath no *Existence* in *Nature*; a meer *Figment* and *Chimera*, or *Idle Wish* and *vain Dream* of *Mortals*. Wherefore it cannot be the *Interest* of *Mankind*, that this *Hypothesis* should be *True*, which thus plainly cuts off all *Hope* from men; and leaves them in an utter *Impossibility* of being ever *Happy*.

God is such a *Being*, as if he could be supposed not to be, there is nothing which any who are not *desperately* engaged in *Wickedness*, no not *Atheists* themselves, could possibly more *Wish* for, or *Desire*. To *Believe a God*, is to *Believe* the *Existence* of all *Possible Good* and *Perfection* in the *Universe*; It is to *Believe*, That *things* are as they *Should be*, and That the *World* is so well *Framed* and *Governed*, as that the *Whole System* thereof, could not *Possibly* have been *Better*. For *Peccability*, arises from the *Necessity* of *Imperfect Freewilled Beings*, left to themselves, and therefore could not by *Omnipotence* it self have been excluded; and though *Sin Actual* might perhaps have been kept out by *Force* and *Violence*; yet all things *Computed*, it was doubtless most for the *Good of the Whole*, that it should not be thus *Forcibly Hindered*. There is *Nothing*, which cannot be *Hoped* for, by a *Good man*, from the *Deity*; Whatsoever *Happiness* his *Being* is *Capable of*; and such things as *Eye* hath not *seen*, nor *Ear* heard, nor can now enter into the *Heart of man* to *Conceive*. *Infinite Hopes* lie before us, from the *Existence* of a *Being Infinitely Good* and *Powerful*, and our *Own Souls Immortality*: and nothing can *Hinder* or *Obstruct* these *Hopes*, but our own *Wickedness* of *Life*. To *Believe a God*, and *Do well*, are *Two*, the most *Hopeful*, *Cheerful*, and *Comfortable* things, that possibly can be. And to this purpose is that of *Linus*,

Ἐλπεσθαι χεὶρ παντ', ἐπεὶ ἐκ ἐς' ἔδεν ἄελπτον
ῥάδια πάντα θεῶν τελέσαι, καὶ ἀνάνυτον ἔδεν.

Wherefore as for *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, whose *Encomiums* the Atheists here so loudly sing forth; we say, That however they have made so great a noise in the World, and have been so much cried up of late, yet were they really no better, than a Couple of *Insatuated Sophists*, or *Witty Fools*; and *Debauchers* of *Mankind*.

And now come we to the Last *Atheistick Argumentation*; where-in they endeavour to recommend their Doctrine to *Civil Sovereigns*; and to perswade them, that *Theism* or *Religion*, is absolutely Inconsistent with their *Interest*: Their Reasons for which are these *Three* following. First, Because the *Civil Sovereign Reigns* only in *Fear*, and therefore if there be any *Power* and *Fear*, greater than the *Power* and *Fear* of the *Leviathan*, *Civil Authority* can signifie little. Secondly, Because *Sovereignty*, is in its own nature absolutely *Indivisible*, and must be either *Infinite*, or *None* at all: so that *Divine Laws* (*Natural* and *Revealed*) Superiour to it, circumscribing it, would consequently Destroy it. Wherefore *Religion* and *Theism*, must of necessity be Displaced, and Removed out of the way, to make room for the *Leviathan*, to Roll and Tumble in. Thirdly and Lastly, *Private Judgment* of *Good* and *Evil*, *Just* and *Unjust*, is also Contradictious to the very Being of a *Body Politick*; which is One *Artificial Man*, made up of many *Natural men* United under *One Head*; having one *Common Reason*, *Judgment* and *Will*, ruling over the whole. But *Conscience*, which *Religion* introduceth, is *Private Judgment* of *Good* and *Evil*, *Just* and *Unjust*, and therefore altogether Inconsistent with true *Politicks*; that can admit of no *Private Consciences*, but only *One Publick Conscience* of the *Law*.

In way of *Answer* to the First of which, we must here briefly Unravel the *Atheistick Ethicks* and *Politicks*. The Foundation whereof is first laid, in the *Villanizing* of *Humane Nature*; as that which has not so much as any the least *Seeds*, either of *Politicalness*, or *Ethicalness* at all in it; nothing of *Equity* and *Philanthropy*; (there being no other *Charity* or *Benevolence* any where according to them, save what resulteth from *Fear*, *Imbecillity*, and *Indigency*) nothing of *Publick* and *Common Concern*, but all *Private* and *Selfish*. *Appetite*, and *Utility*, or the *Desires* of *Sensual Pleasure*, and *Honour*, *Dominion*, and *Precellency* before others, being the only *Measures* of *Good* in *Nature*. So that there can be nothing *Naturally Just* or *Unjust*, nothing in it self *Sinful* or *Unlawful*, but every man by *Nature* hath *Jus ad omnia*, a *Right to Every thing*, whatsoever his *Appetite* inclineth him unto, or himself judgeth *Profitable*; even to other mens *Bodies* and *Lives*. *Si occidere Cupis, Jus habes*; If thou Desirest to Kill, thou hast then *Naturally*, a *Right thereunto*; that is, a *Liberty* to Kill without any *Sin* or *Injustice*. For *Jus* and *Lex*, or *Justitia*, *Right* and *Law* or *Justice* in the Language of these *Atheistick Politicians*, are directly contrary to one another; their *Right* being a
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Belluine Liberty, not *Made*, or *Left* by *Justice*, but such as is *Found* in a *Supposition*, of its *Absolute Non-Existence*, Should therefore a *Son* not only murder his own *Parents*, who had tenderly brought him up, but also *Exquisitely* torture them, taking pleasure in beholding their *ruful Looks*, and hearing their *lamentable Shreiks* and *Outcries*; there would be *Nothing* of *Sin* or *Injustice* at all in this, nor in any thing else; because *Justice* is no *Nature*, but a *meer Factitious* and *Artificial thing*, *Made* only by *Men* and *Civil Laws*. And according to these mens *Apprehensions*, *Nature* has been very kind and *indulgent* to mankind herein, that it hath thus brought us into the *World*, without any *Fetters* or *Shackles* upon us, *Free* from all *Duty* and *Obligation*, *Justice* and *Morality*, these being to them nothing but *Restraints* and *Hinderances* of *True Liberty*. From all which it follows, that *Nature* absolutely *Dissociates* and *Segregates* men from one another, by reason of the *Inconsistency* of those *Appetites* of theirs, that are all *Carried* out only to *Private Good*, and *Consequently* that every man is by *Nature*, in a *State of War and Hostility*, against every man.

In the next place therefore, these *Atheistick Politicians* further add; that though this their *State of Nature* which is a *Liberty* from all *Justice* and *Obligation*, and a *Lawless*, *Loose*, or *Belluine Right* to every thing, be in it self *Absolutely the Best*, yet nevertheless by reason of mens *Imbecillity*, and the *Equality* of their *Strengths*, and *Inconsistency* of their *Appetites*, it proves by *Accident* the *Worst*: this *War* with every one, making mens *Right* or *Liberty* to every thing, indeed a *Right* or *Liberty* to *Nothing*: they having no security of their *Lives*, much less of the *Comfortable* enjoyment of them. For as it is not possible, that all men should have *Dominion* (which were indeed the most desirable thing according to these Principles) so the *Generality* must needs be sensible of more *Evil* in such a *State of Liberty* with an *Universal War* against all, than of *Good*. Wherefore when men had been a good while *Hewing*, and *Slashing*, and *Justling* against one another, they became at length all weary hereof, and conceived it necessary by *Art* to help the *Defect* of their own *Power* here, and to choose a *Lesser Evil*, for the avoiding of a *Greater*, that is, to make a *Voluntary Abatement*, of this their *Infinite Right*, and to *Submit* to *Terms of Equality* with one another, in order to a *Sociable* and *Peaceable Cohabitation*: and not only So, but also for the *Security* of all, that others should observe such *Rules* as well as themselves, to put their *Necks* under the *Yoke* of a *Common Coercive Power*, whose *Will* being the *Will* of them all, should be the very *Rule*, and *Law*, and *Measure* of *Justice* to them.

Here therefore these *Atheistick Politicians*, as they first of all *Slander Humane Nature*, and make a *Villain* of it; so do they in the next place, reproach *Justice* and *Civil Sovereignty* also, making it to be nothing but an *Ignoble* and *Bastardly Brat* of *Fear*; or else a *Lesser Evil*, submitted to, merely out of *Necessity*; for the avoiding of a *Greater Evil*, that of *War* with every one, by reason of mens *Natural Imbecillity*. So that according to this *Hypothesis*, *Justice* and *Civil*

Government are plainly things not Good in themselves, nor Desirable, (they being a Hinderance of Liberty, and Nothing but Shackles and Fetters,) but by Accident only, as Necessary Evils: And thus do these Politicians themselves sometimes distinguish betwixt Good and Just, that *Bonum Amatur Per Se, Justum Per Accidens*; Good is that which is Loved for it self, but Just by Accident. From whence it follows unavoidably, that all men must of necessity be *ἀνοίτες δίκαιοι*, Unwillingly Just, or not with a full and perfect, but *Mixt Will* only: Just being a thing that is not Sincerely Good, but such as hath a great Dash or Dose of Evil blended with it. And this was the Old Atheistick Generation of Justice, and of a Body Politick, Civil Society, and Sovereignty. For though a Modern Writer affirm this Hypothesis (which he looks upon as the only true Scheme of Politicks) to be a New Invention, as the Circulation of the Blood, and no older than the Book *De Cive*, yet is it Certain, that it was the commonly received Doctrine of the Atheistick Politicians and Philosophers before Plato's time; who represents their Sense concerning the Original of Justice, and Civil Society in this manner, ὁ πρῶτον ἔγωγε περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, τί τε ὄν τινα καὶ ὅθεν γέγονε δικαιοσύνη· πεφυκέναι γὰρ δι' ἑαυτῶν τὸ μὲν ἀδικεῖν ἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι κακόν· πλείονι δὲ κακῶ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ ἀγαθῶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν· ὥστε ἐπιφθόν ἀλλήλους ἀδικῶσι τε καὶ ἀδικῶνται, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων γούνασι, τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις τὸ μὲν ἐκφύλασσειν τὸ ἑαυτῶν αἰρεῖν, δοκεῖ λυσιστελεῖν ξυνδέσθαι ἀλλήλοις, μήτ' ἀδικεῖν, μήτ' ἀδικεῖσθαι· καὶ εἰς τὸ δὲ ἄρξασθαι νόμους τίθεσθαι, καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶ νόμου ἐπιτάγματα νόμιμον τε καὶ δίκαιον· I am to declare first what Justice is, according to the sense of these Philosophers, and from whence it was Generated. They say therefore, that by Nature, Lawless Liberty, and to do that which is now called Injustice, and Injury, to other men is Good; but to Suffer it from others is Evil. But of the two, there is more of Evil in suffering it, than of Good in doing it: Whereupon when men had Clashed a good while, Doing and Suffering Injury, the Greater part, who by reason of their Imbecillity were not able to take the Former without the Latter, at length Compounded the business amongst themselves, and agreed together, by Pacts and Covenants neither to Do nor Suffer Injury, but to Submit to Rules of Equality and make Laws by Compact, in order to their Peaceable Cohabitation, they calling that which was required in those Laws by the Name of Just. And then is it added; καὶ εἶναι ταύτῃ γενεσίν τε καὶ εἶσιν δικαιοσύνης, μεταξὺ τῶ μὲν ἀεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, εἰδὲν ἀδικῶν μὴ διδῶ δίκην, τῶ δὲ κακῶ, εἰδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι πικρῶν ἀδύνατον ἢ· τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἐν μέσῳ ὄν τῶν ἀμφοτέρων, ἀγαπᾶσθαι ἕκαστον ὡς ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀρξασθαι τῶ ἀδικεῖν πικρῶν· And this is according to these Philosophers, the Generation and Essence of Justice, as a certain Middle thing betwixt the Best and the Worst. The Best, to exercise a Lawless Liberty of doing whatsoever one please to other men without Suffering any inconvenience from it; And the Worst to Suffer Evil from others without being able to revenge it. Justice therefore, being a Middle thing betwixt both these, is Loved, not as that which is Good in it self, but only by reason of mens Imbecillity, and their Inability to do Injustice. For as much as he that had sufficient Power would never enter into such Compacts and Submit to Equality, and Subjection. As for Example, if a man had Gyges his Magical Ring, that he could do whatsoever he listed, and not be seen or taken Notice

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of by any, such a one would certainly never Enter into Covenants, nor submit to Laws of Equality and Subjection. Agreeably whereunto, it hath been concluded also by some of these Old Atheistick Philosophers, that Justice was ἀνότερον ἀγαθόν, Not properly and directly, ones own Good, the Good of him that is Just, but another mans Good, partly of the Fellow-Citizens, but chiefly of the Ruler, whose Vassal he is. And it is well Known, that after Plato's Time, this Hypothesis concerning Justice, that it was a meer Factitious thing, and sprung only from mens Fear and Imbecillity, as a Lesser Evil, was much insisted on by Epicurus also.

But let us in the next place see, how our Modern Atheistick Philosophers and Politicians, will mannage and carry on this Hypothesis, so as to Consociate men by Art, into a Body Politick, that are Naturally Dissociated from one another, as also Make Justice, and Obligation Artificial, when there is none in Nature. First of all therefore, these Artificial Justice-Makers, City-Makers, and Authority-Makers, tell us, that though men have an Infinite Right by Nature, yet may they Alienate this Right or part thereof, from themselves, and either Simply Renounce it, or Transfer the same upon some other Person; by means whereof it will become Unlawful for themselves, afterwards, to make use thereof. Thus a late Writer, Men may by Signs Declare, *Velle se non Licetum sibi amplius fore, certum aliquid facere quod Jure antea fecisse poterant.* That it is their Will, it shall no longer be Lawful for them, to do something which before they had a Right to do; and this is called by him, a Simple Renunciation of Right; and further saith he, they may declare again, *Velle se non Licetum sibi amplius fore alicui Resistere, &c.* That it is their Will, it shall be no longer Lawful for them, to Resist this or that particular Person, whom before they might Lawfully have resisted; and this is called a Translation of Right. But if there be Nothing in its own Nature Unlawful, then cannot this be Unlawful for a man afterwards, to make use of such Liberty as he had before in Words Renounced or Abandoned. Nor can any man by his meer Will, make any thing Unlawful to him, which was not so in it self; but only Suspend the Exercise of so much of his Liberty, as he thought good. But however, could a man by his Will, Oblige himself, or make any thing Unlawful to him, there would be Nothing got by this, because then might he by his Will, Disoblige himself again, and make the same Lawful as before. For what is Made merely by Will, may be Destroyed by Will. Wherefore these Politicians will yet urge the business further, and tell us, That no man can be Obligated but by his own Act, and that the Essence of Injustice, is Nothing else, but *Dati Repetitio*, The taking away of that, which one had before given. To which we again Reply, that were a man Naturally Unobliged to any thing, then could he no way be Obligated, to stand to his own Act, so that it should be Really Unjust and Unlawful for him, at any time upon Second thoughts, Voluntarily to undo, what he had before voluntarily done. But the Atheists here plainly Render Injustice, a meer Ludicrous thing; when they tell us, that it is Nothing but such an Absurdity in Life, as it is in Disputation, when a man Denies a Proposition that he had before Granted. Which is no Real Evil

in him as a *Man*, but only a thing Called an *Absurdity*, as a *Disputant*. That is, *Injustice* is no *Absolute Evil* of the *Man*; but only a *Relative Incongruity* in him, as a *Citizen*. As when a man speaking *Latine*, observes not the *Laws of Grammar*, this is a kind of *Injustice* in him, as a *Latinist* or *Grammarians*; so when one who lives in *Civil Society*, observes not the *Laws and Conditions* thereof, this is, as it were, The *False Latine* of a *Citizen*, and nothing else. According to which *Notion of Injustice*, there is no such *Real Evil* or *Hurt* in it, as can any way withstand, the *Force of Appetite* and *Private Utility*, and Oblige men to *Civil Obedience*, when it is *Contrary* to the same. But these *Political Juglers* and *Enchanters*, will here cast yet a further *Mist* before mens *Eyes* with their *Pacts* and *Covenants*. For men by their *Covenants*, say they, may *Unquestionably Oblige* themselves, and make things *Unjust* and *Unlawful* to them, that were not so before. Wherefore *Injustice* is again *Defined* by them, and that with more *Speciousness*, to be the *Breach of Covenants*. But though it be true, that if there be *Natural Justice*; *Covenants* will *Oblige*; yet upon the *Contrary Supposition*, that there is *Nothing Naturally Unjust*; this cannot be *Unjust*, neither to *Break Covenants*. *Covenants* without *Natural Justice*, are nothing but *meer Words* and *Breath*; (as indeed these *Atheistick Politicians* themselves, agreeably to their own *Hypothesis*, call them) and therefore can they have no *Force to Oblige*. Wherefore these *Justice-Makers*, are themselves at last necessitated, to fly to *Laws of Nature*, and to Pretend, this to be a *Law of Nature*, That men should *Stand to their Pacts and Covenants*. Which is plainly to *Contradict* their main *Fundamental Principle*, that by *Nature* nothing is *Unjust* or *Unlawful*; for if it be so, then can there be no *Laws of Nature*; and if there be *Laws of Nature*, then must there be something *Naturally Unjust* and *Unlawful*. So that this is not to *Make Justice*, but clearly to *Unmake* their own *Hypothesis*, and to suppose *Justice* to have been already *Made* by *Nature*, or to be in *Nature*; which is a *Groß Absurdity* in *Disputation*; to *Affirm* what one had before *Denied*. But these their *Laws of Nature* are indeed nothing but *Jugling Equivocation*, and a *meer Mockery*; themselves again acknowledging them to be no *Laws*, because *Law* is nothing but the *Word of him*, who hath *Command* over others; but only *Conclusions* or *Theorems* concerning what conduces to the *Conservation* and *Defence* of themselves; upon the *Principle of Fear*; that is, indeed the *Laws* of their own *Timorous*, and *Cowardly Complexion*: for they who have *Courage* and *Generosity* in them, according to this *Hypothesis*, would never *Submit* to such *sneaking Terms of Equality*, and *Subjection*, but venture for *Dominion*; and resolve either to *Win the Saddle*, or *Loose the Horse*. Here therefore do our *Atheistick Politicians* plainly *daunce round in a Circle*; they first deriving the *Obligation of Civil Laws*, from that of *Covenants*, and then that of *Covenants* from the *Laws of Nature*; and *Lastly*, the *Obligation* both of these *Laws of Nature*, and of *Covenants* themselves, again, from the *Law, Command*, and *Sanction* of the *Civil Sovereign*; without which neither of them would at all *Oblige*. And thus is it manifest, how vain the *Attempts* of these *Politicians* are, to *Make Justice artificially*, when there is no such thing *Naturally*; (which is indeed no less than, to make *Something* out of *Nothing*) and
by

by Art to Consociate into Bodies Politick, those whom Nature had Dissociated from one another: a thing as impossible as to Ty Knots in the Wind or Water; or to build up a Stately Palace or Castle out of Sand. Indeed the Ligaments, by which these Politicians would tie the Members of their huge Leviathan, or Artificial Man together, are not so good as Cobwebs; they being really nothing, but meer Will and Words. For if Authority and Sovereignty be made only by Will and Words, then is it plain, that by Will and Words, they may be Unmade again at pleasure.

Neither indeed are these Atheistick Politicians themselves, altogether unaware hereof, that this their Artificial Justice and Obligation, can be no firm Vinculum of a Body Politick, to Consociate those together, and Unite them into One, who are Naturally Dissociated and Divided from one another; they acknowledging, that Covenants without the Sword, being but Words and Breath, are of no strength, to hold the Members of their Leviathan, or Body Politick together. Wherefore they plainly betake themselves at length, from Art to Force and Power, and make their Civil Sovereign, really to Reign only in Fear. And this must needs be their meaning, when they so constantly declare, All Obligation, Just and Unjust, to be derived only from Law; they by Law there understanding, a Command directed, to such as by reason of their Imbecillity are not able to Resist: so that the Will and Command of the more Powerful, Obliges by the Fear of Punishment Threatned. Now if the only Real Obligation to obey Civil Laws, be from the Fear of Punishment, then could no man be Obligated to hazard his Life for the Safety of his Prince and Country, and they, who could reasonably promise themselves Impunity, would be altogether Disobliged, and consequently, might Justly break any Laws, for their Own Advantage. An Assertion so extravagant, that these Confounded Politicians themselves, are ashamed plainly to own it, and therefore Disguise it, what they can by Equivocation; themselves sometimes also confessing, so much of Truth, that *Pœna non Obligat, sed Obligatum tenet*, Punishment does not Oblige, but only hold those to their Duty, who were before Obliged. Furthermore, what is Made by Power and Force only, may be Unmade by Power and Force again. If Civil Sovereigns Reign only in the Fear of their own Sword, then is that Right of theirs so much talked of, indeed nothing else but Might, and their Authority, Force; and consequently Successful and Prosperous Rebellion, and whatsoever can be done by Power, will be *ipso facto* thereby Justified. Lastly, were Civil Sovereigns and Bodies Politick, meer Violent and Contra-Natural things, then would they all quickly Vanish into nothing, because Nature will prevail against Force and Violence: Whereas men constantly every where fall into Political Order, and the Corruption of one Form of Government, is but the Generation of another.

Wherefore since it is plain, that Sovereignty and Bodies Politick can neither be meerly Artificial, nor yet Violent things, there must of necessity be some Natural Bond or Vinculum to hold them together, such as may both really Oblige Subjects to Obey the Lawful Commands of Sovereigns, and Sovereigns in Commanding, to seek the Good and

Welfare of their Subjects; whom these *Atheistick Politicians*, (by their *Infinite* and *Belluine Right*) quite discharge from any such thing. Which Bond or *Vinculum* can be no other, than *Natural Justice*; and something of a *Common* and *Publick*, of a *Cementing* and *Conglutinating Nature*, in all *Rational Beings*; the Original of both which, is from the Deity. The *Right* and *Authority* of God himself is Founded in *Justice*; and of this is the *Civil Sovereignty* also a certain *Participation*. It is not the meer *Creature* of the People, and of mens *Wills*, and therefore *Annihilable* again by their *Wills* at pleasure; but hath a *Stamp* of *Divinity* upon it, as may partly appear from hence, because that *Jus Vitæ & Necis*, that *Power of Life and Death*, which *Civil Sovereigns* have, was never lodged in *Singulars*, before *Civil Society*; and therefore could not be *Conferred* by them. Had not *God* and *Nature* made a *City*; were there not a *Natural Conciliation* of all *Rational Creatures*, and *Subjection* of them to the *Deity*, as their *Head* (which is *Cicero's*, *Una Civitas Deorum atque Hominum*, *One City of Gods and Men*) had not *God* made ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀρχεσθῆναι, *Ruling and being Ruled*, *Superiority* and *Subjection*, with their respective *Duty* and *Obligation*, men could neither by *Art*, or *Political Enchantment*, nor yet by *Force*, have made any firm *Cities* or *Polities*. The *Civil Sovereign* is no *Leviathan*, no *Beast*, but a *God* (*I have said ye are Gods*;) he reigns not in meer *Brutish Force* and *Fear*, but in *Natural Justice* and *Conscience*, and in the *Right* and *Authority* of *God* himself. Nevertheless we deny not, but that there is need of *Force* and *Fear* too, to *Constrain* those to *Obedience*, to whom the *Conscience* of *Duty* proveth ineffectual. Nor is the *Fear* of the *Civil Sovereigns* own *Sword*, alone sufficient for this neither, *Unassisted* by *Religion*, and the *Fear* of an *Invisible Being Omnipotent*, who seeth all things, and can *Punish Secret*, as well as *Open Transgressors*, both in this *Life*, and after *Death*. Which is a thing so confessedly true, that *Atheists* have therefore *Pretended*, *Religion* to have been at first a meer *Political Figment*. We conclude therefore, that the *Civil Sovereign* reigneth not, meerly in the *Fear* of his own *Power* and *Sword*; but first in the *Justice*, and *Authority*, and then in the *Power* and *Fear* also, of *God Almighty*. And thus much for the *First Atheistick Pretence*, from the *Interest* of *Civil Sovereigns*.

To their *Second*, that *Sovereignty* is *Essentially Infinite*, and therefore altogether *Inconsistent*, with *Religion*, that would *Limit* and *Confine* it, We *Reply*; That the *Right* and *Authority* of *Civil Sovereigns*, is not as these our *Atheistick Politicians* ignorantly suppose, a meer *Belluine Liberty*, but it is a *Right* essentially *Founded* in the *Being* of *Natural Justice*, as hath been declared. For *Authority* of *Commanding* is such a *Right* as supposes *Obligation* in others to *Obey*, without which it could be nothing but meer *Will* and *Force*. But none can be *Obligated* in *Duty* to *Obey*, but by *Natural Justice*; *Commands* as such, not *Creating Obligation*, but *Presupposing* it. For if *Persons* were not before *Obligated* to *Obey*, no *Commands* would signify any thing to them. Wherefore the *First Original Obligation* is not from *Will* but *Nature*. Did *Obligation* to the things of *Natural Justice*, as many suppose, arise from the *Will* and *Positive Command* of *God*, only

only by reason of Punishments Threatned, and Rewards Promised; the Consequence of this would be, that no man was Good and Just, but only *By Accident*, and for the *Sake of Something else*; Whereas the *Goodness of Justice or Righteousness* is *Intrinsic* to the thing it self, and this is that which *Obligeth*, (and not any thing *Forreign* to it) it being a different *Species of Good* from that of *Appetite and Private Utility*, which every man may *Dispense* withal. Now there can be no more *Infinite Justice*, than there can be an *Infinite Rule*; or an *Infinite Measure*. *Justice* is *Essentially a Determinate* thing; and therefore can there not be any *Infinite Jus, Right or Authority*. If there be any thing in its own Nature *Just, and Obliging*, or such as *Ought to be done*; then must there of necessity be something *Unjust or Unlawful*, which therefore cannot be *Obligingly Commanded* by any *Authority* whatsoever. Neither ought this to be thought any *Impeachment of Civil Authority*, it extending *Universally to all*, even to that of the *Deity* it self. The *Right and Authority of God* himself, who is the *Supreme Sovereign of the Universe*, is also in like manner *Bounded and Circumscribed by Justice*. *God's Will is Ruled by his Justice*, and not his *Justice Ruled by his Will*; and therefore *God himself cannot Command*, what is in its own nature *Unjust*. And thus have we made it *Evident*, that *Infinite Right and Authority*, of *Doing and Commanding* any thing without *Exception*, so that the *Arbitrary will of the Commander*, should be the very *Rule of Justice* it self to others, and consequently might *Oblige* to any thing; is an *Absolute Contradiction*, and a *Non-Entity*; it supposing nothing to be in its own Nature, *Just or Unjust*, which if there were not, there could be no *Obligation nor Authority* at all. Wherefore the *Atheists* who would flatter *Civil Sovereigns*, with this *Infinite Right*, as if their *Will* ought to be the very *Rule of Justice and Conscience*, and upon that *Pretence Prejudice* them against *Religion*, do as ill deserve of them as of *Religion* hereby, they indeed *Absolutely Devesting* them of all *Right and Authority*, and leaving them nothing but meer *Brutish Force*, and *Belluine Liberty*. And could *Civil Sovereigns* utterly *Demolish and Destroy*, *Conscience and Religion* in the *Minds of Men*, (which yet is an *Absolute Impossibility*) they thinking thereby to make *Elbow-room* for themselves, they would certainly *Bury* themselves also, in the *Ruins* of them. Nevertheless thus much is true; That they in whom the *Sovereign Legislative Power* of every *Polity* is lodged, (whether *Single Persons or Assemblies*) they who *Make Civil Laws* and can *Reverse* them at pleasure, though they may *Unquestionably Sin* against *God*, in making *Unjust Laws*, yet can they not *Sin Politically or Civilly*, as *Violators or Transgressors* of those *Laws Cancelled and Reversed* by them, they being *Superiour* to them. Nor is this all, But these *Sovereign Legislative Powers*, may be said to be *Absolute* also, in another *Sense*, as being ἀνωτάτω, *Un-judicable or Un-censurable* by any *Humane Court*, because if they were so *obnoxious*, then would that *Court or Power* which had a *Right to Judge and Censure* them, be *Superiour* to them; which is *contrary to the Hypothesis*. And then if this *Power* were again *Judicable* by some other, there must either be, an *Infinite Progress* or *Endless Circulation* (a thing not only *Absurd*, but also

also

also utterly Inconsistent with *Government* and *Property*, because there being no *Ultimate Judgment* Unappealable from, there could never be any *Final Determination* of Controversies; or else at last, all must be devolved, to the *Multitude of Singularity*, which would be a *Dissolution* of the *Body Politick*, and a *State of Anarchy*. And thus have we Fully *Confuted*, the Second *Atheistick Pretence* also, for the *Inconsistency of Religion with Civil Sovereignty*.

Their *Third and Last* follows, That *Private Judgment of Good and Evil, is Contradictory to Civil Sovereignty, and a Body Politick, this being One Artificial Man, that must be all Governed, by One Reason and Will*. But *Conscience is Private Judgment of Good and Evil, Lawful and Unlawful, &c.* To which we Reply, That it is not *Religion*, but on the contrary, the Principles of these *Atheistick Politicians*, that Unavoidably introduce *Private Judgment of Good and Evil*, such as is Absolutely inconsistent with *Civil Sovereignty*; there being according to them, nothing in *Nature*, of a *Publick or Common Good*, Nothing of *Duty or Obligation*, but all *Private Appetite*, and *Utility*, of which also every man is *Judge* for himself. For if this were so, then when ever any man *Judged* it most for his *Private Utility*, to *Disobey Laws*, *Rebel* against *Sovereigns*, nay to *Poyson or Stab* them, he would be Unquestionably bound by *Nature*, and the *Reason* of his own *Good*, as the *Highest Law*, to do the same. Neither can these *Atheistick Politicians*, be ever able to bring men out of this *State of Private Good, Judgment, and Will*, which is *Natural* to them, by any *Artificial Tricks and Devices*, or meer *Enchantments of Words*, as *Artificial Justice*, and an *Artificial Man*, and a *Common Person and Will*, and a *Publick Conscience*, and the like. Nay it is observable, that themselves are necessitated by the *Tenour* of these their Principles, *Casnistically* to allow such *Private Judgment and Will*, as is altogether inconsistent with *Civil Sovereignty*; as, That any man may *Lawfully Resist* in *Defence* of his own *Life*, and That they who have once *Rebelled*, may afterwards *Justly defend* themselves by *Force*. Nor indeed can this *Private Judgment* of men, according to their *Appetite and Utility*, be possibly otherwise taken away, then by *Natural Justice*, which is a thing not of a *Private*, but of a *Publick and Common Nature*; And by *Conscience*, that Obligeth to *Obey* all the *Lawful Commands* of *Civil Sovereigns*, though contrary to mens *Appetites*, and *Private Interest*. Wherefore *Conscience* also, is in it self not of a *Private and Partial*, but of a *Publick and Common Nature*; it respecting *Divine Laws*, *Impartial Justice*, and *Equity*, and the *Good of the Whole*, when clashing with our own *Selfish Good*; and *Private Utility*. This is the only thing, that can *Naturally Consociate Mankind* together, lay a *Foundation* for *Bodies Politick*, and take away that *Private Will and Judgment* according to mens *Appetite and Utility*, which is Inconsistent with the same: agreeably to that of *Plato's*, τὸ κοινὸν συνδέει, τὸ ἴδιον διασπᾶ, That which is of a *Common and Publick Nature Unites*, but that which is of a *Private Segregates and Dissociates*. It is true indeed, that particular Persons must make a *Judgment in Conscience* for themselves (a *Publick Conscience*, being *Nonsense and Ridiculous*) and that they may also *Erre* therein; yet is not the *Rule* neither, by which

which *Conscience* Judgeth, *Private*; nor it self *Unaccountable*, unless in such mistaken *Fanaticks*, as professedly follow *Private Impulses*; but either the *Natural* and *Eternal Laws* of *God*, or else his revealed *Will*, things more *Publick*, than the *Civil Laws* of any *Country*, and of which others also may Judge. Nevertheless we deny not, but that *Evil Persons* may and do sometimes make a Pretence of *Conscience* and *Religion* in Order to *Sedition* and *Rebellion*; as the *Best* things may be *Abused*; but this is not the *Fault* of *Religion*, but only of the *Men*: *Conscience* *Obliging*, though *First* to obey *God*, yet in *Subordination* to him, the *Laws* of *Civil Sovereigns* also. To conclude, *Conscience* and *Religion*, Oblige *Subjects* *Actively* to Obey all the *Lawful Commands* of *Civil Sovereigns* or *Legislative Powers*, though contrary to their own *Private Appetite*, *Interest*, and *Utility*; but when these same *Sovereign Legislative Powers*, Command *Unlawful things*, *Conscience* though it here Obliges to Obey *God* rather than *Men*, yet does it *Notwithstanding* Oblige, *Not to Resist*. *Rom. 13. Whosoever Resisteth the Power, Resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that Resist shall Receive to themselves Damnation. And Matthew the 26. All they that take the Sword, shall perish with the Sword. Here is the Patience and the Faith of the Saints. And thus does Religion, give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, as well as unto God, the things that are Gods.*

And now having fully *Confuted*, all the *Atheistick Grounds*, we confidently Conclude, That the *First Original* of all things, was neither *Stupid* and *Senseless Matter* *Fortuitously* moved, Nor a *Blind* and *Nescient*, but *Orderly* and *Methodical* *Plastick Nature*; Nor a *Living Matter* having *Perception* or *Understanding* *Natural*, without *Animal Sense* or *Consciousness*; Nor yet did every thing Exist of it self *Necessarily* from *Eternity*, without a *Cause*. But there is *One only Necessarily Existent*, the *Cause* of all other things; and this an *Absolutely Perfect Being*, *Ininitely Good*, *Wise*, and *Powerful*; Who hath made all that was *Fit* to be made, and according to the *Best Wisdom*, and exerciseth an exact *Providence* over all. Whose Name ought to be *Hallowed* and *Separated* from all other things. *To whom be all Honour, and Glory, and Worship, for ever and ever. Amen.*

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XXXIV. *That of these Four Forms of Atheism, the Atomick or Democritical, and the Hylozoick or Stratonical, are the Principal: which Two being once confuted, all Atheism will be confuted.*

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XXXV. *These Two Forms of Atheism, being contrary to each other, that we ought in all Reason to insist rather, upon the Atomick: nevertheless we shall elsewhere confute the Hylozoick also; and further prove against all Corporealists, that no Cogitation nor Life can belong to Matter.*

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XXXVI. *That in the mean time, we shall not neglect the other Forms of Atheism, but Confute them all together, as they agree in one Principle. As also by way of Digression here insist largely upon the Plastick Life of Nature, in order to a fuller Confutation, as well of the Hylozoick, as the Cosmo-plastick Atheism.*

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1. *That these Two Forms of Atheism, are not therefore Condemned by us, meerly because they suppose a Life of Nature, distinct from the Animal Life: however this be a thing altogether Exploded by some professed Theists, therein symbolizing too much with the Democritical Atheists.*

ibid.

2. *That if no Plastick Artificial Nature be admitted, then one of these two things must be concluded; That either all things come to pass by Fortuitous Mechanism or Material Necessity (the Motion of Matter Unguided) or else that God doth Ἀὐτεγεῖν ἅπαντα doe all things Himself Immediately and Miraculously; framing the Body of every Gnat and Fly, as it were, with his own hands: forasmuch as Divine Laws and Commands cannot execute themselves, nor be alone the proper Efficient Causes of things in Nature.*

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3. *To suppose the Former of these, that all things come to pass Fortuitously, by the Unguided Motion of Matter, and without the Direction of any Mind, a thing altogether as Irrational as Impious:*

there being many Phenomena both Above the Mechanick Powers, and Contrary to the Laws thereof. That the Mechanick Theists make God but an Idle Spectatour of the Fortuitous Motions of Matter, and render his Wisdom altogether useles and insignificant. Aristotle's Judicious Censure of this Fortuitous Mechanism, and his Derision of that Conceit, that Material and Mechanical Reasons, are the onely Philosophical.

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4. *That it seems neither Decorous in respect of God, nor Congruous to Reason, that he should Ἀὐτεγεῖν ἅπαντα , doe all things Himself Immediately and Miraculously, without the Subserviency of any Natural Causes. This further Confuted from the Slow and Gradual Process of things in Nature, as also from those Errors and Bungles, that are Committed, when the Matter proves Inept and Contumacious, which argue the Agent not to be Irresistible.*

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5. *Reasonably inferred from hence, That there is an Artificial or Plastick Nature in the Universe, as a Subordinate Instrument of Divine Providence, in the Orderly Disposal of Matter: but not without a Higher Providence also presiding over it; forasmuch as this Plastick Nature cannot Act Electively or with Discretion. Those Laws of Nature concerning Motion, which the Mechanick Theists themselves suppose, Really Nothing else, but a Plastick Nature, or Spermatick Reasons.*

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6. *The Argeeableness of this Doctrine with the Sentiments of the best Philosophers of all Ages. Anaxagoras though a professed Theist, severely Censured both by Plato and Aristotle as an encourager of Atheism, meerly because he used Material and Mechanical Causes, more than Mental and Final. Physiologers and Astronomers, for the same Reason also, vulgarly suspected of Atheism in Plato's time.*

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7. *The Plastick Artificial Nature, no Occult Quality, but the onely Intelligible Cause of that which is the Grandest of all Phenomena, the Orderly Regularity*

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and Harmony of Things; which the Mechanick Theists, however pretending to Salve all Phænomena, give no account of. A God or Infinite Mind asserted by these, in vain and to no purpose. Pag. 154

8. Two things here to be Performed, To give an account of the Plastick Artificial Nature; and then, To show how the Notion thereof is Mistaken and Abused by Atheists. The First General Account of this Nature according to Aristotle, That it is to be conceived as Art it self acting Inwardly and Immediately upon the Matter; as if Harmony Living in the Musical Instruments should move the Strings thereof without any External Impulse. 155

9. Two Preeminences of Nature above Humane Art; First, That whereas Humane Art acts upon the Matter without, Cumbersomely or Moliminously, and in a way of Tumult or Hurlyburly; Nature, acting upon the same from Within more Commandingly, doth its work Easily, Cleverly and Silently. Humane Art acteth on Matter Mechanically, but Nature Vitally and Magically. 155

10. The Second Preeminence of Nature, That whereas Human Artists are often to seek and at a loss, Anxiously Consult and Deliberate, and upon Second thoughts Mend their former work; Nature is never to seek or Unresolved what to doe, nor doth she ever Repent of what she hath done, and thereupon correct her Former Course. Human Artists themselves Consult not as Artists, but always for want of Art; and therefore Nature, though never Consulting nor Deliberating, may notwithstanding act Artificially and for Ends. Concluded, that what is by us called Nature, is Really the Divine Art. 156

11. Nevertheless, That Nature is not the Divine Art Pure and Abstract, but Concreted and Embodied in Matter: the Divine Art not Archetypal but Ectypal. Nature differs from the Divine Art or Wisdom, as the Manuary Officer from the Architect. 155

12. Two Imperfections of Nature, in respect whereof it falls short of Humane

Art. First, That though it act for Ends Artificially, yet it self neither Intends those Ends, nor Understands the Reason of what it doeth; for which cause it cannot act Electively. The Difference betwixt Spermatick Reasons and Knowledge. That Nature doth but Ape or Mimick the Divine Art or Wisdom; being it self not Master of that Reason, according to which it acts, but onely a Servant to it, and Drudging Executioner thereof. Page 156

13. Proved that there may be such a thing as acteth Artificially, though it self do not comprehend that Art and Reason by which its Motions are Governed. First from Musical Habits; the Dancer resembles the Artificial Life of Nature. 157

14. The same further Evinced from the Instincts of Brute Animals, Directing them to act Rationally and Artificially, in order to their own Good and the Good of the Universe, without any Reason of their own. These Instincts in Brutes, but Passive Impresses of the Divine Wisdom, and a kind of Fate upon them. 158

15. The Second Imperfection of Nature, that it Acteth without Animal Phancy, Συμπίδνωσις, Con-sense, or Conscioufness, and hath no express Self-Perception and Self-Enjoyment. ibid.

16. Whether this Energy of the Plastick Nature, be to be called Cogitation or no, Nothing but a Logomachy, or Contention about Words. Granted that what moves Matter Vitally, must needs do it by some Energy of its own, distinct from Local Motion; but that there may be a Simple Vital Energy, without that Duplicity which is in Synæsthesis, or clear and express Conscioufness. Nevertheless, that the Energy of Nature, may be called, a certain Droufie, Unawakened, or Astonished Cogitation. 159

17. Severall Instances which render it probable, that there may be a Vital Energy without Synæsthesis, clear and express Con-sense or Conscioufness. 160

18. Wherefore the Plastick Nature, acting neither Knowingly nor Phantastically, must needs act Fatally, Magically and Sympathetically. The Divine

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Laws and Fate, as to Matter, not meer Cogitation in the Mind of God, but an Energetick and Effectual Principle in it. And this Plastick Nature, the True and Proper Fate of Matter, or of the Corporeal World. What Magick is, and that Nature which acteth Fatally, acteth also Magically and Sympathetically. P. 161

19. That Nature, though it be the Divine Art, or Fate, yet for all that, is neither a God, nor Goddes, but a Low and Imperfect Creature, it acting Artificially and Rationally, no otherwise than Compounded Forms of Letters, when Printing Coherent Philosophick Sense; nor for Ends, than a Saw or Hatchet in the hands of a skillfull Mechanick. The Plastick and Vegetative Life of Nature, the Lowest of all Lives, and Inferiour to the Sensitive. A Higher Providence, than that of the Plastick Nature, governing the Corporeal World it self. *ibid.*

20. Notwithstanding which, forasmuch as the Plastick Nature is a Life, it must needs be Incorporeal. One and the self same thing, having in it an entire Model and Platform of the Whole, and acting upon several Distant parts of Matter, cannot be a Body. And though Aristotle himself do no where declare this Nature to be either Corporeal or Incorporeal, (which he neither clearly doth concerning the Rational Soul,) and his Followers commonly take it to be Corporeal, yet, according to the Genuine Principles of that Philosophy, must it needs be otherwise. 165

21. The Plastick Nature being Incorporeal must either be a Lower Power lodged in Souls, which are also Conscious, Sensitive or Rational; or else a distinct Substantial Life by it Self, and Inferiour Soul. That the Platonists affirm Both; with Aristotle's agreeable Determination; That Nature is either Part of a Soul, or not without Soul. *ibid.*

22. The Plastick Nature as to the Bodies of Animals, a Part, or Lower Power, of their respective Souls. That the Phenomena prove a Plastick Nature or Archeus in Animals; to make which a distinct thing from the Soul, would be to

Multiply Entities without Necessity. The Soul endued with a Plastick Nature, the Chief Formatrix of its own Body, the contribution of other Causes not excluded. 166

23. That, besides the Plastick in Particular Animals, Forming them as so many Little Worlds, there is a General Plastick or Artificial Nature in the Whole Corporeal Universe, which likewise, according to Aristotle, is either a Part and Lower Power of a Conscious Mundane Soul, or else something depending thereon. 167

24. That no less according to Aristotle, than Plato and Socrates, Our selves partake of Life from the Life of the Universe, as well as we do of Heat and Cold from the Heat and Cold of the Universe. From whence it appears, that Aristotle also held the World's Animation, which is further Undeniably proved. An Answer to Two the most considerable Places in that Philosopher objected to the contrary. That Aristotle's First Immoveable Mover was no Soul, but a Perfect Intellect abstract from Matter, which he supposed to move onely as a Final Cause, or as Being Loved; and besides this, a Mundane Soul and Plastick Nature to move the Heavens Efficiently. Neither Aristotle's Nature nor Mundane Soul the Supreme Deity. However, though there be no such Mundane Soul, as both Plato and Aristotle conceived, yet may there be notwithstanding, a Plastick or Artificial Nature depending upon a Higher Intellectual Principle. 168

25. No Impossibility of other Particular Plasticks; and though it be not reasonable to think every Plant, Herb and Pile of Grass, to have a Plastick or Vegetative Soul of its own, nor the Earth to be an Animal, yet may there possibly be one Plastick Artificial Nature presiding over the Whole Terraqueous Globe, by which Vegetables may be severally organized and framed, and all things performed, which transcend the Power of Fortuitous Mechanism. 171

26. Our Second Undertaking, which was to Show, How grossly those Atheists (who acknowledge this Artificial Plastick Nature,

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Nature, without Animality,) Misunderstand it, and Abuse the Notion, to make a Counterfeit God Almighty, or Numen of it; to the exclusion of the True Deity. First, In their Supposing, That to be the First and Highest Principle of the Universe, which is the Last and Lowest of all Lives, a thing as Essentially Derivative from, and Dependent upon, a Higher Intellectual Principle, as the Echo on the Original Voice. Secondly, In their making Sense and Reason in Animals to emerge out of a Senseless Life of Nature, by the meer Modification and Organization of Matter. That no Duplication of Corporeal Organs can ever make One Single Inconscious Life to advance into Redoubled Consciousness and Self-Enjoyment. Thirdly, In attributing (some of them) Perfect Knowledge and Understanding to this Life of Nature, which yet themselves suppose to be devoid of all Animal Sense and Consciousness. Lastly, In making this Plastick Life of Nature to be meerly Corporeal: The Hylozoists contending, That it is but an Inadequate Conception of Body as the onely Substance, and fondly dreaming that the Vulgar Notion of a God, is Nothing but such an Inadequate Conception of the Matter of the whole Universe, Mistaken for an Entire Substance by it self the Cause of all things. And thus far the Digression. 172

XXXVIII. That though the Confutation of the Atheistick Grounds, according to the Laws of Method, ought to have been reserved for the last part of this Discourse, yet we, having reason to violate those Laws, crave the Reader's Pardon for this Preposterousness. A considerable Observation of Plato's, That it is not onely Gross Sensuality which inclines men to Atheize, but also an Affectation of seeming Wiser than the Generality of mankind. As likewise, that the Atheists making such Pretence to Wit, it is a seasonable and proper Undertaking, to Evince, that they Fumble in all their Ratiocinations. And we hope to make it appear, that the Atheists are no Conjurers: and that all Forms of

Atheism are Nonsense and Impossibility. Page 174

CHAP. IV.

The Idea of God declared, in way of Answer to the First Atheistick Argument; and the Grand Objection against the Naturality of this Idea (as Essentially including Unity or Oneness in it) from the Pagan Polytheism, removed. Proved, That the Intelligent Pagans Generally acknowledged One Supreme Deity. A fuller Explication of whose Polytheism and Idolatry intended; in order to the better giving an Accompt of Christianity.

I. **T**HE either Stupid Insensibility, or Gross Impudence of Atheists, in denying the Word God to have any Signification; or that there is any other Idea answering to it, besides the meer Phantasm of the Sound. The Disease called by the Philosopher, Ἀπολίθωσις τῶν νοητικῶν, The Petrification, or Dead Insensibility, of the Mind. 192

II. That the Atheists themselves must needs have an Idea of God in their Minds, or otherwise, when they deny his Existence, they should deny the Existence of Nothing. That they have also the same Idea of him in Generall with the Theists; the One Denying the very same thing which the Others Affirm. 194

III. A Lemma or Preparatory Proposition to the Idea of God, That though some things be Made or Generated, yet it is not possible that all things should be Made, but something must of necessity Exist of it Self from Eternity Unmade, and be the Cause of those other things that are Made. *ibid.*

IV. The Two most Opposite Opinions concerning what was Self-Existent from Eternity, or Unmade, and the Cause of all other things Made; One, That it was Nothing but Senseless Matter, the Most Imperfect of all things. The Other, That it was Something Most Perfect, and therefore

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therefore Consciously Intellectual. The Asserters of this Latter opinion, Theists, in a Strict and Proper Sense; of the Former, Atheists. So that the Idea of God in General is A Perfect Consciously Understanding Being, (or Mind,) Self-Existent from Eternity, and the Cause of all other things. Page 194, 195.

V. *Observable, That the Atheists, who deny a God according to the True Idea of him, do Notwithstanding often Abuse the Word, calling Senseless Matter by that name; they meaning Nothing else thereby but only a First Principle, or Self-Existent Unmade thing: according to which Notion of the word God, there can be no such thing at all as an Atheist, no man being able to persuade himself, That all things sprung from Nothing.* 195

VI. *In order to a more Punctual Declaration of this Divine Idea, the Opinion of those taken notice of who suppose Two Self-Existent Unmade Principles, God and Matter: according to which, God not the Principle of all things, nor the Sole Principle, but only the Chief.* 196, 197.

VII. *These Materiarians, Imperfect and Mistaken Theists. Not Atheists, because they suppose the World Made and Governed by an Animalish, Sentient and Understanding Nature; whereas no Atheists acknowledge Conscious Animality to be a First Principle, but conclude it to be all Generable and Corruptible: Nor yet Genuine Theists, because they acknowledge not Omnipotence in the full Extent thereof. A Latitude therefore in Theism; and none to be condemned for Absolute Atheists, but such as deny an Eternal Unmade Mind the Framer and Governour of the whole World.* 198, 199.

VIII. *An Absolutely Perfect Being, the most Compendious Idea of God: Which Includeth in it, not onely Necessary Existence, and Conscious Intellectuality, but also Omni-Causality, Omnipotence, or Infinite Power. Wherefore God the Sole Principle of all things, and Cause of Matter. The True Notion of Infinite Power. And that Pagans commonly acknowledged Omnipotence, or Infinite*

Power, to be included in the Idea of God. Page 200, 201.

IX. *That Absolute Perfection implies yet something more than Knowledge and Power. A Vaticination in mens Minds, of a Higher Good than either. That, according to Aristotle, God is better than Knowledge; and hath Morality in his Nature, wherein also his Chief Happiness consisteth. This borrowed from Plato, to whom the Highest Perfection, and Supreme Deity, is Goodness it self Substantiall, above Knowledge and Intellect. Agreeably with which, the Scripture makes God, and the Supreme Good, Love. This not to be understood of a Soft, Fond, and Partiall Love; God being rightly called also, an Impartial Law, and the Measure of all things. Atheists also suppose Goodness to be included in the Idea of that God whose Existence they deny. This Idea here more largely declared.* 202, 203, &c.

X. *That this forementioned Idea of God, Essentially Includeth Unity, Oneliness, or Solitariety in it: since there cannot possibly be more than One Absolutely Supreme, One Cause of All things, One Omnipotent, and One Infinitely Perfect. Epicurus and his Followers professedly denied a God according to this Notion of him.* 207

XI. *The Grand Objection against the Idea of God, as thus Essentially Including Oneliness and Singularity in it, from the Polytheism of all Nations formerly, (the Jews excepted) and of all the Wisest men, and Philosophers. From whence it is Inferred, that this Idea of God, is not Natural, but Artificial, and owes its Original, to Laws and Arbitrary Institutions onely. An Enquiry therefore here to be made concerning the True Sense of the Pagan Polytheism: the Objectors securely taking it for granted, that the Pagan Polytheists universally asserted Many, Unmade, Self-Existent, Intellectual Beings, and Independent Deities, as so many Partial Causes of the World.* 208, 209.

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XIII. That the Pagan Deities were not all of them Universally look'd upon as so many Unmade, Self-Existent Beings, Unquestionably Evident from hence; Because they Generally held a Theogonia, or Generation of Gods. This Point of the Pagan Theology insisted upon by Herodotus, the most ancient Prosaick Greek Writer. In whom the meaning of that Question, Whether the Gods were Generated, or Existed all from Eternity, seems to have been the same with this of Plato's, Whether the World were Made or Unmade. 211

Certain also, that amongst the Hesiodian Gods, there was either but One Self-Existent, or else None at all. Hesiod's Love supposed to be the Eternal God, or the Active Principle of the Universe. 212

That the Valentinian Thirty Gods or Æons (having the greatest appearance of Independent Deities) were all derived from One Self-Originated Being, called Bythus, or an Unfathomable Depth. 213

That, besides the Manichæans, some Pagans did indeed acknowledge a Ditheism, or Duplicity of Unmade Gods, One the Principle of Good, the Other of Evil. (Which the nearest Approach, that can be found, to the supposed Polytheism.) Plutarchus Chæronensis, One or the Chief of these; though not so commonly taken notice of by Learned men. His Reasons for this Opinion Proposed. 213, &c.

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That a better Judgment may be made of the Pagan Deities, a General Survey of them. They all Reduced to Five Heads; The Souls of men Deceased or Hero's, The Animated Stars and Elements, Dæmons, Accidents and Things of Nature Personated, And lastly, several Personal Names, given to One Supreme God, according to the several Manifestations of his Power and Providence in the World; mistaken, for so many Substantial Deities, or Self-existent Minds. 226, &c.

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This Pagan Theogonia, Really one and the same thing with the Cosmogonia. Plato's Cosmogonia a Theogonia. 234, &c.

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- XVI. *That this was no Refinement or Interpolation of Paganism, made after Christianity (as might be suspected) but that the Doctrine of the most Ancient Pagan Theologers, and greatest Promoters of Polytheism, was consonant herunto: which will be proved from unsuspected Writings.* Page 281
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An Objection from Chæremon, (cited by Porphyrius, in an Epistle to Anebo an Egyptian Priest,) fully answered by Iamblichus in the Person of Abammo, in his Egyptian Mysteries. 317, 318

That Monarchy was an Essential Part of the Arcane and True Theology of the Egyptians, may be proved from the Trismegistick Writings; though not all Genuine; (as the Pœmander, and Sermon in the Mount concerning Regeneration) Because though they had been all Forged by Christians never so much, yet being divulged in those Ancient times, they must needs have something of Truth in them; this at least, That the Egyptians acknowledged One Supreme Deity, or otherwise they would have been presently Exploded. 319, 320

That Casaubon, from the Detection of Forgery in two or three at most of these Trismegistick Books, does not Reasonably infer them to have been all Christian Cheats: those also not Excepted, that have been cited by Ancient Fathers, but since lost. 320, 321

That there was one Theuth or Thoth, (called by the Greeks Hermes) an Inventor of Letters and Sciences amongst the Ancient Egyptians, not reasonably to be doubted. Besides whom, there is said to have been a Second Hermes, surnamed Trismegist, who left many Volumes of Philosophy and Theology behind him, that were committed to the Custody of the Priests. 321, &c.

Other Books also written by Egyptian Priests, in several Ages successively, called Hermaical, (as Iamblichus informeth us) because Entitled (Pro more) to Hermes, as the President of Learning. 322

That some of those old Hermaick Books remained in the Custody of the Egyptian Priests, till the times of Clemens Alexandrinus. Page 323

Hermaick Books taken notice of formerly, not onely by Christians, but also by Pagans and Philosophers. Iamblichus his Testimony of them, that they did Really contain Hermaical Opinions, or Egyptian Learning. Fifteen of these Hermaick Books published together at Athens before S. Cyril's time. 324, 325

All the Philosophy of the Present Hermaick Books not meerly Grecanick, as Casaubon affirmeth. That Nothing perisheth; old Egyptian Philosophy, derived by Pythagoras, together with the Transmigration of Souls, into Greece. 326, 327

The Asclepian Dialogue, or Perfect Oration, (said to have been translated into Latin by Apuleius) vindicated from being a Christian Forgery. 328

An answer to two Objections made against it; the latter whereof from a Prophecy taken notice of by S. Austin; That the Temples of the Egyptian Gods, should shortly be full of the Sepulchres of dead men. *ibid.*

Petavius his further Suspicion of Forgery, because as Lactantius and S. Austin have affirmed, the Christian Logos is herein called a Second God, and the First begotten Son of God. The Answer, that Lactantius and S. Austin were clearly Mistaken, this being there affirmed onely of the Visible and Sensible World. 329, 330

That besides the Asclepian Dialogue, others of the present Trismegistick Books, contain Egyptian Doctrine. Nor can they be all proved to be Spurious and Counterfeit. This the rather insisted on, for the Vindication of the Ancient Fathers. 331, 332

Proved that the Egyptians, besides their Many Gods acknowledged One First Supreme, and Universal Deity, from the Testimonies of Plutarch, Horus Apollo, Iamblichus, (affirming that Hermes derived all things, even Matter it self, from One Divine Principle) lastly of Damascius

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Damascius declaring that the Egyptian Philosophers at that time, had found in the Writings of the Ancients, That they held One Principle of all things, Praised under the name of the Unknown Dark-ness. Page 334, &c.

The same thing Proved from their Vulgar Religion and Theology; Hammon being a proper Name for the Supreme God amongst them; and therefore Styled the Egyptian Jupiter. 337

Though this word Hammon were probably at first the same with Ham or Cham the Son of Noah, yet will not this hinder, but that it might be used afterwards by the Egyptians for the Supreme God. 338

The Egyptian God Hammon, neither confined by them to the Sun, nor to the Corporeal World, but according to the Notation of the word in the Egyptian Language, a Hidden and Invisible Deity. This farther confirmed from the Testimony of Iamblichus. 339

This Egyptian Hammon more than once taken notice of in Scripture. 339, 340

That the Egyptians acknowledged one Universal Numen, further proved from that Famous Inscription upon the Saitick Temple, I Am all that Was, Is, and Shall be, and my Veil no Mortal hath ever yet Uncovered. That this cannot be Understood of Senseless Matter, nor of the Corporeal Universe, but of a Divine Mind or Wisdom diffusing it self thorough all. The Peplum or Veil cast over the Statue, as well of the Saitick as Athenian Minerva; Hieroglyphically signified the Invisibilty and Incomprehensibility of the Deity which is Veiled in its works. From what Proclus addeth to this Inscription beyond Plutarch, And the Sun was the Fruit which I produced; Evident, that this was a Demiurgical Deity, the Creatour of the Sun and of the World. 341, 342

How that passage of Hecataeus in Plutarch is to be Understood, That the Egyptians supposed the First God, and the Universe, to be the same, viz. Because the Supreme Deity diffuseth it self thorough all things. Το πᾶν a Name of God also amongst the Greek Philosophers. 343

That Pan to the Arcadians and other Vulgar Greeks, was not the Corporeal World, as Senseless and Inanimate, but as proceeding from an Intellectual Principle diffusing it self through all; from Macrobius and Phornutus. Socrates his Prayer to Pan, as the Supreme God, in Plato's Phædrus. Page 343, 344

Our Saviour Christ called the Great Pan by Demons. 345

How the old Egyptian Theology, That God is All things, is every where insisted upon in the Trismegistick Writings. 346, 347

That the Supreme God was sometimes worshipped by the Egyptians under other Proper Personal names, as Isis, Osiris, and Serapis, &c. 349, &c.

Recorded in Eusebius, from Porphyrius, that the Egyptians acknowledged one Intellectual Demiurgus, or Maker of the World, under the name of Cneph, whom they pictured, putting forth an Egg out of his Mouth. This Cneph said to have produced another God, whom the Egyptians called Phtha, the Greeks, Vulcan; the Soul of the World, and Artificial Plastick Nature. The Testimony of Plutarch, That the Thebaites worshipped onely One Eternal and Immortal God under this name of Cneph. 412

Thus, according to Apuleius, the Egyptians worshipped One and the same Supreme God under many different Names and Notions. ibid.

Probable, that the Egyptians distinguished Hypostases in the Deity also. Kircherus his Egyptian Hieroglyphick of the Trinity. An Intimation in Iamblichus of an Egyptian Trinity, Eicton, Emeph, or Hemphta, (which is the same with Cneph,) and Phtha. 413

The Doctrine of, God's being All, made by the Egyptians a Foundation of Polytheism and Idolatry, they being led hereby to Personate and Deify the several Parts of the World, and Things of Nature; (which in the Language of the Asclepian Dialogue, is, To call God by the name of every thing, or every thing by the name of God,) the wise amongst them nevertheless understanding, that all

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was but one Simple Deity, worshipped by Piece-Meale. This Allegorically signified by Osiris his being dismembred and cut in pieces by Typhon, and then made up One again by Isis. Page 354, 355

XIX. *That the Poets many ways depriv'd the Pagan Theology, and made it to have a more Aristocratical Appearance.* 355, &c.

Notwithstanding which, they did not really assert Many Self-Existent and Independent Gods, but One onely Unmade; and all the rest Generated or Created. Homer's Gods not all Eternal and Unmade, but Generated out of the Ocean; that is, a Watry Chaos. Homer's Theogonia, as well as Hesiod's, the Cosmogonia; and his Generation of Gods, the same thing with the Production or Creation of the World. 357, 358

Nevertheless, Homer distinguished, from all those Generated Gods, One Unmade God, the Father, or Creatour, of them, and of the World. 359

Homer thus understood by the Pagans themselves; as Plutarch, Proclus, and Aristotle. 359, 360

Though Hesiod's Gods, properly so called, were all of them Generated, yet did He suppose also One Unmade God, the Maker of them, and of the World. 360, 361

Pindar likewise, a Divine Theogonist; an Asserter of One Unmade Deity (and no more) the Cause of all things; yet nevertheless of Many Generated Gods besides His One God to be worshipped far above all the other Gods. 361, 362

The Suspicion which Aristotle sometime had of Hesiod, and Plato of Homer, seems to have proceeded from their not Understanding that Mosaick Cabbala, followed by them both, of the World's being Made out of a Watery Chaos. 362

That famous Passage of Sophocles, concerning One God the Maker of Heaven, Earth, and Seas, (cited by so many Ancient Fathers) defended as genuine. 363

Clear places in the extant Tragedies of Euripides to the same purpose; with other remarkable ones cited out of his now inextant Tragedies: Besides the Testimonies of other Greek Poets. 363, &c.

The Consent of Latine Poets also, in the Monarchy of the whole. Page 365

XX. *After the Poets of the Pagans, their Philosophers considered. That Epicurus was the onely reputed Philosopher, who pretending to acknowledge Gods, yet professedly opposed Monarchy, and verbally asserted a Multitude of Eternal Unmade Deities, but such as had Nothing to doe, either with the Making or Governing of the World. He therefore clearly to be reckoned amongst the Atheists. All the Pagan Philosophers who were Theists, (a few Ditheists excepted) Universally asserted a Mundane Monarchy.* 369, 370.

Pythagoras, a Polytheist as much as the other Pagans, nevertheless a plain Acknowledger of one One Supreme God, the Maker of the Universe. 371

Pythagoras his Dyad, no Evil God or Demon Self-existent, as Plutarch supposed. 372

But this Dyad of his, whether Matter or no, derived from a Monad, One Simple Unity, the Cause of all things. 372, 373

That Pythagoras, acknowledging a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, did therefore sometimes describe God as a Monad, sometimes as a Mind, and sometimes as the Soul of the World. 373

The Pythagorick Monad and First God, the same with the Orphick Love, Seniour to Japhet and Saturn, and the Oldest of all the Gods, a Substantial thing. But that Love which Plato would have to be the Youngest of the Gods, (the Daughter of Penia, or Indigency, and a Parturient thing,) Nothing but a Creaturely affection in Souls, Personated and Deified. Parmenides his Love, the First Created God, or Lower Soul of the World; before whose Production, Necessity is said to have reigned; that is, the Necessity of Material Motions undirected for Ends, and Good. 374, 375.

That Pythagoras called the Supreme Deity, not onely a Monad, but a Tetrad or Tetractys also. The Reasons for this given, from the Mysteries in the Number Four,

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Four, trifling. More probability of a late Conjecture, that the Pythagorick Tetractys, was the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, not altogether unknown to the Hetrurians and Latins. Page 375, 376

Xenophanes a plain Asserter both of Many Gods, and of One God, called by him, One and All. Simplicius his clear Testimony for this Theosophy of Xenophanes, out of Theophrastus. Xenophanes misrepresented by Aristotle, as an Asserter of a Spherical Corporeal God. 377, 378

Heraclitus, though a Cloudy and Confounded Philosopher, and one who could not conceive of any thing Incorporeal, yet both a hearty Moralist, and a zealous Asserter of One Supreme Deity. 378, 379

The Ionick Philosophers before Anaxagoras, being all of them Corporealists, and some of them Atheists; that Anaxagoras was the First who asserted an Incorporeal Mind to be a Principle, and though not the Cause of Matter, yet of Motion, and of the Regularity of things. The World, according to him, not Eternal, but Made, and out of Pre-Existent Similar Atoms, and that not by Chance, but by Mind or God. This Mind of his, purely Incorporeal, as appeareth from his own words, cited by Simplicius. 380

Probable, that Anaxagoras admitted none of the Inferiour Pagan Gods. He Condemned by the Vulgar for an Atheist, because he Ungodded the Stars, denying their Animation, and affirming the Sun to be but a Mass of Fire, and the Moon an Earth. This disliked also by Plato, as that which in those times would dispose men to Atheism. 381

Anaxagoras farther Censured, both by Plato and Aristotle, because though asserting Mind to be a Principle, he made much more use of Material than of Mental and Final Causes; which was looked upon by them as an Atheistick Tang in him. Nevertheless Anaxagoras a better Theist than those Christian Philosophers of later times, who quite banish all Mental Causality from the World. 382, 383

XXI. Parmenides his acknowledgment of One God the Cause of Gods. Which

Supreme Deity, by Parmenides styled, One-All-Immovable. That this is not to be taken Physically, but Metaphysically and Theologically; Proved at large. The First Principle of all, to these Ancients, One, a Simple Unity or Monad. This said to be All, because virtually Containing All, and Distributed into All; or because All things are distinctly displayed from it. Lastly, the same said to be Immovable, and Indivisible, and without Magnitude, to distinguish it from the Corporeal Universe. Page 383, &c.

Ἐν τῷ πᾶσι, One All, taken in different Senses; by Parmenides and Xenophanes, &c. Divinely, for the Supreme Deity, (One most Simple Being the Original of all things:) but by others in Aristotle, Atheistically, as if all things were but One and the same Matter diversly Modified. But the One-All of these Latter, not Immoveable, but Moveable; it being nothing else but Body; whereas the One-All-Immoveable, is an Incorporeal Deity. This does Aristotle, in his Metaphysics, close with, as good Divinity; That there is one Incorporeal Immoveable Principle of all things. Simplicius his Observation, That though divers Philosophers maintained a Plurality or Infinity of Moveable Principles, yet none ever asserted more than One Immoveable. 385, 386

Parmenides in Plato distinguishes three Divine Hypostases, The First whereof called by him, Ἐν τῷ πᾶσι, One-All; the Second, Ἐν πᾶσι, One All things; and the Third, Ἐν ἑκάστῳ πᾶσι, One and All things. 386, &c.

But that Parmenides by his One-All-Immoveable really understood the Supreme Deity, yet farther unquestionably evident from the Verses cited out of him by Simplicius; Wherein there is also attributed thereunto a Standing Eternity, or Duration, different from that of Time. 388

The onely Difference betwixt Parmenides and Melissus, that the Former called his, One-All-Immoveable, Finite; the Latter, Infinite; this in Words rather than Reality: The Disagreeing Agreement

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agreement of these two Philosophers fully declared by Simplicius. Melissus his Language more agreeable with our present Theology. Though Anaximander's Infinite were nothing but Senseless Matter, yet Melissus his Infinite was the True Deity. Page 389

That Zeno Eleates, by his One-All-Immoveable, meant not the Corporeal World neither, no more than Melissus, Parmenides, and Xenophanes; but the Deity; evident from Aristotle. Zeno's Demonstration of One God, from the Idea of a most Powerfull and Perfect Being, in the same Aristotle. 390

Empedocles his First Principle of All things, τὸ Ἐν, or a Unity likewise, besides which he supposed Contention and Friendship to be the Principles of all Created Beings; not onely Plants, Brutes, and Men, but Gods also. 391, &c.

Empedocles his Original of all the Evil both of Humane Soul and Demons, from this Νεῖκος, Discord and Contention, together with the Ill use of their Liberty. 393

XXII. The Doctrine of divers other Pythagoreans also the same; as Philolaus, Archytas, Ocellus, Aristæus, &c. Timæus Locrus his God the Creatour of Gods. Onatus his Many Gods, and his One God, the Coryphæus of the Gods. Euclides Megarensis his One the Very Good. Antisthenes his Many Popular Gods, but One Natural God. Diogenes Sinopenis his God that Filleth all things. 393, &c.

XXIII. That Socrates asserted One Supreme God undeniable from Xenophon. 398, 399

But that he disclaimed all the other Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, and died, as a Martyr, for One onely God, in this Sense, a Vulgar Errour. 400

What the Impiety imputed to him by his Adversaries, appeareth from Plato's Euthyphro, viz. That he freely and openly Condemned those Fables of the Gods wherein Wicked and Unjust Actions were imputed to them. 401

That Plato really asserted One onely God and no more, a Vulgar Errour like-

wise; and that Thirteenth Epistle to Dionysius, wherein he declared himself, to be Serious onely when he began his Epistles with God, and not with Gods, (though exstant in Eusebius his time,) Spurious and Supposititious. He worshipping the Sun and other Stars also (supposed to be animated) as Inferiour Gods. Page 402

Nevertheless, Undeniably evident, that Plato was no Polyarchist, but a Monarchist, no Asserter of Many Independent Gods, or Principles, but of One Original of all things; One First God, One Greatest God, One Maker of the World and of the Gods. 403, 404

In what Sense the Supreme God, to Plato, the Cause and Producer of Himself; (out of Plotinus) and this notion not onely entertained by Seneca and Plotinus, but also by Lactantius, That Plato really asserted a Trinity of Universal Divine Hypostases, that have the Nature of Principles. The First Hypostasis in Plato's Trinity properly Αὐτόθεον, The Original Deity, the Cause and King of all things: which also said by him to be Ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐρίας, or Ὑπερέσπετον, Above Essence. 407

Xenophon, though with other Pagans, he acknowledged a Plurality of Gods, yet a plain Asserter also of One Supreme and Universal Numen. 408

XXIV. Aristotle a frequent Acknowledger of Many Gods. And whether he believed any Demons or no, which he sometimes mentions (though sparingly) and insinuates them to be a kind of Aerial Animals, more Immortal than Men; yet did he unquestionably look upon the Stars, or their Intelligences, as Gods. 408, &c.

Notwithstanding which, Aristotle doth not onely often speak of God Singularly, and of the Divinity Emphatically, but also professedly opposes that Imaginary Opinion of Many Independent Principles, or Unmade Deities. He confuting the same from the Phenomena or the Compages of the World, which is not ἐκαστοδιδως, but all Uniform, and agreeably Conspiring into one Harmony. 410, 411

Aristotle's Supreme Deity, the First Immo-

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Immoveable Mover. *The difference here betwixt Plato, and Aristotle; Plato's Original of Motion, a Self-moving Soul, Aristotle's an Immoveable Mind. But this Difference not so great as at first sight it seems; because Aristotle's Immoveable Mind, doth not Move the Heavens Efficiently, but onely Finally, or As being Loved. Besides which, he must needs suppose, another immediate Mover, which could be nothing, but a Soul of them.*

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Aristotle's Immoveable Mind, *not onely the Cause of Motion, but also of Well and Fit; all the Order, Pulchritude and Harmony, that is in the world Called therefore by Aristotle, the Separate Good thereof. This together with Nature, (its Subordinate Instrument) the Efficient Cause of the whole Mundane System: which however Co-eternal with it, yet is, in Order of Nature, Junior to it.*

413,

Aristotle and other Ancients, *when they affirm Mind to have been the Cause of all things, Understood it thus, That all things were made by an Absolute Wisdom, and after the Best Manner. The Divine Will according to them, not a meer Arbitrary, Humoursome, and Fortuitous thing, but Decency and Fitness it self.*

415

From this passage of Aristotle's, *That the Divinity is either God, or the Work of God; Evident, that he supposed All the Gods, to have been derived from One, and therefore his Intelligences of the Sphaers.*

415

That according to Aristotle, *this Speculation of the Deity, constitutes a Particular Science by it self, distinct from Physiology and Geometry: the Former whereof (Physiology) is Conversant about what was Inseparable and Movable, the Second (Geometry) about things Immoveable, but not Really Separable, but the Third and Last (which is Theology) about that which is both Immoveable and Separable, an Incorporeal Deity.*

416

Four Chief Points of Aristotle's Theology or Metaphysics, *concerning God;*

First, that though all things are not Eternal and Unmade, yet something must needs be such, as likewise Incorruptible, or otherwise all might come to Nothing. Secondly, that God is an Incorporeal Substance, separate from Sensibles, Indivisible and devoid of Parts and Magnitude. Thirdly, that the Divine Intellect, is the same with its Intelligibles, or containeth them all within it self; because the Divine Mind, being Senior to all things, and Architectonical of the World, could not then look abroad for its Objects without it self. The contrary to which supposed by Atheists. Lastly, that God being an Immoveable Substance; his Act and Energy is his Essence; from whence Aristotle would infer the Eternity of the World.

Page 416, 417

Aristotle's Creed and Religion contained in these Two Articles, *first That there is a Divinity which comprehends the whole Nature, or Universe. And Secondly, that besides this, There are other Particular Inferiour Gods; But that all other things, in the Religion of the Pagans, were Fabulously superadded hereunto for Political Ends.*

417

Speusippus, Xenocrates and Theophrastus, *Monarchists.*

418

XXV. The Stoicks no better Metaphysicians than Heraclitus, *in whose footsteps they trode, admitting of no Incorporeal Substance. The Qualities of the Mind also, to these Stoicks, Bodies.*

419, 420

But the Stoicks, not therefore Atheists; *they supposing an Eternal Unmade Mind, (though lodged in Matter) the Maker of the whole Mundane System.*

420

The Stoical Argumentations for a God not Inconsiderable, and what they were.

421, 422

The Stoical God, not a meer Plastick and Methodical, but an Intellectual Fire. *The World according to them, not a Plant, but Animal; and Jupiter the Soul thereof. From the supposed Oneliness of which Jupiter, they would sometimes inferre, the Singularity of the World: (Plutarch on the Contrary affirming, that though there were Fifty, or*

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an Hundred Worlds, yet would there be for all that, but one Zeus or Jupiter.) 423

Nevertheless the Stoicks as Polytheistical as any Sect. But so, as that they supposed all their Gods save One, to be not Onely Native, but also Mortal; made out of that One, and resolved into that One again: these Gods, being all Melted into Jupiter, in the Conflagration. 424, 425

Wherefore during the Intervals of Successive Worlds, the Stoicks acknowledged but one Solitary Deity, and no more; Jupiter being then left all alone, and the other Gods Swallowed up into him. Who therefore not onely, the Creatour of all the other Gods, but also the Decreatour of them. 425, 426

The Stoicks notwithstanding this, Religious Worshippers of their Many Gods; and thereby sometime derogated from the Honour of the Supreme, by sharing his Sovereignty amongst them. 426, 427

Nevertheless, the Supreme God, praised and extolled by them far above all the other Gods; and acknowledged to be the Sole Maker of the World. 427, &c.

Their Professing Subjection to his Laws as their greatest Liberty. 430

And to submit their Wills to his Will in every thing, so as to know no other Will, but the Will of Jupiter. *ibid.*

Their Pretending to Look to God, and to doe nothing without a Reference to him; as also to Trust in him and Rely upon him. 431

Their Praising him as the Authour of all Good. *ibid.*

Their Addressing their Devotions to him Alone, without the conjunction of any other God; and particularly imploring his Assistance against Temptations. 432

Cleanthes his Excellent and Devout Hymn, to the Supreme God. 433

XXVI. Cicero, though affecting to write in the way of the New Academy, yet no Sceptick as to Theism. Nor was he an Asserter of Many Independent Deities. Cicero's Gods (the Makers of the World) the same with Plato's Eternal Gods, or Trinity of Divine Hypostases

Subordinate. This Language, the Pagans in S. Cyrill, would Justifie, from that of the Scripture, Let us make Man. Page 434, 435, &c.

Varro's Threefold Theology, The Fabulous, the Natural, and the Civil or Popular; agreeably to Scævola the Pontifex, his Three Sorts of Gods, Poetical, Pholosophical, and Political. The Former condemned by him as False, the Second, though True, said to be above the Capacity of the Vulgar: and therefore a Necessity, of a Third or Middle betwixt both; Because many things True in Religion, not fit for the Vulgar to know. Varro's Supreme Numen, the great Soul or Mind of the whole World: his Inferiour Gods, Parts of the World Animated. Image-Worship Condemned by him, as disagreeable to the Natural Theology. 438, 439

Seneca a Pagan Polytheist, but plain asserter of One Supreme Numen, excellently described by him. That in his Book of Superstition (now lost) he did as freely Censure the Civil Theology of the Romans, as Varro had done the Fabulous or Theatrical. 440

Quintilian, Pliny, Apuleius, their clear acknowledgments of One Sovereign Universal Deity. Symmachus, (a great stickler for Paganism) his Assertion, That it was One and the Same thing, which was Worshipped in all Religions, though in different ways. 440, 441

The Writer De Mundo, though not Aristotle, yet a Pagan. His Cause that containeth All things, and God from whom all things are. Which Passage being left out in Apuleius his Latin Version, gives occasion of suspicion, that he was infected with Plutarch's Ditheism, or at least held Matter to be Unmade. 442

Plutarch a Priest of Apollo, however unluckily ingaged in those Two False Opinions, of an Evil Principle, and Matter Unmade, yet a Maintainer of One Sole Principle of all Good. 443

Dio Chrystostomus a Sophist, his clear Testimony, βασιλεύειν τὸ ὅλον, That the whole World was under a Kingly Government or Monarchy. *ibid.*

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Galen's True Hymn to the praise of him that made us, in his Book De usu Partium. Page 444

Maximus Tyrius his short Account of his own Religion; One Supreme God, the Monarch of the whole World, and Three Subordinate Ranks of Inferiour Gods, the Sons and Friends of God, and his Ministers in the Government of the World. Page 444, 445

A most full and Excellent Description of the Supreme God in Aristides his First Oration or Hymn to Jupiter, wherein he affirmeth, all the several kinds of Gods, to be but a Defluxion and Derivation from Jupiter. 445, 446

All the Latter Philosophers after Christianity, (though maintainers of the Worlds Eternity, yet) agreed in One Supreme Deity, the Cause of this World, and of the other Gods. Excellent Speculations in them concerning the Deity, especially Plotinus; who though deriving Matter and all from One Divine Principle, yet was a Contender for Many Gods; he supposing, the Grandeur and Majesty of the Supreme God, to be declared by the Multitude of Gods under him. Themistius; That the Same Supreme God, was worshipped by Pagans, Christians, and all Nations, though in different Forms; and that God was delighted with this Variety of Religions. 446, 447

The full Testimony of S. Cyril, That the Greek Philosophers universally acknowledged One God, the Maker of the Universe, from whom were produced into Being, certain other Gods, both Intelligible and Sensible. *ibid.*

XXVII. This not onely the Opinion of Philosophers and Learned men, but also the General Belief of the Vulgar amongst the Pagans. A Judgment of the Vulgar and Generality, to be made from the Poets. Dio Chrysoft. his Affirmation, That all the Poets acknowledged One First and Greatest God the Father of all the Rational Kind, and the King thereof. 447

The Testimony of Aristotle, That all men acknowledged Kingship or Monar-

chy amongst the Gods: of Maximus Tyrius, That notwithstanding so great a Discrepancy of Opinion in other things, yet throughout all the Gentile World, as well the Unlearned as Learned did universally agree in this, That there was One God the King and Father of all, and Many Gods the Sons of that One God: Of Dio Chrysoftomus also to the same purpose; he intimating likewise that of the two, the acknowledgment of the One Supreme God, was more General than that of the Many Inferiour Gods. 448,

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That the sense of the Vulgar Pagans herein is further evident from hence, because all Nations had their several Proper Names for the One Supreme God; as the Romans Jupiter, the Greeks Zeus, the Africans and Arabians Hammon, the Scythians Pappæus, the Babylonians Bel, &c. 449

True, that Origen, though allowing Christians to use the Appellative Names for God in the Languages of the several Nations, yet accounted it unlawfull for them to call him by those Proper Names; because not onely given to Idols, but also contaminated with wicked Rites and Fables: according to which, they should be judged rather the Names of a Dæmon than of a God. Notwithstanding which, he does not deny, those Pagans ever to have meant the Supreme God by them, but often acknowledge the same. But Lactantius indeed denies the Capitoline Jupiter to be the Supreme God, and that for two Reasons. First, because he was not worshipped without the Partnership of Minerva and Juno, his Daughter and Wife. Granted here, that there was a Mixture of the Fabulous or Poetical Theology with the Natural to make up the Civil. But that Wise men understood these to be but Three several Names or Notions of One Supreme God. This confirmed from Macrobius. Page 450

Vossius his Conjecture, that in this Capitoline Trinity there was a further Mystery aimed at, of Three Divine Hypostases. This Roman Trinity derived from the Samothracian Cabiri. Which word

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word being Hebraical, gives Cause to suspect this Tradition of a Trinity amongst the Pagans, to have sprung from the Hebrews.

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Lactantius his Second Reason, Because Jupiter being Juvans Pater, was a name below the Dignity of the Supreme God. The Answer, that the true Etymon thereof was Jovis Pater, the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.

ibid.

That the Capitoline Jupiter was the Supreme God, evident from those Titles of Optimus, Maximus; and of Omnipotens by the Pontifices in their Publick Sacrifices. Seneca's Testimony that the ancient Hetrurians, by Jupiter meant the Mind and Spirit, Maker and Governour of the whole World. The Roman Souldiers Acclamation in Marcus Aurelius his German Expedition, (To Jove the God of Gods, who alone is Powerfull) according to Tertullian, a Testimony to the Christians God.

452, 453

That as the Learned Pagans in their Writings, so likewise the Vulgar in their common Speech, when most serious, often used the word God, Singularly and Emphatically, for the Supreme, proved from Tertullian, Minutius Felix, and Lactantius: together with the Testimony of Proclus, that the One Supreme God, was more universally believed throughout the World than the Many Gods.

453, 454

That Kyrie Eleeson, was anciently a Pagan Litany to the Supreme God, proved from Arianus. The Supreme God often called by the Pagans also *Κύριος*, or the Lord.

454, 455

That even the most sottishly Superstitious, Idolatrous, and Polytheistical amongst the Pagans, did notwithstanding generally acknowledge One Supreme Deity; fully attested and elegantly declared by Aurelius Prudentius in his Apotheosis.

Page 455

However some of the Ancient Pagans were said to have acknowledged none but Visible and Corporeal Gods, yet as they conceived these to be endued with Life and Understanding, so did they suppose One Supreme amongst them, as either the whole Heaven or Æther Animated,

or the subtle Fiery Substance that pervadeth all things, the God of the Heracliticks and Stoicks; or the Sun the Cleanthæan God.

Page 455, 456

Though Macrobius refer so many of the Pagan Gods to the Sun, and doubtless himself lookt upon it as a Great God, yet does he deny it to be Omnipotentissimum Deum, the Most Omnipotent God of all; he asserting a Trinity of Divine Hypostases Superiour to it, in the Platonick way.

456, 457

That the Persians themselves, the most Notorious Sun-worshippers, did notwithstanding acknowledge a Deity Superiour to it, and the Maker thereof; proved from Eubulus. As also that the Persians Countrey-Jupiter, was not the Sun, confirmed from Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarch, and Curtius. Cyrus his Lord God of Heaven, who commanded him to build him a house at Jerusalem; the same with the God of the Jews.

458

That as (besides the Scythians) the Ethiopians in Strabo, and other Barbarian Nations, anciently acknowledged One Sovereign Deity; so is this the Belief of the generality of the Pagan World to this very day.

458, 459

XXVIII. Besides Themistius and Symmachus, asserting One and the same Thing to be worshipped in all Religions, though after different ways, and that God Almighty was not displeas'd with this Variety of his Worship; Plutarch's Memorable Testimony, That as the same Sun, Moon, and Stars, are common to all, so were the same Gods. And that not onely the Egyptians, but also all other Pagan Nations worshipped One Reason and Providence ordering all: together with its Inferiour Subservient Powers and Ministers, though with different Rites and Symbols.

459, 460

Titus Livius also of the same Perswasion, That the Same Immortal Gods were Worshipped every where (namely One Supreme, and his Inferiour Ministers) however the Diversity of Rites, made them seem Different.

460

Two Egyptian Philosophers, Heraiscus and Asclepiades, professedly insisting upon the same thing, not onely as to the Egyptians

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gyptians, but also the other Pagan Nations: the Latter of them, (Asclepiades) having written a Book Entitled, The Symphony or Harmony of all Theologies or Religions, To wit, in these Two Fundamentals, That there is One Supreme God, and besides him, Other Inferiour Gods, his Subservient Ministers to be worshipped. From whence Symmachus, and other Pagans concluded, That the Differences of Religion were not to be scrupulously stood upon, but every man ought to worship God according to the Law and Religion of his own Country. The Pagans Sense thus declared by Stobæus, That the Multitude of Gods, is the work of the Demiurgus, made by Him together with the World. Page

461

XXIX. That the Pagan Theists, must needs acknowledge One Supreme Deity, further Evident from hence; Because they generally believed the whole World to be One Animal, Actuated and Governed by One Soul. To deny the Worlds Animation, and to be an Atheist; all one, in the sense of the Ancient Pagans. Against Gallendus, that Epicurus denied the Worlds Animation, upon no other account, but onely because he denied a Providential Deity. This whole Animated World, or the Soul thereof, to the Stoicks, and others, The Πρωτος Θεος, The First and Highest God. Page

462

Other Pagan Theologers, who though asserting likewise, the Worlds Animation, and a Mundane Soul, yet would not allow this to be the Supreme Deity, they conceiving the First and Highest God, to be no Soul, but an Abstract and Immoveable Mind Superiour to it. And to these, the Animated World and Mundane Soul, but Δευτερος Θεος, A Second God. Page

463

But the Generality of those who went Higher than the Soul of the World, acknowledged also a Principle Superior to Mind or Intellect, called, Το Έν and Το Αγαθόν, The One, and The Good: and so asserted, a Trinity of Divine Hypostases Subordinate, Monad, Mind, and Soul. So that the Animated World or

Soul thereof, was to some of these, but Τελτος Θεος, The Third God. ibid.

The Pagans, whether holding Soul, or Mind, or Monad, to be the Highest, acknowledged onely One in each of those severall Kinds, as the Head of all; and so always reduced the Multiplicity of things to a Unity, or under a Monarchy. 464

Observed, That to the Pagan Theologers Universally, the World was no Dead Thing, or meer Machin and Automaton, but had Life or Soul diffused thorough it all: Those being taxed by Aristotle as Atheists, who made the world to consist of nothing, but Monads or Atoms, Dead and Inanimate. Nor was it quite Cut off from the Supreme Deity, how much soever Elevated above the same: the Forementioned Trinity, of Monad, Mind, and Soul, being supposed to be most intimately united together, and indeed all but One Entire Divinity; Displayed in the World, and Supporting the same. 464, 465

XXX. The Sense of the Hebrews in this Controversy. That according to Philo, the Pagan Polytheism consisted not in worshipping Many Independent Gods, and Partial Creators of the World, but besides the One Supreme, other Created Beings Superior to men. 465, 466

That the same also, was the Sense of Flavius Josephus, according to whom, This the Doctrine of Abraham; That the Supreme God was alone to be Religiously Worshipped, and no Created thing with him. Aristæus his Assertion in Josephus, That the Jews and Greeks worshipped one and the same Supreme God, called by the Greeks Zene, as giving Life to all. 466, 467

The Latter Rabbinical Writers, generally of this Perswasion, That the Pagans acknowledging One Supreme and Universal Numen, worshipped all their Other Gods, as his Ministers, or as Mediators and Intercessors betwixt him and them. And this Condemned by them for עבודה זרה Strange Worship or Idolatry. The first Commandment thus interpreted by Maimonides, and Baal Ikkarim; Thou shalt not set up besides me, any Inferiour Gods as

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Mediators, nor Religiously Worship my Ministers or Attendants. *The Miscarriage of Solomon and other Kings of Israel and Judah, This, That believing the Existence of the One Supreme God, they thought it was for his Honour that his Ministers also should be worshipped. A-bravanel his Ten Species of Idolatry, all of them but so Many several Modes of Creature-Worship; and no mention amongst them made, of many Independent Gods.* Page 467, &c.

Certain Places of Scripture also, Interpreted by Rabbinical Writers to this purpose; That the Pagan Nations generally acknowledged, One Sovereign Numen. 469, 470

The Jews, though agreeing with the Greeks, and other Pagans in this, That the Stars were all Animated, nevertheless denied them any Religious Worship. 470, 471

XXXI. *This same thing, plainly confirmed, from the New Testament; That the Gentiles or Pagans, however Polytheists and Idolaters, were not Unacquainted with the True God. First from the Epistle to the Romans, where that which is Knowable of God, is said to have been manifest amongst the Pagans; and they to have Known God, though they did not Glorify him as God, but hold the Truth in Unrighteousness; by reason of their Polytheism and Idolatry (or Image Worship) The Latter of which, accounted by the Jews the greatest Enormity of the Pagans, as is proved from Philo: and this the Reason, why their Polytheism, called also Idolatry. Plainly declared by S. Paul, that the Pagan Superstition consisted not in worshipping Many Independent Gods and Creators, but in joining Creature-worship some way or other, with the worship of the Creator. Πᾶσι τοῖς Κτίσασιν How to be Understood; and in what Sense, the Pagans, though acknowledging the Creator, might be said to have Worshipped the Creature, beyond him.* 471, 472

Again, from S. Pauls Oration to the Athenians, where their Unknown God, is said to be that same God, whom

S. Paul Preached, Who made the World and all things in it. And these Athenian Pagans are affirmed ὁσεβῆν, Religiously and Devoutly to Worship this True God. Page 473, 474

Lastly, that Aratus his Zeus was the True God, whose Offspring our Souls are; Proved not onely from the Context of that Poet himself, undeniably, and from the Scholiast upon him, but also from S. Pauls Positive Affirmation. Nor was Aratus Singular in this; That Ancient Prayer of the Athenians, Commended by M. Antoninus for its Simplicity, (ἄριστον ὄσων ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, Rain Rain, O Gracious Jupiter &c.) no otherwise to be understood. And how that other Passage of S. Paul, That in the Wisedom of God, the World by Wisedom knew not God, does not at all Clash herewith. 475, 476

XXXII. *In order to a Fuller Explication of the Pagan Theology, and making it the better appear, that the Polytheism thereof, was not Contradictions to the acknowledgment of One Supreme Omnipotent Numen; Three Things to be Considered. First, That much of their Polytheism was but Seeming and Phantastically onely, and really nothing but the Polyonymy of One God. Secondly, That their Reall and Naturall Polytheism, consisted onely in Religiously Worshipping, besides this One Supreme Univerfall Numen, Many other Particular and Inferiour Created Beings; as Animated Stars, Demons, and Hero's. Thirdly, That they Worshipping both the Supreme and Inferiour Gods, in Statues, Images, and Symbols; these were also sometimes Abusively called Gods. To one or other of which Three Heads, all the Pagan Polytheism, Referrible.* 477

For the better perswading, That much of the Pagan Polytheism, was Really nothing, but the Polyonymy of One Supreme God, or the Worshipping him under severall Personall Names; to be Remembered again, what was before Suggested; That the Pagan Nations Generally, besides their Vulgar, had another more Arcane Theology, which was the Theology of Wise men and of Truth. That

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is; besides both their Fabulous and Poeticall, their Politicall and Civil Theology, they had another Natural and Philosophick one. This Distinction of the Vulgar and Civil Theology, from the Nataral and Reall, owned by the Greeks Generally, and amongst the Latins, by Scævola the Pontifex, Varro, Cicero, Seneca, and others. *ibid.*

That the Civil Theology of the Pagans, differed from the Natural and Reall, by a certain Mixture of Fabulosity in it. Of the Romans suffering the Statue of Jupiters Nurse, to be kept in the very Capitol, as a Religious Monument. Jupiters Nativity, or his having a Father and a Mother, Atheistically Fabulous; Poets themselves acknowledging so much of the Natural and True Teology, That Jupiter being the Father of Gods and Men, the Maker of the whole World, was himself Eternall and Unmade. 478

That the Civil as well as Poeticall Theology, had some appearance of Many Independent Deities also; they making Severall Supreme, in their severall Territories and Functions; One Chief for one thing, and another for another. But according to the Naturall and Philosophick Theology, the Theology of Wise men and of Truth, all these but Poeticall, Commentitious, Fictitious, and Phantastick Gods; such as had no distinct Substantiall Essences of their own; and therefore Really to be accounted nothing else, but severall Names or Notions of One Supreme God. 478, 479

Certain, that the Egyptians had severall Proper and Personal Names, for that One Supreme Universal Numen, that Comprehends the whole World, according to severall Notions of it or its severall Powers: as Ammon, Phtha, Osiris, Neith, Cneph; to which may be added, Serapis and Isis too. Besides Iamblichus, Damascius his Testimony also to this purpose; concerning the Egyptian Theology. This the Pattern of the other, especially European Theologies, the Greek and Roman. 479, 480

That the Greeks and Romans also, often Made More Gods of One, or af-

fectèd a Polyonymy of the Same Gods; Evident from those many Proper and Personal Names bestowed, First upon the Sun, (of which Macrobius) who therefore had this Epithet of πολυώνυμος given to him; and then upon the Moon, Styled also Polyonymous, as well as her Brother the Sun; and Lastly upon the Earth, famous likewise, for her Many Names; as Vesta, Cybele, Ceres, Proserpina, Ops, &c. Wherefore not at all to be Doubted, but that the Supreme God, or Sovereign Numen of the whole World, was much more Polyonymous. This Title given to him also, as well as to Apollo in Hesychius. He thus Invoked by Cleanthes. Zeno, the Writer De Mundo, Seneca, Macrobius, clearly confirm the same. Maximus Madaurenis in S. Austin, his full acknowledgment thereof. Page 480, 481

The First Instances of the Polyonymy of the Supreme God, amongst the Pagans, in such Names as these; Βεργταϊος, Τετιος Πολιεος, Μετλιχισ, Φιλις, Ελεν, Σωτηρ, &c. And amongst the Latins, Victor, Invictus, Opitulus, Stator, Tigillus, Centupeda, Almus, Ruminus, &c. Again, Ἀνάγκη, Εἰμαζμένη, Πεπερωμένη, Μοῖρα, Ἀδεύσεια, all severall Names of the One Supreme God, as likewise were Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, in the Writer De Mundo. And amongst the Latins, not onely Fate, but also Nature, and Fortune too, as Cicero and Seneca affirm. 482

But besides these, there were other Proper Names of the Supreme God, which had a greater shew and appearance of so many Several Gods, they having their Peculiar Temples, and severall Appropriated Rites of Worship. And First, such as signifie the Deity, according to its more Universal Nature. As for example, Pan; which not the Corporeal World Inanimate or endued with a Senseless Nature onely, but a Rational or Intellectual Principle displaying it self in Matter, framing the World Harmoniously, and being in a manner All things. This also the Universal Pastor and Shepherd, of all Mankind. 483

Again Janus; First Invoked by the Romans

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Romans in their Sacrifices, and never omitted. The most Ancient God, and First Beginning of all things. Described by Ovid, Martial, and others, as a Universal Numen. Concluded by S. Austin, to be the Same with Jupiter, the Soul or Mind of the whole World. The word Janus probably derived from *Ζανός*, the Ætolian Jupiter. Page 483, 484

Genius also, one of the Twenty Select Roman Gods, according to Festus, a Universal Numen: that God who is the Begetter of All things. And according to Varro in S. Austine, the same with Jupiter. 484, 485

That Chronos or Saturn, no particular Deity; but a Universal Numen also, which Comprehends the whole nature of the World, affirmed by Dionysius Halicarnass. The word Saturn Hetrurian (and Originally from the Hebrew סתר) signifies Hidden; called by the Latins Deus Latius, the Hidden God; whence Italy Latium, and the Italians Latins; as Worshippers of this Hidden God, or the Occult Principle of all things. This according to Varro, He that Produceth out of himself, the Hidden Seeds and Forms of all things, and Swalloweth them up into himself again; which, the Devouring of his Male Children. This Sinus quidam Naturæ, &c. a Certain Inward and deep Recess of Nature, containing all things within it self; as God was sometimes Defined by the Pagans. This to S. Austin, the same with Jupiter; as likewise was Cœlus or Uranus, in the old Inscription, and therefore another Name of God too. The Poetick Theology, of Jupiters being the Son of Saturn, and Saturn the Son of Cœlus; an Intimation (according to Plato) of a Trinity of Divine Hypostascs Universal. 485, 486

Though Minerva or Athena, were sometimes confined to a narrower Sense, yet was it often taken, for a Name of God also, according to his Universal Notion; it being to Athenagoras the Divine Wisdom, displaying it self through all things. This excellently described by Aristides, as the First Begotten Off-spring of the Original Deity, or the Second Divine Hy-

postasis, by which all things were made; agreeably with the Christian Theology. Page 486, 487

Aphrodite Urania, or the Heavenly Venus; another name of God also according to his Universal Notion; it being the same with that Love which Orpheus, and other Philosophers in Aristotle, made the First Original of all things. Plato's Distinction of an Elder, and a Younger Venus: The Former, the Daughter of Uranus, without a Mother, or the Heavenly Venus; said to be Senior to Japhet and Saturn. The Latter, afterwards begotten from Jupiter and the Nymph Dione, the Vulgar Venus. Urania, or the Heavenly Venus, called by the Oriental Nations, Mylitta; that is, the Mother of all things. Temples in Pausanias Dedicated to this Heavenly Venus. This described by Æschylus, Euripides, and Ovid, as the Supreme Deity, and the Creator of all the Gods. God Almighty also, thus described, as a Heavenly Venus or Love, by Sev. Boetius. To this Urania or Heavenly Venus, another Venus in Pausanias near a kin; called *Ἀπορρογία* or Verticordia; As Conversive of mens Minds upwards, from Unchast Love, or Unclean Lust. 488, 489

Though Vulcan, according to the Common Notion of him, a Special God, yet had he sometimes a more Universal Consideration. Zeno in Laertius, that the Supreme God is called Vulcan as Acting in the Artificiall Fire of Nature. Thus the Soul of the World, styled by the Egyptians Phtha; which as Iamblichus tells us, was the same with the Greeks Hephæstus, or Vulcan. 489, 490

Besides all which Names of the Supreme God, Seneca informs us, that he was sometimes called also, Liber Pater, because the Parent of all things; sometimes Hercules, because his Force is Unconquerable; and sometimes Mercury, as being Reason, Number, Order and Knowledge. 490

But besides this Polyonymy of God, according to his Universal Notion; there were other Dii Speciales, or Speciall Gods also, amongst the Pagans; which likewise were

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were really but Several Names of One and the same Supreme Deity, variè utentis sua Potestate, (as Seneca Writeth) diversly using his Power, in Particular Cases, and in the several Parts of the World. Thus Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, (mistaken by some Christians, for a Trinity of Independent Gods) though Three Civil Gods, yet were they Really, but One and the Same Natural and Philosophick God; as Acting in those Three Parts of the World; the Heaven, the Sea, the Earth and Hell. Pluto in Plato's Cratylus a Name for That Part of Divine Providence, which is exercised in the Government of Separate Souls after Death. This Styled by Virgil, the Stygian Jupiter. But to others, Pluto together with Ceres, the Manifestation of the Deity, in this whole Terrestrial Globe. The Celestial and Terrestrial Jupiter, but One God. Zeus and Hades one and the same to Orpheus. Euripides doubtful, whether God should be Invoked, by the Name of Zeus or Hades. Hermesianax the Colophonian Poet, makes Pluto the First of those Many Names of God, synonymous with Zeus. Page 490, 491

Neptune also, another Special God, a name of the Supreme Deity, as Acting in the Seas onely. This affirmed by Xenocrates in Stobæus, Zeno in Laertius, Balbus and Cotta in Cicero, and also by Maximus Tyrius. 492

The Statue of Jupiter with Three Eyes, in Pausanias; signifying that according to the Natural Theology, it was One and the Same God, Ruling in those Three Several Parts of the World, the Heaven, the Sea, and the Earth; that was called by Three Names, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto. Wherefore since Proserpina and Ceres are the same with Pluto; and Salacia with Neptune; Concluded, that all these, though Several Poetical and Political Gods; yet were but One and the Same Natural and Philosophick God. 492, 493

Juno also, another Special God, a name of the Supreme Deity as Acting in the Aire. Thus Xenocrates and Zeno. The Pagans in S. Austin; that God in

the Æther is called Jupiter, in the Aire Juno. So Minerva likewise, when taken for a Special God, a name of the Supreme God, according to that Particular Consideration of him, as Acting in the Higher Æther. From whence, S. Austin disputeth against the Pagans. Maximus Tyrius, of these and many other Gods of the Pagans; that they were but *ἑῶν ὀνόματα*, Divine Names. Page 493, 494

Yet Many other Special Gods, amongst the Pagans, which also were really nothing but Divine Names; or Names of God as variously exercising his Power, or bestowing Several Gifts; as in Corn and Fruit, Ceres, in Wine Bacchus, in Medicine Æsculapius, in Traffick Mercury, in War Mars, in Governing the Winds Æolus, &c. 494

That not onely Philosophers, did thus interpret, the Many Poetical and Political Gods, into One and the Same Natural God; but the Poets themselves also, sometimes openly broached this more Arcane Free and True Theology; as Hermesianax amongst the Greeks, and Valerius Soranus amongst the Latins. 494, 495

That S. Austin making a large Enumeration of the other Special Gods, amongst the Pagans, affirmeth of them Universally, That according to the Sense of the Pagan Doctors, they were but one Natural God, and all Really the same with Jupiter. 495, 496

Apuleius in his Book De Deo Socraticis, either not rightly understood by that Learned and Industrious Philologer, G. I. Vossius, or else not sufficiently attended to. His design there, plainly to reduce the Pagans Civil Theology, into a Conformity with the Natural and Philosophick; which he doth as a Platonist, by making the *Dii Consentes* of the Romans, and their other Invisible Gods, to be all of them, Nothing, but the Divine Ideas; and so the Off-spring of one Highest God. An occasion for this Phancy, given by Plato, where he calls his Ideas Animals. Nor was Apuleius Singular herein; Julian in his Book against the Christians, going the very same way; and no otherwise understood

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derstood by S. Cyril, than as to make the Invisible Gods, worshipped by the Pagans, to be the Divine Ideas. A Phancy of the same Julian, who opposed the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, that Æsculapius was first of all the Idea of the Medicinal Art, Generated by the Supreme God, in the Intelligible World; which afterwards, by the Vivifick Influence of the Sun, was Incarnated, and appeared in Humane Form about Epidaurus. And that this Pagan Doctrine, Older than Christianity; proved out of Philo; writing of a Sun, and Moon, Intelligible; as well as Sensible, Religiously worshipped by the Pagans: That is, the Ideas of the Archetypal World. And thus were these Ideas of the Divine Intellect, *νοητοὶ θεοὶ*, Intelligible Gods, to Plotinus also. Page 496, &c. 501

Wherefore Julian, Apuleius, and those others, who thus made all the Pagan Invisible Gods, to be nothing else but the Divine Ideas, the Patterns of Things in the Archetypal World; supposed them not to be so many Independent Deities, nor Really Distinct Substances, Separate from one another, but onely so many Partiall Considerations of One God. Julian before affirming them, *ἕξ ἑνὸς θεοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, *οὐκ ἕτερον τὸ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ*. As to have been Generated out of him; so also to Coexist with him, and Inexist in him. 501, 502

That the Pagans appointed some Particular God or Goddess by Name, to preside over Every thing; (there Being *μὴδὲν ἄθεον* Nothing at all without a God to them) appeareth from that Catalogue, of their Ignoble or Petty Gods, Collected by S. Austine out of Varro. Now it is Incredible; that they should think all these to be so many Single Substantiall Spirits, of each Sex, Really Existing apart in the World; they must therefore needs take them, to be so many Partiall Considerations of the Deity, either in the way of the more High-flown Platonists, as his Ideas Exemplarily and Vertually containing all things; or else in that more Common and easy way of the Generality; as so many Several Denominations of him, according to the Several Manifestations of his Pow-

er and Providence; or as the Pagans in Eusebius declare themselves, those Several Vertues and Powers, of the Supreme God, themselves Personated and Deified. Which yet because, they were not executed, without the Subservient Ministry of Created Spirits, Angels or Demons, appointed to preside over such things; therefore might these also Collectively taken, be included under them. Page 502, 503

But for the fuller clearing of this Point, that the Pagan Polytheism, was in great part Nothing but the Polyonymy of one God; Two Things here to be taken notice of. First that the Pagan Theology Universally, Supposed God to be Diffused thorough all, to Permeate and Pervade all, and Intimately to Act all. Thus Horus Apollo of the Egyptians. Thus among the Greeks, Diogenes the Cynick, Aristotle, the Italic, and Stoicall Philosophers. Thus the Indian Brachmans before Strabo. Thus also the Latin Poets; and Seneca, Quintilian, Apuleius, and Servius, besides others. 503, 504

That Anaxagoras and Plato also, though neither of them Confounded God with the World, but affirmed him to be Unmingled with any thing; yet Concluded him in like manner, to Permeate and Pervade all things. Plato's Etymology of *δυσειον*, as taken for a Name of God, to this purpose in his Cratylus. Where a Fragment of Heraclitus, and his Description of God agreeably hereunto; a most Subtle and Swift Substance, that Permeates and Passes through every thing, by which all things are made. But Plato disclaiming this Corporeity of the Deity, will neither have it Fire nor Heat; but a Perfect Mind that Passes through all things Unmixedly. 505

Wherefore no wonder, if the Pagans supposing God to be Diffused thorough all things, called him in the Several Parts of the World, and Things of Nature, by several Names, as in the Earth Ceres, in the Sea Neptune, &c. This account of the Pagan Polytheism given by Paulus Orosius, That whilst they believed, God to be in Many things, they indiscreetly made Many Gods of Him. 505, 506

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Further to be observed, That many of the Pagan Theologers; seemed to go yet a Strain higher, they supposing God not onely to Pervade all things, but also to Be himself all things. That the Ancient Egyptian Theology ran so high, Evident from the Saitick Inscription. A strong Tang hereof in Æschylus; as also in Lucan. Neither was this proper to those, who held God to be the Soul of the World, but the Language also of those other more Refined Philosophers, Xenophanes, Parmenides, &c. they affirming God, to be One and All. With which agreeth, the Authour of the Asclepian Dialogue, that God is, Unus omnia, One all things; and that before things were made, he did then ἀπόκρυφον Hide them, or Occultly contain them all, within himself. In like manner Orpheus. Page 506, 507

This not onely a further Ground of the Polyonymy of One God, according to the Various Manifestations of himself in the World, but also of another Strange Phanomenon in the Pagan Theology, their Personating the Inanimate Parts of the World, and Natures of things, and bestowing the Names of Gods and Goddesses upon them. Thus Moschopulus before cited, and Arnobius. This Plutarch thinks to have been done at first, Metonymically onely, the Effects of the Gods, being called Gods; as the Books of Plato, Plato. And thus far not disliked by him. But himself complaineth, that afterwards, it was carried on further by Superstitious Religionists, and not without great Impiety. Nevertheless that Inanimate Substances and the Natures of things, were formerly Deified, by the Ancient Pagans, otherwise than Metonymically, proved from Cicero, Philo and Plato. For they supposing God, to Pervade all things, and to be All things, did therefore look upon every thing as Sacred or Divine; and Theologize the Parts of the World and Natures of Things; Titularly making them, Gods and Goddesses. But especially such things, as wherein Humane Utility was most concerned; and which had most of Wonder in them. 507, 510

This properly, the Physiological The-

ology of the Pagans, their Personating and Deifying the Natures of things, and Inanimate Substances. That the Ancient Poetick Fables of the Gods were many of them in their first and true meaning, thus Physiologically Allegorical, and not meer Herology, affirmed against Eusebius. Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus, Famous for thus Allegorizing the Fables of the Gods. Chrysippus his Allegorizing an Obscene Picture of Jupiter and Juno in Samos. Plato though no Friend to these Poetick Fables, yet confesses some of them to have contained Allegories in them: the same doth also Dionysius Halicarnassæus: and Cicero likewise, who affirmeth, this Personating and Deifying the Natures of things, to have filled the World with Superstition. Page 510, 512

Against Eusebius again, That the whole Theology of the Pagans, consisted not in thus Deifying the Natures of things, and Inanimate Bodies; because he that acknowledgeth no Animant God, acknowledges no God at all, but is a downright Atheist. 512

Neither ought this Physiological Theology of the Pagans, that consisted in Personating and Deifying the Natures of things and Inanimate Bodies, to be Confounded, with that Natural and Philosophical Theology of Varro, Scævola and others, which admitted of no other, but Animant Gods, and such as Really Existed in Nature: for which Cause it was called Natural, in opposition to the Fictitious and Phantastick, Poetick Gods. 512

S. Austin's just Censure and Condemnation of the Pagans, for their thus Theologizing of Physiology, or Fictitiously Personating and Deifying the Natures of things. 512, 513

But though the Pagans did thus verbally Personate and Deifie the things of Nature, yet did not the Intelligent amongst them, therefore account these True and Proper Gods. Cotta in Cicero, Though we call Corn Ceres, and Wine Bacchus, yet was there never any one so mad, as to take that for a God, which himself feeds upon and devours. The Pagans really ac-
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counted that onely for a God, by the Invoking whereof, they might expect benefit to themselves; and therefore Nothing Inanimate. This proved from Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Cicero, and Plutarch. Wherefore these Natures of things Deified, but Fictitious and Phantastick Gods. Nor can any other sense be made of them than this, that they were really but so many several Names of one Supreme God, as severally manifested in his works: according to that Egyptian Theology, That God may be called by the Name of every thing, or every thing by the Name of God. With which agreeth Seneca, That there may be as many Names of God, as there are Gifts and Effects of his: and the Writer De Mundo, That God may be Denominated from every Nature, he being the Cause of all things.

Page 513, 515

Wherefore these Deified Natures of things, were not directly worshipped by the Intelligent Pagans, but onely Relatively to the Supreme God, or in way of Complication with him onely: and so not so much Themselves, as God worshipped in them. The Pagans Pretence, that they did not look upon the world with such Eyes as Oxen and Horses do, but with Religious Eyes, so as to see God in every thing. They therefore worshipped the Invisible Deity, in the Visible manifestations of himself; God and the World together. This sometimes called Pan and Jupiter. Thus was the whole World said to be the Greatest God, and the Circle of the Heavens worshipped by the Persians; not as Inanimate Matter, but as the Visible manifestation of the Deity, displayed from it, and pervaded by it. When the Roman Sea-Captains Sacrificed to the Waves, their worship intended to that God, who Stilleth the Waves, and Quieteth the Billows.

515, 516

These Pagans also apprehended a Necessity of permitting men to worship the Invisible God in his Visible Works. This account given by them in Eusebius. Plato himself approved of worshipping the Invisible God in the Sun, Moon, and

Stars, as his Visible Images. And though Maximus Tyrius would have men endeavour, to rise above the Starry Heavens, and all Visible things, yet does he allow the weaker, to worship God in his Progeny. And Socrates persuades Euthydemus to be contented herewith. Besides which, some Pagans worshipping the Elements, directed their Intention to the Spirits of those Elements, as Julian in Ammianus (these being supposed also to be Animated) or else to those Dæmons, whom they conceived to inhabit them, or preside over them.

Page 516, 518

XXXIII. Further to be observed, That amongst those Natures of things, some were meerly Accidental, as Hope, Love, Desire, Memory, Truth, Vertue, Piety, Faith, Justice, Concord, Clemency, Victory, Echo, Night. According to which, the vulgar Athenians supposed S. Paul to have Deified Anastasis, or made a Goddess of the Resurrection, as well as a God of Jesus. Vices also sometimes thus Deified by them, as Contumely, and Impudence, (to whom were Temples dedicated at Athens) though to the end that these things might be Deprecated. These Accidents sometimes Deified under Counterfeit Proper Names, as Pleasure under the name of Volupia, and Lubentina Venus; Time under the name of Chronos or Saturn; Prudence or Wisdom, under the names of Athena or Minerva: against which Origen in his answer to Celsus. Cicero himself allowed of Dedicating Temples to Mind, Vertue, Piety, Faith, &c.

518, 520

But such Accidents and Affections of Things Deified, could not possibly be Accounted True and Proper Gods, they having not $\delta\upsilon\pi\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{o}\tau\alpha\nu$, any Reall Subsistence, or Substantiall Essence of their own. And thus does Origen again dispute against Minerva's Godship, as Tropologized into Prudence. As he doth also elsewhere, upon the same Ground, against that of Memory the Mother of the Muses, and that of the Graces: he concluding, these and such like therefore, to be nothing but Figments of the Greeks, they being Things Personated, and Feigned with

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Humane Members. Thus the Pagans condemned by Prudentius also, for Feigning Things Incorporeal, with Counterfeit Members. These Gods plainly Exploded by Cotta, or Cicero in disguise; as having onely Vim Rerum, but not Deorum, the Force of Things, but not of Gods in them; or being but Naturæ Rerum, and not Figuræ Deorum.

Page 520, 521

Wherefore the True meaning of these Deified Natures of Things could be no other then this, that God was to be acknowledged and worshipped in All things; or, as the Pagans themselves declare it, that the Force of every thing was, both governed by God, and it self Divine. Pliny of this Breaking and Crumbling of the Deity into Parts, Every one Worshipping that in God, and for a God, which himself most stood in need of. This dividing of the Simple Deity, and Worshipping it Brokenly by parcells and piecemeal, as manifested in all the Several Things of Nature, and Parts of the world, Justly Censured, and Elegantly Perstringed, by Prudentius against Symmachus. Where Prudentius grants, that Symmachus, who declared, that it was One thing which all worshipped; when he sacrificed to Victory, did sacrifice to God Almighty, under that Partiall Notion, as the Giver of Victory. This in the Egyptian Allegory, Osiris Mangled, and Cut in pieces by Typhon. Victory and Vertue, as well as Neptune, Mars, and Bellona, but several names or Notions of Jupiter, in the Prologue of Plautus his Amphitryo.

521, 522

Vossius his opinion, that these Deified Accidents, and Natures of Things, as well as the other Pagan Invisible Gods, were commonly lookt upon by the Vulgar, as so many Single Substantiall Minds, or Spirits Created by the Supreme God, and appointed to preside over those several things respectively. Where it is acknowledged: that neither the Political, nor the Poetical Gods of the Pagans, were taken so much as by the Vulgar, for so many Independent Deities.

523, 524

Probable, that by these Gods, the Wi-

ser Pagans sometimes understood, Demons in Generall, or Collectively; that is, whosoever they were that were appointed to preside over those several Things, or dispense them. As Æolus in Arrianus, seems to be taken for the Demions appointed by God Almighty to preside over the Winds.

Page 524, 525

Lactantius his Reason, why the Conferences and Select Gods, vulgarly worshipped by the Romans, could not be Single Demons or Angels.

525

And from Aristotle's Observation, against Zeno, That according to Law or Civil Theology, One God was chief for one thing, and another for another; Concluded, that these Political Gods were not properly the Subservient Ministers of the Supreme; and therefore could be nothing, but several Names and Notions of One Natural God, according to his Various Powers and Effects.

525, 526

And thus does Vossius himself afterwards confess, That, according to the Natural Theology, all the Pagan Gods were but Several Denominations of one God. Where notwithstanding this Learned and Industrious Philologer, seems to take the Natural and Philosophick Theology, for the Physiological, he making the God thereof, the Nature of things. Whereas the Natural Theology, was the True and Real, and Philosophical, opposed both to the Fictions of the Poets, and the Institutes of Law-makers and Politicians. As Varro affirmeth, that in Cities those things were Worshipped and believed, according to False Opinions, which had no Nature, nor Real Subsistence, neither in the World, nor without it. The God of the Pagans not the Nature of things, which could be the Numen of none but of Atheists; but an Understanding Being, the Great Mind, or Soul of the whole World, pervading all things. Thus unquestionably true, that the Many Poetical and Political Gods, were but several Names or Notions, of One Natural, Real, and True God. Besides which, there were other Inferiour Ministers of this Supreme God, acknowledged to be the Instruments

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of his Providence, and Religiously worshipped also. A brief, but full account, of the Pagans Natural Theology, set down by Prudentius. Page 526, 527

And when the more high-flown Pagans referred these Poetical and Political Gods to the Divine Ideas, or Patterns of things in the Archetypal World; which besides the Platonists, the Egyptians in Celsus are said to have done, making the Brute Animals worshipped by them, but Symbols of the Eternal Ideas; They hereby made these Gods to be but so many Partiall Considerations of One God neither, as being All things, or Containing in himself the Causes of all things; as Julian himself declareth in his Sixth Oration. 527, 528

An Anacephalæosis, That much of the Pagan Polytheism, was but the Polyonymy of One God; he being worshipped under several Names. First, according to several General Notions of him; as of Janus, Genius, Saturn, Minerva, Urania, or the Heavenly Venus, or Love, and others before declared. So also of Summanus, according to S. Austin, and Themis, afterwards to be mentioned. 528, 529

And Secondly, according to other more Particular Notions of him, (in their Special Gods) as Acting in some Parts of the world onely, or exercising some Particular Powers. 529, 530

And Lastly, as Pervading All things, and Being All things, or the Cause of All things, he was thereupon called by the Name of Every thing, or Every thing by his Name. The Pagans in S. Austin; That their Ancestors were not so sottish, as not to understand, that those Things of Nature were but Divine Gifts, and not Themselves Gods. And the Pagans in Eusebius; That the Invisible God, the Cause of All things, ought to be worshipped in his Visible Effects, wherein he hath displayed himself. 530

Though the Two former Kinds of these Gods onely, called by Athanasius Poetical and Fictitious, he opposing them to those of the Third sort, that were Natural and Real things; yet may these also be well cal-

led Poetical, Fictitious, and Phantastical Gods too; because though themselves were Real things, Existing in Nature, yet was their Personation, and Deification, meer Fiction, Fancy and Poetry. And accordingly, were they before called by Origen Ἑλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα, meer Figments of the Greeks. Page 530, 531

XXXIV. Of those Pagans who supposed the Supreme God to be the Whole Animated World. Hitherto shewed, that even the most Refined of the Pagans agreed in these Two things. First, in Breaking and Crumbling the One Simple Deity, and multiplying it into Many Gods; or Parcelling it out into several Particular Notions, according to its several Powers and Virtues. (Πολυέκτυμον being, to these Pagans, the same thing with Πολυδύναμον.) And then, in Theologizing the whole World, Personating and Deifying the Natures of Things, Accidents, and Inanimate Bodies. They supposing God to Pervade all things, and Himself to be in a manner All things: Therefore every thing to the Religious, Sacred and Divine; and God to be worshipped in All. 531, 532

We shall now add, that both those fore-mentioned Principles, of God's Pervading all things, and his Being all things, were carried on farther, by those Pagan Theologers, who had no higher Notion of the Supreme Deity than as the Soul of the World. For First, Whereas the more Refined Pagans supposed God to Pervade all things Unmixedly; These Mingled and Confounded him with the whole World. Some of them supposing him also to be a Subtile Body. 532, 533

Again, Whereas the other more Sublimated Pagans affirmed God so to be All, as nevertheless to be something also Above all; These concluded him, to be nothing Higher than the Animated World. 533

And though they supposed, that as well in this Mundane Animal, as in other Animals, there was something Principal and Hegemonical, (whether the Sun, or Æther, or Fire,) which therefore was Emphatically called God; yet did they conceive the whole Matter thereof to be Animated, and

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and so to be All God. Not barely as Matter, but by reason of the Soul thereof.

Page 534, 535

Now if the Whole World Animated be the Supreme God, then must all the Parts and Members of the World be the Parts and Members of One God; but not themselves therefore properly so Many Gods. This affirmed by Origen, as the True Sense of these Pagans, against that unwary Assertion of Celsus, That If the Whole were God, then must the several Parts thereof needs be Gods.

535

Wherefore though these Pagans Deified the Parts of the World and Natures of Things, as well as the Powers of the Mundane Soul; yet did not the Intelligent amongst them Worship them severally, as so many True and Proper Gods, but onely as the Parts and Members of one Great Animal or God; or rather Worship the great Mundane Soul (the Life of the whole World) in them all. This proved from S. Austin.

536, 537

The same plainly declared also by the Pagans in Athanasius, That not the Divided Parts of the World were by them accounted so many several Gods, but the Whole, made up of them All, One God; which yet might be worshipped in its several Parts.

537

The Pagans being thus divided, as to their Opinions, concerning the Natural and True Theology; some of them worshipped the World as the Body of God, but others only as his Image or Temple. Thus Plutarch, though disliking the Deifying of Inanimate Things, did notwithstanding approve of Worshipping God in the Whole World, as his most Sacred Temple. And the Persian Magi, allowing of no Artificiall Temples, made with mens hands, worshipped God sub Dio, and upon the Tops of Mountains, as conceiving the Whole World to be his Natural Temple. For the same Reason did they condemn also Artificiall Statues and Images, concluding Fire, Earth, and Water, and the like Parts of the World, to be the Natural Images of the Deity. Thus Dino in Clemens Alexandrinus. This Difference amongst the Pagan Theologers

noted by Macrobius. Thus were all the Pagans World-Worshippers, in different Senses: but not as a Dead and Inanimate Thing, but either as the Body of God, or else as his Temple or Image.

Page 537, 539

Furthermore, the Pagans Universally acknowledging the World to be an Animal, those of them who supposed it not to be the First and Highest God, conceived it to be either a Second, or else a Third God; and so worshipped it, not onely as a Temple or Image, but also as the Son of the First God. Celsus pretended the Christians to have called their Jesus, the Son of God, in Imitation of these Pagans, who styled the World so.

539, 540

Thus have we made it fully to appear, That, according to the Saying of Antisthenes, the Many Popular Gods of the Pagans were but One and the Same Natural God; or, according to that of Euclides, their Many Gods were but Many Names. So that neither their Poetical, nor yet their Political Theology, was lookt upon by them as True and Natural.

540

Nevertheless, the Wiser Pagans generally concluded, that there ought to be another Theology, besides the Natural, fitly Calculated for the Vulgar, and having a Mixture of Falsehood and Fabulosity in it. Varro and Scævola agreed, that the Vulgar being Uncapable of the True and Natural Theology, it was expedient for them to be Deceived in their Religion. Strabo also, that the Vulgar cannot by Philosophick Reason, and Truth, be carried on to Piety; but this must be done by Superstition, and by the help of Fables, and Prodigious Relations. The same partly acknowledged by Synesius for true. Plato also; That it is Hard to find out God, but Impossible to declare him to the Vulgar; and therefore a necessity of a Civil Theology, distinct from the Natural and Philosophical.

540, 542

XXXV. We come now to the next thing Proposed, That, besides this Seeming and Phantastick Polytheism of the Pagans, which was nothing but the Polyonymy of One God, they had another Reall Polytheism, even in their Natural and Philo-

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fophick Theology it self. But this not of Self-existent Gods, but Generated or Created ones onely. Thus, according to Plutarch, One Highest Unmade God, is the Maker and Father of all the other Gods, Generated or Derived from him. And Proclus concludes, All the Gods to derive their Godship from the First God; who therefore is the Fountain of the Godhead.

Page 542, 543

These Inferiour Pagan Gods, styled by Ammianus Marcellinus, Substantiall Powers, in way of opposition to those other Poetical and Political Gods, that were not Substantiall or Reall, but onely several Names or Notions of One Supreme God. Those Substantiall Powers (as Divination and Prophecy was by them imparted to men) said to be all Subject to that One Sovereign Deity, called Themis, placed by Pagan Theologers in the Throne of Jupiter. This Themis also another Name or Notion of the Supreme God, besides those before mentioned. Poetry and Phantastry intermingled by the Pagans with their Natural or Philosophick Theology.

543, 544

Thus the Pagans held both One God, and Many Gods, in different Senses. Onatus and Plotinus, That the Majesty of the Supreme God consisteth, in having Multitudes of Gods Dependent on him, and Ruled by him; and that the Honour done to them, redounds to him. The Gods of the Oriental Pagans, not meer Dead Statues and Images, but Living Understanding Beings, Represented by them. That Christians asserted no Solitary Deity, as Pagans pretended, but agreed with this of Seneca, That God hath Generated, or Created, innumerable Understanding Beings Superiour to Men, Ministers of his Kingdom; The onely difference being this, that they gave them no Religious Worship: Out of Lactantius.

544, 546

XXXVI. That besides the Inferiour Gods, generally received by all the Pagans; (namely, Animated Stars, Demons, and Heroes) the more refined of them, who accounted not the Animated World the Supreme Deity, acknowledg-

ed a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, Superiour to them all. Which Doctrine affirmed by Plotinus to have been very Ancient, and no Invention of Plato's.

Page 546

Parmenides an Asserter of a Trinity, long before Plato. This imputed to the Pythagoreans, by Moderatus in Simplicius, and Iamblichus in Proclus. Before Pythagoras, Orpheus had his Trinity, Phanes, Uranus, and Chronus; the same with Plato's Three Kings or Principles. Probable, that Pythagoras and Orpheus derived the same from the Theology of the Egyptian Hermes. Some Footsteps of such a Trinity, in the Mithraick Mysteries, amongst the Persians, and the Zoroastrian Cabala. The same expressly declared in the Magick or Chaldaick Oracles. A Trinity of Gods worshipped Anciently by the Samothracians, and called by an Hebrew name Cabiri, the Mighty Gods. From thence the Roman Capitoline Trinity derived; The Second whereof, Minerva, or the Divine Wisdom. The Ternary, a Number used by the Pagans, in their Religious Rites, as Mysterious.

546, 547

It being no way Probable, that such a Trinity of Divine Hypostases should have sprung from Humane Wit, we may reasonably assent to what Proclus affirmeth, that it was at first *θεοπαρέδοτος θεολογία*, a Theology of Divine Tradition or Revelation: As having been first Imparted to the Hebrews, and from them communicated to other Nations. Nevertheless, as this Divine Cabbala was but little understood by these Pagans; so was it by many of them Depraved and Adulterated.

547, 548

This called Universally by them, a Trinity of Gods; or a First, Second, and Third God: by some a Trinity of Causes, and of Principles, and of Opificers. The Tradition of the Three Gods, in Proclus, Ancient and Famous. Numenius his Three Gods, called by him, the Father, the Son, and the Nephew, (or Grandson.) Nous or Intellect, to Plotinus, a Second God: as also the World an Image of all the Three Gods. Plotinus

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tinus and Porphyrius, their supposed Ec-
 statick Union with the First of these
 Three Gods. *ibid.* Page 548, 549

That Philo, a Religious Jew, and Zeal-
 ous Opposer of the Pagan Polytheism,
 called, notwithstanding, the Divine Word
 also, a Second God. This not agreeable
 to the Principles of Christianity. Ne-
 vertheless S. Austin partly excuses this
 Language in the Pagans. 549, 550

And They perhaps the more excusable,
 because they sometimes called also those
 Three Hypostases, taken all together, the
 First God. *ibid.* 551

Nor was this Trinity of Divine Hypo-
 stases Ill-Languaged onely by the Pa-
 gans, but also the Cabbala thereof much
 Depraved and Adulterated, by some
 Platonists and Pythagoreans. As First,
 such as made the World to be the
 Third God. Such a Trinity, a Con-
 founding of God and Creature together.
 551, 552

And that this an Adulterated Notion
 of the Trinity, evident from hence; be-
 cause no Reason why these Philosophers
 should stop here, since the Sun, Moon and
 Stars, and their other Generated Gods,
 differ not in Kind, but onely in Degree,
 from the World. *ibid.* 552

Neither will this excuse them, that they
 understood this chiefly of the Soul of the
 World; Since if there were such a Mun-
 dane Soul, as together with the World
 made up One Animal, this it self must
 needs be a Creature also. *ibid.*

This probably the Reason, why Philo,
 though acknowledging the Divine Word,
 as a Second God, and Second Cause,
 yet no-where speaketh of a Third God;
 lest he should thereby seem to Deify the
 whole Created World. Though he call
 God also, in some Sense, the Soul of the
 World too, (whether meaning thereby his
 First, or his Second God.) So that Philo
 seems to have acknowledged onely a Dua-
 lity, and not a Trinity, of Divine Hypo-
 stases. 552, 553

Another Depravation of this *θεομαθη-
 δος θεολογια*, Theology of Divine Tra-
 dition, or Cabbala of the Trinity, That
 some of these Platonists and Pythagore-

ans, concluding all those several Idea's of
 the Divine Intellect, or Archetypall
 World, to be so many distinct Substances,
 Animals, and Gods; have thereby made
 their Second Hypostasis, not One, but a
 Heap of Innumerable Gods and Hyposta-
 ses; and consequently destroyed their
 Trinity. *ibid.* Page 553

Though Philo again here Platonized so
 far, as to suppose an Incorporeal Heaven
 and Earth, and an Intelligible Sun,
 Moon, and Stars, to have been made be-
 fore the Corporeal and Sensible; yet does
 he no-where declare them to be so many
 distinct Substances and Animals; much
 less Gods; but on the contrary censures
 that for Pagan Idolatry. This Pretence
 of worshipping the Divine Idea's, in all
 Sensible things, that which gave San-
 ctuary and Protection to the Foulest and
 Sottishest of all the Pagan Idolatries; The
 Egyptians worshipping Brute Animals thus,
 and the Greeks, the Parts of the World
 Inanimate, and Natures of Things.
 554

A Third Depravation or Adulteration
 of the Divine Cabbala of the Trinity, by
 Proclus and other latter Platonists, af-
 fecting an innumerable Company of Henades,
 Particular Unities, Superiour to the
 First Nous, or Intellect, their Second Hy-
 postasis; as also innumerable Noes, Sub-
 stantiall Minds or Intellects, Superiour to
 the First Psyche, their Third Hypostasis.
 555

These Noes seem to be asserted by
 Plotinus also; as likewise the Henades
 and Agathotetes were by Simplicius.
 555, 556

A Swarm of Innumerable Pagan Gods
 from hence; besides their Intelligible
 Gods, or Idea's, Particular Henades and
 Noes, Unities and Intellects. *ibid.*

Now since these Particular Henades
 and Noes of theirs must needs be Crea-
 tures; the Trinity of Proclus and such
 others, nothing but a Scale or Ladder of
 Nature, wherein God and the Creature
 are Confounded together; the Juncture or
 Commixture betwixt them being no-where
 discernible; as if they differ'd onely in
 Degrees: A gross Mistake and Adultc-

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ration of the Ancient Cabbala of the Trinity. Page 556, 557

This that Platonick, or rather Pseudo-Platonick Trinity, by us opposed to the Christian; viz. such a Trinity, as confounds the Differences betwixt God and the Creature; bringing the Deity, by degrees, down lower and lower, and at length scattering it into all the Animated Parts of the World; A Foundation for Infinite Polytheism, Cosmolatry or World-Idolatry, and Creature-Worship. Hence the Platonists and Pythagoreans, the Fittest men to be Champions for Paganism against Christianity. 557, 558

Concerning the Christian Trinity, Three things to be Observed. First, that it is not a Trinity of meer Names and Words, nor Logically Notions, or Inadequate Conceptions of God; this Doctrine having been condemned by the Christian Church, in Sabellius and others; but a Trinity of Hypostases, Subsistences, or Persons. 558, 559

The Second thing Observable in the Christian Trinity, That though the Second Hypostasis thereof were Begotten from the First, and the Third Proceedeth both from the First and Second; yet neither of them Creatures. First, because not made ἐξ ἐκ ἑνός, or from an Antecedent Non-existence brought forth into Being, but both of them Coeternall with the Father. Secondly, because all Necessarily existent, and Un-Annihilable. Thirdly, because all of them Universall, or Infinite, and Creatours of all other Particular Beings. 559

The Third Observable as to the Christian Trinity, That the Three Hypostases thereof are all Truly and Really One God; not onely by Reason of Agreement of Will, but also of a Mutuall περιχώρησις and ἐνπαραστάσις, Permeation of each other, and Inexistence. Though no Instance of the like Unity to be found elsewhere in Nature; yet since two distinct Substances, Corporeal, and Incorporeal, make one Man and Person in our Selves; much more may Three Divine Hypostases be One God. ibid.

Though much of Mystery in the Chri-

stian Trinity, yet nothing of plain Contradiction to Reason therein; that is, no Nonsense, and Impossibility. The Ill Design of those, who represent the Christian Trinity as absolutely Contradictious to Reason, that they may thereby debauch mens Understandings, and make them swallow down other things which unquestionably are such. Page 560

The Christian Trinity much more agreeable to Reason, then the Pseudo-Platonick, in the Three Particulars before mentioned. First, its making their Third Hypostasis the Animated World, or Mundane Soul. Which, not onely too great a Leap betwixt the Second and Third, but also a gross Debasing of the Deity, and Confounding it with the Creature; a Foundation for World-Idolatry, and worshipping Inanimate Things, as Parts and Members of God. ibid.

God to Origen, but Quasi Anima Mundi, As it were the Soul of the World, and not Truly and Properly such. All the Perfection of this Notion to be attributed to God, but not the Imperfection thereof. 560, 561

Certain, that according to the more refined Platonists, their Third Divine Hypostasis, not a Mundane, but Supramundane Soul, and the δημιουργός or Opificer of the whole World. So to Amelius, Porphyrius, and Plotinus. A Double Soul of the World to Plato likewise. The Third Hypostasis, to these, no Creature, but a Creatour. 562

So in their Second Particular, (whereby the forementioned Pseudo-Platonick Trinity, no Trinity) its making all the Idea's and Archetypal Paradigms of things, so many Hypostases, Animals, and Gods. This a Monstrous Extravagancy. Not to be doubted, but that Plato well understood these Idea's to be Nothing but Noemata, or Conceptions of the Divine Mind, existing no-where apart by themselves; however called εἰδήσεις, Essences or Substances, because not such Accidental and Evanid things as our Humane Thoughts are, they being the Standing and Eternall Objects of all Science: As also ζῷα, or Animals; to signify that they

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they were not meer Dead Forms, as Pictures upon Paper, or Carved Statues. And thus did not onely Amelius understand S. John, concerning the Logos, Whatsoever was made was Life in him, but also divers of the Ancient Fathers, Greek and Latin. This Deifying of Ideas, but a Piece of Pagan Poetry.

Page 562, 563

Lastly, whereas Proclus and others intermingle many Particular Gods, with those Three Universal Hypostases, as Henades and Agathotetes, Unities and Goodnesses, Substantiall above the First Intellect; and Noes, Particular Minds or Intellects, above the First Soul; This Hypothesis of theirs, altogether Irrational and Absurd; there being Nothing Essentially Goodness, Wisdom, and Sanctity, but the Three Divine Hypostases, all other Beings having onely a Participation thereof. Thus Origen expressly; who therefore acknowledgeth no higher Rank of Created Beings, then such as the Platonists call Souls, that are Self-moveable, Vitally Unitable to Bodies, and Peccable. With whom agreeth S. Jerome, and others of the Fathers, That God is the onely Impeccable Being; but all Understanding Creatures, Free-willed, and Lapfable.

564, 565

An Opinion of Simplicius, that even in that Rank of Beings called Souls (though not Essentially Immutable, but Self-moveable) some are of so high a Pitch, as that they can never Degenerate, nor Sink or Fall into Vicious Habits. Inso-much that he makes a Question whether Proæresis belong to them or no. 565, 566

But whatever is to be thought of this, Origen too far in the other Extream, in denying any other Ranks of Souls above Humane; and supposing all the Difference, that is now betwixt the highest Angels, and Men, to have proceeded only from their Merits, and different uses of their Free Will; his Reason being this, because God would be otherwise a Proso-poleptes or Acceptor of Persons. This also Extended by him to the Soul of our Saviour Christ; as not Partially chosen to that Dignity, but for its Faithfull ad-

herence to the Divine Word in a Præ-existent State; which he would prove from Scripture. But if a Rank of Souls below Humane, and Specifically differing from them, as Origen himself confesses those of Brutes to be; no reason why there might not also be other Ranks or Species Superiour to them. Page 566, 567

But least of all can we assent to Origen, when from this Principle, That all Souls are Essentially endued with Free Will, and therefore in their Nature Peccable, he infers those Endless Circuits of Souls, Upwards and Downwards, and consequently denies them any Fixed State of Holiness and Happiness by Divine Grace: an Assertion contrary to the Tenour and Promises of the Gospell. Thus perhaps that to be understood, That Christ brought Life and Immortality to Light thorough the Gospell: not as if he were the First who taught the Soul's Immortality, a thing believed before by the Pharisæick Jews, and Generality of Pagans; but because these held their Endless Transmigrations and Circuits, therefore was he the first who brought everlasting Life and Happiness to Light. 567, 568

That Origen, a man well skilled in the Platonick Learning, and so much addicted to the Dogmata thereof, would never have gone so far into that other Extreme had there been any Solidity of Reason, for either those Henades, or Noes, of the Latter Platonists. This Opinion all one, as if a Christian should suppose, besides the First Person, or Father, a Multitude of Particular Paternities, Superiour to the Second Person; and also besides the One Son, or Word, a Multitude of Particular Sons or Words, Superiour to the Third, the Holy Ghost. This plainly to make a Breach upon the Deity, and to introduce a company of such Creaturely Gods, as imply a Contradiction in their very Notion. 568

Lastly, this not the Catholick Doctrine of the Platonick School neither, but a Private Opinion onely of some late Doctors. No Footsteps of those Henades and Agathotetes to be found any-where in Plato; nor yet in Plotinus. This Language

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guage little Older then Proclus. Nor does Plato speak of any Abstract or Separate Mind, save onely One: His Second things about the Second, being Idea's; as his Thirds about the Third Created Beings. Plotinus also doubtfull and staggering about these Noes, he seeming sometimes to make them but the Heads or Summities of Souls. Wherefore this Pseudo-Platonick Trinity to be Exploded, as Confounding the Differences betwixt God and the Creature. Whereas the Christian Trinity Homogeneall, all Deity or Creatour; all other things being supposed to be the Creatures of those Three Hypostases, and produced by their Joynt-Concurrence and Influence; they being all Really but One God. Page 568, 570

Nevertheless, these forementioned Depravations and Adulterations of that Divine Cabbala of the Trinity, not to be charged upon Plato himself, nor all the other Ancient Platonists and Pythagoreans; some of which approached so near to the Christian Trinity, as to make their Three Hypostases all truly Divine, and Creatours, other things being the Creatures of them. ibid.

First therefore, Plato himself, in his Timæus, carefully distinguisheth betwixt God and the Creature, and determineth the bounds of each, after this manner. That the First, is that which Always Is, and was never Made; the Second, that which is Made and had a Beginning, but truly Is not. His meaning here perverted by Junior Platonists, whom Boetius also followed. Where Plato takes it for granted, That whatsoever hath a Temporary and Successive Duration, had a Beginning; and whatsoever had no Beginning, hath no Successive, but Permanent Duration; and so concludes, That whatsoever is Eternall, is God; but whatsoever exists in Time, and hath a Beginning, Creature. 570, 572

Now to Plato, more Eternall Gods then One. Which not Idea's or Noemata, but true Substantiall Things; his First, Second, and Third, in his Epistle to Dionysius, or Trinity of Divine Hypostases, the Makers or Creatours of the whole World.

Cicero's Gods, by whose Providence the World and all its Parts were framed. Page 572, 573

The Second Hypostasis in Plato's Trinity, to wit, Mind or Intellect, unquestionably Eternal, and without Beginning. The same affirmed by Plotinus also, of the Third Hypostasis, or Psyche, called the Word of the Second, as the Second, the Word of the First. Porphyrius his Testimony to this purpose in S. Cyril; where also Mind, or the Second Divine Hypostasis, (though said to have been Begotten from the First, yet) called *ἑαυτοῦ πατήρ*, and *ἑαυτοῦ γέννητος*, Its Own-Parent, and its Own-Offspring, and said to have sprung out *ἑαυτοῦ γόνως*, Self-begottenly. Page 573, 574.

This Mysterious Riddle expounded out of Plotinus. The plain meaning thereof no more then this, That though this Second Hypostasis proceeded from the First, yet was it not produced by it after a Creaturely manner, nor Arbitrarily by Will and Choice, but in way of Natural and Necessary Emanation. Thus have some Christians ventured to call the Logos, *ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ*, and *Ex seipso Deum*, God from himself. 574, 575

Dionysius Petavius, having declared the Doctrine of Arius, that the Father was the onely Eternal God, and the Son, or Word, a Creature, made in Time, and out of Nothing; Concludes it undeniably manifest from hence, that Arius was a German, True, and Genuine Platonist. Whereas it is most certain from hence, that Arius was no Platonist at all; and that Petavius himself did not well understand the Platonick Doctrine. Had Plato denied the Eternity of his Second Hypostasis, called Nous, he must have denied the Eternity of Wisedom and Understanding it self; this being to him that Wisedom by which God himself is Wise, and whereby he made the World. With which agreeth also Athanasius; Our Lord is Wisedom, and not Second to any other Wisedom: and, The Father of the Word is not himself Word: and, That was not Word and Wisedom, which produced Word and Wisedom. This in opposition to Arius,

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Arius, who maintained Another Word and Wisdom, Senior to that Word and Wisdom in Christ. These Platonists, so far from denying the Eternity of the Word, that they rather attributed too much to it, in making it Self-begotten. Wherefore Plato, asserting the Eternity of his Second Hypostasis, Nous or Logos, and not of the World, did thereby, according to Athanasius his own Doctrine, make it to be no Creature.

Page 575

Nor is there any force at all in that Testimony of Macrobius, cited by Petavius, to the contrary, wherein the First Hypostasis is said to have Created Mind from it self, and the Second to have Created Soul; because these Ancient Pagans did not confine the word Create, to such a narrow sense as Christians commonly do; but used it generally for all manner of Production. Petavius his mistake, chiefly from that Spurious Trinity of the latter Platonists, whose Third God is by themselves called *πρωτα*, a Creature. But this not the Doctrine of the Ancients.

576

Nevertheless, some more Reason to doubt, whether Plato's Third Hypostasis were Eternal, because in his Timæus, he Generates the Mundane Soul. This Controversy decided, by supposing a Double Psyche, *ἐνκόσμιον*, and *ὑπερκόσμιον*, a Mundane, and Supra-Mundane Soul; the first of these called by Plotinus, a Heavenly Venus, and a Separate Soul. Wherefore though the Lower Venus, or Mundane Soul, according to Plato, made in Time together with the World; yet the Higher Divine Soul, or Heavenly Venus, the Son of Chronos without a Mother, his Third Hypostasis, Eternal, and without Beginning.

576, 577

This further Evident from hence, Because Plato in his Epistle to Dionysius, affirmeth as well of the Second, and Third, as of the First, that in all those things that are Cognate to our Humane Soul, (or Creaturely) there is *οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον*, Nothing like thereunto.

577

Secondly, The Three Hypostases of Plato's Trinity, not only all Eternal, but also Necessarily Existent, and Absolutely Unannihilable. Nor could the First any more Exist without the Second and Third, then the Sun without its Primary Light, and Secondary Splendor. These according to Plotinus, the Three Principles of the Universe; so that there could be neither More, nor Fewer. They also who called the Second, Autopator, signified thereby, the Necessity of its Existence.

577, 578

Thirdly, These Three Platonick Hypostases, as Eternal, and Necessary, so likewise Universal, or Comprehensive of the Whole World, that is, Infinite and Omnipotent. Therefore called Principles, and Causes, and

Opificers. Though Nous or Mind vulgarly lookt upon as the Highest Principle of all things, yet Plato set before it, One Most Simple Good. When Nous said by Plato, to be *ἁπλοῦς*, of the Same Kind, with the First Cause of all things; this all one as if he had affirmed it to be *ὁμοῦσιον*; Co-Essential or Consubstantial with it. Pag. 578,

579

Plato's Third Hypostasis, Psyche, or the Superior Mundane Soul, called by him Zeus, from *ζῆν*, as also the Cause and Fountain of Life, and the Prince and King of all things. And when said to be *ἕκτερον*, the Offspring of the Highest Mind, thereby made Consubstantial with it also. So that Plato's whole Trinity Homousian.

579

Though by the Demiurgus or Opificer, Plato commonly meant the Second Hypostasis, Mind or Intellect; yet Atticus, Amelius, Plotinus and others, called the Third or the Higher Psyche also, by that Name. Wherefore according to the Genuine Platonick, and Parmenidian Trinity, all the Three Hypostases Joynt-Creatours of the whole World. Thus Ficinus often, and Proclus. Porphyrius his Affirmation, that the Deity according to Plato, Extends to Three Hypostases.

Ibid.

Certain therefore, that Arius did not Platonize, but rather Athanasius and the Nicene Fathers; who notwithstanding made not Plato, but the Scriptures, their Foundation. The Genuine Trinity of Plato and Parmenides, a Middle betwixt that of Sabellius, and that of Arius; it being neither a Trinity of Words and Names, as the Former; nor an Heterousious Trinity, a Confused Jumble of God and Creature together; but Homousious and Homogeneall: all Eternal, Necessarily Existent, Infinite or Omnipotent, and Creatour.

579,

580

But that it may yet more fully appear, how far the most refined Platonick and Parmenidian Trinity, does either Agree or Disagree, with the Scripture and Christian Doctrine, Two things further to be Observed concerning it. First, that the Platonists Universally asserted an Essentiall Dependence of their Second and Third Hypostases upon the First, as also a Gradual Subordination in them. Thus Plotinus; Chronos, or the Second Hypostasis, is in a Middle State betwixt his Father who is Greater, and his Son who is Inferiour. And that in this Eternal Generation or Emanation, no Progress Upward, but all Downward, and a Gradual Descent.

580, 581

More of the Dependence and Gradual Subordination of the Second and Third Hypostases of the Platonick Trinity, to the First. Each following Hypostasis called *ἕκτερον*, and *ἕκτερον*,

(f)

and

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and εἰκὼν, and εἶδος, and εἰμύμηα of that before it. Philo's Offensive Expression, That the Logos, or Word, is the Shadow of God. This Gradation commonly Illustrated by the ἐκλαμψις or ἀπαύλασμα, the Effulgency or Out-shining Splendor of the Sun. Page 581, 582

The same further manifested, from the several Distinctive Characters, given to each Hypostasis, in the True Platonick or Parmenidian Trinity. The First, ἐν πρῶτον, One before all things; The Second, ἐν παντι, One All things, as to their Distinct Idea's; The Third, ἐν καὶ παντι, One Really producing All things. The First, Unity and Goodness Essentiall; the Second, Understanding and Wisdom; the Third, Self-Active Love and Power. The First or Father ἀνεύρητος, Above Action: The Second or Son the Demiurgus, The Maker or contriving Architect of the World, but an Immoveable Nature: The Third a Movable Deity; and the Immediate Governour of the whole World. Amelius his Distinction of them into τὸν ὄντα, τὸν ἔχοντα, τὸν ὁρῶντα. 582, 583

The greatest Difficulty in the distinctive Characters of these Three Platonick Hypostases; That Understanding, Reason, and Wisdom, should be made Peculiar to the Second, as if the First were therefore devoid of Mind, Reason and Wisdom. This an Arcanum of the Platonick and Pythagorick Theology: That whereas Anaxagoras, Aristotle, and the Vulgar, make Mind and Understanding, the Oldest of all things, and the Highest Principle in the Universe; this supposes Mind, Knowledge, and Wisdom, to be, not the First, but Second. Partly because there is Multiplicity in Knowledge, but there must be Unity before Multiplicity. And partly because there must be Nonτὸν before Νῆς, An Object or Intelligible before Intellect. As also, because Intellection, or Knowledge, is not the Highest Good, or Happiness, and therefore to be some Substantiall thing, in order of Nature Superiour to Mind. Hence concluded, that the Supreme Deity is Better then Logos, Reason, Word, or Intellect. That not Logos, from whence Logos is derived. Thus Philo; The God before Reason or Word, better then all the Rationall Nature. But this Difficulty common to Platonism, with Christianity; which likewise makes Word or Reason and Wisdom, not the First, but Second Hypostasis. Thus does Athanasius deny that there is any Word, Reason, or Wisdom, before the Son of God. What then? Is the First Hypostasis therefore ἀνεύρητος and ἀλογος, Devoid of Reason and Mind? Plotinus his Attempts to answer this; That the First hath φῶς ἀπύου, A Simple Light, different from that Multiformal Light of Knowledge. Again, That the First

is Νῆσις αὐτῆ, Intelligence it self, and therefore Superiour to Intellect, or that which hath Intellection. (For ἡ νῆσις ἴσους νοεῖ, Intelligence it self doth not understand.) Besides which, another Attempt also to solve this Difficulty. Page 583, 586

The Ground of this Platonick Dependence and Subordination in the Divine Hypostases; Because there is but One Fountain of the Godhead; so that the Second must needs differ from the First, as the ἀπαύλασμα from the φῶς, The Splendor from the Sun. 586, 587

Though the Second Hypostasis said to have been Begotten, from the First; yet this not to be taken for such a Generation, as that of Men, where Three Men, (Father, Son, and Grandson) all Adult, have no Essential Dependence upon one another, nor Gradual Subordination. This but an Imperfect Generation. 587

Furthermore, the Platonists would recommend this their Gradation in the Deity, or Subordination of Hypostases, from hence, Because by this means, not so great a Leap or Jump in the Creation, as otherwise there must be; nor the Whole Deity screwed up to such a Disproportionate Height, as would render it Uncapable of having any Intercourse with the Lower World. Were the whole Deity, either One Simple Monade, or else an Immoveable Mind, it could have no such Liberty of Will as is commonly attributed to it, nor be Affectible with anything here below; nor indeed any fitter Object for mens Devotion, then an Adamantine Rock. Whereas all the Phænomena of the Deity salvageable by this Platonick Gradation. 587, 588

As also according to this Hypothesis, some reasonable satisfaction to be given, why just so many Divine Hypostases, and neither Fewer, nor More. 588

The Second thing to be Observed, concerning the Genuine Platonick, or Parmenidian Trinity; That though the Hypostases thereof be called Three Natures, and Three Principles, and Three Opificers, and Three Gods; yet they all Really make up but One Divinity. For the World, being Created by all Three, and yet having but One Creation, they must needs be all One Creatour. Porphyrius in S. Cyril explicitly, That, according to Plato, the Essence of the Deity extendeth to Three Hypostases. 588, 589

Platonists further adde, That were it not for this Essential Dependence, and Subordination, the Three Divine Hypostases must needs be Three Co-ordinate Gods; and no more One God, then Three Men are One Man, or Three Suns One Sun. Whereas the Sun, its Splendor, and Derivative Light, may all well be accounted One and the same Thing. 589, 590

These Platonists therefore suppose, so close a Union,

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Union, and so near a Conjunction, betwixt their Three Hypostases; as no where else to be found in Nature. Plotinus, That there is Nothing between them, and That they are Onely Not the very same. They acknowledge also, their Perichoresis or Mutuall Inexistence. The Three Hypostases One Divinity to the Platonists, in the same manner, as the Centre, Radious Distance Immoveable, and Movable Circumference of a Sphear, all One Sphear. The First Infinite Goodness, the Second Infinite Wisdom, the Third Infinite Active Love, and Power Substantiall. Page 590, 591

From this full Account of the True and Genuine Platonick Trinity, its both Agreement and Disagreement with the Christian, Plainly appeareth. First, its Agreement in the Three Fundamentall things before mentioned; and consequently its Discrepance from Arianism. 591, 592

Secondly, its Disagreement notwithstanding, from the Now-received Doctrin, in that it supposes the Three Hypostases not to have One and the same Singular Essence, nor yet an Absolute Co-Equality, but a Graduall Subordination, and Essentiall Dependence. Upon which account, said by some, to Symbolize with Arianism, however different from it in the Main Point. 592

Besides which, the best of the Platonists, sometimes Guilty of Extravagant Exprellions. Plotinus his *ἑνωειδὴς δὲ καὶ ἑνότης*, That our Humane Soul is of the same Species with the Mundane Soul, or Third Hypostasis; That being but the Elder Sister. Which indeed is to make it Co-Essentiall or Consubstantiall with us Men, as S. Austine understood it. This a Foundation for Creature-Worship or Idolatry. Why the Arians by Constantine called Porphyrianists. But this Doctrin, as Repugnant to Plato, so elsewhere Contradicted by Plotinus himself. 593, 594

That notwithstanding, a Platonick Christian would Apologize for Plato and the Genuine Pythagoreans, after this manner. First, That having no Scriptures, Councils, nor Creeds, to direct them in the Darknes of this Mystery, and to guide their Language, they the more excusable, if not always Uniform, and sometimes Extravagant. More to be wondred at, that they should approach so near the Christian Truth. 594, 595

And for their Graduall Subordination of Hypostases, and Dependence of the Second and Third upon the First; That these Platonists herein the more excusable, because the Majority of Christian Doctōrs, for the first Three Centuries, seem to have asserted the same. 595, 596

The Platonick Christians further Apologie;

That the Platonists Intention in Subordinating their Three Hypostases, onely to exclude a Plurality of Co-ordinate Independent Gods. That none of Plato's Three Hypostases, Creatures, but that the Essence of the Godhead belongeth to them All; they being all Eternal, Necessarily Existent, Infinite, or Omnipotent, and Creatours. Therefore in the sense of the Nicene Council, Consubstantiall and Co-equal. The Essence of the Godhead, wherein all the Three Hypostases agree, as well to the Fathers, as Platonists, Generall and Univerfall. Page 596, 597

Besides which, the Genuine Platonists would acknowledge also, all their Three Hypostases to be Homoulian, Co-essentiall or Consubstantiall, yet in a further Sense; as making up One Entire Divinity: As the Root, Stock, and Branches, Co-essentiall to a Vine. The Trinity not so Undivided, as if Three were not Three in it. The Inequality and Subordination in the Platonick Trinity, within the Deity it self onely, and in the Relation of the Hypostases to one another; they being ad extrā all One and the same God, Joyntly Concurring in the same Actions, and in that respect, devoid of Inequality. 597, 598

Furthermore, the Platonick Christian would urge, That according to the Principles of Christianity it self, there must needs be some Dependence and Subordination in these Hypostases, in their Relation to one another; a Priority and Posteriority of Order and Dignity: That which is Originally of it Self, having some kind of Priority and Superiority, over that which is wholly Derived from it. The Second and Third Hypostases, not so Omnipotent as the First, because not able to Beget or Produce that. Hence the First styled by Macrobius, the Most Omnipotent of all. Sundry passages in Scripture, favouring this Hypothesis, as also Orthodox Fathers. Athanasius his Resemblances to the Originall Light and the Secondary Splendor; to the Fountain and the Stream, the Root and the Branch, the Water and the Vapour. The Equality asserted by the Orthodox, in way of opposition to the Arian Inequality, of God and Creature; That they Equally God, or Uncreated. Notwithstanding which, some Inequality amongst them allowed by Petavius and others, as This God, and That Person. 599, 600

However, no necessity of any more Inequality and Subordination in the Platonick, then in the Christian Trinity; they being but Infinite Goodness, and Infinite Wisdom, and Infinite Active Love, and Power Substantiall. Another Hypothesis of some Platonists, hinted by S. Austine out of Porphyry, which makes the Third Hypostasis a Myddle betwixt the First

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and Second; and implies, not so much a Gradation, as a Circulation in the Trinity. Page 600, 601

As for the Platonists supposing their Three Hypostases (though One Entire Divinity) to have their Distinct Singular Essences, without which they conceive they could be nothing but Three Names; the Platonick Christian would make this Apology; That the Orthodox Fathers themselves were generally of this persuasion, That the Essence of the Godhead wherein all the Three Persons agree, not One Singular, but onely One Common or Universal Essence. Their Distinction to this purpose, betwixt *ἕνα* and *ἑσά* that the former was Common or Generical, the latter Singular or Individual. Theodoret, Basil, and many others. Petavius his acknowledgement, that the Greeks Universally agreed herein. 601, 602

The Opinion of Gregory Nyssen, Cyril, Damascen, and others; That the Persons of the Trinity no otherwaies One, then as Three Individuals under the same Species, or as Three Men agree in the same common Humanity. These the Chief Asserters of an Absolute, Independent, and Un-subordinate Co-equality. This the onely fault that S. Cyril finds in the Platonists, that they did not assert such a Consubstantiality. Whereas this Trinity, Tritheism: the Three Persons thereof being no more One God, then Three Men are One Man, However this certain, that these Fathers did not suppose the Three Hypostases of the Trinity to have all the same Singular Essence. Another Extream, that sprung up afterwards in the room of the former Tritheism, and owned by no other Authority, then of a Lateran Council. 603, 604

And that this Sameness of Singular Essence was not asserted by the Nicene Fathers, and first Opposers of Arius; First, clearly acknowledged by Petavius. 604, 605

But this further Evident from hence; Because the same Orthodox Fathers, who opposed Arianism, did also condemn Sabellianism; which asserted, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be but One Hypostasis, that is, to have but One and the same Singular Essence; and consequently acknowledged no other Trinity then of Names or Words. 605

It appeareth also from hence, Because the Word Homouousios had never any other Sense, then to signify the Agreement of things Numerically differing, in some Common and General Nature or Essence. S. Basil, That the same thing is not Homouousios, Co-essential, or Consubstantial with it self; but always One thing with another. *τὸ ὁμοῦσιον* the same with *συγγένεια* in Plotinus. So also in Athanasius, he affirming the Branches to be Homouousios and Congene-

rous with the Root. Besides which, *ὁμοουσίος*, *ὁμοουσίως*, and *ὁμοουσίως*, used by Athanasius, and others, as Synonymous with *ὁμοῦσιον*. None of which words signify an Identity of Singular Essence, but General or Universal onely. The Council of Chalcedon, That our Saviour Christ as to his Humanity, was Homouousios or Consubstantial with us Men. Thus does Athanasius deny, the Son or Word, as such, to be Homouousios or Consubstantial with Creatures; as also he affirmeth men to be Consubstantial with one another; every Son Consubstantial and Co-essential with his Father. Page 605, 606

Moreover the Sense of the Nicene Fathers, in their Consubstantiality, may more fully appear from the Doctrin of Arius opposed by them; which made the Son a Creature, and therefore (as Athanasius writeth) *ἕτεροουσίον* or *ἀνόμοιον*, of a different Essence or Substance from the Father. Proved clearly from Athanasius, that by the Consubstantiality of the Word, was meant no more then its being not a Creature, or Uncreated. 606, 608

Further Proof, out of Athanasius, that by Consubstantiality, is not meant a Sameness of Singular, but onely of General Essence. As also out of S. Austine. 608, 611

Lastly, That the Homouousian Fathers did not assert against Arius, a Sameness of Singular Essence, evident from their Disclaiming those two other words, *ταυτούσιον*, and *μονούσιον*, (as having a Sabellian Sense in them,) the former by Epiphanius, the latter by Athanasius. So that they who asserted the Son to be Homouousios, Consubstantial with the Father, denied him to be Monouousios or Tautoousios, that is, to have the same Singular Essence. 612, 613

From all these Considerations, concluded by the Platonick Christian, That as the Genuine Trinity of Plato agreed with that of the Orthodox Christians, in being not Heterouousian, but Homouousian, Co-essential or Consubstantial; not made up of God and Creature, but all Homogeneous of Uncreated, or Creatour: so did the Trinity of the First Orthodox Anti-Arians herein agree with the Platonick Trinity; that it was not Monouousian, or Tautoousian, One and the same Singular Essence, under Three Names or Notions onely; but really Three Hypostases or Persons. 612

Nevertheless, here remaineth a Question to be Answered; Whether Athanasius, the Nicene Fathers, and all the First Anti-Arians did therefore assert the same thing with Greg. Nyssen, Cyril, and others, That the Three Persons in the Trinity, were but Three Co-ordinate Individuals, under the same Species, having onely a Specifick Unity or Identity; (besides Consent of Will) or that they all agree in the Uncre-

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Uncreated Nature onely. This Grossly asserted in the Dialogues of the Trinity, Vulgarly Imputed to Athanasius; and to that purpose also, That Three Men are not Three Men, but onely then, when they Dissent from one another in Will and Opinion. But these Dialogues Pseudepigraphous. Nevertheless to be Granted, that Athanasius himself, in that Book of the Common Essence of the Persons, seems to lay something too much Stresse upon this Common Nature, Essence, or Substance, of the Three Persons, as to the making of them all but One God. However, it is certain he does not there rely upon that alone; and elsewhere acknowledgeth it to be insufficient. The true Reason, why Athanasius laid so great a Stresse upon the Homouosioties, not because this alone would make them One God, but because they could not possibly be One God without it. For if the Father be Uncreated, and the Son a Creature, then can they not both be One God. Several Passages of Athanasius Cited to this purpose. Those Expressions in him of One Godhead, and the Sameness of the Godhead, and One Essence or Substance in the Trinity, not so to be understood, as if the Three Persons were but several Names, Notions, or Modes of One Thing. Page 612, 616

Wherefore though Athanasius lay his Foundation in this εἰς ἓν ἐνόησεν, Common Specifick Unity of the Persons, (which is their Confubstantiality,) in order to their being One God; yet does he superadde other Considerations also thereunto. As first of all this, That they are not Three Principles, but onely One; the Essence of the Father being the Root and Fountain of the Son and Spirit: and the Three Hypostases, gathered together under One Head. Where Athanasius implies, That were they perfectly Co-ordinate and Independent, they would not be One, but Three Gods. 616

In the next place, he further addeth; That these Three Hypostases are not Three Separated Disjoined Things, but Indivisibly United; as the Splendor is Indivisible from the Sun, and Wisdom from him that is Wise. That neither of these Persons could be without the other; nor any thing come between them: they so immediately Conjoyned together, as that there is a kind of συνέχεα or Continuity betwixt them. 616, 617

Thirdly, Athanasius goes yet higher; affirming these Three Hypostases, not onely to be Indivisibly Conjoyned, but also to have a Mutual Inexistence in each other. This afterwards called an Emperichoretis. That of our Saviour, I am in the Father, and the Father in me, therefore Quarrelled at by the Arians, because they conceived of Things Incorporeal, after a Corporeal manner. That the Godhead of the Son, is the Godhead of the Father; and the Fa-

ther exercises a Providence over all, in the Son. Page 617, 619

Lastly, Athanasius also in Sundry Places, supposes the Three Divine Hypostases to make up one Entire Divinity; as the Fountain and the Stream make up one entire River; the Root, Stock, and Branches, one entire Tree. Accordingly the word Homouosios used by Athanasius, in a further Sense, not onely to signify things Agreeing in one Common and General Essence, but also such as Essentially Concurr to the making up of One Entire thing. That the Three Hypostases do Outwardly, or Ad extrâ, produce all, *ὡς ἑνὸς γενέσθαι*, One and the self-same Action; the Father, By the Word, In the Holy Spirit, doing all things. That all this Doctrine of Athanasius would have been readily assented to by Plato and his Genuine Followers. The Platonick Christian therefore Concludeth, That there is no such Real Difference, betwixt the Genuine Platonick Trinity, and that of the First Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers, as some conceive. From which notwithstanding that Trithestick Trinity, of S. Greg. Nyssen, Cyril, and others, of Three Co-ordinate Individuals under the same Species, (as Three Men) seems to have been a Deviation. 619, 620

Hitherto the Platonick Christians Apology, for the Genuine Platonick Trinity; or Endeavour to reconcile it with the Doctrine of the Ancient Church: Where nothing is asserted by our selves, but all Submitted to the Judgement of the Learned in these Matters. And whatsoever in Plato's Trinity shall be found Discrepant from the sense of the First Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers, utterly disclaimed by us. Athanasius a great Instrument of Divine Providence, for preserving the Christian Church from Lapsing into a kind of Paganick and Idolatrous Christianity. *ibid.*

The Reason of this Apology, for the Genuine Platonick Trinity; because it is against the Interest of Christianity, that this should be made more Discrepant from the Christian, than indeed it is. Moreover certain, that this Genuine Platonick Trinity was Anti-Arian; or rather the Arian, Anti-Platonick. Wherefore Socrates wondered, that Georgius and Timotheus Presbyters, should adhere to the Arian Faction; when one of them was accounted much a Platonist, the other an Origenist. 620, 621

Furthermore, Platonick Pagans after Christianity, highly approved of the Beginning of S. John's Gospell, concerning the Logos, as exactly agreeing with their Platonick Doctrine. Thus Amelius in Eusebius, and others. A Platonist in S. Austine, That it deserved to be writ in Golden Letters, and set up in some Eminent places, in every Christian Church. But that

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which is most of all Considerable, to Justify this Apology, The generality of Christian Fathers, before and after the Nicene Council, look'd upon this Platonick Trinity, if not as really the Same thing with the Christian, yet as approaching so near thereunto, that it differed chiefly in Circumstances, or Manner of Expression. Thus Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, S. Cyprian, or the Authour of the Book De Spiritu Sancto, Eusebius Cæsariensis; and, which is most of all to the purpose, Athanasius himself; he giving a Signal Testimony thereunto. To which may be added, S. Austine, and Theodoret. S. Cyril, though blaming the Platonick Subordination, (Himself supposing the Trinity to be Three Co-ordinate Individuals, under the same Specifick Nature of the Godhead) yet acknowledges that Plato was not altogether ignorant of the Truth, &c. But that Plato's Subordination, of his Second Hypostasis to the First, was not (as the Arian) of a Creature to the Creatour; already made unquestionably Evident. Page 621, 625

Wherefore a Wonderfull Providence of Almighty God here to be taken notice of; That this Doctrine, of a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, should be entertained in the Pagan World before Christianity, as it were to prepare a way for the Reception of it amongst the Learned. Which the Junior Platonists were so sensible of, that besides their other Adulterations of the Platonick Trinity before mentioned. (for the Countenancing of their Polytheism and Idolatry) they at length Innovated and Altered the whole Cabala; now no longer acknowledging a Trinity, but at least a Quaternity of Divine Hypostases; namely, before and besides the Trinity, another Hypostasis superiour thereunto, and standing alone by itself. This first started by Iamblichus, carried on by Proclus, taken notice of by S. Cyril: besides which, Proclus also added other Phantastick Trinities of his own. 625, 627

Another Advantage of this Platonick Trinity, extending to the present time; perhaps not Unintended also by Divine Providence, to abate the Confidence of those Conceited Wits, who so boldly decry the Trinity for Non-sense, Absolute Contradiction to Reason, and Impossibility; when they shall find, that the Best and Freest Wits amongst the Pagans, though having no Scripture-Revelation to impose upon them, were yet fond of this Hypothesis. 627

And now it sufficiently appears, That the Ancient Platonists and Pythagoreans, were not to be taxed for Polytheists and Idolaters, in giving Religious Worship to their Three Divine Hypostases. One grand Design of Christianity, to free the World from Idolatry and

Creature-Worship: And this the reason, why the Ancient Fathers so zealously opposed Arianism, because it thwarted that Design; it Paganizing and Idolatrizing that, which was intended for the Unpaganizing of the World. One Remarkable Passage of Athanasius to this purpose. Page 627, 629

Where First Observable, That Athanasius expressly affirmeth the Pagans to have Worshipped onely One Uncreated, and Many Created Gods. Thus Greg. Naz. That there was but One Divinity amongst the Pagans also. And Irenæus, That they attributed the first place of the Deity to One Supreme God, the Maker of this Universe. And Secondly, That to Athanasius, and all those other Fathers, who charged the Arians with Idolatry, this was supposed not to consist in Worshipping Many Independent, and Self-Existent Gods, but in giving Religious Worship to Creatures: As the Arians gave a Religious Worship to the Son or Word, supposed by themselves to be but a Creature. 629, 630

But if Arians guilty of Polytheism or Idolatry, for bestowing Religious Worship upon the Son, or Word, as a Creature, (though the Chief of Creatures, and that by which all others were Made) much more they guilty hereof, who Religiously worshipped other Inferiour Beings, Athanasius; That no Creature the Object of Religious Worship, and That the Orthodox worshipped the Divinity, in the Humanity of our Saviour Christ. Nestorius branded with the name of a Man-worshipper. Some suppose That necessary to Idolatry, which is Impossible; to Worship more then One, as Omnipotent, or with Mental Latria. 630, 632

And now have we sufficiently Answered the Objection against the Naturality of the Idea of God, as including Oneliness in it; from the Pagan Polytheism. What farther here intended concerning the same, (as a Foundation for our Defence of Christianity) differed, to make room for a Confutation of all the Atheistick Arguments.

CHAP. V.

A Particular Confutation of all the Atheistick Grounds.

THE First Atheistick Argument; That there is no Idea of God. That in Answer to this, The Idea of God hath been already declared: viz. A Perfect Understanding Being, Unmade, or Self-Existent from Eternity, and the Cause of all other Things. In which, Nothing Unconceivable, nor Contradictious. That these Confounded Atheists themselves, who deny that

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that there is any Idea of God at all, must notwithstanding of necessity suppose the contrary; because otherwise, denying his Existence, they should deny the Existence of Nothing. And that they agree also with Theists in the same Idea; The one denying the Existence of that, which the other Asserteth, That an Understanding Nature is the Original of all things. This Idea of God, as containing Oneliness and Singularity in it, not onely largely Defended and made good against that Objection from the Pagan Polytheism; but also Proved, that the Generality of Mankind have a Natural Prolepsis or Anticipation in their Minds, concerning the Real and Actual Existence of such a Being. Atheists but Monsters, and Anomalies of mankind. This a sufficient Confutation of the First Atheistick Argument.

Page 633, 634

Nevertheless, That Atheists may not Pretend, any of their Strength to be Concealed; all their Particular Exceptions against the Idea of God here Declared, being Five. Their First Exception, That we can have no Idea nor Thought of any thing not Subject to Sense; much less any Evidence of the Existence thereof. The Answer. First, That whereas the Atheists suppose Sense to be the Onely Knowledge, or at least Original Knowledge; Sense as such is not Knowledge, or Understanding; because if it were, then everyone that sees Light and Colours, or feels Heat and Cold, would understand Light and Colours, Heat and Cold. Plainly proved also, from that Atomick Philosophy, (which the Epicurean Atheists so much pretend to,) That there is a Higher Faculty of the Soul, which Judges of Sense, detests the Phantasm thereof, resolves Sensible Things into Intelligible Principles, &c. No Passion able to make a Judgement, either of it self, or of other things. The Confounded Democritus himself, sometimes acknowledged Sense to be but Seeming and Phantasy, and not to reach to the Absolute Truth and Reality of Things. He therefore Exploded Qualities out of the Rank of Entities, because Unintelligible; concluding them to be but our Own Phantasms. Undeniably Evident, that we have Idea's, Notions, and Thoughts, of many things that never were in Sense, and whereof we have no Genuine Phantasms. Atheists attend not to their own Cogitations. That Opinion, That there is Nothing in the Understanding which was not before in Sense, False and Atheistick. Men having a Notion of a Perfect Understanding Being, the Cause of all things, as the Object of their Devotion; the Atheists notwithstanding, would here Perswade them that they have none, and that the thing is a Non-Entity, meerly because they have no Sensible Idea, or Phantasm thereof. And so may

they as well prove, not onely Reason and Understanding, Appetite and Volition, to be Non-Entities; but also Phancy and Sense it self, neither of these falling under Sense, but onely the Objects of them. Were God indeed Corporeal, as some mistaken Theists suppose, yet his Essence chiefly consisting in Mind and Understanding, this of him could not possibly be Subject to Sense. But that there is also Substance Incorporeal, which therefore in its own Nature is Insensible, and that the Deity is such, will be elsewhere Demonstrated.

Page 634, 637

Though the Evidence of Singular Bodies Existing, depend upon the Information of Sense; yet the Certainty of this very Evidence, not from Sense alone, but a Complication of Reason and Understanding with it. Sense Phantastical, not reaching to the Absolute Truth of things; and obnoxious to Delusion. Our own Imaginations, taken for Sensations and Realities, in Sleep, and by Melancholized persons when awake. Atomick Atheists themselves, assert the Existence of such things as they have no Sense of; Atoms, Membranes, or Exuvius Images of Bodies, nay Incorporeal Space. If the Existence of Nothing, to be acknowledged, which falls not under Sense, then not the Existence of Soul and Mind. God the Great Mind, that Rules the whole Universe; whence our Imperfect Minds derived. The Existence of that God, whom no Eye can see, Demonstrated by Reason from his Effects.

637, 638

The Second Atheistick Pretence against the Idea of God, and his Existence; from Theists own acknowledging Him to be Incomprehensible; from whence they infer him to be a Non-Entity. Here perhaps it may be Granted, in a right Sense, that whatsoever is altogether Unconceivable, is either in It self, or at least to Us, Nothing. How that of Protagoras, That Every man is the measure of all things to himself, in his Sense false. Whatsoever any man's shallow understanding cannot clearly comprehend, not therefore to be presently expunged out of the Catalogue of Beings. Nevertheless according to Aristotle, the Soul and Mind in a manner All things. This a Crystalline Globe, or Notional World, that hath some Image in it of whatsoever is contained in the Real Globe of Being.

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But this Absolutely False; That whatsoever cannot be fully Comprehended by us, is therefore utterly Unconceivable, and consequently Nothing. For we cannot fully Comprehend Our selves, nor have such an Adequate Conception of any Substance, as perfectly to Master and Conquer the same. That of the Scepticks so far True, That there is Something Incomprehensible in the Essence of Every thing; even of Body it self.

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self. Truth Bigger then our Minds. Proper to God Almighty, (who alone is wise) perfectly to Comprehend the Essences of all things. But it follows not from hence, that therefore we have no Idea nor Conception at all of any thing. We may have a Notion or Idea of a Perfect Being, though we cannot fully Comprehend the same by Our Imperfect Minds; as we may See and Touch a Mountain, though we cannot Enclasp it all round within our Arms. This therefore a False Theorem of the Atheists, That whatsoever cannot be fully Comprehended by Mens Imperfect Understandings, is an Absolute Non-Entity. Page 638, 639

Though God more Incomprehensible then other Things, because of his Transcendent Perfection; yet hath he also more of Conceptibility: as the Sun, though dazzling our Sight, yet hath more of Visibility, also, then any other Object. The Dark Incomprehensibility of the Deity, like the Azure Obscurity of the Transparent Ether, not any thing Absolutely in it self, but onely Relative to us. 639, 640

This Incomprehensibility of the Deity so far from being an Argument against its Existence, that certain, on the Contrary, were there Nothing Incomprehensible to our Imperfect Minds, there could be no God. Everything Apprehended by some Internal Congruity. The Scantness and Imperfection of our Narrow Understandings, must needs make them Asymmetrall or Incommensurate, to what Absolutely Perfect. 640

Nature it self Intimates, That there is Something Vastly Bigger then our Mind and Thoughts, by those Passions Implanted in us, of Devout Veneration, Adoration, and Admiration, with Ecstasie and Pleasing Horrour. That of the Deity which cannot enter into the Narrow Vessels of our Minds, must be otherwise apprehended, by their being Plunged into it, or Swallowed up and Lost in it. We have a Notion or Conception of a Perfect Being, though we cannot fully Comprehend the same; because our selves being Imperfect, must needs be Incommensurate thereunto. Thus no Reason at all, in the Second Atheistick Pretence, against the Idea of God, and his Existence; from his Confessed Incomprehensibility. *ibid.*

The Third follows, That Infinity, supposed to be Essentiall to the Deity, is a thing Perfectly Unconceivable, and therefore an Impossibility, and Non-Entity. Some Passages of a Modern Writer to this purpose. The meaning of them. That there is Nothing of Philosophick Truth in the Idea or Attributes of God, nor any other Sense in the words, then onely to signify the Veneration and Astonishment of mens own Minds. That the word Infinite, signifies Nothing in the Thing it self so called, but

onely the Inability of our Understandings, and Admiration. And since God by Theists is denied to be Finite, but cannot be Infinite, therefore an Unconceivable Nothing. Thus another Learned Well-willer to Atheism, That we have no Idea of Infinite, and therefore not of God. Which in the Language of Atheists, all one as to say, that He is a Non-Entity. Page 640, 641

Answer. This Argument, That there can be nothing Infinite, and therefore no God; proper to the Modern and Neoterick Atheists onely; but Repugnant to the Sense of the Ancients. Anaximander's *ἄπειρον* Infinite Matter, though Melissus his *ἄπειρον* the True Deity. Formerly both Theists and Atheists agreed in this; That there must be Something or other Infinite, either an Infinite Mind, or Infinite Matter. The ancient Atheists also asserted, a Numericall Infinity of Worlds. Thus do Atheists Confute or Contradict Atheists. 641, 642

That the Modern Atheists do no less Contradict Plain Reason also, and their very Selves, then they do their Predecessours, when they would disprove a God from hence, Because there can be Nothing Infinite. For First, Certain, that there was something or other Infinite in Duration, or Eternal without Beginning: Because, If there had been once Nothing, there could never have been Any thing. But hardly any Atheists can be so Sottish, as in good earnest to think there was once Nothing at all, but afterward Senseless Matter Happened to Be. Notorious Impudence in them, who assert the Eternity of Matter, to make this an Argument against the Existence of a God; Because Infinite Duration without Beginning, an Impossibility. 642, 643

A Concession to the Atheists of these Two Things; That we neither have a Phantasm of any Infinite, because there was never any in Sense; and that Infinity is not fully Comprehensible by Finite Understandings neither. But since, Mathematically Certain, That there was something Infinite in Duration, Demonstrated from hence, against Atheists, That there is Something Really Existing, which we have neither any Phantasm of, nor yet can fully Comprehend in our Minds. *ibid.*

Further Granted, That as for Infinity of Number, Magnitude, and Time without beginning; as we have no Phantasm nor full Comprehension of them, so have we neither any Intelligible Idea, Notion or Conception: From whence it may be Concluded, That they are Non-Entities. Number Infinite in Aristotle, onely in a Negative Sense, because we can never come to an End thereof by Addition. For which very Reason also, there cannot possibly be any Number Positively Infinite, since One or More may

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always be Added. No Magnitude so Great neither, but that a Greater may be Supposed. By Infinite Space, to be Understood, Nothing but a Possibility of more and more Body, further and further Infinitely, by Divine Power; or that the World could never be made so Great, as that God was not able to make it still Greater. This Potential Infinity, or Indefinity of Body, seems to be mistaken, for an Actual Infinity of Space. Lastly, no Infinity of Time Past, because then there must needs be Time Past, which never was Present. An Argument of a Modern Writer. Reason therefore Concludes, neither the World nor Time, to have been Infinite in Past Duration. Page 643, 644

Here will the Atheist think he has got a Great Advantage, for disproving the Existence of a God; They who thus take away the Eternity of the World, taking away also the Eternity of a God. As if God could not be Eternal otherwise, then by a Successive Flux of Infinite Time. But we say, that this affordeth a Demonstration of a God; Because since both the World and Time had a Beginning; there must of necessity be Something, whose Duration is not Successive, but Permanent, which was the Creatour of them both. Wherefore the Atheists can here onely make Grimaces, and Quibble upon Nunc-Stans; as if this Standing Eternity of the Deity, were nothing but a Pitifull Moment of Time Standing still; and as if all Duration must needs be the same with ours, &c. 644, 645

Concluded, That Infinite and Eternal, are not Words which signify Nothing in the thing it self, but onely the Idle Progress of our Minds, or our own Ignorance, Stupid Astonishment, and Veneration: not meer Attributes of Honour and Complement, but Attributes belonging to the Deity, (and that alone) of the most Philosophick Truth. And though we have no Adequate Comprehension thereof, yet must we have some Notion of that, which we can Demonstrate to belong to Something. 645, 646

But the Thing which the Atheists Principally Quarrel with, is Infinite Power, or Omnipotence; which they pretend also to be utterly Unconceivable, and Impossible, and a Name of Nothing. Where indeed our Modern Atheists have the joint Suffrage of the Ancients also, who concerned themselves in Nothing more, then Disproving Omnipotence, or Infinite Power. ib.

This Omnipotence, either Wilfully or Ignorantly Misrepresented by Atheists, as if it were a Power of doing things Contradictious. An Irony of a Modern Atheist; That God could turn a Tree into a Syllogism. The Absurd Doctrine of Cartelius; That God could have made I twice two, not to have been Four; or the

Three Angles of a Triangle, not to be Equal to two Right. This to make one Attribute of the Deity Devour and Destroy another; Infinite Will and Power, Infinite Understanding and Wisdom. To suppose God to Understand and be Wise, onely by Will, Really to give him no Understanding at all. God not so Omnipotent, as that he can destroy the Intelligible Natures of things; which were to Baffle and Befool his own Wisdom. Infinite Power, That which can doe all that is Possible; that is, Conceivable, or Implies no Contradiction. The very Essence of Possibility, Conceptibility. And thus all the Ancient Theists. Absurd for Atheists to say, that a Power of doing Nothing but what is Conceivable, is Unconceivable. ibid. 646

But because Atheists look upon Infinity as such a Mormo, we shall take off the Vizard from it; by declaring, That it is Really nothing else but Perfection. Infinite Understanding and Knowledge, Perfect Understanding without any Defect, and the Knowledge of all things Knowable. Infinite Power, Perfect Power; or a Power of doing all things Possible. Infinite Duration, Perfection of Essence. Because Infinity, Perfection; therefore Nothing which includeth any thing of Imperfection in the Essence of it, can be truly and properly Infinite; as Number, Magnitude, and Time: all which can but Counterfeit Infinity. Nothing One way Infinite, which is not so Every way, or a Perfect Being. 647, 648

Now, That we have an Idea of Perfection, plain from that of Imperfection. Perfection First in Order of Nature, as the Rule and Measure. This not the want of Imperfection, but Imperfection the want of Perfection. A Scale or Ladder of Perfections in Nature, Perceived by means of that Idea, which we have of a Being Absolutely Perfect, the Measure of them. Without which, we could not take notice of Imperfection, in the most Perfect of all those things which we ever had Sense of. Boëtius; That whatsoever is Imperfect in any kind, Implies something in that kind Perfect, from whence it was derived. And that the Nature of things took not Beginning, from any thing Incomplete and Imperfect; but descended downward, from what was Absolutely Perfect, by steps and degrees, Lower and Lower. 648

Wherefore since Infinite, the same with Perfect; we having a Notion of the Latter, must needs have of the Former. And though the Word Infinite be Negative, yet is the Sense Positive. Finite the Negation of Infinite, as which in order of Nature is before it; and not Infinite of Finite. However, in things Un capable of True Infinity; Infinity being here a meer

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Imaginary thing and Non-Entity, can be only conceived by the Negation of Finite, as Nothing is, by the Negation of Something. An Infinite Being, Nothing but a Perfect Being, such as never Was Not, and could produce all things Possible, or Conceivable. Page 648, 649

The Fourth Atheistick Pretence against the Idea of God; That it is an Arbitrary Complement of Contradictious Notions. Where First we deny not, but that as some Religio-nists Extend the Divine Power to things Contradictious, so may others compound Contradictions together in the Nature of the Deity. But it does not follow from thence, that Theology it self is therefore Contradictious, no more then that Philosophy is so, because some Philosophers also hold Contradictious things: Or that Nothing is Absolutely True, neither in Divinity, nor Philosophy, but all Seeming, and Phantastical; according to the Protagorean Doctrine. 649, 650

But though it be True, That whatsoever really Implies a Contradiction, is a Non-Entity; yet is this Rule Obnoxious to much Abuse, when whatsoever mens shallow Understandings cannot reach to, is therefore presently cried down by them, as an Impossibility or Nothing. As when the Atheists, and Materialists, explode Incorporeal Substance upon this Pretence; or make it only an Attribute of Honour, expressing the Veneration of Mens Minds, but signifying Nothing in Nature, nor having any Philosophick Truth. But the Atheists true meaning in this Objection, and what kind of Contradictions they are, which they impute to all Theology, may appear from a Passage of a Modern Writer: Namely, such as these; when God is said to Perceive Sensible Things, and yet to have no Organs of Sense; as also to Understand, and yet to have no Brains. The Un-disguised meaning of the Writer, That Religion is not Philosophy, but Law, and all meer Arbitrary Constitution; nor God a Subject of Philosophy, as all Real Things are; he being no True Inhabitant of the World or Heaven, but only of mens Brains and Phancies; and his Attributes signifying neither True nor False, nor any thing in Nature, but only mens Reverence and Devotion, towards what they Fear. And so may any thing be said of God, no matter what, so it be agreeable to Civil Law. But when men mistake Attributes of Honour, for Attributes of Philosophick Truth; that is, when they will suppose such a thing as a God Really to Exist; then is all Absurd Nonsense and Contradiction. God's Understanding without Brains, no Contradiction. 650, 651

Certain, That no Simple Idea, as of a Triangle, or a Square, can be Contradictious to it

self; much less can the Idea of a Perfect Being, the most Simple of all. This indeed Pregnant of many Attributes, which if Contradictious, would render the whole a Non-Entity; but all the Genuine Attributes of the Deity, as Demonstrable of a Perfect Being, as the Properties of a Triangle, or a Square; and therefore can neither be Contradictious to it, nor one another. Page 652

Nay, the Genuine Attributes of the Deity, not only not Contradictious, but also all necessarily Connected together. *ibid.*

In Truth, All the Attributes of the Deity, but so many Partial and Inadequate Conceptions of One and the Same Perfect Being, taken into our Minds, as it were, by Piece-meal. *ibid.*

The Idea of God, neither Fictitious, nor Factitious. Nothing Arbitrary in it; but a most Natural and Simple Idea, to which not the Least can be Added, nor any thing Detracted from it. Nevertheless, may there be different Apprehensions concerning God; every one that hath a Notion of a Perfect Being, not Understanding all that Belongeth to it; no more then of a Triangle, or of a Sphæar. *ibid.* 653

Concluded therefore, That the Attributes of God, No Confounded Non-sense of Religiously Astonished Minds, budding up together all Imaginable Attributes of Honour, Courtship, and Complement; but the Attributes of Necessary Philosophick Truth: and such as do not only speak the Devotion of mens Hearts, but also declare the Real Nature of the thing. Here the Wit of a Modern Atheistick Writer, ill placed. (Though no doubt, but some, either out of Superstition, or Ignorance, may Attribute such things to the Deity, as are Incongruous to its Nature.) Thus the Fourth Atheistick Pretence, against the Idea of God, Confuted. 653, 654

In the next place, The Atheists think themselves concerned, to give an Account of this Unquestionable Phænomenon; the General Persuasion of the Existence of a God, in the Minds of men, and their Propensity to Religion; whence this should come, if there were no Real Object for it in Nature. And this they would doe by Imputing it, partly to the Confounded Nonsense of Astonished Minds, and partly to the Imposture of Politicians. Or else to these Three Things; To Mens Fear; and to their Ignorance of Causes; and to the Fiction of Law-Makers and Civil Sovereigns. 654

The First of these Atheistick Origins of Religion; That Mankind by reason of their Natural Imbecillity, are in continual Solicitude and Fear concerning Future Events, and their Good and Evil Fortune. And this Passion of Fear raises

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raises up in them for an Object to it self, a most Affrightfull Phantasm; of An Invisible Understanding Being, Omnipotent, &c. They afterwards Standing in awe of this their own Imagination, and Tremblingly Worshipping the Creature of their own Fear and Phancy.

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The Second Atheistick Origin of Theism and Religion; That Men having a Naturall Curiosity, to Enquire into the Causes of things, wheresoever they can discover no Visible and Naturall Causes, are prone to Feign Causes Invisible and Supernatural. As Anaxagoras said, never to have betaken himself to a God, but onely when he was at a loss for Necessary Materiall Causes. Wherefore no wonder if the Generality of Mankind, being Ignorant of the Causes of all or most Things, have betaken themselves to a God, as to a Refuge and Sanctuary for their Ignorance. 654, 655

These two Accounts of the Phænomenon of Religion; from mens Fear and Solitude and from their Ignorance of Causes and Curiosity; Joyned together by a Modern Writer. As if the Deity were but a Mormo or Bugbear, raised up by mens Fear, in the Darknes of their Ignorance of Causes. The Opinion of other Ghosts and Spirits also, deduced from the same Originall. Mens taking things Casuall for Prognosticks, and being so addicted to Omens, Portents, Prophecies, &c. From a Phantastick and Timorous Supposition, That the things of the World are not disposed of by Nature, but by some Understanding Person. 655

But lest these Two Accounts of the Phænomenon of Religion, should prove Insufficient; the Atheists superadde a Third, Imputing it also to the Fiction and Imposture of Civill Sovereigns; who perceiving an advantage to be made from hence, for the better keeping men in Subjection, have thereupon Dextrously laid hold of mens Fear and Ignorance; and Cherished those Seeds of Religion in them, from the Infirmities of their Nature: Confirming their Belief of Ghosts and Spirits, Miracles, Prodigies, and Oracles, by Tales, publicly Allowed and Recommended. And that Religion might be every way Obsequious to their Designs; have perswaded the People, that Themselves were but the Interpreters of the Gods, from whom they Received their Laws. Religion an Engin of State; to keep men busily Employed; Entertain their Minds; render them Tame and Gentle, apt for Subjection and Society. 655, 656

All this not the Invention of Modern Atheists. But an Old Atheistick Cabbal; That the Gods made by Fear. Lucretius; That the Causes of Religion, Terrour of Mind and Darknes: and that the Empire of the Gods owes all its

Being to mens Ignorance of Causes, as also, that the Opinion of Ghosts proceeded from mens not knowing how to distinguish their Dreams, & other Frightfull Phancies, from Sensations. 656, 657

An Old Atheistick Surmize also; That Religion a Political Invention. Thus Cicero. The Atheists in Plato, That the Gods are not by Nature, but by Art and Laws onely. Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens, his Poem to this purpose. 657, 658

That the Folly and Falseness of these Three Atheistick Pretences, for the Origin of Religion, will be fully Manifested. First, As to that of Fear and Phancy. Such an Excess of Fear, as makes any one constantly Believe the Existence of that, for which no manner of Ground, neither in Sense nor Reason, highly tending also to his own Disquiet; Nothing less then Distraction. Wherefore, the generality of mankind here affirmed by Atheists, to be Frighted out of their Wits, and Distempered in their brains; onely a few of themselves, who have escaped this Panick Terrour, remaining Sober or in their Right Senses. The Sobriety of Atheists, nothing but Dull Stupidity, and Dead Incredulity; they Believing onely what they can See or Feel. 658

True, That there is a Religious Fear, Consequent upon the Belief of a God; as also that the Sense of a Deity, is often awakened in mens Minds, by their Fears and Dangers. But Religion no Creature of Fear. None lesse Solicitous about their Good and Evill Fortune, then the Pious and Vertuous, who place not their Chief Happiness in things Aliene, but onely in the Right Use of their own Will. Whereas the Good of Atheists, wholly in things Obnoxious to Fortune. The Timorous Complexion of Atheists; from building all their Politicks and Justice upon the Foundation of Fear. 658, 659

The Atheists Grand Errour here; That the Deity, according to the generall Sense of Mankind, Nothing but a Terriculum, a Formidable, Hurtfull and Undesirable thing. Whereas men every where agree, in that Divine Attribute of Goodness and Benignity. *ibid.*

Φοβὸς τὸ Δαίμονιον, in the worst Sense, taken by none but a few Ill-natured Men; painting out the Deity according to their own Likeness. This condemned by Aristotle in the Poets, (he calling them therefore Liars) by Plutarch in Herodotus, as spoken Universally; Plutarch himself restraining the Sense thereof to his Evill Principle. Plato's ascribing the World to the Divine Goodness: who therefore made all things most like Himself. The true meaning of this Proverb; That the Deity affecteth to Humble and Abase the Pride of men. Lucretius his Hidden Force, that bath as it were a Spite to all Over swelling Greatnesses; could be no other then the Deity. Those

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amongst Christians, who make the worst Representation of God, yet Phansy him Kind and Gracious to Themselves. Page 659, 660

True, that Religion often expressed by the Fear of God. Fear, Prima Mensura Deitatis, the First Impression that Religion makes upon men in this Lapsed State. But this not a Fear of God, as Mischievous and Hurtfull, nor yet as a meer Arbitrary Being, but as Just, and an Impartial Punisher of Wickedness. Lucretius his acknowledging, mens Fear of God to be conjoynd with a Conscience of Duty. A Naturall Discrimination of Good and Evill, with a Sense of an Impartial Justice, presiding over the World, and both Rewarding and Punishing. The Fear of God, as either a Hurtfull, or Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Being, (which must needs be joyned with something of Hatred) not Religion, but Superstition. Fear, Faith, and Love; Three Steps and Degrees of Religion, to the Son of Sirach. Faith better Defined in Scripture, then by any Scholasticks. God such a Being, as if he were not, Nothing more to be Wished for. 660, 661

The Reason why Atheists thus mistake the Notion of God, as a Thing onely to be Feared, and consequently Hated; from their own Ill Nature and Vice. The latter disposing them so much to think, that there is no Difference of Good and Evill by Nature, but onely by Law; which Law Contrary to Nature, as Restraint to Liberty. Hence their denying all Naturall Charity, and Acknowledging no Benevolence, or Good Will, but what arises from Imbecillity, Indigency, and Fear. Their Friendship at best no other, then Mercatura Utilitatum. Wherefore if there were an Omnipotent Deity, this (according to the Atheistick Hypothesis) could not have so much, as that Spurious Love or Benevolence to any thing, because standing in Need of Nothing, and Devoid of Fear. Thus Cotta in Cicero. All this asserted also, by a late Pretender to Politicks; He adding thereunto, that God hath no other Right of Commanding, then his Irresistible Power: nor men any Obligation to obey him, but onely from their Imbecillity and Fear, or because they cannot Resist him. Thus do Atheists Transform the Deity into a Monstrous Shape; an Omnipotent Being that hath neither Benevolence nor Justice in him. This indeed a Mormo or Bugbear. 661, 662

But as this a false Representation of Theism; so the Atheistick Scene of things, most Uncomfortable, Hopeless, and Dismall; upon severall Accounts. True, that no Spightfull Designs

in Senseless Atoms; in which Regard, Plutarch Preferred, even this Atheistick Hypothesis, before that of an Omnipotent Mischievous Being. However, no Faith, nor Hope neither, in Senseless Atoms. Epicurus his Confession, that it was better to believe the Fable of the Gods, then that Materiall Necessity of all things, asserted by the other Atheistick Physiologers, before himself. But he not at all mending the Matter, by his supposed Free Will. The Panick Fear of the Epicureans, of the Frame of Heaven's Cracking, and this Complement of Atoms being dissolved into a Chaos. Atheists running from Fear, plunge themselves into Fear. Atheism, rather then Theism, from the Imposture of Fear, Distrust, and Disbelief of Good. But Vice afterwards prevailing in them, makes them Desire, there should be No God. Page 663, 664

Thus the Atheists, who derive the Origin of Religion from Fear, First put an Affrightfull Vizard upon the Deity, and then conclude it to be but a Mormo or Bugbear, the Creature of Fear and Phancy. More likely of the Two, that the Opinion of a God, sprung from Hope of Good, then Fear of Evill; but neither of these True, it owing its Being to the Imposture of no Passion, but supported by the Strongest and clearest Reason. Nevertheless a Naturall Prolepsis, or Anticipation of a God also, in mens Minds, Preventing Reason. This called by Plato and Aristotle, a Vaticination. 664, 665

The Second Atheistick Pretence, to salve the Phænomenon of Religion, from the Ignorance of Causes, and mens innate Curiosity, (Upon which Account the Deity said by them, to be nothing but an Asylum of Ignorance, or the Sanctuary of Fools,) next to be Confuted. 665

That the Atheists, both Modern and Ancient, here commonly Complicate these Two together, Fear, and Ignorance of Causes; making Theism the Spawn of both: as the Fear of Children in the Dark, raises Bugbears and Spectres. Epicurus his Reason, why he took such great pains in the Study of Physiology; that by finding out the Naturall Causes of things, he might free men from the Terrour of a God, that would otherwise Assault their Minds. *ibid.*

The Atheists thus Dabbling in Physiology, and finding out Materiall Causes for some of those Phænomena, which the unskilfull Vulgar salve onely from a Deity; therefore Confident, that Religion had no other Originall, then this Ignorance of Causes: as also, that Nature, or Matter,

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Matter, does all things alone without a God. But we shall make it manifest, That Philosophy and the True Knowledge of Causes Lead to a Deity; and that Atheism; from Ignorance of Causes, and want of Philosophy. Page 665, 666

For First, No Atheist, who derives all from Senseless Matter, can possibly assign any Cause of Himself, his own Soul or Mind: it being Impossible, that Life and Sense should be Naturally produced, from what Dead and Senseless; or from Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Motions. An Atheistick Objection, nothing to the purpose; That Laughing and Crying things are made out of Not-Laughing and Crying Principles: because these result from the Mechanism of the Body. The Hylozoists never able neither, to produce Animal Sense, and Consciousness, out of what Senseless and Inconscius. The Atheists, supposing their own Life and Understanding, and all the Wisdom that is in the World, to have sprung, meerly from Senseless Matter, and Fortuitous Motion; Grossely Ignorant of Causes. The Philosophy of Our Selves, and True Knowledge of the Cause of our own Soul and Mind, brings to God. Page 666, 667

Again, Atheists Ignorant of the Cause of Motion, by which they suppose all things done: this Phenomenon being no way Salvable, according to their Principles. First, undeniably certain, That Motion not Essential to all Body or Matter as such, because then there could have been no Mundane System, no Sun, Moon, Earth, &c. All things being continually Torn in Pieces, and Nothing Cohering. Certain also, That Dead and Senseless Matter, such as that of Anaximander, Democritus, and Epicurus, cannot Move it self Spontaneously, by Will or Appetite. The Hylozoists further considered elsewhere. Democritus could assign no other Cause of Motion, than this, That one Body moved another from Eternity Infinitely; without any First Cause or Mover. Thus also a Modern Writer. To Assert an Infinite Progress in the Causes of Motion, according to Aristotle, to assign no Cause thereof at all. Epicurus, though an Exploder of Qualities, forced here to fly to an Occult Quality, of Gravity. Which, as Absurd in Infinite Space, and without any Centre of Rest; so indeed nothing but to make his own Ignorance, and He Knows not Why, to be a Cause. The Motion of Body, from the Activity of something Incorporeal. Though Motion taken for Translation, be a Mode of Matter; yet as it is taken for the Vis Movens, a Mode, or Energy, of something that is Incorporeal, and Self-Active. The Motion of the whole Corporeal Universe, Originally from the Deity. Thus the Ignorance of the Cause of

Motion, another Ground of Atheism. Page 667
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Thirdly, The Atheists also Ignorant of the Cause of that Grand Phænomenon, the $\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, the Regular and Artificial Frame of the Mundane System, and of the Bodies of Animals; together with the Harmony of all. They who boast they can give Causes of all things, without a God, able to give no Cause of this, but one, that it Happened by Chance so to be. This, either to make the Absence of a Cause, a Cause; (Chance being but the Absence of an Intending Cause) or their Own very Ignorance of the Cause, and They Know not Why, to be a Cause; or to make One Contrary, the Cause of Another; (Confusion of Order and Harmony, Chance of Art and Skill,) or Lastly, to deny it to have any Cause at all, since they deny an Intending Cause. 669

But here the Atheists make several Pretences, for this their Ignorance. First, That the World is not so Well Made, but that it might have been much Better; and many Flaws to be found therein: whereas a God, or Perfect Being, would have Bungled in Nothing, but have made all things after the Best manner. But this a Twelfth Atheistick Argumentation, and the Confutation thereof to be expected afterwards. Reasons why some Modern Theists give Atheists so much advantage here, as to acknowledge Things be Ill Made; whilst the Ancient Pagan Theists stood their Ground, and generously maintained, that Mind being the Maker of all things, and not Blind Fortune or Chance, nor Arbitrary Will, and Irrational Humane Omnipotent; the $\tau\omicron\ \beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, That which is Absolutely the Best, in order to the Good of the Whole, (so far as the Necessity of things would admit) the Measure and Rule of Nature, and Providence. 669, 670

Again, the Atomick and Epicurean Atheists Pretend, That though many things serve for Uses, yet it does not therefore follow, that they were made Intentionally for those Uses; because things that Happen by Chance, may have Uses Consequent. Thus Lucretius, and the old Atheistick Philosophers before Aristotle, of the Parts of the Bodies of Animals, and all other things. The Answer, That when things consist of many Parts, all Artificially Proportioned together, with much Curiosity, as for example the Eye; no man who considers the Anatomy thereof, and its whole Structure, can reasonably conclude, that it Happened so to be made; and the Use of Seeing Followed: but that it was made Intentionally for the Use of Seeing. But to maintain, that not onely Eyes Happened to be so made, and the Use of Seeing Followed, but also Ears, and a Mouth, and Feet, and Hands, and

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and all the other parts Organical and Similar, (without any of which, the Whole would be Inept or Useless) all their several Uses, Un-Intended, following; Gross Insensibility, and Stupidity. Galen of the Use of Parts. Page 671, 672

Democritus his Dotages; Countenanced also by Cartesius His Book of Meteors, (first written with design to Salve all those Phænomena without a God,) but Unsuccessfully. Nevertheless we acknowledge, That God and Nature doe all things in the most Frugal and Compendious way; and that the Mechanick Powers are taken in, so far as they will serviceably comply with the Intellectual Platform. But Nature not Mechanical and Fortuitous onely, but also Vital and Artificial; the Archeus of the whole World. ibid.

Again, Atheists further Pretend, That though it may well seem strange, that Matter Fortuitously Moved, should, at the very First, fall into such a Regularity and Harmony, as is now in the World; yet not at all strange, that Atoms, moving from all Eternity, and making all manner of Combinations and Contextures, and trying all Experiments, should after innumerable other Inept, and Discongruous Forms, at length fall into such a System as This. They say therefore, That the Earth, at first, brought forth divers Monstrous and Irregular Shapes of Animals; some wanting Feet, some Hands, some without a Mouth, &c. to which the Ancients added Centaurs, Scylla's, and Chimæra's; mixtly Boviform, and Homiform Animals. Though Epicurus, ashamed to own these, would seem to exclude them, but without Reason. But because we have now no such Irregular Shapes Produced out of the Earth, they say that the Reason is, because none could Continue and Propagate their kind by Generation, but onely such as Happened to be fitly made. Thus Epicurus, and the Atheists before Aristotle. They also adde hereunto, their Infinite Worlds; amongst which they Pretend, not one of a Thousand, or of Ten thousand, hath so much Regularity in it as this of ours. Lastly, they Presage likewise, that this World of ours shall not always continue such, but after a while fall into Confusion and Disorder again; and then may we have Centaurs, Scylla's, and Chimæra's as before. 672, 674

Nevertheless, because this Universal and Constant Regularity of things, for so many Ages together, is so Puzzling; they would persuade us, that the Senseless Atoms, Playing and Toying up and down, from Eternity, without any Care or Thought; were at length Taught, by the Necessity of things, and driven to a kind of Trade or Habit of Artificialness and Methodicalness. 674, 675

To all which Atheistick Pretences Replied.

First, That this an Idle Dream, or Impudent Forgery, That there was once an Inept Mundane System; and in this World of ours all manner of Irregular Shapes of Animals: not onely because no Tradition of any such thing; but also because no Reason possibly to be given, why such should not be Produced out of the Earth still, though they could not Continue long. That also Another Atheistick Dream, That in this World of ours, all will quickly fall into Confusion and Nonsense again. And as their Infinite Worlds, an Impossibility, so their Assertion of the Irregularity of the supposed other Worlds, well enough Answered, by a Contrary Assertion; That were every Planet a Habitable Earth, and every Fixed Star, a Sun, having all more or fewer such Habitable Planets moving round about them, and none of them Desert or Un-inhabited; there would not be found so much as one Ridiculous or Inept System amongst them all; the Divine Act being Infinite. Page 675

Again, That the Fortuitous Motions of Senseless Atoms, should in length of Time grow Artificial, and contract a Habit or Trade of Acting as Regularly, as if directed by perfect Art and Wisedome; This Atheistick Fanaticism. 675, 676

No more Possible, That Dead and Senseless Matter, Fortuitously Moved, should at length be Taught, and Necessitated by it self, to produce this Artificial System of the World; then that a dozen or more Persons, unskilled in Musick, and striking the Strings as it Happened, should at length be Taught, and Necessitated to fall into Exquisite Harmony; Or that the Letters in the Writings of Plato and Aristotle, though having so much Philosophick Sense, should have been all Scribbled at randome. More Philosophy in the Great Volume of the World, then in all Aristotle's and Plato's Works; and more of Harmony, then in any Artificial Composition of Vocall Musick. That the Divine Art and Wisedom, hath printed such a Signature of it self upon the Matter of the Whole World, as Fortune and Chance could never Counterfeit. 676, 677

But in the next place, the Atheists will for all this undertake to Demonstrate, That things could not Possibly be made by any Intending Cause, for Ends and Uses; as Eyes for Seeing, Ears for Hearing; from hence, Because things were all in Order of Time, as well as Nature, before their Uses. This Argument seriously propounded by Lucretius in this manner; If Eyes were made for the Use of Seeing, then, of necessity, must Seeing have been before Eyes; But there was no Seeing before Eyes; Therefore could not Eyes be made for the sake of Seeing. 677, 678
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Evident, that the Logick of these Atheists, differs from that of all other Mortalls; according to which, the End for which any thing is designedly made, is onely in Intention First, but in Execution Last. True, that Men are Commonly excited, from Experience of things, and Sense of their Wants, to Excogitate Means and Remedies: but it doth not therefore follow, that the Maker of the World could not have a Preventive Knowledge of whatsoever would be Usefull for Animals, and so make them Bodies Intentionally for those Uses. That Argument ought to be thus framed: Whatsoever is made Intentionally for any End, as the Eye for that of Seeing; that End must needs be in the Knowledge and Intention of the Maker, before the Actual Existence of that which is made for it; But there could be no Knowledge of Seeing before there were Eyes; Therefore Eyes could not be made Intentionally for the sake of Seeing. Page 678

This the True Scope of the Premised Atheistick Argument, however disguised by them in the first Propounding. The Ground thereof, Because they take it for granted, That all Knowledge is derived from Sense, or from the Things Known, Pre-Existing without the Knower. And here does Lucretius Triumph. The Controversy therefore at last resolved into this; Whether all Knowledge be in its own Nature, Junior to Things; for if so, it must be Granted, that the World could not be Made by any Antecedent Knowledge. But this afterwards fully Confuted; and Proved, That Knowledge is not, in its own Nature, Ectypall, but Archetypall; and that Knowledge was Older then the World, and the Maker thereof. 679

But Atheists will Except against the Proving of a God, from the Regular and Artificiall frame of things; That it is unreasonable to think, there should be no Cause in Nature, for the Common Phænomena thereof; but a God thus Introduced to salve them. Which also, to suppose the world Bungled and Botcht up. That Nature is the Cause of Naturall things, Which Nature doth not Intend, nor Act for Ends. Wherefore the Opinion of Finall Causality for things in Nature, but an Idolum Specûs. Therefore rightly banished, by Democritus, out of Physiology. 679, 680

The Answer: Two Extremitis here to be avoided, One of the Atomick Atheists, who derive all things from the Fortuitous Motion of Senseless Matter; Another of Bigoticall Religionists, who will have God to doe all things Himself Immediately, without any Nature. The Middle betwixt both, That there is not onely a Mechanicall and Fortuitous, but also an Arti-

ficiall Nature, Subservient to the Deity, as the Manuary Opificer, and Drudging Executioner thereof. True, that some Philosophers have absurdly attributed their own Properties or Animal Idiopathies to Inanimate Bodies. Nevertheless, this no Idol of the Cave or Den, to suppose the System of the World to have been framed by an Understanding Being, according to whose Direction, Nature, though not it self Intending, Acteth. Balbus his Description of this Artificiall Nature in Cicero. That there could be no Mind in us, were there none in the Universe. That of Aristotle True, That there is more of Art in some things of Nature, then in any thing Made by Men. Now the Causes of Artificiall things, as a House or Clock, cannot be declared, without Intention for Ends. This Excellently pursued by Aristotle. No more can the Things of Nature be rightly Understood, or the Causes of them fully Assigned, meerly from Matter and Motion, without Intention or Mind. They who banish Finall or Mentall Causality from Philosophy, look upon the Things of Nature, with no other Eyes then Oxen and Horses. Some pitifull Attempts of the Ancient Atheists, to salve the Phænomena of Animals, without Mentall Causality. Democritus and Epicurus so cautious, as never to pretend, to give an Account of the Formation of the Foetus. Aristotle's Judgement here to be Preferred before that of Democritus. Page 680, 683

But nothing more Strange, then that these Atheists should be justified in this their Ignorance, by Professed Theists and Christians; who Atomizing likewise, in their Physiology, contend that this whole Mundane Sytem, resulted onely from the Necessary and Unguided Motion of Matter, either Turned Round in a Vortex, or jumbled in a Chaos, without the Direction of any Mind. These Mechanick Theists more Immodest then the Atomick Atheists themselves; they supposing these their Atoms, though Fortuitously moved, yet never to have produced any Inept System, or Incongruous Forms; but from the very first, all along, to have Ranged themselves so Orderly, as that they could not have done it better, had they been directed by a Perfect Mind. They quite take away that Argument for a God, from the Phænomena, and that Artificiall Frame of things, leaving onely some Metaphysicall Arguments; which though never so good, yet by reason of their Subtlety, cannot doe so much Execution. The Atheists Gratiſied to see the Cause of Theism thus betrayed, by its professed Friends; and the Grand Argument for the same, totally Slurred by them. 683, 684

As this, Great Insensibility of Mind, to look upon the Things of Nature with no other Eyes then

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then Brute Animals do; so are there Sundry Phænomena, partly Above the Mechanick Powers, and partly Contrary to the same, which therefore can never be Salv'd, without Mentall and Finall Causality. As in Animals, the Motion of the Diaphragma in Respiration; the Systole and Diastole of the Heart (Being a Muscular Constriction and Relaxation) To which might be added others in the Macrocosm: as the Interfection of the Planes of the Equator and Ecliptick; or the Earth's Diurnall Motion upon an Axis not Parallell with that of its Annual. Cartesius his Confession, that according to Mechanick Principles, these should continually come nearer and nearer together; which since they have not done, Finall or Mentall Causality here to be acknowledged; and because it was Best it should be so. But the Greatest Phænomenon of this kind, the Formation and Organization of Animals; which these Mechanicks never able to give any Account of. Of that Posthumous Piece of Cartesius, De la Formation Du Fœtus. Page 684, 685

Pretended, That to assign Finall Causes, is to presume our selves to be as Wise as God Almighty, or to be Privy to his Counsell. But the Question, not Whether we can always reach to the Ends of God Almighty, or know what is Absolutely Best in every Case, and accordingly Conclude things therefore to be so; but Whether anything in the World be made for Ends, otherwise then would have resulted from the Fortuitous Motion of Matter. No Presumption, nor Intrusion into the Secrets of God Almighty, to say, that Eyes were made by him Intentionally for the sake of Seeing. Anaxagoras his Absurd Aphorism, That Man was therefore the most Solert of all Animals, because he Chanced to have Hands. Far more Reasonable to think, (as Aristotle concludeth) That because Man was the wisest of all Animals, therefore he had Hands given him. More proper to give Pipes, to one that hath Musick skill, then upon him that hath Pipes, to bestow Musick skill. 685

In the Last place, The Mechanick Theists Pretend, and that with some more plausibility, That it is below the Dignity of God Almighty, to perform all those Mean and Triviall Offices of Nature, Himself Immediately. This Answered again; That though the Divine Wisdom, it self Contrived the System of the whole, for Ends; yet is there an Artificial Nature under him, as his Inferiour Minister and Executioner. Proclus his Description hereof. This Nature to Proclus, a God or Goddess; but onely as the Bodies of the Animated Stars were called Gods, because the Statues of the Gods. 685, 686

That we cannot otherwise Conclude, concerning

these Mechanick Theists, who derive all things in the Mundane System, from the Necessary Motions of Senseless Matter, without the Direction of any Mind or God; but that they are Imperfect Theists, or have a certain Tang of the Atheistick Enthusiasm, (the Spirit of Infidelity) hanging about them. Page 687

But these Mechanick Theists Counterbalanc'd by another sort of Atheists, not Fortuitous nor Mechanick; namely the Hylozoists; who acknowledge the works of Nature to be the works of Understanding, and deride Democritus his Rough and Hooky Atoms, devoid of Life; they attributing Life to all Matter as such, and concluding the Vulgar Notion of a God, to be but an Inadequate Conception of Matter, its Energetick Nature being taken alone by it self as a Compleat Substance. These Hylozoists, never able to satisfy that Phænomenon, of the One Agreeing and Conspiring Harmony throughout the whole Universe: every Atom of Matter, according to them, being a Distinct Perceptient; and these Unable to confer Notions with One another. 687

Nor can the other Cosmo-Plastick Atheists (to whom the whole World, but one Huge Plant or Vegetable, Endued with a Spermatick, Artificial Nature, Orderly disposing the whole, without Sense or Understanding,) doe anything towards the Salving of This, or any other Phænomena: it being Impossible, That there should be any such Regular Nature, otherwise then as Derived from, and Depending on, a Perfect Mind. ibid.

Besides these Three Phænomena, of Cogitation, Motion, and the Artificial Frame of things, with the Conspiring Harmony of the Whole, (no way Salvable by Atheists) Here further Added, That those who asserted the Novity of the World, could not possibly give an Account neither, of the First Beginning of Men, and other Animals, not now Generated out of Putrefaction. Aristotle sometimes doubtful and staggering concerning the World's Eternity. Men and all other Animals not produced at first by Chance, either as Worms out of Putrefaction, or out of Eggs, or Wombs, growing out of the Earth; Because no Reason to be given, why Chance should not as well produce the same out of the Earth still. Epicurus his vain Pretence, that the Earth, as a Child-bearing Woman, was now grown Effete and Barren. Moreover, Men and Animals, whether first Generated out of Putrefaction, or excluded out of Wombs or Egge-shells, supposed by these Atheists themselves, to have been produced in a Fender, Infant-like State, so that they could neither supply themselves with nourishment, nor defend themselves from harms. A Dream of Epicurus, That

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That the Earth sent forth streams of Milk after those her New-born Infants and Nurslings; Confuted by Critolaus in Philo. Another Precarious Supposition or Figment of Epicurus; That then no immoderate Heats nor Colds, nor any blustering Winds. Anaximander's way of Salving this Difficulty; That Men were first generated and nourished in the bellies of Fishes, till able to shift for themselves; and then disgorged upon dry land. Atheists swallow any thing, rather than a God. Page 688, 689

Wherefore here being Dignus Vindice Nodus, a $\Theta\delta\varsigma$ $\Sigma\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\iota\varsigma$, Reasonably introduced, in the Mosaick Cabbala, to solve the same. It appearing, from all Circumstances put together, that this whole Phænomenon surpasses, not onely the Mechanick, but also the Plastick Powers; there being much of Discretion therein. However, not denied, but that the Ministry of Spirits (Created before Man, and other Terrestrial Animals) might be here made use of. As in Plato, after the Creation of Immortal Souls, by the Supreme God, the Framing of Mortal Bodies is committed to Junior Gods. 689, 690

Furthermore, Atheists no more able to solve that ordinary Phænomenon, of the Conservation of Species, by the Difference of Sexes, and a due Proportion of Number, kept up between Males and Females. Here a Providence also, Superiour, as well to the Plastick, as Mechanick Nature. ibid.

Lastly, Other Phænomena, as Real, though not Physical; which Atheists cannot possibly Salve, and therefore do commonly Deny; as of Natural Justice or Honesty, and Obligation; the Foundation of Politicks, and the Mathematicks of Religion. And of Liberty of Will, not onely That of Fortuitous Self-determination, when an equal Eligibility of Objects; but also That which makes men deserve Commendation and Blame. These not commonly distinguished, as they Ought. Epicurus his endeavour to Salve Liberty of Will, from Atoms Declining Uncertainly from the Perpendicular, meer Madness and Frenzy. 690, 691

And now have we already Preventively Confuted the Third Atheistick Pretence, to Salve the Phænomenon of Theism, from the Fiction and Imposture of Politicians; we having proved, That Philosophy, and the true Knowledge of Causes, inferre the Existence of a God. Nevertheless this to be here further Answered. 691

That States-men and Politicians could not have made such use of Religion, as sometimes they have done, had it been a meer Cheat and Figment of their own. Civil Sovereigns in all the distant places of the World, could not have so universally conspired, in this one Piece of

State-craft or Cozenage: nor yet have been able, to possess the Minds of men every-where with such a constant Awe and Dread of an Invisible Nothing. The World would long since have discovered this Cheat, and suspected a Plot upon their Liberty, in the Fiction of a God; at least Governours themselves would have understood it; many of which notwithstanding as much awed with the Fear of this Invisible Nothing, as any Others. Other Cheats and Juggles, when once Detected, no longer Practised. But Religion now as much in Credit as ever, though so long since Decried by Atheists, for a Political Cheat. That Christianity, a Religion Founded in no Humane Policy, prevailed over the Craft and Power of all Civill Sovereigns, and Conquered the Persecuting World, by suffering Deaths and Martyrdoms. This Pre-signified by the Prophetick Spirit. Page 691,

Had the Idea of God, been an Arbitrarious Figment, not conceivable, how men should have universally agreed in the same, and the Attributes belonging thereunto: (This Argument used by Sextus:) Nor that Civil Sovereigns themselves should so universally have jumped in it. 692, 693

Furthermore; Not Conceivable, how this Thought or Idea of a God should have been Formed by any, had it been the Idea of Nothing. The Superficialness of Atheists, in Pretending, that Politicians, by telling men of Such a thing, put the Idea into their Minds. No Notions, or Idea's, put into mens minds by Words, but onely the Phantasms of the Sounds. Though all Learning be not Remembrance; yet is all Humane Teaching, but Maieutical or Obstetricious; not the Filling of the Soul as a Vessel, by Pouring into it from without; but the Kindling of it from within. Words signifie nothing, to him that cannot raise up within himself the Notions, or Idea's, correspondent to them. However, the Difficulty still remains; How States-men themselves, or the first Inventer of this Cheat, could have framed any Notion at all of a Non-Entity. 693, 694

Here the Atheists Pretend, That there is a Feigning Power in the Soul, whereby it can make Idea's and Conceptions of Non-Entities; as of a Golden Mountain, or a Centaur: and that by this, an Idea of God might be framed, though there be no such Thing. Answer; That all the Feigning Power of the Soul, consisteth onely in Compounding Idea's of things, that Really Exist Apart, but not in that Conjunction. The Mind cannot make any New Conceptive Cogitation, which was not Before; as the Painter or Limner cannot Feign Colours. Moreover the whole of these Fictitious Idea's, though it have no Actual, yet

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hath it a Possible Entity. The Deity it Self, though it could Create a World out of Nothing, yet can it not Create more Cogitation or Conception, then Is, or was always contained in its own Mind from Eternity; nor frame a Positive Idea of that, which hath no Possible Entity. Page 694, 695

The Idea of God, no Compilement or Aggregation of things, that Exist Severally, apart in the World; because then it would be a meer Arbitrarious thing, and what Everyone Pleas'd; the contrary wherunto hath been before manifested. 695

Again; Some Attributes of the Deity, nowhere else to be found in the whole World; and therefore must be Absolute Non-Entities, were there no God. Here the Painter must Feign Colours, and Create New Cogitation, out of Nothing. ibid.

Lastly; Upon Supposition, That there is no God, it is Impossible not onely, that there should be any for the Future, but also, that there should ever have been any; whereas all Fictitious Idea's must have a Possible Entity, since otherwise they would be Unconceivable, and No Idea's. ibid.

Wherefore some Atheists will further Pretend; That besides this Power of Compounding things together, the Soul hath another Ampliating, or Amplifying Power; by both which together, though there be no God Existing, nor yet Possible; the Idea of him might be Fictitiously Made: those Attributes which are nowhere else to be found, arising by way of Amplification or Augmentation of Something found in Men. 695, 696

Answer; First, That according to the Principles of these Atheists, that all our Conceptions are nothing but Passions from Objects without; there cannot Possibly be any such Amplifying Power in the Soul, whereby it could make More then Is. Thus Protagoras in Plato; No man can Conceive any thing, but what he suffers. Here also, (as Sextus Intimateth,) the Atheists guilty of that Fallacy, called a Circle or Diallelus. For having First undiscernedly made the Idea of Imperfection, from Perfection; they then goe about again, to make the Idea of Perfection, out of Imperfection. That men have a Notion of Perfection, by which, as a Rule, they Judge things to be Imperfect; Evident from that Direction given by all Theologers, To Conceive of God, in way of Remotion or Abstraction of all Imperfection. Lastly, Finite Things added together, can never make up Infinite; as more and more Time backward, can never teach to Eternity without Beginning. God differs from Imperfect things, not in Degree, but Kind. As for Infinite Space, said to consist of Parts Finite; we certain of no more

then this, that the Finite World might have been made Bigger and Bigger Infinitely; for which very Cause, it could never be Actually Infinite. Gassendus his Objection, That the Idea of an Infinite God, might as well be Feigned, as that of Infinite Worlds. But Infinite Worlds, are but Words or Notions ill Put together, or Combined; Infinity being a Real Thing in Nature, but Misapplied, it being Proper onely to the Deity. Page 696, 697

The Conclusion; That since the Soul can neither Make the Idea of Infinite, by Amplification of Finite; nor Feign or Create any New Cogitation, which was not before; nor make a Positive Idea, of a Non-Entity; certain, that the Idea of God, no Fictitious Thing. 697

Further made Evident, That Religion not the Figment of Civil Sovereigns. Obligation in Conscience, the Foundation of all Civil Right and Authority. Covenants without this, Nothing but Words and Breath. Obligation, not from Laws neither; but before them; or otherwise they could not Oblige. Lastly, This derived, not from Utility neither. Were Obligation to Civil Obedience Made by mens Private Utility, then could it be Dissolved by the Same. Wherefore if Religion, a Fiction or Imposture; Civil Sovereignty must needs be so too. 697, 698

Had Religion been a Fiction of Politicians, they would then have made it every way Pliable, and Flexible; since otherwise it would not Serve their Turn, nor consist with their Infinite Right. 698

But Religion in its own Nature, a Stiff, Inflexible thing, as also Justice, it being not Facitious, or Made by Will. There may therefore be a Contradiction, betwixt the Laws of God, and of Men; and in this case does Religion conclude, That God ought to be Obeyed, rather then Men. For this Cause, Atheitick Politicians of Latter times, declare against Religion as Inconsistent with Civil Sovereignty; It destroying Infinite Right, Introducing Private Judgment, or Conscience, and a Fear Greater then that of the Leviathan; to wit, of him who can Inflict Eternal Punishments. Senseless Matter the Atheists Natural God; the Leviathan or Civil Sovereign, his Artificial One. Religion thus disowned and disclaimed by Politicians, as Inconsistent with Civil Power, could not be the Creature of Political Art. Thus all the Three Atheitick Pretences, to Salve the Phænomenon of Religion; from Fear, Ignorance of Causes, and Fiction of Politicians; fully Confuted. 698, 700

But because, besides those Ordinary Phænomena, before mentioned, there are certain other Extraordinary ones, that cannot be Salved by Atheists,

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Atheists, which therefore they will impute, Partly to Mens Fear and Ignorance, and Partly to the Fiction and Imposition of Civil Governours, (viz. Apparitions, Miracles, and Prophecies;) the Reality of these, here also to be briefly Vindicated. Page 700

First, as for Apparitions; Though much of Fabulosity in these Relations, yet unquestionably something of Truth. Atheists imputing these things to mens mistaking their Dreams and Phancies for Sensations, Contradict their own Fundamental Principle, That Sense is the onely Criterion of Truth; as also Derogate more from Humane Testimony, then they ought. *ibid.*

That some Atheists Sensible hereof, have acknowledged the Reality of Apparitions, concluding them nevertheless to be the Meer Creatures of Imagination; as if a Strong Phancy could produce Real Substances, or Objects of Sense. The Fanaticism of Atheists, who will rather Believe the greatest Impossibilities, then endanger the Being of a God. Invisible Ghosts Permanent, easily introduce One Supreme Ghost of the whole World. 700, 701

Democritus yet further Convinced; That there were Invisible Beings Superiour to Men, Independent upon Imagination, and Permanent; (called by him Idols) but having nothing Immortal in them; and therefore that a God could be no more proved from the Existence of them, then of Men. Granted by him, that there were, not onely Terrestrial, but also Aerial and Ætherial Animals; and that all those Vast Regions of the Universe above, were not Desert and Uninhabited. Here something of the Fathers, asserting Angels to have Bodies: but more afterwards. 701, 702

To this Phænomenon of Apparitions, may be added those Two others, of Witches and Demoniacks; both of these proving, That Spirits are not Phancies, nor Inhabitants of mens Brains onely, but of the World: as also, That there are some Impure Spirits, a Confirmation of the Truth of Christianity. The Confident Exploders of Witchcraft, suspicious for Atheism. As for Demoniacks or Energumeni, certain from Josephus, That the Jews did not take these Demons or Devils, for Bodily Diseases; but Real Substances, possessing the Bodies of Men. Nor probable, that they supposed, as the Gnosticks afterward, all Diseases to be the Infestation of Evil Spirits; nor yet, (as some think) all Demoniacks to be Mad-men. But when there were any Unusual and Extraordinary Symptoms, in any Bodily Distemper, but especially that of Madness, they supposing this to be Supernatural, imputed it to the Infestation of some Devil. Thus also the Greeks. 702, 704

That Demoniacks and Energumeni, are a Real Phænomenon; and that there are such also in these Times of ours, Asserted by Fernelius and Sennertus. Such Maniacal Persons, as not onely discover Secrets, but also speak Languages, which they had never learnt, Unquestionably Demoniacks or Energumeni. That there have been such in the Times since our Saviour, proved out of Pfellus; as also from Fernelius. This for the Vindication of Christianity, against those who suspect the Scripture-Demoniacks for Figments. Page 704, 706

The Second Extraordinary Phænomenon Proposed; That of Miracles, and Effects Supernatural. That there have been such things amongst the Pagans, and since the Times of Christianity too; Evident from their Records. But more Instances of these in Scripture. 706

Two Sorts of Miracles. First, Such as, though they cannot be done by Ordinary Causes, yet may be effected by the Natural Power of Invisible Spirits, Angels, or Demons. As Illiterate Demoniacks, speaking Greek. Such amongst the Pagans that Miracle of the Whetstone, cut in two with a Razor. Secondly, Such as transcend the Natural Power of all Second Causes, and Created Beings. 706, 707

That late Politico-Theological Treatise, denying both these Sorts of Miracles; Inconsiderable, and not deserving here a Confutation. 707

Supposed in Deut. That Miracles of the Former sort, might be done by False Prophets, in Confirmation of Idolatry. Wherefore Miracles alone, not sufficient to confirm every Doctrine. *ibid.*

Accordingly in the New Testament do we read, of Τέταρα Ψεύδους Lying Miracles; that is, Miracles done in Confirmation of a Lie, and by the Power of Satan, &c. God permitting it, in way of Probation of some, and Punishment of others. Miracles done for the promoting of Creature-Worship or Idolatry, instead of Justifying the same, themselves Condemned by it. 708

Had the Miracles of our Saviour been all of the Former Kind onely, yet ought the Jews, according to Moses Law, to have acknowledged him for a True Prophet, he coming in the Name of the Lord, and not Exhorting to Idolatry. Supposed in Deut. That God would not Permit False Prophets to doe Miracles, save onely in the Case of Idolatry; or when the Doctrine is discoverable to be False by the Light of Nature; because that would be an Invincible Temptation. Our Saviour, That Eximious Prophet foretold, by whom God would again reveal his Will to the World; and no more out of Flaming Fire. Nevertheless some Miracles of our Saviour

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Christ's such also, as could be done onely by the Power of God Almighty. Page 708, 709

All Miracles evince Spirits; to disbelieve which is, to disbelieve Sense, or Unreasonably to Derogate from Humane Testimony. Had the Gentiles entertained the Faith of Christ, without Miracles, This it self would have been a Great Miracle. 709

The Last Extraordinary Phænomenon, Divination or Prophecy. This also evinces Spirits, (called Gods by the Pagans:) and thus that of theirs True; If Divination, then Gods. 710

Two Sorts of Predictions likewise, as of Miracles. First, such as might proceed from the Natural Presageing Power of Created Spirits. Such Predictions acknowledged by Democritus, upon account of his Idols. Not so much Contingency in Humane Actions, by reason of Mens Liberty of Will, as some suppose. 710, 711

Another Sort of Predictions of Future Events, Imputable onely to the Supernatural Prescience of God Almighty. Epicurus his Pretence, That Divination took away Liberty of Will; either as Supposing, or Making a Necessity. Some Theists also denying the Prescience of God Almighty, upon the same Account. Certain, That no Created Being can foreknow Future Events, otherwise then in their Causes. Wherefore Predictions of such Events, as had no Necessary Antecedent Causes, Evince a God. 711, 712

That there is Foreknowledge of Future Events, Unforeknowable to Men; formerly the general Perswasion of Mankind. Oracles and Predictions amongst the Pagans, which Evince Spirits; as that of Actius Navius. Most of the Pagan Oracles, from the Natural Presageing Power of Demons. Nevertheless some Instances of Predictions of a higher kind amongst them; as that of Vectius Valens, and the Sibyls. Thus Balaam, Divinely assisted to Predict our Saviour. 712, 713

Scriptures Triumphant over Pagan Oracles. Predictions concerning our Saviour Christ, and the Conversion of the Gentiles. Amongst which that remarkable one, of the Seventy Weeks. 713, 714

Other Predictions concerning the Fates of Kingdoms, and of the Church. Daniel's Fourth Ten-Horned Beast, the Roman Empire. This Prophecy of Daniel's, carried on further in the Apocalyps. Both of them Prophetick Calendars of Times, to the End of the World. *ibid.*

That this Phænomenon of Scripture-Prophecies, cannot Possibly be Imputed by Atheists, as some others, to Fear, or Ignorance of Causes, or to the Fiction of Politicians. They not onely

Evince a Deity, but also the Truth of Christianity. To this Purpose, of more Use to us, who now live, then the Miracles themselves Recorded in Scripture. Page 714, 715

These Five Extraordinary Phænomena, all of them evince, Spirits to be no Fancies, but Substantiall Inhabitants of the World; from whence a God may be Inferred. Some of them, Immediately prove a Deity. *ibid.*

Here have we not onely fully Confuted all the Atheistick Pretences from the Idea of God, but also by the way, already Proposed several Substantiall Arguments for a Deity. The Existence whereof will now be further proved from its very Idea. *ibid.*

True, That some of the Ancient Theists themselves, Declare God Not to be Demonstrable. Thus Alexander Aphrodis. Clemens Alexand. But their meaning therein no more then this, That God cannot be Demonstrated à Priori, from any Antecedent Necessary Cause. Not follow from hence, That therefore no Certainty, or Knowledge of the Existence of a God; but onely Conjectural Probability, Faith, and Opinion. We may have a Certain Knowledge of things, the *don* whereof cannot be Demonstrated à Priori; as, That there was Something or other Eternal, without Beginning. Whenssoever a thing is Necessarily Inferred, from what is altogether Undeniable, this may be called a Demonstration. Many Geometrical Demonstrations such; or of the *on* onely. 715, 716

A Sceptical Position of Cartesius; That there can be no Certainty of any thing, no not of Geometrical Theorems, nor Common Notions; before we be Certain of the Existence of a God, Essentially Good, who therefore cannot Deceive. From whence it would follow, That neither Atheists, nor such Theists, as assert an Arbitrary Deity, can ever be certain of any thing; as That, Two and Two are Four. 716, 717

However some appearance of Piety in this Assertion; yet is it a Foundation of Eternal Scepticism, both as to all other things, and the Existence of a God. That Cartesius here went Round in a Circle, proving the Existence of a God, from our Faculties; and then the Truth of our Faculties, from the Existence of a God; and consequently Proved nothing. If it be possible, that our Faculties might be False, then must we confess it possible, that there may be no God; and Consequently remain for ever Sceptical about it. *ibid.*

Wherefore a Necessity of Exploding and Confuting this New Sceptical Hypothesis, of the Possibility of our Faculties being so made, as to Deceive us, in all our Clearest Perceptions. Omnipotence it self cannot make any thing to be Indifferently True or False. Truth not Factitious. *At*

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As to the Universal Theorems of Abstract Science, the Measure of Truth, no Forreign or Extraneous thing, but onely our own Clear and Distinct Perception. Here whatsoever is Clearly Perceived, Is. The very Essence of Truth, Perceptibility. Granted by all, That there can be no False Knowledge or Understanding. The Perception of the Understanding, never False, but onely Obscure. Not Nature that Erreth in us, but We Our selves, in Assenting to things not Clearly Perceived. Conclusion; That Omnipotence cannot Create any Understanding Faculties, so as to have as Clear and Distinct Conceptions of all Fallhoods and Non-Entities, as of Truths: because whatsoever is Clearly and Distinctly Perceived, hath therefore an Entity; and Omnipotence it self (to speak with Reverence) cannot make Nothing, to be Something, or Something Nothing. This no more, then That it cannot doe Things Contradictious. Conception the Measure of Power. Page 717, 719

True, That Sense as such, is but Phantastical and Relative: and were there no other Perception, all Truth would be Private, Relative, and Seeming; none Absolute. This probably the Reason, why some have suspected the same of Knowledge also. But Mind and Understanding reaches beyond Phancy and Appearance, to the Absoluteness of Things. It hath the Criterion of Truth within it self. 719, 720

Objected; That this an Arrogance, for Creatures to Pretend to an Absolute Certainty of any thing. Answer; That God alone is Ignorant of Nothing, and Infallible in All things: but no Derogation from the Deity, to suppose, that he should make Created Minds such, as to have a Certainty of Something; as the Whole to be Greater then the Part, and the like: since otherwise they would be but a meer Mockery. Congruous to think, that God hath made Men so, as that they may Possibly attain to some Certainty of his own Existence. Origen, That Knowledge is the onely thing that hath Certainty in it. 720, 721

Having now some Firm Ground or Footing to stand upon; a Certainty of Common Notions, without which nothing could be proved by Reason; we shall endeavour by means hereof, to Demonstrate the Existence of a God from his Idea. *ibid.*

Cartesius his Undertaking to doe this with Mathematical Evidence; as this Idea includeth in it Necessary Existence. This Argument hitherto not so Successful, it being by many concluded to be a Sophism. That we shall impartially set down all that we can, both For it, and Against it; leaving others to make a Judgment. 721

First, Against the Cartesian Demonstration of

a God. That because we can frame an Idea of a Necessarily Existent Being, it does not at all follow, that It Is; since we can frame Idea's of things, that Never Were, nor Will be. Nothing to be gathered from hence, but onely that it is Not Impossible. Again, from this Idea, Including Necessary Existence, nothing else Inferrible, but That, what hath no Necessary Existence, is not Perfect; and, That if there be a Perfect Being, its Existence always was, and will be Necessary: but not Absolutely, That it doth Exist. A Fallacy, when from the Necessity of Existence affirmed onely Hypothetically, the Conclusion is made Absolutely. Though a Perfect Being, Must Exist Necessarily; yet not therefore follow, that it Must and Doth Exist. The Latter a thing Indemonstrable. Page 721,

723

For the Cartesian Demonstration of a God. As from the Notion of a thing Impossible, we conclude, That it never Was nor Will be; and of that which hath a Contingent Schesis to Existence, That it Might be, or Might not be; so from that which hath Necessary Existence in its Nature, That it Actually Is. The force of the Argumentation, not meerly Hypotheticall, If there be a Perfect Being, then is its Existence Necessary; because this supposes, that a Necessary Existent Being, is Contingent to be, or not to be: which a Contradiction. The Absurdity of this will better appear, if instead of Necessary Existence, we put in Actuell. No Theists can otherwise prove, that a God, though supposed to Exist, might not Happen by Chance to Be. Nevertheless God, or a Perfect Being, not here Demonstrated à Priori, when from its own Idea. The Reader left to make a Judgment.

723, 724

A Progymnasma, or Prælufory Attempt, towards the proving of a God from his Idea, as including Necessary Existence. First, From our having an Idea of a Perfect Being, Implying no manner of Contradiction in it, it follows, that such a thing is Possible. And from that Necessary Existence Included in this Idea, added to the Possibility thereof, it further follows, that it Actually Is. A Necessary Existent Being, if Possible, Is; because upon the supposition of its Non-Existence, it would be Impossible for it, ever to have been. Not so in Contingent things. A Perfect Being, is either Impossible to have Been, or else it Is. Were God Possible, and yet Not, He would not be a Necessary, but Contingent Being. However no Strefs laid upon this.

724, 725

Another Plainer Argument, for the Existence of a God, from his Idea. Whatsoever we can frame an Idea of in our Minds, implying no Contradiction, this either Actually Is, or else

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if it Be Not, is Possible to Be. But if God Be Not, he is not Possible to Be. Therefore He Is. The Major before Proved, That we cannot have an Idea of any thing, which hath neither Actuell nor Possible Existence. Page 725

A Further Ratiocination from the Idea of God, as including Necessary Existence, by certain Steps. First, Certain, that something or other did Exist of It self from Eternity, without Beginning. Again, Whatsoever did Exist of It self from Eternity, did so Exist Naturally and Necessarily, and therefore there is a Necessary Existent Being. Thirdly, Nothing could Exist of It self from Eternity Naturally and Necessarily, but what contained Necessary Self-Existence in its Nature. Lastly, A Perfect Being, and nothing else, containeth Necessary Existence in its Nature. Therefore It Is. An Appendix to this Argument; That no Temporary Successive Being, could be from Eternity without Beginning. This Proved before. 725, 726

Again, The Controversie betwixt Atheists and Theists, First Clearly Stated from the Idea of God, and then Satisfactorily Decided. Premised; That as every thing was not Made, so neither was every thing Unmade. Atheists agree in both. The State of the Controversie betwixt Theists and Atheists; Whether that which being it self Unmade, was the Cause of all other things Made, were the Most Perfect, or the Most Imperfect Being. A certain kind of Atheistick Theism, or Theogonism, which acknowledging a God, or Soul of the World, presiding over the Whole, supposed him notwithstanding, to have Emerged out of Night and Chaos; that is, to have been Generated out of Senseless Matter. 726, 728

The Controversie thus Stated, easily Decided. Certain, That Lesser Perfection may be derived from Greater, or from that which is Absolutely Perfect; but Impossible, That Greater Perfection, and Higher Degrees of Entity, should rise out of Lesser and Lower. Things did not Ascend, but Descend. That Life and Sense may Naturally rise from the meer Modification of Dead and Senseless Matter; as also Reason and Understanding from Sense; the Philosophy of the Kingdom of Darkness. The Hylozoists so Sensible of this, that there must be some Substantial Unmade Life and Understanding; that Atheizing, they thought it Necessary to Attribute Life and Understanding to all Matter, as such. This Argument, a Demonstration of the Impossibility of Atheism. 728, 729

The Controversie again more Particularly Stated, from the Idea of God, as including Mind and Understanding in it. Viz. Whether

all Mind were Made or Generated out of Senseless Matter; or Whether there were an Eternal Unmade Mind, the Maker of all. This the Doctrine of Theists, That Mind the Oldest of all things; of Atheists, That it is a Postnate thing, Younger then the World, and an Umbratile Image of Real Beings. Page 729

The Controversie thus Stated, again Decided. Though it does not follow, That if once there had been no Corporeal World or Matter, there could never have been any; yet is it certain, That if once there had been no Life nor Mind, there could never have been any Life or Mind. Our Imperfect Minds, not Of Themselves from Eternity, and therefore Derived from a Perfect Unmade Mind. 729, 730

That Atheists think, their chief strength to lie here, in their Disproving a God, from the Nature of Understanding and Knowledge. According to them, Things made Knowledge, and not Knowledge Things. All Mind and Understanding, the Creature of Sensibles, and a Phantastick Image of them: and therefore no Mind their Creatour. Thus does a Modern Writer conclude, That Knowledge and Understanding is not to be Attributed to God, because it implieth Dependence upon Things without; which is all one as if he should have said, That Senseless Matter is the most Perfect of all things, and the Highest Numen. 730

A Compendious Confutation of the Premised Atheistick Principles. Knowledge not the Activity of Sensibles upon the Knower, and his Passions. Sensible things themselves, not Known by the Passion, or Phancy of Sense. Knowledge not from the Force of the Thing Known, but of the Knower. Besides Phantasms of Singular Bodies, Intelligible Idea's Universal. A late Atheistick Paradox, That Universals, nothing but Names. Axiomatical Truths in Abstract Sciences no Passion from Bodies by Sense, nor yet gathered by Induction from Many Singulars; we at once Perceiving it Impossible, that they should be otherwise. An Ingenious Observation of Aristotle's; That could it be Perceived by Sense, the Three Angles of a Triangle to be Equal to Two Right; yet would not this be Science, or Knowledge, Properly so called: which is of Universals First, and from thence descends to Singulars. 730, 732

Again; We have Conceptions of things Incorporeal, as also of such Corporeals as never did Exist, and whose Accuracy Sense could not reach to: as a Perfect straight Line, and Plain Superficies, an Exact Triangle, Circle, or Sphear. That we have a Power of framing Idea's of things that never were nor will be, but onely Possible. 732

Inferred from hence, That Humane Science is

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it self, not the meer Image and Creature of Singular Sensibles, but Proleptical to them, and in order of Nature Before them. But since there must be ΝΟΤΙΩΝ, before ΝΕΣ, Intelligibles, before Intellection; the onely true Account of Knowledge and its Original, is from a Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending it self, and the Extent of its own Power, or the Possibilities of all things, their Relations and Immutable Truths. And of this one Perfect Mind, all Imperfect Minds Partake. Page 732,

733

Knowledge therefore in the Nature of it, supposeth the Existence of a Perfect Omnipotent Being, as its ΝΟΤΙΩΝ, or Intelligible. This Comprehending it self, the First Original Knowledge, a Mind before the World, and all Sensibles, not Εἰκαστὸν, but Αρχετυπὸν, and the Framers of all. Wherefore not Atheism, but Theism, Demonstrable from Knowledge and Understanding.

733, 734

This further Confirmed from hence; Because there are Eternal Verities, such as were never Made, nor had any Beginning. That the Diagonal of a Square, Incommensurable to the Sides, an Eternal Truth to Aristotle. Justin Martyr's αἰώνια δόγματα, or Eternal Moralls, Geometrical Truths, not Made by any man's Thinking, but before all Men; as also before the World and Matter it self.

734

Now if there be Eternal Verities, the Simple Reasons and Intelligible Essences of Things, must needs be Eternal likewise. These called by Plato, Things that Always Are, but were never Made, Ingenerable and Incorruptible. However Aristotle quarrels with Plato's Idea's, yet does he also agree with him in this, That the Forms or Species of things, were Eternal, and Never Made; and that there is No Generation of them; and that there are other things besides Sensibles, the Immutable Objects of Science. Certain, That there could be no Immutable Science, were there no other Objects of the Mind, but Sensibles. The Objects of Geometrical Science, no Material Triangles, Squares, &c. These, by Aristotle, said to be No where. The Intelligible Natures of things to Philo, the most Necessary Essences.

735, 736

Now if there be Eternal Truths, and Intelligibles, whose Existence also is Necessary; since these can be no where but in a Mind; there must be an Eternal, Necessarily Existing Mind, Comprehending all these Idea's and Truths at once, or Being them. Which no other, then the Mind of a Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending it self, and all Possibilities of things, the Extent of its own Power.

736, 737

Wherefore there can be but One onely Original Mind; which all other Minds Partake

of. Hence Idea's, or Notions, exactly alike in several men; and Truths Indivisibly the Same: Because their Minds all Stamped with the same Original Seal. Themistius; That One man could not Teach Another, were there not the same Notion both in the Learner and Teacher. Nor could men confer together as they doe, were there not One Mind, that All Partaked of. That Anti-Monarchical Opinion, of Many Understanding Beings Eternal, and Independent; Confuted. And now have we not onely asserted the Idea of God, and Confuted all the Atheistick Pretences against it; but also from this Idea, Demonstrated his Existence. Page 737, 738

S E C T. II.

A Confutation of the Second Atheistick Argument, Against Omnipotence and Divine Creation; That Nothing can by any Power whatsoever, be Made out of Nothing. In Answer to which, Three things to be Insisted on. First, That De Nihilo Nihil, Nothing out of Nothing, is in some Sense an Axiome of Unquestionable Truth, but then makes Nothing against Theism, or Divine Creation. Secondly, That Nothing out of Nothing, in the Sense of the Atheistick Objectors, viz. That Nothing which once was Not, could by any Power whatsoever, be brought into Being, is Absolutely False; and that if it were True, it would make no more against Theism, then it doth against Atheism. Lastly, That from this very Axiome, Nothing from Nothing, in the True Sense thereof, the Absolute Impossibility of Atheism is Demonstrable.

738

De Nihilo Nihil, Nothing from Nothing, in some Sense, is a Common Notion of Unquestionable Truth. For First, Certain, That Nothing which once was Not, could ever Of It Self come into Being; or, That Nothing can take beginning of Existence from It self; or, That Nothing can be Made or Produced, without an Efficient Cause. From whence Demonstrated, That there was never Nothing; or, That every thing was not Made, but Something did Exist of It Self from Eternity, Unmade, or Underived from any thing else.

738, 739

Again, Certain also, That Nothing could be Efficiently Produced by what hath not at least Equal Perfection, and a Sufficient Active or Productive Power. That of an Effect, which Transcends the Perfection of its supposed Cause, must Come from Nothing, or be Made without a Cause. Nor can any thing be Produced by another, though having Equal Perfection, unless it have also a Sufficient Active or Productive

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ductive Power. Hence Certain, That were there once no Motion at all in the world, and no other Substance besides Body, which had no Self-Moving Power, there could never Possibly be any Motion or Mutation to all Eternity, for want of a Sufficient Cause, or Productive Power. No Imperfect Being, hath a Productive Power of any New Substance, which was not before, but onely of New Accidents and Modifications; that is, No Creature can Create. Which Two forementioned Senses respect the Efficient Cause.

Page 739

Thirdly, Nothing can be Materially Produced out of Nothing Præ-Existing or Inexisting. And therefore in all Natural Generations (where the Supernaturall Power of the Deity interposes not) No New Reall Entity or Substance Produced, which was not Before, but onely New Modifications of what Substantially Præ-Existed.

739, 740

Nothing out of Nothing, so much Insisted on by the old Physiologers before Aristotle, in this Sense; commonly misunderstood by Modern Writers, as if they designed thereby, to take away all Divine Creation out of Nothing Præ-Existing. Granted, This to have been the Sense of the Stoicks and of Plutarch; He affirming, the World to have been no otherwise Made by God, then a House is by a Carpenter, or a Garment by a Tailour. Plutarch and the Stoicks therefore, Imperfect Theists, but nevertheless Zealous Religionists. But the Ancient Italic Philosphers here Acted onely as Physiologers, and not as Theologers, or Metaphysicians; they not directing themselves, against a Divine Creation out of Nothing Præ-Existing; but onely contending, That neither in Naturall Generations, any new Reall Entity was Created, nor in Corruptions, Annihilated; but onely the Modifications of what before Existed, Changed: or, That No New Reall Entity could be Made out of Matter.

740, 741

That this was the True meaning of those Ancient Physiologers, Evident from the Use which they made of this Principle, Nothing out of Nothing; Which Twofold. First, Upon this Foundation, they Endeavoured to establish a Peculiar Kind of Physiology, and some Atomology or other, either Similar or Dissimilar; Homœomery or Anomœomery. Anaxagoras from hence concluded, because Nothing could be Made out of Nothing Præ-Existing and Inexisting, that therefore there were in every Body, Similar Atoms, of all Kinds, out of which, by Concretions, and Secretions, all Naturall Generations Made; so that Bone was Made out of Bony Atoms Præ-Existing and Inexisting; Flesh out of Flethy, and the like. This the Anaxagorean Homœomery, or Similar Atomolo-

gy, built upon this Princile, Nothing out of Nothing.

Page 741, 742

But the Ancient Italicks, both before and after Anaxagoras, (whom Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus here followed) with greater Sagacity concluded, from the same Principle, Nothing out of Nothing; That those Qualities and Forms of Bodies, Naturally Generated and Corrupted, were therefore no Reall Entities, distinct from the Substance of Matter, but onely Different Modifications thereof, Causing Different Phancies in us; and this an Anomœomery, or Dissimilar Atomology, the Atoms thereof being Devoid of Qualities. Those Simple Elements or Letters (in Nature's Alphabet) out of which, variously Combined, these Philosphers Spelled out, or Compounded all the Syllables and Words (or Complexions) of Corporeall Things, Nothing but Figure, Site, Motion, Rest, and Magnitude of Parts. Were Qualities and Forms, Reall Entities distinct from these, and not Præ-Existing, (as Anaxagoras dreamed) they must then have come from Nothing, in Naturall Generations; which Impossible.

742, 743

Another Improvement of this Principle, Nothing out of Nothing, made by the Italic Philosphers; That the Souls of Animals, especially Humane, since they could not Possibly result from the meer Modifications of Matter, Figure, Site, Motion, &c. were not Produced in Generations, nor Annihilated in Deaths and Corruptions; but being Substantiall things, did Præ and Post Exist. This set down as the Controversy betwixt Atheists and Theists, in Lucretius; Whether Souls were Generated, or Insinuated into Bodies. Generations and Corruptions of Animals, to these Pythagoreans, but Anagrammatical Transpositions. That those Philosphers who asserted the Præ-Existence and Ingenerability of Souls, did not therefore Suppose them to have been Self-Existent and Uncreated, but derived them all from the Deity. Thus Proclus, though maintaining the Eternity of Souls, with the World. The Ingenerability of Souls in Plato's Timæus, no more then this, that they were not Generated out of Matter: and for this Cause also, were they called Principles, in the same Sense, as Matter was so accounted. Souls therefore to Plato, Created by God, though not In the Generation of Animals, but Before.

743, 745

Saint Austine himself, Sometime Staggering and Sceptical, in the Point of Præ-Existence. That we have a Philosphick Certainty of no more then this, That Souls were Created by God, out of Nothing Præ-Existing, some time or other; either In Generations, or Before them. That unless Brutes be meer Machines, the Reason the same also, concerning Brutish Souls; That these not Generated out of Matter, but Created,

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Created, sometime or other, by the Deity; as well as the Matter of their Bodies was. Page 745

That all these Three Forementioned Particulars, wherein it is True, that Nothing can Possibly come from Nothing, are reducible to this One Generall Proposition, That Nothing can be Caused by Nothing; which will no way clash with the Divine Omnipotence or Creative Power, as shall be shewed afterwards; but Confirm the same. But those same words, Nothing out of Nothing, may carry another Sense; when that ἐξ ἑν ὄντος, Out of Nothing, is not taken Causally, but onely to signify the Terminus A Quo, the Term From which, or an Antecedent Non-Existence: and then the meaning thereof will be, That Nothing which before was Not, could afterwards, by any Power whatsoever, be brought into Being. And this the Sense of the Democritick and Epicurean Objectors; viz. That no Reall Entity can be Made, or Brought out of Non-Existence into Being; and therefore the Creative Power of Theists, an Impossibility. ibid.

Our Second Undertaking, in way of Answer hereunto; To shew That Nothing out of Nothing, in this Sense, is False; as also That, were it True, yet it would make no more against Theism, then it doth against Atheism; and therefore ought not to be used by Atheists, as an Argument against a God. If this Universally True, That Nothing at all which once was Not, could ever be brought into Being, then could there be no Making, nor Causing at all, no Motion nor Action, Mutation or Generation. But our selves have a Power of Producing New Cogitation in our Minds, and New Motion in our Bodies. Wherefore Atheists forced to restrain this Proposition, to Substantialls onely. And here some Deceived with the Equivocation, in this ἐξ ἑν ὄντος, Out of Nothing; which may be taken either Causally, or else to signify the Term From which, that is, From an Antecedent Non-Existence; they confounding both these together; whereof the First onely True, the Latter False. Again, Others Staggered with the Plausibility of this Proposition; Partly, because no Artificiall thing (as a House or Garment) can be made by Men, but out of Præ-Existing Matter; and Partly, because Ancient Physiologers maintained the same also, concerning Naturall Generations, That no New Reall Entity or Substance, could be therein Produced; and Lastly, because it is certain, that no Imperfect Created Being, can Create any New Substance: They being therefore apt to measure all Power whatsoever, by these Scantlings. But as easy, for a Perfect Being to Create a World, Matter and all, Out of Nothing, (in this Sense, that is, out of an Antecedent Non-

Existence,) as for us to Create a Thought, or to Move a Finger, or for the Sun to send out Rays. For an Imperfect Substance which once was Not, to be brought into Being by God, this not Impossible, in any of the Forementioned Senses. He having not onely Infinitely Greater Perfection, but also Sufficient Productive or Emanative Power. True, That Infinite Power cannot doe things in their own Nature Impossible; but Nothing thus Impossible, but what Contradictious: and though a Contradiction for any thing, at the same time, to Be and Not Be; yet none at all, for an Imperfect Being, (which is in its Nature Contingent to Existence) after it had Not been, to Be. Wherefore since the making of a Substance to Be, which was not Before, is no way Contradictious, nor consequently, in its own Nature Impossible; it must needs be an Object of Perfect Power. Page 746, 748

Furthermore, If no Reall Entity or Substance, could possibly be brought out of Non-Existence into Being; then must the Reason hereof be, Because no Substance can Derive its Whole Being from another Substance. But from hence, it would follow, That whatsoever is Substantiall, did not onely Exist from Eternity, but also Of It Self, Independently upon any thing else. Whereas, First, The Præ-Eternity of Temporary Beings, not agreeable to Reason: and then, To suppose Imperfect Substances, to have Existed Of Themselves and Necessarily, is to suppose Something to come from Nothing, in the Impossible Sense; they having no Necessary Self-Existence in their Nature. As they who affirm, all Substance to be Body, and no Body to be able to Move it Self, though supposing Motion to have been from Eternity; yet make this Motion to Come from Nothing, or be Caused by Nothing. What in its Nature Contingently Possible, to Be, or Not Be, could not Exist Of It Self; but must Derive its Being from Something else, which Necessarily Existeth. Plato's Distinction therefore, betwixt Two kinds of Substances, must needs be admitted, That which always Is, and was never Made; and, That which is Made, or had a Beginning. 748, 749

Lastly, If this True, that No Substance Makeable or Producibile; it would not onely follow from thence, (as the Epicurean Atheist supposes) that Matter, but also that all Souls, (at least Humane) did Exist Of Themselves, from Eternity, Independently upon any thing else; it being Impossible, that Mind or Soul, should be a Modification of Senseless Matter, or Result from Figures, Sites, Motions, and Magnitudes. Humane Souls Substantiall, and therefore, according to this Doctrine, must have been Never Made; whereas Atheists stiffly deny both their Præ, and Post-Existence. Those Pagan Theists,

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who held the Eternity of Humane Minds, supposed them notwithstanding, to have Depended upon the Deity, as their Cause. Before Proved; That there can be but One Understanding Being Self-Existent. If Humane Souls Depend upon the Deity as their Cause, then Doubtless Matter also. Page 749, 750

A Common, but Great Mistake; That no Pagan Theist ever acknowledged any Creative Power out of Nothing; or else, That God was the Cause of any Substance. Plato's Definition of Effective Power, in General, and his Affirmation, That the Divine Efficiency is that, whereby things are Made, after they had Not been. Certain, That he did not understand this, of the Production of Souls out of Matter, he supposing them to be Before Matter, and therefore Made by God out of Nothing Præ-Existing. All Philosophers, who held the Immortality and Incorporeity of the Soul, asserted it to have been Caused by God, either in Time, or from Eternity. Plutarch's Singularity here. Unquestionable, That the Platonists supposed, One Substance to receive its whole Being from Another; in that they derive their Second Hypostasis or Substance, though Eternal, from the First; and their Third from Both; and all Inferiour Ranks of Beings from all Three. Plotinus, Porphyrius, Iamblichus, Hierocles, Proclus, and Others, derived Matter from the Deity. Thus the Chaldee Oracles; and the old Egyptian, or Hermaick Theology also, according to Iamblichus. Those Platonists who supposed the World and Souls Eternal, conceived them to have received their Being, as much from the Deity, as if Made in Time. 750, 752

Having now Disproved this Proposition, Nothing out of Nothing, in the Atheistick Sense, viz. That no Substance was Caused, or Derived its Being from Another; but whatsoever is Substantial, did Exist Of It self from Eternity, Independently; we are in the next place, to make it appear also, That were it True, it would no more oppose Theism, then it doth Atheism. Fallhoods (though not Truths) may Disagree. Plutarch, the Stoicks, and Others, who made God the Creatour of no Substance, though not Genuine, yet Zealous Theists. But the Ancient Atheists, both in Plato and Aristotle, Generated and Corrupted All things; that is, Produced All things out of Nothing, or Non-Existence, and Reduced them into Nothing again; the bare Substance of Matter onely Excepted. The same done by the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists themselves, the Makers of this Objection: though, according to the Principles of their own Atomick Physiolygy, it is Impossible, that Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind, should be meer Modifications of

Matter. As Theists give a Creative Power of All, out of Nothing, to the Deity; so do Atheists, to Passive and Dead Matter. Wherefore this can be no Argument against Theism; it Equally opposing Atheism. Page 752, 756

An Anacephalæosis; wherein Observable, That Cicero makes De Nihilo fieri, and Sine Causa, To be made out of Nothing, and to be made without a Cause, One and the Self-same thing; as also that he doth not Confine this to the Material Cause onely. Our Third and Last Undertaking; To Prove that Atheists Produce Real Entities out of Nothing, in the First Impossible Sense; that is, Without a Cause. 756, 757

A Brief Synopsis of Atheism; That Matter being the onely Substance, is therefore the onely Un-made Thing; and That whatsoever else is in the World, besides the Bare Substance thereof, was Made out of Matter, or Produced from that alone. 757

The First Argument; When Atheists affirm, Matter to be the onely Substance, and all things to be Made out of that; they Suppose all to be Made without an Efficient Cause; which is to bring them from Nothing, in an Impossible Sense. Though Something may be Made, without a Material Cause Præ-Existing; yet cannot any thing Possibly be Made, without an Efficient Cause. Wherefore if there be any thing Made, which was Not before, there must of Necessity be besides Matter, some other Substance, as the Active, Efficient Cause thereof. The Atheistick Hypothesis supposes, Things to be Made, without any Active or Effective Principle. Whereas the Epicurean Atheists, Attribute the Efficiency of all to Local Motion; and yet deny Matter or Body (their onely Substance) a Self-moving Power. They hereby, make all the Motion that is in the World to have been Without a Cause, or to Come from Nothing; all Action, without an Agent; all Efficiency, without an Efficient. 758

Again; Should we grant these Atheists, Motion without a Cause; yet could not Dead and Senseless Matter, together with Motion, ever beget Life, Sense, and Understanding; because this would be Something out of Nothing, in way of Causality: Local Motion, onely Changing the Modifications of Matter, as Figure, Place, Site, and Disposition of Parts. Hence also, those Spurious Theists Confuted, who Conclude God to have done no more in the Making of the World, then a Carpenter doth in the Building of a House, (upon this Pretence, That Nothing can be made out of Nothing;) and yet suppose him, to Make Souls out of Dead and Senseless Matter, which is to bring them from Nothing, in way of Causality. 758, 759

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Declared before, That the Ancient Italicks and Pythagoricks, Proved in this manner; That Souls could not possibly be Generated out of Matter; because Nothing can come from Nothing, in way of Causality. The Subterfuge of the Atheistick Ionicks, out of Aristotle; That Matter being the onely Substance; and Life, Sense, and Understanding, Nothing but the Passions, Affections, and Dispositions thereof; the Production of them out of Matter, no Production of any new Reall Entity.

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Answer; Atheists taking it for granted, That there is no other Substance besides Body or Matter, therefore falsly conclude, Life, Sense, and Understanding, to be Accidents or Modes of Matter; they being indeed, the Modes or Attributes of Substance Incorporeal and Self-Active. A Mode, That which cannot be Conceived, without the Thing whereof it is a Mode; but Life and Cogitation may be Conceived, without Corporeal Extension; and indeed cannot be Conceived with it.

759, 760

The chief Occasion of this Error, from Qualities and Forms; as, Because the Quality of Heat, and Form of Fire, may be Generated out of Matter; therefore Life, Cogitation, and Understanding also. But the Atomick Atheists themselves, Explode Qualities, as things Really distinct from the Figure, Site, and Motion of Parts, for this very reason, Because Nothing can be made out of Nothing Causally. The Vulgar Opinion of such Real Qualities in Bodies, onely from mens mistaking their own Phancies, Apparitions, Passions, Affections, and Seemings, for things Really Existing without them. That in these Qualities, which is distinct from the Figure, Site, and Motion of Parts, not the Accidents and Modifications of Matter; but of Our own Souls. The Atomick Atheists infinitely Absurd; when exploding Qualities, because Nothing can come out of Nothing, themselves bring Life, Sense, and Understanding, out of Nothing, in way of Causality. That Opinion, That Cogitation is Nothing but Local Motion, and Men themselves meer Machines, Prodigious Sottishness, or Intolerable Impudence.

760, 762

Very Observable here, That Epicurus himself, having a Mind to assert Contingent Liberty, confesseth, that he could not doe this, unlesse there were some such thing in the Principles; because Nothing can be made out of Nothing, or Caused by Nothing: and therefore does he Ridiculously feign a Third Motion of Atoms, to salve that Phænomenon of Free-Will. Wherefore he must needs be guilty of an Impossible Production, of Something out of Nothing, when he brings Soul and Mind, out of Dead and

Senseless Atoms. Were there no Substantial and Eternal Life and Understanding in the Universe, there could none have been ever Produced; because it must have come from Nothing, or been Made without a Cause. That Dark Philosophy which Educes, not onely Real Qualities and Substantial Forms, but also Souls themselves, at least Sensitive, out of the Power of the Matter, Educes them Out of Nothing, or Makes them without a Cause; and so prepares a direct way to Atheism. Page 762,

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They who suppose Matter, otherwise then by Motion, and by a kind of Miraculous Efficiency, to Produce Souls, and Minds, attribute that Creative Power to this Senseless and Unactive Matter, which themselves deny, to a Perfect Being, as an Absolute Impossibility. Thus have we Demonstrated, the Impossibility and Nonsense of all Atheism, from this very Principle; That Nothing can be made from Nothing, or without a Sufficient Cause. 763,

764

Wherefore, If no Middle betwixt these Two; but all things must either Spring from a God, or Matter; Then is this also a Demonstration of the Truth of Theism, by Deduction to Impossible: Either there is a God, or else all things are derived from Dead and Senseless Matter; But this Latter is Impossible; Therefore a God. Nevertheless, that the Existence of a God, may be further Directly Proved also from the same Principle, rightly understood, Nothing out of Nothing Causally, or Nothing Caused by Nothing, neither Efficiently, nor Materially. 764

By these Steps; First, That there was never Nothing, but Something or other did Exist Of It Self from Eternity, Un-made, and Independently upon any thing else, Mathematically Certain; from this Principle, Nothing from Nothing. Had there been once Nothing, there could never have been Anything. Again, Whatsoever did Exist Of It Self from Eternity, must have so Existed Necessarily, and not by any Free-Will and Choice. Certain therefore, That there is Something Actually in Being, whose Existence Is, and always Was Necessary. Now that which Exists Necessarily, Of It Self, must have Necessity of Existence in its Nature; which Nothing but a Perfect Being hath. Therefore there Is a Perfect Being; and Nothing Else besides this, did Exist Of It Self from Eternity, but All other things whatsoever (whether Souls or Matter) were Made by it. To suppose any thing to Exist Of It Self Necessarily, that hath no Necessary Existence in its Nature, is to suppose that Necessary Existence to have Come from Nothing. 764, 765

764, 765

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Three

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Three Reasons, why some Theists have been so Staggering and Scepticall about the Necessary Self-Existence of Matter. First, From an Idiomatical Conceit, That because Artificial Things cannot be made by men, but Out of Præ-Existent Matter, therefore Nothing by God, or a Perfect Being, can be otherwise Made. Secondly, Because some of them have supposed ἕλην ἀσώματον, an Incorporeal Hyle, or First Matter Un-made; an Opinion Older then Aristotle. Whereas this Really Nothing, but a Metaphysical Notion of the Potentiality or Possibility of Things, respectively to the Deity. Lastly, Because some of them have conceived, Body and Space to be Really the same thing; and Space to be Positively Infinite, Eternal, and Necessarily Existent. But if Space be not the Extension of the Deity it Self, as some suppose; but of Body, onely considered Abstractly, from This or That, and therefore Immoveably; then no sufficient Ground, for the Positive Infinity, or the Indefinity thereof, as Cartesius Imagined: we being certain of no more then this, That be the World and its Space, or Extension, never so Great, yet it might be still Greater and Greater Infinitely; for which very Cause, it could never be Positively Infinite. This Possibility of more Body and Space, further and further Indefinitely, or Without End, as also its Eternity, mistaken, for Actual Space and Distance Positively Infinite and Eternal. Nor is there perhaps any such great Absurdity, in the Finiteness of Actual Space and Distance, (according to this Hypothesis,) as some conceive.

Page 765, 766

Moreover, the Existence of a God may be further proved, from this Common Notion, Nothing from Nothing Causally; not onely because were there no God, that Idea which we have of a Perfect Being, must have Come from Nothing, and be the Conception of Nothing; but also all the other Intelligible Idea's of our Minds, must have Come from Nothing likewise, they being not Derived from Sense. All Minds, and their Intelligible Idea's, by way of Participation, from One Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending it Self.

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However, Certain from this Principle, Nothing from Nothing, or Nothing Caused by Nothing; That Souls and Minds could never have Emerged out of Dead and Senseless Matter; or from Figures, Sites, and Motions: and therefore must either have all Existed Of Themselves, Necessarily from Eternity; or else be Created by the Deity, out of Nothing Præ-Existing. Concluded, That the Existence of a God is altogether as certain, as That our

Humane Souls did not all Exist from Eternity, Of themselves, Necessarily. Thus is the Second Atheistick Argumentation against Omnipotence or Divine Creation, from that False Principle, Nothing out of Nothing, in the Atheistick Sense, (which is, That Nothing could be brought out of Non-Existence into Being, or No Substance derive its Whole Being from another Substance; but all was Self-Existent from Eternity) abundantly Confuted. It having been Demonstrated, That unless there be a God, or a Perfect Omnipotent Being, and Creatour, Something must have Come from Nothing in the Impossible Sense; that is, have been Caused by Nothing, or Made without a Cause.

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S E C T. III.

THE Six following Atheistick Argumentations, driving at these Two things, (The Disproving, First of an Incorporeal, and then of a Corporeal Deity) next taken all together. In way of Answer to which, Three Things. First, To Confute the Atheistick Argumentations against an Incorporeal Deity, being the Third and Fourth. Secondly, To Shew, That from the very Principles of the Atheistick Corporealism, in their Fifth and Sixth Arguments, Incorporeal Substance is Demonstrable. And Lastly, That therefore the Two following Atheistick Arguments, (built upon the Contrary Supposition) are also Insignificant.

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Before we come to the Atheistick Arguments, against an Incorporeal Deity, Premised; That though all Corporealists be not Atheists, yet Atheists universally, meer Corporealists. Thus Plato in his Sophist; writing of those who maintained, That Nature Generated all things without the Direction of any Mind; affirmeth, That They held, Body and Substance to be One and the Self-same thing. From whence it follows, That Incorporeal Substance, is Incorporeal Body, or Contradictious Nonsense; and That whatsoever is not Body, is Nothing. He likewise addeth, That they who asserted the Soul to be a Body, but had not the Confidence, to make Prudence, and other Vertues Bodies, (or Bodily,) quite overthrew the Cause of Atheism. Aristotle also representeth the Atheistick Hypothesis thus, That there is but One Nature, Matter; and this Corporeal, (or endued with Magnitude) the onely Substance; and all other things, the Passions and Affections thereof.

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In Disproving Incorporeal Substance, some Difference amongst the Atheists themselves. First,

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First, Those who held a Vacuum, (as Epicurus and Democritus, &c.) though taking it for granted, That what is Un-extended or Devoid of Magnitude, is Nothing; yet acknowledged a Double Extended Nature; the First Impenetrable and Tangible, Body; the Second Penetrable and Intangible, Space or Vacuum; To them the Only Incorporeal. Their Argument thus; Since Nothing Incorporeal besides Space, (which can neither Doe nor Suffer any thing) therefore no Incorporeal Deity. The Answer. If Space be a Real Nature, and yet not Bodily; then must it needs be either an Affection of Incorporeal Substance; or else an Accident without a Substance. Gassendus his Officiousness here, to help the Atheists; That Space is neither Accident, nor Substance, but a Middle Nature, or Essence betwixt Both. But, whatsoever Is, must either Subsist by it Self, or else be an Attribute, Affection, or Mode of Something that Subsisteth by it Self. Space, either the Extension of Body, or of Incorporeal Substance, or of Nothing: but Nothing cannot be Extended; wherefore Space, supposed, not to be the Extension of Body, must be the Extension of an Incorporeal Substance Infinite, or the Deity; as some Theists Assert.

Page 769, 770

Epicurus his Pretended Gods, Such as could neither Touch, nor be Touched, and had not Corpus, but Quasi Corpus onely; and therefore Incorporeals distinct from Space. But Granted, that He Colluded or Juggled in this. 770

Other Atheists who denied a Vacuum, and allowed not Space to be a Nature, but a meer Imaginary thing, the Phantasm of a Body, or else Extension considered Abstractly, Argued thus. Whatsoever is Extended, is Body, or Bodily; But whatsoever Is, is Extended; Therefore whatsoever Is, is Body. 770, 771

This Argument against Incorporeal Substance, Answered Two manner of ways: Some Asserters of Incorporeal Substance denying the Minor, Whatsoever Is, is Extended; others the Major of it, Whatsoever is Extended, is Body. First, The Generality of Ancient Incorporealists really maintained, That there was Something Un-Extended, Indistant, Devoid of Quantity, and of Magnitude, Without Parts, and Indivisible. Plato, That the Soul is before Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity. He also Denies, That whatsoever is in no Place, is Nothing. Aristotle's First Immovable Mover also, Devoid of Magnitude. So likewise is Mind, or That which Understands, to him. He also denies Place, and Local Motion to the Soul, otherwise then by Accident with the Body. 771, 773

Philo's Double Substance, Distant and In-

distant. God also to him, both Every-where, (because his Powers Extend to all things) and yet No-where, as in a Place; Place being Created by him, together with Bodies. Plotinus much concerned in this Doctrine. Two Books of his upon this Subject, That One and the same Numerical thing, (viz. the Deity) may be All, or the Whole Every-where. God to him, Before all things that are in a Place; therefore Wholly Present to whatsoever Present. This would be prove also from Natural Instincts. He Asserteth likewise, That the Humane Soul is Numerically the Same, both in the Hand, and in the Foot. Simplicius his Argument for Un-Extended Substance; That whatsoever is Self-Moving, must be Indivisible and Indistant. His Affirmation, That Souls, Locally Immovable, Move the Body by Cogitation.

Page 773, 775

None more full and express in this, then Porphyrius. His Assertion, That were there such an Incorporeal Space, (as Democritus and Epicurus supposed) Mind, or God, could not be Co-Extended with it; but onely Body. The whole Deity, Indivisibly and Indistantly Present, to every Part of Divisible and Distant things. 775, 776

Thus Origen in his Against Celsus. Saint Austine, That the Humane Soul hath no Dimensions, of Length, Breadth, and Thickness, and is in it Self Illocabilis. Boëtius reckons this amongst the Common Notions, known onely to wise men, That Incorporeals are in No Place. 776

This therefore no Novel or Recent Opinion, That the Deity is not Part of it Here, and Part of it There, nor Mensurable by Yards and Poles; but the Whole Undivided, Present to every Part of the World. But because many Objections against this; we shall further Shew, how these Ancient Incorporealists endeavoured to Quit themselves of them. The First Objection; That to suppose the Deity, and other Incorporeal Substances, Un-Extended, is to make them Absolute Parvities, and so Contemptible things. Plotinus his Answer; That what is Incorporeal, not so Indivisible as a Little thing; either a Physical Minimum, or Mathematical Point; for thus God could not Congruere with the whole World, nor the Soul with the whole Body. Again, God not so Indivisible, as the Least, he being the Greatest of all, not in Magnitude, but Power. He so Indivisible, as also Infinite. This an Error proceeding from Sense and Imagination; That what Un-Extended, therefore Little. Incorporeal Substance, the Whole of which is Present to every Part of Body, therefore Greater then Body. Porphyrius to the same purpose, That God is neither to

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be look'd upon as the Least, nor as the Greatest, in a way of Magnitude. Page 776, 778

The Second Objection; That what neither Great nor Little, and possesses no Place, a Non-Entity. This according to Plato, Plotinus, and Porphyrius, a Mistake, proceeding from mens adhering to Sense and Imagination. They Grant, That an Un-Extended Being, Is ἀφάντων Un-Imaginable. Porphyrius, That Mind and Phancy are not the same, as some maintain. That which can either Doe, or Suffer, not Nothing, though it swell not out into Distance. Two Kinds of Substances to Plotinus; Bulky Tumours, and Un-bulky Active Powers. Which latter, said by Simplicius, to have nevertheless a certain Depth or Profundity in them. Something ἀφάντων Un-imaginable, even in Body it self. We cannot Possibly Imagine the Sun of such a Bigness, as Reason Evinces it to be. Urged also by Plotinus, That an Un-stretch-Out Duration, or Timeless Eternity, as difficult to be Conceived, as an Un-Extended Substance; and yet must this needs be Attributed to the Deity. 778, 781

That God and Humane Souls, no otherwise Incorporeal, then as σῶμα λεπτομερές, a Thin or Subtile Body, False. Because the Difference of Grosseness and Subtilty in Bodies, according to True Philosophy, onely from Motion. That the most Subtile Body, may possibly be made as Grosse as Lead or Iron; and the Grossest, as Subtile as Æther. No Specifick Difference of Matter. 781

The Third Argument, against Un-Extended Substance; That to be All in the Whole, and All in every Part, a Contradiction, and Impossibility. This Granted by Plotinus to be True of Bodies, or that which is Extended, That it cannot be ὅμῃ πᾶν but Impossible, that what hath no Parts, should be a Part here, and a Part there. Wherefore the word ὅλον (in that, Whole in the Whole, and Whole in every Part) to be taken onely in a Negative Sense, for μὴ μεμεστωμένον, Undivided. The Whole Undivided Deity Every-where; and not a Part of it Here onely, and a Part There. 782, 783

The Last Objection is against the Illocality and Immobility of Finite Created Spirits, and Humane Souls onely. That this not onely Absurd, but also Contrary to that Generally Received Tradition amongst Theists, of Souls Moving Locally after Death, into another Place, called Hades. Two Answers of Plotinus to this. First, That by Hades, may be meant onely the Invisible; or the Soul's Abiding without the Body. Secondly, That if by Hades, be Meant a Worser place, the Soul may be said to be there, where its Idol is. But when this same Philosopher, supposeth the Soul (in Good men)

to be separable also from this Idol, he departeth from the Genuine Cabbala of his own School. That Souls alwaies united to some Body or other. This asserted here by Porphyrius; That the Soul is never quite naked of all Body; and therefore may be said to be there, wheresoever its Body is. Page 784, 785

Some Excerptions out of Philoponus; where-in the Doctrine of the Ancients, concerning the Soul's Spirituous or Airy Body, (after Death) is Largely declared. 785, 787

Intimated here by Philoponus, That, according to some of these Ancients, the Soul hath such a Spirituous Body here in this Life, as its Interior Indument, which then adheres to it, when its Outer Garment is stript off by Death. An Opinion of some, That the Soul may in this Spirituous Body, leave its Groffer Body for some time, without Death. True, That our Soul doth not immediately Act upon Bones and Flesh; but certain Thin and Subtile Spirits, the Instruments of Sense and Motion. Of which Porphyrius thus; The Bloud is the Food of the Spirit, and the Spirit the Vehicle of the Soul. 787, 788

The same Philoponus further Addeth, That according to the Ancients, besides both the Terrestrial, and this Spirituous or Airy Body, there is yet a Third kind of Body, peculiar to such as are Souls, as are more thoroughly purged after Death; called by them a Luciform, and Heavenly, and Ætherial, and Starre-like Body. Of this Proclus also, upon the Timæus, (who affirmeth it to be Un-organized;) as likewise Hierocles. This called the Thin Vehicle of the Soul, in the Chaldee Oracles, according to Pfellus and Pletho. By Hierocles, a Spiritual Body, in a Sense agreeable to that of the Scripture: by Synelius, the Divine Body. This Distinction of Two Interior Vehicles, or Tunicles of the Soul, besides the Terrestrial Body, (called by Plato the Ostreaceous) no Invention of Latter Platonists since Christianity; it being plainly insfited upon by Virgil, though commonly not Understood. 788, 790

That many of these Platonists and Pythagoreans, supposed the Soul, in its First Creation, when Made pure by God, to be Clothed with this Luciform and Heavenly Body; which also did alwaies Inseparably adhere to it, in its After-Descents, into the Aërial and Terrestrial; though Fouled and Obscured. Thus Pletho. And the same Intimated by Galen; when he calls this, the First Vehicle of the Soul. Hence was it, that besides the Moral and Intellectual Purgation of the Soul, they recommended also, a Mystical or Telectick way of Purifying the Ætherial Vehicle, by Diet and Catharims. This much Insfited on by Hierocles. What Pliny's, Dying

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Dying By Wisdom, or the Philosophick Death. Page 790, 792

But this not the Opinion of all, That the Same Numerical Ætherial Body, always adhereth to the Soul; but onely, that it every where either Finds, or Makes a Body, suitable to it self. Thus Porphyrius. Plato also seems to have been of that Perswasion. 792, 793

This Affirmed by Hierocles, to have been the Genuine Cabbala of the Ancient Pythagoreans, which Plato afterwards followed. Hierocles his Definition of a Man, A Rational Soul together with a Cognate Immortal Body; he declaring, This enlivened Terrestrial Body, to be but the Idol or Image of the True man, or an Accession to him. This therefore the Answer of the Ancient Incorporealists, to that Objection against the Illocality and Immobility of Created Incorporeals; That these being all Naturally United to Some Body or other, may be thus said to be in a Place, and Locally Moved. And, That it does not follow, that because Created Incorporeals are Un-extended, they might therefore inform the whole Corporeal Universe. 793, 794

That it would be no Impertinent Digression here, To Compare the forementioned Pythagorick Cabbala, with the Doctrine of Christianity; and to consider their Agreement or Disagreement. First therefore, A Clear Agreement of these most Religious Philosophers with Christianity in this, That the Highest Happines, and Perfection of Humane Nature, consisteth not, in a Separate State of Souls, Un-united to any Body; as some High-flown Persons have Conceited. Thus Plotinus; who sometimes runs as much into the other Extream, in supposing Humane Souls to Animate, not onely the Bodies of Brutes, but also of Plants. Thus also Maimonides amongst the Jews; and therefore suspected for denying the Resurrection. His Igereth Teman, written purposely to purge himself of this Suspicion. The Allegorizers of the Resurrection, and of the Life to come. 794, 795

Again, Christianity Correspondeth with the Philosophick Cabbala, concerning Humane Souls, in this, That their Happines consisteth not, in Conjunction with such Gross Terrestrial Bodies, as these we now have: Scripture, as well as Philosophy, complaining of them, as a Heavy Load, and Burthen to the Soul; which therefore not to be taken up again, at the Resurrection. Such a Resurrection as this, called by Plotinus, a Resurrection to Another Sleep. The Difference betwixt the Resurrection-Body, and this Present Body, in Scripture. The Resurrection-Body of the Just, (as that of the Philosophick Cabbala) Immortal and Eter-

nal; Glorious and Lucid; Star-like and Spiritual; Heavenly and Angelical. Not this Gross Fleshly Body, Guilded and Varnished over in the outside onely, but Changed throughout. This the Resurrection of Life, in Scripture, Emphatically called The Resurrection. Our Souls, Strangers and Pilgrims in these Terrestrial Bodies: Their proper Home and Country, the Heavenly Body. That the Grossst Body that is, according to Philosophy, may meerly by Motion be brought into the Purity and Tenuity of the Finest Æther. Page 795, 799

But whether Humane Souls after Death, alwaies United to some Body, or else quite Naked from all Body, till the Resurrection; not so Explicitly determined in Christianity. Souls after Death, Live unto God. According to Origen, This a Priviledge Proper to the Deity, to Live and Act alone, without Vital Union with any Body. If Natural to the Soul, to Enliven a Body; then not probable, that it should be kept so long in an Unnatural State of Separation. 799, 800

Again; Probable from Scripture, That wicked Souls after Death, have Punishment of Sense or Pain, besides Remorse of Conscience: which not easily Conceivable How they should have, without Bodies. Thus Tertullian. He adding, That Men have the same Shape, or Effigies, after this Life, which they had here. Though indeed he drive the business too far, so as to make the Soul it self to be a Body, Figurate and Colourate. 800, 801

But Irenæus plainly supposed, the Soul after Death (being Incorporeal) to be Adapted to a Body, such as has the same Character and Figure, with its Body here in this Life. 801, 802

Origen also of this Perswasion, That Souls after Death, have certain Subtile Bodies, retaining the same Characterizing Form, which their Terrestrial Bodies had. His Opinion, That Apparitions of the Dead are from the Souls themselves, surviving, in that which is called a Luciform Body. As also that Saint Thomas did not doubt, but that the Body of a Soul departed, might appear, every way like the Former: onely he disbelieved our Saviour's appearing in the Same Solid Body, which he had before Death. 802, 804

Our Saviour telling his Disciples, That a Spirit had no Flesh and Bones, that is, no Solid Body, as himself then had; seems to Imply, them to have Thinner Bodies, which they may Visibly Appear in. Thus in Apollonius, is Touch made the Sign, to distinguish a Ghost Appearing, from a Living Man. Our Saviour's Body after his Resurrection, according to Origen,

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Origen, in a Middle State, betwixt This Gross or Solid Body of ours, and That of a Ghost.

Page 804

A place of Scripture, which as interpreted by the Fathers, would Naturally Imply, the Soul of our Saviour after Death, not to have been quite Naked of all Body, but to have had a Corporeal Spirit. Moses and Elias, Visibly appearing to our Saviour, had therefore True Bodies.

804, 805

That the Regenerate here in this Life, have a certain Earnest of their Future Inheritance, (which is, their Spiritual or Heavenly Body) Gathered from Scripture by Irenæus, and Novatian. Which Prælibations of the Spiritual Body, cannot so well consist with a Perfect Separation from all Body, after Death, till the Day of Judgement.

805, 806

This Opinion of Irenæus, Origen, and others, supposed by them, not at all to Clash with the Christian Article of the Resurrection. Nothing in this Point determined by us.

806

The Last thing in the Pythagorick Cabbala, That Demons or Angels, and indeed all Created Understanding Beings, consist, as well as Men, of Soul and Body, Incorporeal and Corporeal, United together. Thus Hierocles, Universally of all the Rational Nature; and that no Incorporeal Substance, besides the Supreme Deity, is Compleat, without the Conjunction of a Body. God the Only Incorporeal in this Sense; and not a Mundane, but Supra-Mundane Soul.

806, 808

Origen's full Agreement with this Old Pythagorick Cabbala, That Rational Creatures are neither Body, nor yet without Body; but Incorporeal Substances, having a Corporeal Indument.

808, 809

Origen misrepresented by Huetius, as asserting Angels not to Have Bodies, but to Be Bodies: whereas he plainly acknowledged the Humane Soul to be Incorporeal, and Angels also to have Souls. He proveth Incorporeal Creatures, from the Scriptures; which though themselves not Bodies, yet always Use Bodies. Whereas the Deity is neither Body, nor yet clothed with a Body, as the Proper Soul thereof.

809, 810

Some of the Fathers, so far from supposing Angels altogether Incorporeal, that they ran into the other Extream, and concluded them altogether Corporeal; that is, to be All Body, and Nothing else. The Middle betwixt both these, the Origenick and Pythagorick Hypothesis, That they consist of Incorporeal and Corporeal Substance, Soul and Body Joyned together. The Generality of the Ancient Fathers, for neither of those Extreams. That they did not suppose Angels to be perfectly Un-

bodied Spirits; Evident from their affirming Devils, as the Greek Philosophers did Demons, to be Delighted with the Nidours of Sacrifices; as having their Vapourous Bodies, or Airy Vehicles, refreshed thereby. Thus Porphyrius, and before him Celsus. Amongst the Christians, (besides Origen) Justin, Athenagoras, Tatianus, &c. S. Basil, concerning the Bodies of Demons or Devils, being Nourished with Vapours; not by Organs, but throughout their whole Substance.

Page 810, 812

Several of the Fathers plainly asserting, both Devils and Angels to consist of Soul and Body, Incorporeal and Corporeal Substance, Joyned together. Saint Austine, Claudianus, Mamertus, Fulgentius, Joannes Theffalonicensis; and Psellus, who Philosophizeth much concerning this.

812, 814

That some of the Ancients, when they called Angels Incorporeal, understood Nothing else thereby, but onely that they had not Grosse, but Subtile Bodies.

814, 815

The Fathers, though herein Happening to Agree with the Philosophick Cabbala, yet seemed to have been led thereunto by Scripture. As from that of our Saviour, They who shall obtain the Resurrection of the Dead, shall be *ἰσὺ σώζοντες*, Equal to the Angels; that is, according to Saint Austine, shall have Angelical Bodies. From that of Saint Jude, That Angels Sinning, lost their Own Proper Dwelling-House; that is, their Heavenly Body, (called *ἀνωτέριον* by Saint Paul) which made them Fit Inhabitants of the Heavenly Regions; and thereupon Cast down into the Lower Tartarus; interpreted by Saint Austine, to be this Caliginous Air or Atmosphere of the Earth. Again, From that Fire said to have been Prepared for the Devils: which being not to be taken Metaphorically, therefore (as Psellus concludeth) Implies them to be Bodied; because an Incorporeal Substance alone, and not Vitally United to any Body, cannot be Tormented with Fire.

815, 817

Now if all Created Incorporeals, Superiour to Men, be Souls vitally United to Bodies, and never quite Separate from all Body; then Probable, that Humane Souls, after Death, not quite Naked from all Body, as if they could Live and Act compleatly without it; a Priviledge Superiour to that of Angels, and proper to the Deity. Nor is it at all Conceivable, How Imperfect Beings could have Sense and Imagination without Bodies. Origen Contra Celsum, Our Soul in its own Nature Incorporeal, *alwaies Standeth in need of a Body, suitable to the place wherein it is.* And accordingly, Sometimes Putteth Off what it had before; and Sometimes again Putteth On something New. Where the following words being vitiated; Origen's Genuine Sense

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Sense restored. Evident that Origen distinguisheth, the Τὸ Ζεῖρον in S. Paul, (Translated, Tabernacle,) from the Earthly House; he understanding by the former, a Thin Spirituous Body, which is a Middle betwixt the Earthly and the Heavenly, and which the Soul remaineth still clothed with, after Death. This Opinion of Origen's, That the Soul after Death, not quite Separate from all Body, never reckoned up in the Catalogue of his Errors. Origen not Taxed by Methodius, for asserting Souls to Have Bodies, but for not asserting them to Be Bodies; there being no truly Incorporeall Substance, according to Methodius, but the Deity. This One of the Extrems mentioned. And the Origenick Hypothesis, to be preferred before that of Methodius.

Page 817, 820

Already Observed, That Origen not Singular, in this Opinion concerning Humane Souls; Irenæus, Philoponus, Joannes Theſſalonicensis, Pſellus, and others, asserting the same. S. Austine in his De Gen. ad Lit. Granteth, That Souls after Death cannot be carried to any Corporall Places, nor Locally Moved, without a Body. Himself seems to think, the Punishment of Souls, before the Resurrection, to be Phantasticall. But gives Liberty of thinking otherwise. In his Book De Civ. D. He Conceives, that Origenick Opinion not Improbable, That some Souls after Death, and before the Resurrection, may Suffer from a certain Fire, for the consuming and burning up of their Drofs: which could not be without Bodies.

820,

Hitherto shewed, How the Ancient Asserters of Unextended Incorporealls, Answered all the Objections made against them; but especially that of the Illocality and Immobility of Created Incorporealls; namely, That by those Bodies, which they are always Vitally United to, they are Localized, and made Capable of Motion; according to that of Origen, The Soul stands in need of a Body for Locall Motions. Next to be considered, their Reasons for this Assertion, of Unextended and Indistant Substance, so repugnant to Imagination.

822

That whatsoever Arguments do Evince other Substance besides Body, the Same against the Atheists Demonstrate, that there is Something Unextended; themselves taking it for granted, that whatsoever is Extended, is Body. Nevertheless, other Arguments propounded by these Ancients, to prove directly, Unextended Substance. Plotinus his First; To prove the Humane Soul and Mind such. Either every Part of an Extended Soul, is Soul; and of Mind, Mind; or Not. If the Latter, That no Part of a Soul, or Mind, is by it Self Soul, or Mind; then cannot the Whole, made up of all those Parts, be

such. But if every supposed Part of a Soul, be Soul, and of a Mind, Mind; then would all but One be Superfluous; or Every One be the Whole: which cannot be in Extended things.

Page 822, 824

Again, Plotinus endeavours to Prove, from the Energies of the Soul, that it is Unextended; Because it is One and the Same Indivisible thing, that Perceiveth the whole Sensible Object. This further pursued; If the Soul be Extended, then must it either be One Physicall Point, or More. Impossible That it should be but One Physicall Point. If therefore More, then must every one of those Points, either Perceive a Point of the Object, and no more, or else the Whole. If the Former, then can nothing Perceive the Whole, nor compare one Part of it with another: If the Latter, then would every man have innumerable Perceptions of the whole Object at once. A Fourth Supposition, That the whole Extended Soul, Perceives both the Whole Object, and all the Parts thereof; (no Part of this Soul having any Perception by it Self). Not to be Made; Because, the Whole of an Extended Substance, nothing but All the Parts: and so if no Part have any Perception, the Whole can have none. Moreover, To say, the Whole Soul Perceiveth all, and no Part of it any thing, is indeed to acknowledge it Unextended, and to have no Distant Parts.

824, 826

Again, This Philosopher would prove the same thing, from the Sympathy or Homopathy, which is in Animals; it being One and the Same thing, that perceives Pain in the Head, and in the Foot; and Comprehends the whole Bulk of the Body.

826

Lastly, He disputes further, from the Rationall Energies. A Magnitude could not Understand, what hath no Magnitude, and what is Indivisible: whereas we have a Notion, not onely of Latitude Indivisible as to Thickness, and of Longitude as to Breadth, but also of a Mathematicall Point, every way Indivisible. We have Notions of things also, that have neither Magnitude nor Site, &c. Again, all the Abstract Essences of things Indivisible. We conceive Extended things themselves, Unextendedly; the Thought of a Mile, or a Thousand Miles Distance, taking up no more room in the Soul, then the Thought of an Inch, or of a Mathematicall Point. Moreover, were that which perceiveth in us, a Magnitude, it could not be Equall to every Sensible, and alike Perceive things Greater and Lesser, then it self.

827,

Besides which, they might Argue thus; That we, as we can Conceive Extension without Cogitation, and again Cogitation without Extension, (from whence their Distinction and Separabili-

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ty is Inferred:) so can we not Conceive Cogitation with Extension; not the Length, Breadth, and Thickness of a Thought; nor the Half, or a Third, or Twentieth Part thereof; nor that it is Figurate, Round, or Angular. Thoughts therefore must be Non-Entities, if whatsoever is Unextended be Nothing; as also Metaphysicall Truths, they having neither Dimensions, nor Figure. So Volitions and Passions, Knowledge and Wisedome it self, Justice and Temperance. If the things belonging to Soul and Mind, be Unextended, then must themselves be so. Again, If Mind and Soul have Distant Parts, then could none of them be One, but Many Substances. If Life Divided, then a Half of it would not be Life. Lastly, no reason could be given, why they might not be as well Really, as Intellectually Divisible. Nor could a Theist deny, but that Divine Power might Cleave a Thought, together with the Soul wherein it is, into many Pieces. Page 828,

829

The Sense of the Ancient Incorporealists therefore this; That in Nature, Two kinds of Substances. The First of them Passive Bulk, or Distant and Extended Substance; Which is all, One thing without Another; and therefore as Many Substances, as Parts, into which it can be divided. Essentially Antitypous; one Magnitude Joyned to another, always Standing without it, and making the Whole so much Bigger. Body all Outside, having nothing Within, no Internall Energy, nor any Action besides Locall Motion; which it is also Passive to.

829

Were there no other Substance besides this, there could be no Motion, Action, Life, Cogitation, Intellection, Volition; but All would be a Dead Lump; nor could any one thing Penetrate another. Wherefore Another Substance, whose Character is *spaciosus*, the Active Nature; Life, Self-Activity, Cogitation: which no Mode or Accident of Extension; it having more of Entity in it. Nor are these Two, Extension and Life, Inadequate Conceptions, of One and the Same Substance. A Thinker a Monad; or One Single Substance. Not Conceivable, how the Severall Parts of an Extended Substance, should Joynly Concurr to Produce One and the Same Thought. 829, 830

The Energies of these Two Substances, very different. The one Nothing but Locall Motion, or Translation from Place to Place; a meer Outside Thing: The other Cogitation, an Internall Energy; or in the Inside of that which Thinks. Which Inside of the Thinking Nature, hath no Length, Breadth, or Profundity, no Out-swelling Tumour; because then it would be Outside again. Were a Cogitative

Being Extended, yet must it have besides this Extended Outside, an Unextended Inside. But One and the Same Substance cannot be Extended, and Unextended. Wherefore in this Opinion of Extended Incorporealls, a Complication of Two Substances, and a Confusion of them together into One. True nevertheless, That all Finite Incorporeall Substance, is always Naturally united with some Extended Body, as its Outside. Page 831

All Summed up Together.

832

Hitherto the Sense of the Ancient Asserters of Unextended Incorporealls, represented to the best Advantage. Nothing Asserted by us; but that these, and other Arguments, do Demonstrate against the Atheists, some Other Substance besides Body: but whether or no, they Prove this to be Indistant and Unextended; left to others to make a Judgment. The Atheists who deny this, must acknowledge every Thought, to be not onely Mentally, but also Physically Divisible and Separable; together with the Soul: as also deny Internall Energy; and consequently make Cogitation, Nothing but Locall Motion: and Lastly, Hold That no Substance can Co-Exist with Another Substance, more Inwardly, then by Juxta-Position. 832, 833

This the First Answer to the Forementioned Atheistick Argument against Incorporeall Substance; made by the Ancients, By denying the Minor; That though whatsoever is Extended be Body, yet Every thing is not Extended. But the Argument otherwise Answered, by some Learned Asserters of Incorporeall Substance, By denying the Major; That though every thing be Extended, or what Unextended Nothing; yet what-ever is Extended, is not Body; they asserting another Extension Incorporeall, which is both Penetrable, and not made up of Parts Physically Separable from one another; to which belongeth Life, Self-Activity, and Cogitation. Probable, That some would Compound both the Forementioned Hypotheses together; by supposing the Deity to be altogether Unextended, and Indivisibly all every-where; but Souls, or Created Incorporealls, to have an Unextended Inside, Diffused, as it were, into an Extended Outside. Our selves here onely to Oppose Atheists; and Dogmatize no further, then to Assert, what all Incorporealists agree in, That besides Body, there is Another Substance, which consisteth not of Parts Really Separable from one another; which is Penetrable of Body, and Self-Active, and hath an Internall Energy, distinct from Locall Motion. All which is Demonstratively Certain. This the Full Answer to the First Atheistick Argument, Against Incorporeall Substance; That either there is Something Unextended, or at least Extended otherwise,

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wife then Body, so as to be Penetrable thereof, and Indiscernibly One with it self, and Self-Active. Page 833, 834

The Second Atheistick Assault against Incorporeall Substance; By Pretending the Originall of this Mistake, to have sprung from the Scholastick Essences, Distinct from the things themselves; and the Abuse of Abstract Names and Notions, they being made to be Substances Existing by themselves. For, though the Opinion of Ghosts and Spirits, (whereof God is the Chief) sprung first from Fear; yet that these should be Incorporeall, could never have entered into the Minds of men, had they not been Enchanted with these Abstract Names and Separate Essences. 834

The First General Reply to this, That it is all but Romantick Fiction. That the Opinion of the Deity, sprung not from Fear, and That all Invisible Ghosts are not Phancies, already sufficiently Proved; as also The Existence of a God Demonstrated by Reason. That Apparitions are Reall Phænomena; and Reasonable to think, That there may as well be Invisible Aeriall, and Etheriall; as there are Visible Terrestriall Animals. Sottishness to conclude, That there is no Understanding Nature, Superiour to Man. 834, 835

The Second Particular Reply, That the Opinion of Spirits Incorporeall, sprung not from the Scholastick Essences, whether considered Concretely as Universals onely, or Abstractly. No man supposing, these to be Things Really and Substantially Existing without the Mind; either an Universal Man and Universal Horse, or else Humanity and Equinity: and that these walk up and down in Airy Bodies; they being onely Noemata, or the Intelligible Essences of Things, said to be Eternal, as their Verities. The meaning of these Eternal Essences; not, That they are so many Eternal Substances Incorporeall; but, That Knowledge is Eternal, and, That there is an Eternal Unmade Mind, that comprehends them; which all other Minds Partake of. 835, 836

Again, That another Atheistick Dream, That the Abstract Names and Notions of the Meer Accidents of Bodies, were Made Substances Incorporeall; Souls, Minds, and Ghosts. Conscious Life, no Accident of Bodies, as Atheists Suppose; but the Essential Attribute of Another Substance, which Incorporeall; as Magnitude, or Extension, is the Essential Attribute of Body. 836

The following Atheistick Arguments to be dispatched with more Brevity. That the Four Next, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth, proceed onely upon this Supposition, That there is

no Other Substance in the World, besides Body or Matter; and therefore signify Nothing, to the Asserters of an Incorporeall Deity. Stoicks, and the like, onely concerned to Answer them. Nevertheless, From the Impossibility of these Atheistick Corporealisms, contained in the Fifth, and Sixth, a Necessity of Incorporeall Substance will be Evinced. Page 836

Here two Atheistick Corporealisms, Founded upon these Suppositions, That all is Body or Matter; and, That Matter as such, is devoid of Life and Understanding. The First in the way of Qualities and Forms, Generable and Corruptible, called the Hylopathian. This the most Ancient Atheistick Form, as we learn from Aristotle; viz. That Bulky Extension, the onely Substantiall and Unmade thing, and all other things, but the Passions, Qualities, and Accidents thereof; Makeable out of it, and Destroyable into it. The Consequence from whence; That there is no Substantiall Unmade Life and Understanding: And, That no Mind could be a God, or Creator; it being all Accidentall, Facitious, and Creature. 836, 837

This Hylopathian Atheism, called also by us, Anaximandrian. Though we are not Ignorant, That Simplicius conceives, Anaximander to have held an Homœomery, or Similar Atomology, of Eternal Unmade Qualities, as Anaxagoras afterwards: onely, that he acknowledged no Unmade Life or Mind, but Generated it all, from the Fortuitous Commixture of those Qualified Atoms. (Which no Improbable Opinion, though not Certain.) Because however, Anaximander supposed Life and Understanding, to be at least Secondary Qualities, and Accidents of Body, Generable and Corruptible. And not Fit, to multiply Forms of Atheism. 837

The Second Atheistick Corporealism, in the way of Unqualified Atoms, producing all things, even Life, and Understanding; from Figures, Sites, Motions, and Magnitudes of Parts. From whence it will also follow, That Mind is no Primordial Thing, but Secondary, Compounded, and Derivative; Creature, and no Creator. This called Democritick; not because Democritus was the First Invention of the Dissimilar Atomology; but because he was the First Atheizer of it, or the First, who made Dissimilar Atoms, the Principles of All things whatsoever, even of Life and Understanding. *ibid.*

Not to be Denied, But that from these Two things Granted, That All is Body, and, That the First Principles of Body are devoid of Life and Understanding; it would follow unavoidably, That there is no God. Therefore the Stoicks, who were Corporeal Theists, denied the Latter;

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they supposing an Understanding Fire, Eternal and Unmade, the Maker of the whole Mundane System. Truly Observed by Origen, That this Corporeal God of the Stoicks, was but by Accident Incorruptible, and Happy; and onely because Wanting a Destroyer. This no Genuine Theism. Page 837, 838

But an Absolute Impossibility, in both these Atheistick Corporealisms; not onely, because they suppose no Active Principle; but also, because they bring Life and Understanding, that is, Something, out of Nothing; or Make them without a Cause. Where the Atomick Atheists, of the Two, most to be Condemned; because so grossly Contradicting themselves. From that True Principle, That Matter as such, is devoid of Life and Understanding; an Absolute Necessity of another Substance Incorporeal, which is Essentially Vital and Intellectual. That All Life, cannot possibly be Factitious and Accidental, Generable and Corruptible; but there must be Substantial Life; and also some Eternal. 838, 839

The Truth of this Understood and Acknowledged by the Hylozoists; That there must of Necessity be, both Substantial and Unmade Life and Understanding: who therefore Attribute the same to all Matter as such; but without Animality; which, according to them, is all Factitious and Accidental. Wherefore, this Hylozoick Atheism also, brings Conscious Life and Animality out of Nothing; or Makes them without a Cause. The Argument of the Epicurean Atheists, against Stratonism or Hylozoism, Unanswerable: That upon this Supposition, there must be, in every Man and Animal, a Heap of Innumerable Percipients, as many as there are Atoms of Matter; and so no One Thinker. The Pretence of the Hylozoists, That all the Particles of Matter, in every Animal, do confederate; Ridiculous, and Impossible. 839, 840

Thus the Fifth and Sixth Atheistick Argumentations, fully Confuted; and from that True Supposition in them, That Matter, as such, is Devoid of Life and Understanding, Incorporeal Substance plainly Demonstrated: Which was our Second Undertaking. 840

The Third and Last; That there being Undeniably, Substance Incorporeal, the Two Following Atheistick Argumentations, (built upon the Supposition of the Contrary) altogether Insignificant. The Seventh not properly directed against Theism, but against a Religious kind of Atheism or Theogonism; which supposed a God or Soul of the World, Generated out of Senseless Matter; and the Offspring of Night and Chaos. A Sober and True Sense, of the World's Animation; That there is a Li-

ving, Sentient and Understanding Nature, Presiding over the whole World. But the Sense of Pagan Theists, That the Whole Corporeal World Animated, is a God, Exploded by us. This Argument therefore being not against Theism, but Theogonism; the Confutation thereof might be here well Omitted, without any Detriment to our Cause. But because the denying of a Living Understanding Nature, presiding over the World, is Atheistickall; the Ground of this Assertion briefly Declared; That Life and Understanding are Accidents of Bodies, resulting onely from Such a Contexture of Atoms, as produce Flesh, Blood, and Brains, in Bodies Organized; and, That there is no Reason to be found any-where, but onely in Humane Form: which also Confuted. A Brutish Passage, of a Modern Writer, That it is Unconceivable by Men, How God can Understand without Brains. Page 840, 841

The Next, (which is the Eighth Atheistick Argumentation) That there can be no Living Being Immortal, nor Perfectly Happy; built upon that False Supposition also, That all Life and Understanding results from a Contexture of Dead and Senseless Atoms, and therefore is Dissolvable and Annihilable. But that there is Life Essentiall, and Substantiall, which Naturally Immortal: as also a Necessity, of an Eternal Life, and Mind Unmade, and Unannihilable; which Perfectly Happy. 841, 842

S E C T. IV.

THE Epicurean Atheists further Endeavour, to Disprove a God, from the Phenomena of Motion, and Cogitation; in the Three Following Argumentations, the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh. From Motion, thus; *That from this Principle, Nothing can move It Self, but Whatsoever is Moved, is moved by Another, it will follow, That there can be no First Cause, and Unmoved Mover; but One thing Moved Another, from Eternity Infinitely; Because Nothing could Move Another, which was not It Self First Moved by Something else.* 842, 843

Answer: The meaning of this Axiome; Not, That Nothing can Act from It Self, as the Atheist Supposes; he taking it for granted, that every Thing is Body, and that all Action is Local Motion; but, That no Body Resting, could ever Locally Move It Self. A False Supposition of the Atheists, and some Cartesians; That were there but once Motion in the Matter, this would of it Self continue to all Eternity. True, that of Aristotle; That to make an Infinite

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Progress in the Causes of Motion, and no First Mover; is all one as to say, That there is No Cause at all thereof; or, That all the Motion in the World, is a Passion without an Agent, or Comes from Nothing. Clearly Impossible, That there should be any Motion at all, were there Nothing Self-Moving or Self-Active. Page 843

Wherefore from this Principle, That no Body can Move It Self, it follows Undeniably; That there is Some other Substance in the World besides Body, that hath an Active Power of Moving Body. 843, 844

Another Corollary from the same Principle; That there is another Species of Action, distinct from Locall Motion, and which is not Heterokinesy, but Autokinesy. That the Action by which Local Motion is first Caused, could not be it self Local Motion. All Local Motion Caused Originally by Cogitation. Thus the Ninth Atheistick Argument from Motion Confuted; and from hence, That no Body can Move it Self, Demonstrated, That there is Something Incorporeal. the First Cause of Local Motion, by Cogitation. *ibid.*

But the Atheists further Pretend to Prove, That Cogitation it self is Heterokinesy, the Passion of the Thinker, and the Action of some other External Agent upon him; Because, Nothing taketh Beginning from It Self; and, No Cogitation can rise of It Self, without a Cause. That therefore, Thinking Beings themselves are Machines, and Cogitation Local Motion. And, No Understanding Being, a First Cause, nor Perfectly Happy; because Dependent upon something else. 844, 845

Answer. True, That no Substance taketh Beginning from it Self; as also, That no Action causeth it Self. But False, That No Action taketh Beginning from the Immediate Agent; or, That Nothing can Act otherwise, then as Acted upon by Something else. Atheists here Affirm onely, what they should Prove. and so Beg the Question. If Nothing Self-Active, then all the Motion and Action in the Universe, must Come from Nothing, or be Made without a Cause. 845

True also, That our Humane Cogitations are frequently occasioned from Externall Objects, and that the Concatenations of Thoughts and Phantasms, often depend upon Mechanick Causes. But False, That all Cogitations are Obtruded upon us from without; and, That no Transition in our Thoughts, which was not Before in Sense. The Humane Soul a Principle of Actions, and therefore also of Cogitations. This a Bubbling Fountain of Thoughts. But that there is such a Perfect Mind, as at once Comprehends all Truth, and was Before Sensibles. 845,

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This a Prodigious Paradox, and Falsity of Atheists; That Cogitation, Local Motion; and Thinking Beings, Machines. Here a Correction of what we wrote before, P. 761, and a Change of our Opinion, upon further Consideration; That not onely a Modern Writer, but also the Ancient Atheistick Atomists, did conclude, Cogitation to be Really nothing else but Local Motion. Nevertheless, these men troubled with the Phancy of Cogitation; which because they cannot make Local Motion, they would persuade us to be no Reality, or Nothing. Atheists aware, That if there be any Action besides Locall Motion, there must then be some other Substance acknowledged besides Body. They who make Cogitation Local Motion, and Men, Machines, no more to be disputed with, then Senseless Machines. Page 846;

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To Affirm, That no Understanding Being can be Happy, nor a God, because Dependent upon Something without it; all one as to Affirm, That Senseless Matter is the Most Perfect of all things; and, That Knowledge, as such, speaking Imperfection, is but a Whistling and Phantastick thing. But of this more afterwards. Thus the Tenth Atheistick Argument Confuted.

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Another Atheistick Argument, From the Nature of Knowledge and Understanding. That the World could not be made by an Understanding Being, because there was no Knowledge before Things, which are the Objects of it; and the onely Things are Sensibles, which Knowledge a Passion from. Therefore all Mind, as such, a Creature, and none a Creatour. *ibid.*

This already fully Answered, Page 729, and so forwards. Where Proved, That Singular Bodies are not the Onely Things, and Objects of the Mind, but that it containeth its Intelligibles within it Self. And, That Knowledge, is Archetypall to the World, and the Maker of All. So the Existence of a God, Demonstrable, from the Nature of Knowledge and Understanding. 847, 848

That the Atheists can no more Salve the Phenomenon of Cogitation, then that of Locall Motion; Evident from their Many Hallucinations concerning it; whereof a Catalogue subjoyned. First, That all Life and Understanding, a meer Accidentall thing, Generable and Corruptible, and no Life nor Mind Substantiall or Essentiall. This before Confuted. 848

Again, That Life and Mind, no Simple and Primitive Natures, but Compounded Syllables of things; and therefore none Immortall nor Incorruptible. Answer; That Life and

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Understanding are Active Powers, and could never result from meer Passive Bulk; nor can any Composition of Dead and Senseless Matter, possibly beget Life and Understanding. Though no Necessity, That there should be any Eternal Unmade Red or Green, because these might be Made out of things not Red nor Green; nor That there should be Eternal Motion, because Motion might be produced from a Self-Active Principle; nor That there should be any Eternal Unmade Matter, because were there none, it might notwithstanding be Created, by a Perfect Incorporeal Being: yet an Absolute Necessity of Eternal Unmade Life and Mind; because had there been once none, there could never have been any. Page 848, 849

Another Atheistick Hallucination, That there is Nothing of Self-Activity in Cogitation; nor any thing could Act otherwise, then as it is Made to Act by Something else. This to bring all Action from Nothing, or to suppose it without a Cause. 849, 850

Another Madness of theirs already mentioned, That Cogitation, Locall Motion; and Thinking Beings, Machines. This Equall Sottishness or Impudence, as to affirm, Number to be Figure, &c. 850

Another Paradox of the Epicurean and Democritick Atheists, That Mentall Cogitation, as well as Sensation, the meer Passions of the Thinker, and the Actions of Bodies Existing without him: Some of them supposing Thoughts, to be Caused by certain Finer Images, then Sensations; Others, that they are the Remainers of the Motions of Sense, formerly made. Answer: That Sensation it self, is not a meer Corporeal Passion, but the Perception of a Passion, in a way of Phancy; much less Mental Cogitations such; and least of all Volitions. 850, 851

But Consentaneously hereunto, these Atheists Determine, all Knowledge and Understanding, to be Really the same thing with Sense. From whence follow Two Absurdities. First, That there can be no such thing as Errour, because all Passion is True Passion, and all Sense, True Sense; that is, True Seeming and Appearance. This Absurdity owned by Protagoras. Epicurus Endeavoured to avoid this, but in vain, and contradictionaryly to his own Principles. 851, 852

A Second Absurdity consequent thereupon; That there is no Absolute Truth nor Falseness, but all Knowledge Private and Relative, and nothing but Opinion. This freely owned likewise by Protagoras. Sometimes also by Democritus. Who therefore but a Blunderer neither, in the Atomick Philosophy; which plainly supposes a Higher Faculty of Reason and Un-

derstanding, that judges of Sense, and discovers the Phantastry thereof; it reaching to Absolute Truth. Page 852, 853

Another Atheistick Errour; That Singular Bodies are the onely Objects of Mentall Conception, as well as of Sensation. This imputed by Aristotle, to Democritus and Protagoras. But sufficiently before Confuted. 853, 854

The better to maintain this Paradox, Added by a Modern Atheistick Writer, as his own Invention; That Universals are Nothing else but Names, by which Many Singular Bodies are called; Axiomes or Propositions, the Addition and Subtraction of Names; and Syllogistick Reasoning, the reckoning the Consequences of them: and that therefore besides the Passions of Sense, we know Nothing at all of any thing, but onely the Names by which it is Called. Whence it would follow, That Geometricall Truths, not the same in Greek and in Latine, &c. 854

That the Atheists, according to these premised Principles, endeavour to Depreciate Knowledge and Understanding, as that which speaks no Higher Perfection, then is in Senseless Matter. Thus the Atheists in Plato, make it but a Ludicrous, Umbratile and Evanid thing; the meer Image of Bodies, the onely Realities. Their Design in this, to take away the Scale, or Ladder of Entities. 855, 856

All the Grounds of this again briefly Confuted; and Particularly, that Opinion so much favouring Atheism, That there is Nothing in the Understanding, which was not Before in Sense; out of Boëtius. Just and Unjust, Greater Realities in Nature, then Hard and Soft, &c. Unquestionably, a Scale or Ladder of Entities; and therefore Certain, that the Order of Things must be in way of Descent, from Higher Perfection to Lower, and not of Ascent, from Lower to Higher. The Steps of this Ladder not Infinite: the Foot thereof, Inanimate Matter; the Head, a Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending in It self all Possibilities of Things. Mind by Nature Lord over all; and Sovereign King of Heaven and Earth. 856, 859

The Reason why we so much Insist upon this; Because Atheists Pretend, not onely to Salve the Phenomenon of Cogitation without a God; but also from thence to Demonstrate the Impossibility of his Existence. Though Modern Writers not so much aware hereof; yet is the Controversy betwixt Theists and Atheists, thus Stated by Plato; Whether Soul and Mind Juniors to Senseless Matter, and the Offspring thereof; or else Substantiall Things, and in Order of Nature Before it. Accordingly Plato confuteth Atheism no otherwise, then by proving Soul not to be Junior to Inanimate Matter, and

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and Generated out of the same. Evident, That Plato by Soul here understood, not onely the Mundane Soul, but also that Whole Rank of Beings, called Soul; and, That no Life was Generated out of Matter. Page 859, 860

Those professed Christians, who Generate Rationall Souls out of Senseless Matter, plain Betrayers of the Cause of Theism. 860, 861

Nor is the Case much different, as to others; who, though they professedly Generate onely Sensitive Souls, yet making the Rationall, but meer Blanks, which have Nothing in them, but what was Scribbled upon them by Sense; and so Knowledge, in its own Nature, Junior to Sense and Sensibles; Highly Gratify the Atheists hereby. 861

If any Life and Cogitation may be Generated out of Dead and Senseless Matter, then can no good Reason be given, why All should not be. Life not partly Accidental, partly Substantiall: but either All Conscious Life, Accidental, Generable and Corruptible; or else None at all. ibid.

The Doctrine of Reall Qualities Generable and Corruptible, favourable to Atheism also. And though the Atheistick Atomists Explode all the other Qualities, because, Nothing can come from Nothing; yet, contradicting themselves again, do they make Life and Understanding, Reall Qualities, Generated out of Matter, or Caused by Nothing. 861, 862

There being a Scale or Ladder of Entities in Nature, to Produce a Higher Rank of Beings, out of a Lower; as Life and Cogitation, out of Matter, and Magnitude; is to Invert the Order of this Scale, from Downwards, to Upwards; and so to lay a Foundation for Atheism. Wherefore great Reason, to maintain this Post, against the Atheists; That no Souls can be Generated out of Matter. 862, 863

The Grand Objection against the Substantiality of Sensitive Souls, from that Consequence of their Permanent Subsistence after Death. Cartesius so Sensible thereof; that he would rather make Brutes to be Senseless Machines, then allow them Substantiall Souls; which he granted they must have, if Thinking Beings. What clearly Demonstrable by Reason, not to be abandoned, because attended with some Difficulties, or seemingly Offensive Consequences. 863

The Pythagorick Hypothesis; That Souls all Created by God, not in the Generation of Animals, but in the Cosmogonia. These therefore, first Clothed with Thin and Subtile Bodies, Aeriall or Ætheriall Ochemata, wherein they Subsist, both before their Ingrefs into Terrestriall Bodies, and after their Egrefs out of

them. Thus Boëtius and Proclus. Ammonius his Irrationall Demons Mortall; Brutish Souls, in Aeriall Bodies. Since the First Creation, no New Substantiall thing Made, or Destroyed, and therefore no Life. This looked upon by Macrobius as a Great Truth. Page 863, 865

That the Pythagoreans would Endeavour to gain some Countenance for this Hypothesis, from the Scripture. 865, 867.

But if these Aeriall Vehicles of Brutish Souls be exploded for a Whimsy, and none but Terrestriall Bodies allowed to them; though after Death they will not Vanish into Nothing, yet must they needs remain in a State of Insensibility, and Inactivity, till re-united to other Terrestriall Bodies. Wherefore these in one Sense Mortall, though in another Immortall. Silkworms dying, and reviving in the Form of Butterflies, made an Emblem of the Resurrection, by Christian Theologers. 867, 868

But no Absolute Necessity, That the Souls of Brutes, though Substantiall, should have a Permanent Subsistence after Death, either in a State of Activity, or Inactivity; because, whatsoever Created by God, may Possibly by him be Annihilated. The Substantiality onely of the Rationall Soul, Demonstrable by Reason; or that it will not of it Self vanish into Nothing; but not that it is Absolutely Impossible, for it to be Annihilated; The assurance of this Depending upon a Faith in the Divine Goodness. Porphyrius his Assertion, That Brutish Souls are Resolved into the Life of the Universe. The whole Answer to this Objection, against the Substantiality of Brutish Souls; That they may notwithstanding, Possibly be Annihilated in the Deaths of Animals, as well as they were Created in their Generations; but if they do Subsist (without Aeriall Vehicles,) they must remain in a State of Inactivity and Insensibility. 868, 869

That this the Doctrine of the Ancient Pagan Theologers, That no Life, or Soul, Generated out of Dead and Senseless Matter; but all Produced by the Deity, as well as Matter; Proved out of Virgil: though sundry other Testimonies also, might be added thereunto. 869, 870

The Hylozoick Atheists themselves, so Sensible hereof, That there must be some Substantiall and Unmade Life, (from whence the Lives and Minds of all Animals are Derived) That they attribute the same to Matter; and conclude, That though the Modified Lives of Animals, and Men, be Accidentall, Generated and Corrupted, yet the Fundamental Life of them, is Substantiall, and Incorruptible. These also asserted, a Knowledge before Sense, and Undersived from Sensibles. 870, 871

This Hylozoick Atheism again Confuted. Absurd

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Aburd to suppose, Knowledge and Understanding, without Conscioufness; as also, That the Substantiall and Fundamentall Life, of Men and other Animals, should never Perish, and yet their Souls, and Personalities, Vanish into Nothing. That no Organization can produce Conscioufness. These Atheists not able possibly to give an Account, whence the Intelligible Objects and Idea's, of this their Knowledge of Matter, should spring. This Hylozoick Atheism, Nothing but the Crumbling of the Deity into Matter. Page 871

Concluded, That the Phænomenon of Mind and Understanding, can no way possibly be Salv'd by Atheists, without a God; but affordeth a Solid Demonstration of his Existence. 871, 872

SECT. V.

THERE now Remaining onely, the Atheistick Objections against Providence, their Queries, and Arguments from Interests; Their First Objection, From the Frame of the World, as Faulty. Or, Because Things are Ill Made, that therefore not made by a God. This directed against the Sense of the Ancient Theologers; That God being a Perfect Mind, therefore made the World after the Best manner. Some Modern Theologers Deviating from this, as if the Perfection of the Deity consisted not at all in Goodness, but in Power and Arbitrary Will onely. The Controversy betwixt these and Atheists; but Whether Matter Fortuitously Moved, or a Fortuitous Will Omnipotent, be the Originall of all things. No Ground of Faith in a meer Arbitrarious Deity. To have a Will Undetermined to Good, no Liberty, nor Sovereignty, but Impotency. God to Celsus, the Head or President of the Righteous Nature. This not onely the Sense of Origen, but of the Ancient Christians in Generall. Plotinus; The Will of God Essentially, That which Ought to be. God an Impartial Balance, Weighing out Heaven and Earth. The Deity, not Servilely Bound to doe the Best; but this the Perfection of its Nature. No Atheist able to prove, The World to be Ill Made. 872, 874

Not to be Concluded, That whatsoever we cannot find out the Reason or Use of, is therefore Ineptly Made. For example; The Intestinum Cæcum, though seemingly an Odd Appendix, and which the Generality of Anatomists give little Account of; yet that, with the Valve at its Enterance, both together, an Artificiall Contrivance of Nature, to hinder the Regurgitation of the Fæces. 874, 875

The First Atheistick Instance of the Faultiness

of things; In the Disposition of the Equator and Ecliptick, Intersecting each other in such an Angle, whereby the Terrestrial Globe rendered not so Habitable as it might have been. This Objection Founded upon a False Supposition, That the Torrid Zone Uninhabitable. But this the Best Disposition; which being Contrary to Mechanick Causes, therefore its Continuance, together with the Constant Parallelism of the Earth's Axis, a manifest Evidion of Providence; and that the *Τὸ Βέλτιστον*, The Best, is a Cause in Nature. Page 875

In the next place; The Atheists would prove against some Theists, That All things not Made for the Sake of Man. This at First but the Doctrine of Streight-laced Stoicks onely; recommended afterward by mens Self-Love. Whereas Plato's Doctrine, That the Whole not made for any Part; but the Parts for the Whole. Nevertheless, Things in the Lower World, made Principally (though not Onely) for Man. Atheists no Judges of the Well or Ill-Making of Worlds, they having no Standing Measure of Good. That Nature a Step-Mother to Man; but a froward Speech of some discontented Persons, seeking to Revenge themselves, by Railing upon Nature, that is, Providence. 875, 876

Evils in Generall, from the Necessity of Imperfect Beings, and Impossibility of things. 876

Men Afflicted more from their own Phancies, then Reality of things. Pain (which a Real Evil of Sense) often Link'd with Pleasure, according to the Socratick Fable. This not the Evil of the Whole Man, but of the Outside onely. Serviceable, to free men from the Greater Evils of the Mind. Death, according to the Atheistick Hypothesis, an Absolute Extinction of all Life; but according to Genuine Theism, onely a Withdrawing into the Tiring-House, and putting off the Terrestriall Cloathing. The Dead Live to God. Christian Faith gives assurance of a Heavenly Body hereafter. The Christian Resurrection, not the Hope of Worms. This the Confutation of the Twelfth Atheistick Argument. 876, 877

The Thirteenth; but Second Objection against Providence, as to Humane Affairs; Because all things Fall alike to all; and sometimes Vicious and Irreligious Persons, most Prosperous. 877, 878

Granted, That this Consideration hath too much Staggered weak Minds in all Ages. Some concluding from thence, That there is no God, but that blind Chance Steereth all. Others, That though there be a God, yet he Knows nothing done here below. Others, That though he do know, yet he Neglecteth Humane Affairs. 878

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Unreasonable to require, That God should Miraculously Interpose at every turn; or to think, That every Wicked person should presently be Thunder-struck. That which Steers the whole World, no Fond and Passionate, but an Impartial Nature. Yet, That there want not Instances of an Extraordinary Providence. Good Reasons for the Slowness of Divine Vengeance. The Notoriously Wicked, commonly met with at the long Run. Page 878, 879

The Sometimes Impunity of Wicked Persons, so far from Staggering Good men, as to Providence; that it confirms them in their Belief, of Future Immortality, and Judgement after Death. The Evolution of Humane affairs, a kind of Dramatick Poem, and God Almighty the Skilful Dramatist; who always Connecteth that of Ours, which went before, with what of His follows after, into Coherent Sense. A Geometrical Distribution of Rewards and Punishments. 879, 880

That there ought to be a Doubtful and Cloudy State of things, for the Exercise of Faith, and the more difficult Part of Vertue. Had there been no Monsters to Subdue, there could have been no Hercules. Here, we to Live by Faith, and not by Sight. 880

But that to make a full Defence of Providence, would require a large Volume. The Reader therefore referred to others for a Supplement. Onely some Few Considerations to be here propounded, not so much for the Confutation of Atheists, as Satisfaction of Theists, sometimes apt to call in Question the Divine Goodness, though the very Foundation of our Christian Faith. *ibid.*

First; That in Judging of the Works of God, we ought not to consider the Parts of the World alone by themselves, but in order to the Whole. Were Nothing made but the Best, there could have been no Harmony, for want of Variety. Plotinus, That a Limner does not make all Eye, nor place Bright Colours every-where; nor a Dramatist introduce onely Kings and Hero's, upon the Stage. 880, 882

Secondly; That we ought not to Confine God's Creation to the Narrowness of Vulgar Opinion, which Extends the Universe, but little beyond the Clouds; and Walls it in, with a Sphear of Fixed Stars. The World Uncapable of Infinity of Magnitude, as well as of Time. Nevertheless, as the Sun is much Bigger then we can Imagine it, so much more may the World be. The New Celestiall Phænomena, widen the Corporeal Universe, and make those Phansied, Flaming Walls thereof, to fly away before us. Not reasonable to think, That all this Immense Vastness, should be Desert and Uninhabited. 882, 883

Thirdly; That we cannot make a Right Judgement, of the Ways of Providence, without looking both Forwards, upon what is Future; and Backwards, upon what is Past; as well as upon the Present. That the Platonists and Pythagoreans, salv'd many Phænomena, from the *τὰ ἀεὶ βεβαιοῦντα*, Things done in a Præ-Existent State. Our Common Christianity supposeth but a kind of Imputative Præ-Existence; to Salve the Pravity of Mankind, and the Evils of this State. The different Fates and Conditions of Men here in this Life, to be resolv'd into a Just, though Occult Providence. Page 883

The Third Objection against Providence; or Fourteenth Atheistick Argument; That it is Impossible, for any One Being, to Animadvert and Order all things: and if it were Possible, that it would be Distractious, and Inconsistent with Happines. Moreover, That an Irresistibly Powerfull and Happy Being, would not concern it self in the welfare of others: Benevolence arising onely from Imbecillity. 883, 884

The Reply; That because our Selves have but a Finite Animadversion, and Narrow Sphear of Activity; to measure the Deity accordingly, is but an Idol of the Cave or Den. Certain, that were there Nothing, but what we could fully Comprehend, there could be no God. Had the Sun Life, Equally Coextended with its Rays, it would perceive every thing touched by them. Creatures but the Rays of the Deity. Men able to manage affairs, in many distant places, without Distraction. And innumerable Notions, lie together in our Minds, without Crowding one another, or any Disturbance to us. 884

But for the easing the Minds of weak Mortals, already Suggested; That there is no Necessity, God should Himself Immediately do all things; he having Ministers Under him, Executioners of his Providence: as, an Artificial, Plastick Nature, (for this reason partly before insisted on;) Instincts also in Animals, a Part of that Divine Fate, which is the Servant of Providence. Above which, other Knowing and Understanding Ministers of the Deity, appointed to Preside over Humane Affairs. But all over-look'd by the watchfull Eye of God Almighty, who may Himself Extraordinarily Interpose. 884, 885

Wherefore no need to Confine Providence, to a Few Greater things onely; to free the Deity from Distraction. Small things (upon which Greater often depend) not Neglected by it. Nevertheless the Chief Employment of Divine Providence, in the Oeconomy of Souls, by Plato Reduced to this Compendium; The Translating of them into Better or Worser States, according to their Demeanours. Thus may the slow wits of Mortals,

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more easily conceive, Providence not to be Laborious and Distracting to the Deity. Page 885

But that all Benevolence arises from Imbecillity, and that what is Perfectly Happy, would be troubled with no Business, but enjoy its own Ease; Idols of the Atheists Den. These other, The Narrow Contractedness of their Minds, by Vice and Immorality. 885, 886

The Atheistick Queries, next to be Answered. The First Query. If there were a God, who was Perfectly Happy in himself, Why would he go about to make a World? Answ. The Reason of God's making the World, was from his Overflowing and Communicative Goodness, That there might be other Beings Happy, besides Himself. This consistent with God's making the World, for his own Glory. The reason why Plotinus would explode that. True, that God did not make the World, merely to Ostentate his Skill and Power; but to Display his Goodness, which is Chiefly his Glory. The Atheists further Demand; What hurt would it have been for us, never to have been Made? Answ. No other then this, That we could never have Enjoyed Good, nor been Capable of Happiness. If no hurt not to have been Made, then none to be Annihilated; the Distance being as great, from Nothing to Something, as from Something to Nothing. 886

The Second Atheistick Query. If God's Goodness were the Cause of his making the World, Why then was it not made Sooner? This Question capable of a Double Sense. First, Why was not the World from Eternity? The Reply; This not from any Defect in the Divine Goodness, but because there is an Impossibility of the Thing it self; the Necessity and Incapacity of such an Imperfect Being Hindering it. Our selves Prone to Think, That Could the World have been from Eternity, it should have been so. Thus Philoponus, in his Confutation of Proclus his Arguments, for the World's Eternity. And now no place left, for those Atheistick Cavils, against the Novity of the Creation; as if God must therefore have Slept from Eternity; or had Contracted a Satiety of his former Solitude. Another Sense of the Question; Why, though the World could not be from Eternity, yet was it not made Sooner? Answ. The World could not Possibly have so been made in Time, as that it should not have been once, but a Day Old; and also once, no more then five or six Thousand years Old. 886, 887

The Third Atheistick Query. How could God move the Matter of the whole World; especially if Incorporeal? Answ. That all things being derived from the Deity, and Essentially depending on him, they must needs be Commandable by him, and Obedient to him.

And since no Body can Move it self, that which first Moved the Matter, must be Incorporeal, and not move it by Machines and Engines, but by Cogitation or Will onely. That Conceit, That an Incorporeal Deity, could not Move Matter, because it would Run through it; Absurd; This moving not Mechanically, but Vitally. That Cogitative Beings have a Natural Power of Moving Matter, Evident from our own Souls, Moving our Bodies, not by Machines or Engines, but merely by Thought. More easy for the Deity, to move the Whole World, by Will and Cogitation; then for us our Bodies. Page 887, 888

The Last Head of Atheistick Argumentation, From Interest. First; That it is the Interest of Particular Persons, there should be no being Infinitely Powerfull, who hath no Law but his own Will. The First Reply; Wishing is no Proving. Nor will any man's Thinking, make Things otherwise then they are. 888

But Secondly; This Wish of Atheists, Founded upon a Mistaken Notion of God Almighty, That he is nothing but Arbitrary Will Omnipotent. God's Will, not meer Will; but Law and Equity; Ought it self Willing. Nor does Justice in God, clash with Goodness, but is a Branch, or Particular Modification thereof. The Interest of none, There should be no God, unless perhaps of such, as are Irreclaimably Wicked, and wilfully abandon their own True Good. 888, 889

To be Without God; to be Without Hope. No Faith nor Hope in Senseless Matter. According to the Atheistick Hypothesis, no Possibility of Happiness, nor Security of Good. 889

God such a Being, as If he were not, Nothing more to be Wished for. To Believe a God, to Believe the Existence of all Good and Perfection; and that things are all Made and Governed as they Should be. Peccability, from the Necessity of Imperfect Free-Willed Beings. Infinite Hopes from a Being Infinitely Good, and Powerfull. Democritus and Epicurus, however cried up so much of late; but Infatuated Sophists, or Witty Fools, and Debauchers of Mankind. 889, 890

The Last Atheistick Argumentation. That Theism or Religion is Inconsistent with the Interest of Civil Sovereigns. Their First Pretence for this, That the Civil Sovereign Reigns onely in Fear; and therefore there must be no Power, nor Fear, Greater, then that of the Leviathan. 890

In Answer to this, The Atheistick Ethicks and Politicks to be Unravell'd. Their Foundation laid, in the Villanizing of Humane Nature. That there is no Natural Justice, Equity, nor Charity. No Publick nor Common Nature

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in Men, but all Private and Selfish. That every Man by Nature, hath a Right to every thing, even to other Mens Bodies and Lives. That an Appetite to Kill and Torment, by Nature, gives a Right. That Nature hath brought men into the World, without any Fetters or Shackles, of Duty and Obligation; the Hindrances of Liberty. Lastly, That Nature absolutely Diffociates and Segregates Men from one another, by reason of the Inconsistency of Appetites, and Private Good. Every Man by Nature, in a State of War, against every Man.

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But in the next place, They adde, That though this State of Nature, which is Belluine Liberty, and Lawless Freedom to every thing, be in it self the Best; yet by Accident, and by reason of mens Imbecillity, does it prove the Worst. Wherefore, when Men had been weary of Hewing and Slashing, they then bethought themselves at length of Helping Nature by Art; By Submitting to a Lesser Evil, for the Avoiding of a Greater; Abating their Infinite Right, and Yielding to Terms of Equality with others, and Subjection to a Common Power.

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Where, these Atheists First Slander Humane Nature; and then Debase Justice and Civil Authority, making it the Ignoble and Bastardly Brat of Fear; or a Lesser Evil Submitted to, out of Necessity, for the avoiding of a Greater. According to which Atheistick Hypothesis, No man is Willingly Just. This no New Invention of the Writer De Cive, but the old Atheistick Generation of Justice, and of a Body Politick, Civil Society, and Sovereignty; (before Plato's time:) it being fully described, in his Second Book of a Common-wealth. Where the Philosopher concludes, Justice, according to these, to be but a Middle thing, betwixt the Best, and the Worst; Loved, not as Good in it Self, but onely by Reason of Mens Imbecillity: Or, That Justice is indeed, Another man's Good, and the Evil of him that is Just. The same Hypothesis also, concerning Justice, as a Factitious thing, that sprung onely from Fear and Imbecillity, and was chosen but as a Lesser Evil; Insisted on by Epicurus.

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The vain Attempts of our Modern Atheistick Politicians, to Make Justice by Art, when there is None by Nature. First, by Renouncing and Transferring mens Right, by Will and Words. For If Nothing Naturally Unlawfull, then can no man, by Will and Words, make any thing Unlawfull to himself. What Made by Will, may be Destroyed by Will. The Ridiculous Conceit of these Atheistick Politicians, That Injustice is nothing but Dati Repetitio, and such an Absurdity in

Life, as is in Disputation, when a man Denies a Proposition, he had before Gianted; No Real Evil in the Man, but onely a Relative Incongruity in him as a Citizen. Again, These Justice-Makers and Authority-Makers, pretend to derive their Factitious Justice, from Pacts and Covenants. But Pacts and Covenants, without Naturall Justice, (as themselves confess) Nothing but Words and Breath; and therefore can have no Force to Oblige. Wherefore they make another Pretence also, from certain Counterfeit Laws of Nature, of their own Devising, that are Nothing but meer Juggling Equivocation; they being but the Laws of Fear, or their own Timorous and Cowardly Complexion. They Ridiculously Dance Round in a Circle, when they Derive the Obligation of Civil Laws from Covenants; of Covenants from Laws of Nature; and of Laws of Nature again, from Civil Laws. Their vain Attempt, by Art to Consociate, what Nature hath Diffociated, like tying Knots in the Wind or Water. Their Artificial Obligation, or Ligaments, by which the Members of their Leviathan are held together, more slender then Cobwebs.

Page 893, 895

These Artificiall Justice-Makers and Obligation-Makers, Sensible of the Weakness of these Attempts, Artificially to Consociate, what Nature hath Diffociated; therefore fly at last from Art, to Force and Power; making their Sovereign, to Reign onely in Fear. This the True meaning of that Opinion, That all Obligation is derived from Law; that is, the Command of him who hath Power to Compell. If Obligation, to Obey Civil Laws, onely from Fear of Punishment, then is no man Obligated to hazard his Life for the Safety of his Prince; and whoever can promise themselves Impunity, may Justly Disobey. If Civil Sovereigns Reign onely in Fear, then is their Authority Nothing but Force; and Power would Justify Rebellion. Lastly, If Civil Right or Authority, Nothing but Force and Violence, then could it not last long: What Naturall, prevailing against what is Violent.

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Wherefore since Civil Authority and Bodies Politick, can neither be meerly Artificiall, nor yet Violent things, there must be some Naturall Vinculum, to hold them together; such as will both Oblige Subjects to Obey the Commands of Sovereigns, and Sovereigns in Commanding, to seek the Good of their Subjects: Something of a Common, Publick and Conglutinating Nature: Which, no other then Naturall Justice. The Authority of God himself, Founded in Justice; of which Civil Authority, a Participation. Sovereignty, no Creature of the People, and of Mens Wills; but hath

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a Stamp of Divinity upon it. Had not God made a City; Men, neither by Art, or Political Enchantment, nor by meer Force, could have made any. The whole World, One City, of God and Rational Beings. The Civil Sovereign no Leviathan; that is, No Beast, but a God. He Reigns not in meer Brutish Force and Fear, but in Naturall Justice and Conscience, and the Authority of God himself. Nevertheless, need of Force and Fear too, to compell Some to their Duty; nor is the Sovereign's Sword here alone Sufficient, but he must Reign also in the Fear of God Almighty. Page 895, 896

The Second Atheistick Pretence, to Make Religion Inconsistent with Civil Sovereignty; Because it Limits and Confines that, which in its own Nature Is, and Ought to be Infinite. The Reply; That the Atheists Infinite Right and Authority of Civil Sovereigns, is nothing but Belluine Liberty: But true Right and Authority is Essentially Founded in Natural Justice; there being no Authority to Command, where there is not an Obligation to Obey; and Commands not Creating Obligation, but Presupposing it, without which they would signify Nothing. The First Originall Obligation not from Will, but Nature. The Error of those Theists who derive all Obligation to Morall Things, from the Will and Positive Command of God, as Threatning Punishments, and Promising Rewards. From whence it would follow, that no man is Good and Just, but By Accident onely, and for the Sake of Something else. Justice a different Species of Good, from that of Private Utility. Infinite Justice, as Absurd, as an Infinite Rule or Measure. If no Infinite Justice, then no Infinite Right and Authority. God's own Authority bounded by Justice: His Will ruled by Justice; and not Justice by his Will. Atheists, under a Pretence of giving Civil So-

vereigns Infinite Right, Really Devest them of all Right and Authority, leaving them nothing but Brutish Force. Proved here, That the Summæ Potestates, must of necessity be *divot & divot*. Page 896, 898

The Last Atheistick Pretence, for the Inconsistency of Religion with Civil Power; Because Conscience is Private Judgement of Good and Evil. Answer. That not Religion, but Atheism, introduceth such Private Judgement, as is Absolutely Inconsistent with Civil Sovereignty, it acknowledging nothing in Nature, that tends to Publick and Common Good; but making Private Appetite the onely Rule or Measure of Good; and Utility, of Justice. The Desperate Consequence from hence; That Private Utility may justify Rebellion and Parricide. The Atheists Professed Assertion, That they who have once Rebelled, may Justly Defend themselves afterward by Force. Though Private Persons must make a Judgement in Conscience for themselves, (the Atheists Publick Conscience, being Nonsense and Contradiction;) yet is the Rule of Conscience, not Private, but Publick, except onely to Mistaken Fanaticks; who therefore Sometimes make a Pretence of Conscience and Religion, in order to Sedition and Rebellion. Religion and Conscience Oblige Subjects, in all Lawfull things, Actively to Obey the Sovereign Powers; in Unlawfull, Not to Resist. 898, 899

The Conclusion of the Whole Book; That all the Atheistick Grounds being fully Confuted, and the Impossibility of Atheism Demonstrated; it is certain, That the Original and Head of all things, is no Blind and Inconscion Nature, but a Perfect Understanding Being, Self-Existent; Who hath Made all that was fit to be Made, and after the Best manner, and Exerciseth a Just Providence over all. To whom be All Honour and Glory, &c. *ibid.*

The End of the Contents.

ERRATA.

Page 15. Line 2. read, XIV. Besides. p. 49. l. 9. to 16. read, (And thus—Body;) p. 61. l. 8. read. *add* 63. 9. *ἀνάγης* 66. 10. Unextended. 76. 25. dele. *but*. Lin. ult. read, To this purpose. 102. l. ult. dele. with. 103. l. 3, 4. read, could not rise from an Egg of the Night, nor be the Offspring of Chaos, but must be something— 106. Title, r. *Hylozoist* 168. 19. r. Irregularity 173. 19, 20. Reason and Und— Line 37. a *Perseū* 201. 9. *πέξαι* 212. 34. read, Scholiast upon him, writing thus, 231. 27. plures erunt 251. 12. *μυθε πυ* 276. 22. Longinianus 299. 36. *Σέξ* 300. 5. *Σμαίαν* 304. 30. Excerptio 331. 9. Manifested 339. Title, r. Invisible 344. 17. *Phornus* 351. (false printed 411.) l. 22. *κάλη* 354. (f. pr. 414.) l. 27. *πτο τις αναφανέμερον* 355. 9. *πλευροίς* 357. 37. *ἄδ' ὁμοροσίαν* 358. 21. *γένεον*, 363. 17. dele *Justin Martyr*, 364. 31. read, Third and Fourth Verses, 379. 31. *χειρόμυθ* 385. 31. *ἐπι πείρα*—*νενεμημένον*, 397. Title, adde, Trinity 604. Marg. l. ult. r. L. 10. 433. 30. *ἀμειβόμεθα* 457. 18. *πανσοκράτωρ* 461. 10. *ἔξστ*. Lin. 30. *συμφωνία* 482. 29. by him determined, 508. 14. respectively, 516. 14. his Fecundity, 518. 4. adored 519. 30. Nature, or Natures— 543. 29. *ἴσος* 549. 13. (as an Image in a Glass) 553. 37. *κιδέμον* 566. 34. *ωρεσωπλήτης*, 582. 2. The Word 585. 18. *τὸ λόγος θεός*, 587. 6. Son, and Grandson, 620. 31. it is there— 624. Title, adde, Trinity 632. 31. if need be, for another 684. 17. therefore not— 696. l. ult. as it was 717. 39. and also 742. 5. Similar Atoms 745. 23. that their Souls cannot 752. 2, 3, 4. read, *Proclus*, and other *Platonists*, expressly denied it to have been *ἀγέννητον*, Unmade, or Self-Existent, and— 753. 8. no not that 765. 24. Matter, together 777. 37. *ἐπεὶ ὄλον ἐπὶ πάν τετε* 787. 16. Incrassated, 794. 31. the Unevenness 798. 11. Earth, in— Line 33. dele, it 805. Marg. l. 14. *solvetur* 815. 35. ought to be 831. l. penult. Extended Outside, and an Unextended Inside, 843. 38. dele, yet 883. Marg. l. 9. *ἐπὶ χυ* 884. 35. was One Reason.

F I N I S.

A
DISCOURSE

Concerning the

True Notion

OF THE

LORD'S SUPPER.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

TWO SERMONS, on $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I JOHN Chap. 2. Ver. 3, 4.} \\ \text{I CORINTH. 15. 57.} \end{array} \right.$

By R. CUDWORTH, D. D.

The Third Edition.

L O N D O N,

Printed for R. Royston, at the Angel in *Amen-corner*,
Bookseller to the King's most Excellent Majesty.
MDC LXXVI.

The Contents

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2. I JOHN CHAP. 2. VER. 24.

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MDCCLXXVII



THE
TRUE NOTION
OF THE
Lord's Supper.

The Introduction.



ALL great Errours have ever been intermingled with some Truth. And indeed, if Falshood should appear alone unto the world in her own true shape and native deformity, she would be so black and horrid that no man would look upon her; and therefore she hath always had an art to wrap up her self in a garment of Light, by which means she passed freely disguised and undiscerned. This was elegantly signified in the Fable thus: Truth at first presented her self to the world, and went about to seek entertainment; but when she found none, being of a generous nature, that loves not to obtrude her self upon unworthy Spirits, she resolved to leave Earth, and take her flight for Heaven: but as she was going up, she chanced, *Elijah*-like, to let her mantle fall; and Falshood, waiting by for such an opportunity, snatch'd it up presently, and ever since goes about disguised in Truth's Attire.

Pure falshood is pure Non-entity, and could not subsist alone by it self; wherefore it alway twines up together about some Truth, *ἡ ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἐκείνη*, as *Athenagoras* the Christian Philosopher speaks, *In Orat. de Resurrect. mort.* like an Ivy that grows upon some Wall, twining her self into it with wanton and flattering embraces, till it have at length destroyed and pulled down that which held it up. There is alway some Truth which gives being to every Errour: *Est quædam Veritatis anima quæ corpus omnium Errorum agit & informat*: There is ever some Soul

Lib. de Iside
& Osiride.

of Truth which doth secretly spirit and enliven the dead and unwieldy Lump of all Errours, without which it could not move or stir. Though sometimes it would require a very curious Artist, in the midst of all Errour's Deformities to descry the defaced lineaments of that Truth which first it did resemble: As *Plutarch* spake sometime of those Egyptian Fables of *Isis* and *Osiris*, that they had ἀμυδρῶς τινος ἐμφάσεις ἢ ἀληθείας, *certain weak apparences and glimmerings of Truth*, but so as that they needed δεινὸν ἰχνυλάτην, *some notable Diviner*, to discover them.

See Chap. 5.

And this I think is the case of that grand Errour of the Papists, concerning the *Lord's Supper being a Sacrifice*: which perhaps at first did rise by degeneration from a primitive Truth, whereof the very Obliquity of this Errour yet may bear some dark and obscure intimation. Which will best appear when we have first discovered the *True Notion of the Lord's Supper*; whence we shall be able at once to convince the Errour of this Popish Tenet, and withal to give a just account of the first rise of it. *Rectum Index sui & obliqui.*

CHAP. I.

That it was a Custom among the Jews and Heathens, to feast upon things sacrificed; and that the Custom of the Christians, in partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ once sacrificed upon the Cross, in the Lord's Supper, is analogical hereunto.

THe right Notion of that Christian Feast, called *The Lords Supper*, in which we eat and drink the Body and Blood of *Christ*, that was once offered up to God for us, is to be derived (if I mistake not) from Analogy to that ancient Rite among the *Jews* of *Feasting upon things sacrificed*, and eating of those things which they had offered up to God.

For the better conceiving whereof, we must first consider a little how many kinds of Jewish Sacrifices there were, and the nature of them. Which although they are very well divided, according to the received opinion, into four, קטורת, חטאת, שלמים, עולה, *the Burnt-offering, the Sin-offering, the Trespass-offering, and the Peace-offering*: yet perhaps I may make a more notional Division of them, for our use, into these three species.

First, Such as were wholly offered up to God, and burnt upon the Altar: which were the *Holocausts* or *Burnt-offerings*.

Secondly, Such wherein, besides something offered up to God upon the Altar, the *Priests* had also a part to eat of. And these are also subdivided into the *Sin-offerings* and the *Trespass-offerings*.

Thirdly, Such as in which, besides something offered up to God, and a portion bestowed on the *Priests*, the *Owners* themselves had a share likewise. And these were called שלמים or *Peace-offerings*, which

Concerning the difference between these two, see *Petit* in his *Variae Lectiones*.

which contained in them, as the Jewish Doctors speak חלק לטם וחלק לכהן וחלק לבעל, *a Portion for God*, and the *Priests*, and the *Owners* also; and thence they use to give the Etymon of the Hebrew word *Shelamim*. כי זה הובח שלום ביניהם. Because these Sacrifices brought Peace to the Altar, the Priests, and the Owners, in that every one of these had a share in them.

Now for the *First* of these, although (perhaps to signify some special Mystery concerning *Christ*) they were themselves wholly offered up to God, and burnt upon the Altar; yet they had ever *Peace-offerings* regularly annexed to them when they were not קרבנות ציבור, *Offerings for the whole Congregation*, but for any particular persons; that so the Owners might at the same time when they offered up to God feast also upon the Sacrifices.

And for the *Second*, although the Owners themselves did not eat of them; the reason whereof was, because they were not perfectly reconciled to God, being for the present in a state of guilt, which they made atonement for in these Sacrifices; yet they did it by the Priests, who were their Mediators unto God, and as their Proxies, did eat of the Sacrifices for them.

But in the *Peace-offerings*, because such as brought them had no uncleanness upon them, (*Levit. 7. 20.*) and so were perfectly reconciled to God, and in covenant with him, therefore they were in their own persons to eat of those Sacrifices, which they had offered unto God as a Federal Rite between God and them; which we shall explain at large hereafter.

So then, the Eating of the Sacrifices was a due and proper *Appendix* unto all Sacrifices, one way or other, and either by the Priests, or themselves, when the person that offered was capable thereof. Wherefore we shall find in the Scripture, that *Eating of the Sacrifices* is brought in continually as a Rite belonging to Sacrifice in general. Which we will now shew in divers instances.

Exod. 34. 15. God commands the *Jews*, that when they came into the Land of *Canaan*, they should destroy the Altars, and Images, and all the Monuments of Idolatry among those Heathens thus, *Lest thou make a Covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a-whoring after their gods, and do Sacrifice unto their Gods, and one call thee, and thou EAT of his Sacrifice*: Which indeed afterward came thus to pass, *Num. 25. 2.* *They called the people to the Sacrifice of their gods, and the people did EAT, and bow down to their gods*; or, as it is cited in *Psal. 106. 28.* *They joynd themselves unto Baal-peor, and ATE the Sacrifice of the dead.*

When *Jethro*, *Moses's* Father in Law, came to him, *Exod. 18. 12.* *He took a Burnt-offering and Sacrifices for God; and Aaron came, and all the Elders of Israel, TO EAT BREAD before the Lord*: By *Sacrifices* there are meant *Peace-offerings*, as *Aben-Ezra* and the *Targum* well expound it, which we said before were regularly joynd with *Burnt-offerings*.

So *Exod. 32.* When the *Israelites* worshipped the golden Calf, the Text saith that *Aaron* built an Altar before it, and made a Proclamation, saying, *To-morrow is a FEAST unto the Lord*: (see how the Altar and the Feast were a-kin to one another:) *And they rose up early*

in

in the morning, and offered Burnt-offerings and brought Peace-offerings and the people *SATE DOWN TO EAT AND DRINK*. Which passage *S. Paul* makes use of, being about to dehorte the *Corinthians* from eating things sacrificed to Idols, *1 Cor. 10*. Neither be ye Idolaters, as some of them were; as it is written, The people *SATE DOWN TO EAT AND DRINK*: for this was no common Eating, but the Eating of those Sacrifices which had been offered up to the golden Calf.

The first of *Sam. 1. 3*. it is said of *Elkanah*, that he went up out of his City yearly to worship, and to sacrifice to the Lord of Hosts in *Shiloh*: and when the time was come that he offered, he gave to *Peninnah* his wife, and to all her Sons and daughters, *PORTIONS*; and unto *Hannah* he gave a double *PORTION*; that is, Portions to eat of those Sacrifices that had been offered up to God, as *R. David Kimchi* notes. And in the ninth Chapter of the same Book, when *Saul* was seeking *Samuel*, going towards the City he met some maidens that told him *Samuel* was come to the City, for there was a Sacrifice for the people that day in the High place: As soon (say they) as you come into the City, you shall find him before he go up to the High place *TO EAT*; for the people will not *EAT* until he come, because he doth bless the Sacrifice. Where though the word *Bamah* properly signifies a High place, or place of Sacrifice, whence the Greek word *Βᾶμος* is thought to be derived: yet it is here rendred by the *Targum*, as often elsewhere, *בית אסחובת* *Domus Accubitus*, a house of feasting; because feasting and sacrificing were such general Concomitants of one another.

So again in the *16. Chap. Samuel* went to *Bethlehem* to anoint *David*: *I am come* (saith he) *to sacrifice to the Lord*; sanctifie your selves, and come with me to the Sacrifice. But when he understood that *Jesse's* youngest son was absent, he saith to *Jesse*, Send and fetch him, for we will not *SIT DOWN* until he come.

Verf. 11.

So I understand that of the *Sichemites*, according to the judgment of the Jewish Doctors, *Judg. 9. 27*. They went into the house of their god, and did *EAT* and *DRINK*, and cursed *Abimelech*; that is, they went into the house of their god to sacrifice, and did eat and drink of the Sacrifice: which perhaps was the reason of the name by which they called their god, whom they thus worshipped, *BERRITH*, which signifies a Covenant, because they worshipped him by this Federal Rite of eating of his Sacrifices; of which more hereafter.

Thus likewise the Hebrew Scholiasts expound that in the *16. chap.* of the same Book *verf. 23*. concerning the *Philistims* when they had put out *Sampson's* eyes; They met together to offer a great Sacrifice unto *Dagon* their God, and to *REJOYCE*, that is, in feasting upon the Sacrifices,

Hence it is that the Idolatry of the Jews in worshipping other gods is so often described Synecdochically under the Notion of Feasting. *Isa. 57. 7*. Upon a lofty and high mountain hast thou *SET THY BED*, and thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifice. * For in those ancient times they were not wont to sit at Feasts, but lie down on Beds or Couches. *Ezek. 23*. You sent for men from far, *Sabzeans* from the Wilderness, (i. e. Idolatrous Priests from Arabia) and lo they came, for whom thou didst wash

Of Saba see
Salmasius in
Etimanis Ex-
ercitat. p. 497.
& 500.

thy

thy self, and sateſt upon a ſtately BED, with a TABLE prepared before thee. Amos 2. verſe 8. They laid themſelves down upon clothes laid to pledge, by every Altar, i. e. laid themſelves down to eat of the Sacrifice that was offered on the Altar. And in Ezek. 18. 11. Eating upon the Mountains ſeems to be put for Sacrificing upon the Mountains, becauſe it was a conſtant Appendix to it. He that hath not done any of theſe things, but hath even EATEN upon the Mountains, בְּטוֹרֵי מַלְאָכָה, i. e. hath worſhipped Idols upon the Mountains, ſo the Targum renders it. Laſtly, S. Paul makes Eating of the Sacrifice a general Appendix of the Altar, Heb. 12. 10. We have an Altar, whereof they have no right to EAT that ſerve the Tabernacle.

I will obſerve this one thing more, becauſe it is not commonly underſtood, that all the while the Jews were in the Wilderneſs, they were to eat no meat at all at their private Tables, but that whereof they had firſt ſacrificed to God at the Tabernacle. For this is clearly the meaning of that place, Levit. 17. verſ. 4, 5. Whatſoever man there be of the houſe of Iſrael that killeth a Lamb, or a Goat, or an Ox within the Camp, or without the Camp, and bringeth it not to the door of the Tabernacle, to offer an offering to the Lord, blood ſhall be imputed to him. And ſo Nachmanides there głoſſes according to the mind of the ancient Rabbins, הִנֵּה מִתְחַלְלָה צוּה שְׁנַיִם מֵהֶם אוֹכְלִים שְׁלָמִים, i. e. Behold, God commanded at firſt that all which the Iſraelites did eat ſhould be Peace-offerings. Which command was afterward diſpenſed with, when they came into the Land, and their dwellings were become remote from the Tabernacle, ſo that they could not come up every day to ſacrifice. Deut. 12. 21. If the place which the Lord thy God hath choſen be too far from thee; then thou ſhalt kill of the Herd and of the Flock, and thou ſhalt eat within thy gates whatſoever thy ſoul luſteth after. Only now there were in ſtead thereof three conſtant and ſet times appointed in the year, in which every male was to come up and ſee God at his Tabernacle, and eat and drink before him: and the Sacrifice that was then offered was wont to be called by them עוֹלַת רְאִיָּה, a Sacrifice of Seeing.

Thus I have ſufficiently declared the Jewish Rite of joyning Feaſting with Sacrificing: and it will not be now amiſs, if we add, as a Mantiffa to that diſcourſe, ſomething of the Cuſtom of the Heathens alſo in the like kind, the rather becauſe we may make ſome uſe of it afterward. And it was ſo general amongſt them in their idolatrous Sacrifices, that Iſaac Abrabanel, a learned Jew, obſerved it in Piruſh Hattorah, בְּיָמֵינוּ קָדְמוֹנִים כֵּל מִי שֶׁהוּא עוֹשֶׂה עֲבוּרַת אֱלֹהִים מִדּוּ הוּא עוֹשֶׂה עֲלֵיהּ מְכַרְרָה, In thoſe ancient times whoſoever ſacrificed to Idols made a Feaſt upon the Sacrifice. And the Original of it amongſt them was ſo ancient, that it is aſcribed by their own Authors to Prometheus, as Salmaſius in his Solino-Plinian Exercitacions notes, Hunc Sacrificii morem à Prometheus originem duxiſſe volunt, quo partem hoſtiæ in ignem conjicere ſoliti ſunt, partem ad ſuum victum abuti. P. 129. a. Which Prometheus, although, according to Eufebius his Chronicon, and our ordinary Chronologers, his time would fall near about the 3028. year of the Julian Period, which was long after Noah; yet it is certain that he lived much ſooner, near about Noah's time, in that he is made to be the ſon of Japhet, which was Noah's ſon, from whom the Europeans deſcended, (Gen.

Note that
 אִי־הַיָּמִין
 the Islands of
 the Nations is
 commonly u-
 sed in Scrip-
 ture as a pro-
 per name to
 exprefs Eu-
 rope by.
 Lib. i. de Idol.

(Gen. 10. 5.) called therefore by the Poet *Iapeti genus*. For there is no great heed to be given to the Chronology of Humane Writers concerning this age of the world, which *Censorinus* from *Varro* calls *μυθικὸν* the *fabulous time* or *age*. Although I rather subscribe to the judgment of the learned *Vossius*, that this *Prometheus* was no other than *Noah* himself, the Father of *Japhet*, and not his son, because the other things do so well agree to him; and we may easily allow the Heathens such a mistake as that is in a matter of so remote antiquity: and then, if this be true, the whole world received this Rite of Feasting upon Sacrifice, at first, together with that of Sacrifice, at the same time. Instances of this Custom are so frequent and obvious in Heathen Authors, that *Homer* alone were able to furnish us sufficiently.

In the α' of the *Iliads* he brings in a description of a Hecatomb-Sacrifice which *Agamemnon* prepared for *Apollo* by his Priest *Chryses*, and a Feast that followed immediately after it. In β' the same *Agamemnon* offers up an Ox to *Jupiter*, and inviteth divers of the *Græcian* Captains to partake of it. In γ' of the *Odysses* *Nestor* makes a magnificent Sacrifice to *Neptune* of eighty two Bullocks, with a Feast upon it, on the shoar. In θ' *Alcinous* offers up a Bullock unto *Jupiter*, and then immediately follows,

Δαίνυντ' ἐρωδέα δαίτῃ
 Τεττόμενοι

Plato in his second *De Legibus* acknowledges these Feasts under the name of ἑορταὶ μετὰ θεῶν, Feasts after Divine worship offered up to the Gods. Among the *Latins*, that of *Lycus* in *Plautus* his *Pænulus* belongs to this purpose;

Convivas volo
 Reperire vobis commodos, qui unà sient,
 Interibî attulerint exta.

And that of *Gelasimus* in *Stichus*;

Jámne exta cocta sunt? quot agnis fecerat?

After this manner he in *Virgil's Eclog*s invites his Friend,

Cùm faciam vitulâ pro frugibus, ipse venito.

And thus *Euander* entertains *Aeneas* in the eighth *Æneid*,

Tum lecti juvenes certatim, aræque Sacerdos,
 Viscera tosta ferunt taurorum

Plutarch somewhere observes it as a strange and uncouth Rite, in the worship of the goddess *Hecate*, that they which offered Sacrifice unto her did not partake of it. And the same Author reports of *Cataline* and his Conspirators, ὅτι κατὰ θύσαστες ἀνθρώπων ἐγύθασαν το ἴδιον σαρκῶν,

—Sacrificant ?

Dant inde partem majorem mihi quam sibi.

ἐπι δειπίας.

These Portions which they carried home were called commonly by the *Greeks* *μελίδες*, and in the *Umbrian* Language, as *Festus* tells us, *Strobula*. *Theophrastus* in his *Characters* uses the word *τόμοι* in this sense, *καὶ Διούτιος καὶ ἀναλισκοῦσας ἤκων τόμον ἀπαρτήτων*, i. e. *ad sacrificantes & epula concelebantes accedit, ut inde Portionem auferat*.

And because they thought they did receive some blessing from the gods with it, therefore it was sometime called *ύγεια*, as we find in *Hesychius* upon that word *ύγεια*· *ἀλφιλα οἴνω καὶ ἐλαίω πεφυραμμένα, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ δεῖσ φερόμενον, εἴτε μέρον, εἴτε θάλλου, ἢ ύγεια*.

But otherwise if there were any thing yet remaining, it belonged to the *Priests*, as we learn from that *Scholiast* which we have already commended, upon *Vespa*, νόμου ἦν, τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τῆς θυσίας τὰς ἱερέας λαμβάνειν· i. e. *It was an ancient Law among the Athenians, that the Priests should have the remainder*. Which is not only to be understood of the skin and such like parts, but of the flesh of the Sacrifice it self; as we learn from *St. Austin* in his exposition upon *Rom. 2.* who tells us also that these Reliques were sometimes sold for them in the Market; whence that speech of *S. Paul*, *1 Corinth. 10. 25.* *Whatsoever is sold in the shambles eat, asking no question for conscience sake*.

I will shut up all with this one observation more, That as we said of the *Jews*, that in the *Wilderness* they did eat no meat but of that which they had first sacrificed; in like manner the *Heathens* were wont to sacrifice before all their Feasts: Whence it is that *Athenæus* observes, Feasts among the ancient *Heathens* were ever accounted Sacred and Religious things. And thus we must understand that speech of *S. Paul* in the 27. verse of the forenamed Chapter, *If any one that believes not invite you, and you be disposed to go; whatsoever is set before you eat, asking no question for conscience sake*. Nay, it was accounted a prophane thing amongst them, to eat any meat at their private Tables whereof they had not first sacrificed to their gods; as appeareth by that *Greek Proverb*, *ἄθυστα ἐσθίειν*, used by *Anacreon* and others as a Brand of a notorious wicked man, viz. *one that would eat meat whereof he had not sacrificed*.

Now having thus shewn, that both amongst the *Jews* under the Law, and the *Gentiles* in their Pagan worship, (for *Paganism* is nothing but *Judaism degenerate*) it was ever a solemn Rite to joyn *Feasting* with *Sacrifice*, and to *EAT* of those things which had been offered up; the very Concinnity and Harmony of the thing it self leads me to conceive, That that *Christian Feast* under the Gospel, called *THE LORD'S SUPPER*, is the very same thing, and bears the same Notion, in respect of the true *Christian Sacrifice* of *Christ* upon the Cross, that those did to the *Jewish* and *Heathenish Sacrifices*, and so is *EPULUM SACRIFICIALE*, a *Sacrificial Feast*, I mean, a *Feast upon Sacrifice*; or *EPULUM EX OBLATIS*, a *Feast upon things offered up to God*. Only this difference arising in the Parallel, that because those *Legal Sacrifices* were but *Types* and *Shadows* of the true *Christian Sacrifice*, they were often repeated & renewed, as well as the Feasts which were made upon them;

them : But now the True Christian Sacrifice being come, and offered up once for all, never to be repeated, we have therefore no more Typical Sacrifices left amongst us, but only the Feasts upon the True Sacrifice still symbollically continued, and often repeated, in reference to that ONE GREAT SACRIFICE, which is always as present in God's sight and efficacious as if it were but now offered up for us.

CH A P. II.

An Objection taken from the Passover answered. Proved that the Passover was a true Sacrifice, and the Paschal Feast a Feast upon a Sacrifice, from Scripture, and Jewish Authors.

But methinks I hear it objected to me, That the True Notion of the Lord's Supper is to be derived rather from the Passover among the Jews : It being the common opinion of Divines, that the Jews had but two Sacraments, viz. Circumcision and the Passover, that answer to those two amongst us, Baptism and The Lords Supper : But the Jewish Passover had no relation to a Sacrifice, being nothing else but a meer FEAST; and therefore from Analogy to the Jewish Rites we cannot make the Lord's Supper to be EPULUM SACRIFICIALE, a Feast upon Sacrifice.

To which I answer, first, That I know not what warrant there is for that Divinity so confidently imposed upon us by some, that the Jews had but two Sacraments, Circumcision and the Passover; and that it should thence follow by inevitable consequence, that the Lord's Supper must answer, only to the Jewish Passover. Sure I am, the Jews had many more. For, not to instance in that of S. Paul, Our Fathers were all BAPTIZED unto Moses in the Cloud, and in the Sea, like our Christian Baptism; and did all EAT the same Spiritual meat, (viz. the Manna) and did all DRINK the same Spiritual drink, (viz. the Water of the Rock that followed them) like the Bread and Wine in the Christian Lord's Supper : nor to examine all the other Sacramental Ceremonies which they had, that were almost as many Sacraments as Ceremonies : These Feasts upon the Sacrifices, which we have all this while insisted on, were nothing else but true and proper Sacraments * joyned with Sacrifices.

But secondly, I will grant that the Jewish Passover hath a special resemblance to the Christian LORD'S SUPPER, although upon other grounds : For I say, undoubtedly the Passover was a true and proper Sacrifice, and therefore the Paschal Feast a Feast upon a Sacrifice: So that this shall still advance and improve our former Notion.

For the better conceiving whereof, we must understand, that besides those four General kinds of Sacrifices among the Jews before mentioned, the Burnt-offering, the Sin-offering, the Trespass-offering, and the Peace-offering; there were some other Peculiar kinds of Sacrifices, as the Masters tell us, viz. these three, בכורים ומעשר ופסח, the

Object.

Answer.

1 Cor. 10.

* See Cloupenburg in Schola Sacrif. and of the right Notion of the Sacrament see Vossius in Theol. Theolog.

Firflings of Cattel, and the Tenth, and the Passover. And the reason why these, in the distribution of Sacrifices, are thus distinguished by them from all the other General kinds of Sacrifices, is thus given by the famous *Maimonides* upon the *Misna* of the *Talmud*, in *Massecheth Zebachim* the sixth Chap. לפי שאותן הארבע פעמים רבנה יחוייב היחיד בנר אחד מהם לפי שנו העניינים והציבור יחוייב בהם בוסנים ואלו אינם כן *Because those four forenamed were such kind of Sacrifices as that a private person was often bound to each of them in several cases, and the whole Congregation in several seasons; but these three were not of that nature, being peculiarly restrained to one case or season.* Now these three kinds of *Peculiar Sacrifices* were in their nature all nearest of kin to the *Peace-offerings*, and are therefore called by the Jewish Doctors רמים לשלמים like to *Peace-offerings*, because they were not only killed in the same place, being all קדשים קלים *light Holy things*, and had the אומרות or *inward parts* thereof to be burnt likewise upon the Altar; but also in that part of them was to be eaten by the Owners. Insomuch that the *Talmudists* put many cases in which a Lamb that was set apart for a *Passover*, and could not be offered in that Notion, was to be turned into a *Peace-offering*, as that which was near of kin to it.

But yet these Masters tell us, there were three precise differences between the *Pascha* and the ordinary *Peace-offering*, במטכה ונסכים. First, in that there was no *laying on of hands* upon the *Passover* in the killing of it, for this was no where commanded, as in all the *Peace-offerings*. Secondly, that there was no *Mincah* or *Meat-offering*, nor *Libamen* or *Drink-offering*, to be joyned with it; (for so they use to include both in the word *Nesachim*.) Thirdly, that there was no *waving of the Breast and Shoulder* for the Priests Portion; the reason whereof was, because the Priests were bound always to have *Passover-offerings* of their own, as it is expressed *Ezra 6.* and so needed not any *Wave-offering*,

But that the *Passovers* were in other respects of the same nature with the *Peace-offerings*, and therefore true and proper Sacrifices, because it is a thing generally not so well understood, and therefore opposed by divers, I shall labour the more fully to convince it. I say, That the *Passovers* were always brought to the *Tabernacle* or the *Temple*, and there presented and offered up to God by the Priest, as all Sacrifices were; that the Blood of them was there sprinkled upon the Altar, of which the Hebrew Doctors well observe, עקר הזבח בהויית הדם * *The very Essence of a Sacrifice is in sprinkling of the blood*; and also that the *Imurim*, (as they call them) that is, the Fat and Kidneys, were burnt upon the Altar; All this I shall endeavour to demonstrate.

* Maimon. in
Korban Pe-
sach. ch. 2.

Only first I must premise this, That when I say the *Passover* was brought to the *Tabernacle*, and offered by the Priests, I do not mean that the Priests were always bound to kill the *Passovers*: For I grant that the people were wont to kill their own *Passovers*; and so I find it expressly in the *Misna* of the *Talmud*, *Massech. Zebach cap. 5. sect. 6.* שחט ישראל וקבל הכהן *All Israel killed the Passover, and the Priests received the blood*: Which *Talmudical* expression alludes to that place, *Exod. 12. 6.* The whole assembly of the Congregation of Israel shall

shall kill it in the Evening, where this seems to be commanded by God. And the Practice consonant hereunto I find intimated at least in Scripture, in Hezekiah's Passover, 2 Chron. 30. 17. *There were many in the Congregation that were not sanctified; therefore the Levites had the charge of killing the Passover for every one that was not clean, to sanctifie it unto the Lord:* Where R. Solomon writeth thus; *אל תחמה למה לא נהרגו בני ישראל, Wonder not why the Owners themselves did not kill them, for it followeth that many in the Congregation had not sanctified themselves; therefore the Levites were appointed in their place to sanctifie the Work unto the Lord.* And R. D. Kimchi to the same purpose; *Though many of them did eat the Passover in uncleanness, it being a case of necessity, in that they had no time to purifie themselves; yet for them to come into the Court and kill the Passovers, this was not needful when it might be done as well by the Levites.* And therefore the same is to be thought likewise of the Priests and Levites killing the Passover Ezra 6. because the people returning newly from Captivity were not yet purified, as it is there also partly intimated.

But this doth not at all hinder our proceeding, or evince the Passover not to be a Sacrifice: For it is a great Mistake in most of our learned Writers, to think that the killing of every Sacrifice was proper to the Priest; whereas indeed there was no such matter; but as we have already granted that the people commonly killed their own Passovers, so we will affirm that they did the same concerning any of the other Sacrifices. *Levit. I. 4, 5.* it is said concerning the *Burnt-offering*, *If any man bring a Burnt-offering to the Lord, he shall lay his hand upon the head of the Burnt-offering, AND HE SHALL KILL the Bullock before the Lord, and the Priests, Aaron's sons, shall take the blood.* So concerning the *Peace-offerings*, Chap. 3. 2. *HE shall lay his hand on the head of his offering, and KILL it at the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation:* And concerning the *Sin-offering*, Chap. 4. 24. *HE shall lay his hand on the head of the Goat, and KILL it at the place where they kill the Burnt-offering before the Lord.* We see then what incompetent Judges our own Authors are in Jewish Customs and Antiquities. The Jewish Doctors and Antiquaries (which are so much contemned by some of our Magisterial Dictators in all Learning) would have taught us here another Lesson. For thus *Maimonides* in *Biath Hammik.* speaks to this point, *שחיטת קודשים כשרה בידים אפרו, קודשי קודשים בין קודשי יחיד ובין קודשי ציבור שנא ושחט את בן הבקר* that is, *The killing of the Holy things may lawfully be done by strangers, yea of the most Holy things, whether they be the Holy things of a private person, or of the whole Congregation: as it is said, (Levit. I.) And He shall kill the Bullock, and the Priests, Aaron's sons, shall take the blood.* The same is avouched again afterward by the same Author in *Maaseh Korban* chap. 5.

But if any one would therefore fain know what were properly the Priests actions about the Sacrifice, which might not be done lawfully by any stranger, the same Jewish Authors have a trite Rule amongst them concerning it: *מקבלה ואילך מצור כהונה*, *The Receiving of the blood and all the other parts that were to be offered up, and all that followeth after that, belongeth to the Priests office.* And *Isaac Abrabanel* will teach us more particularly, in his Comment on *Leviticus*, that there

there were Five things to be done by the Owners of the Sacrifice that brought it, and Five things by the Priest that offered it. The first Five were, Laying on of hands, Killing, Flaying, Cutting up, and Washing of the Inwards: the other Five were, the receiving of the blood in a Vessel, the Sprinkling of it upon the Altar, the Putting * of fire upon the Altar, the Ordering of the wood upon the fire, and the Ordering of the pieces upon the wood. Hence it is that upon the fore-quoted place of the *Misna* (which I brought to shew that the People did kill the Pässeovers) *Rabbi Obadiah of Bartanora* thus glosseth, *שחט ישראל אם ירצה שהשחיטה נשרה בידים בכל הקרבנות*, i.e. *The people of Israel might all kill the Pässeovers themselves, if they pleased, because the KILLING OF ANY SACRIFICE might be done lawfully by strangers; but the Priests received the Blood.*

* Of this vide
Magistorum
Placita.

Now I come to prove what I have undertaken. And first, That the Pässeover was always brought to the Tabernacle or the Temple, and there offered unto God as the other Sacrifices were, is clear enough from *Deut. 16. 5.* *Thou shalt not sacrifice the Pässeover within any of the gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee; but at the place which the Lord thy God chuseth to place his Name there, there thou shalt sacrifice.* And that this is to be understood, not of *Jerusalem* in general, but of the Tabernacle or Temple, appears, both because the same expressions are used of the other Sacrifices, *Deut. 12. vers. 5, 6, 11, 14.* where it is clearly meant that they were to be brought to the Temple; and because it is certain that every thing that was killed amongst the *Jews* was either to be killed at the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, or else might be killed indifferently in any part of the whole Land.

Let us now see how the Jewish Doctors comment upon this place, men better skilled in these Rites than our own Authors are. *R. Moses BEN MAIMON*, in *Halachah Pesach, cap. 1.* *אין שוחטין ארץ הפסח*, &c. *They kill not the Pässeover but in the Court, as the rest of the Holy things; yea in the time when High places were permitted, they sacrificed not the Pässeover in a private High place; for it is said (Deut. 16.) Thou mayst not sacrifice the Pässeover in any of thy gates: We have learnt, that this is a prohibition to kill the Pässeover in any private High place, although it be in a time when High places are permitted.* From which excellent Gloss of theirs it appeareth that there was more preciseness in bringing of the Pässeover to the place where God's Name was put, and offering it at the Tabernacle or the Temple, than of any of the other Sacrifices. And this was the reason, as was before intimated out of *KIMCHI*, why in *Hezekiah's* Pässeover the *Levites* had the charge of killing, because the Pässeovers were to be killed in the Court of the Temple, whither the people being unclean could not enter; for otherwise if it had been done without the Court, they might as well have killed their own Pässeovers as have eaten them. And this may be farther confirmed, in that the Pässeover is called a *Korban*: *Numb. 9. 7.* *When certain men were defiled by a dead body, that they could not keep the Pässeover, they came to Moses and said, Wherefore are we kept back that we may not OFFER an OFFERING to the Lord in his appointed season? And again, vers. 13.* *If any one be clean, and forbearth to keep the Pässeover, even that Soul shall be cut off;*

off, because he brought not an OFFERING (or a KORBAN) to the Lord in his appointed season. Nothing was called an OFFERING, or a KORBAN, but that which was brought and offered up to God at the Tabernacle or Temple, where his Name was put.

That the Blood of the Passovers was to be sprinkled by the Priest, and the Fat to be burnt upon the Altar, although this must needs follow from the former, yet I prove it more particularly thus: *Exod. 23. 18. Thou shalt not offer the Blood of my Sacrifice with leavened Bread; neither shall the Fat of my Feast remain until the morning:* For by the general consent of the Jewish Scholiasts, and all those Christian Interpreters that I have seen, this place is to be understood only of the Passover; and therefore ONKELOS, that famous Chaldee Paraphrast, for דם זבחי the blood of my Sacrifice, made no question but to read it דם פסחי the blood of my Passover. But it appears undoubtedly from a parallel place in the 34. Chapter of the same Book ver. 23, 25, 26. where those 17, 18, and 19. verses of the 23. Chap. are again repeated; *Thrice in the year shall all your men-children appear before the Lord — Thou shalt not offer the blood of my Sacrifice with leaven, neither shall the Sacrifice of the Feast of the Passover be left unto the morning. The first of the First-fruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not seeth a Kid in its mothers milk.* Here what was wanting in the former, is supplied; *Neither shall the Sacrifice of the Feast of the PASSEOVER be left unto the morning* And I have set down the whole Context with it, because it will be needful, for the better clearing of it, to consider its coherence with other Verses, which is the very same in both Chapters: And Isaac Abrabanel hath set it down excellently in this manner.

First therefore, saith he, when God had spoken of the Jews appearing thrice before him every year, viz. at the Feast of the Passover or of Unleavened bread, the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost, the Feast of Tabernacles or In-gathering, בית שהגוד שלשת החגגים ההם נתן בכל אחד, מהם משפט מיוחד i. e. *When he had spoken of these three Feasts, he subjoyns immediately some Rule concerning every one of them in particular:* First, for the Passover, in those words, *Thou shalt not offer the blood of my Sacrifice with leaven, neither shall the Sacrifice of the Feast of the Passover be left until the morning:* Secondly, for the Feast of Pentecost, in those, *The first of the First-fruits of the Land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God:* Thirdly, for the Feast of Tabernacles or In-gathering, *Thou shalt not seeth a Kid in his mothers milk;* which words, for want of this light of the Context, were never yet sufficiently explained by any of our Interpreters. And the third of this Coherence alone led Abrabanel very near the true meaning of them ere he was aware: חזרת נראה בזה שהיה ממעשה עובדי עבודת אלילים בזמן קביצתם לעשות כן לל לבשל הגדיים בחלב בזמן אסיפת התבואות לחטום שבוה וחרצו לאלהיהם i. e. *It seems most probable that this Command was occasioned from a Custom among the Idolatrous Heathens, that at the time of their gathering in of Fruits they were wont to boil a Kid in the Dam's milk, thinking that by this means they were made acceptable to their gods, and did procure a blessing by it.* To confirm which Gloss, he

he tells us of a Custom somewhat like to this used in his time in some parts of Spain.

But because *Abrabanel* doth not tell his tale so handsomely as he should, I will help him out a little from an ancient *Karraite*, whose Comment I have seen upon the Pentateuch, MSS. (For the Monuments of these *Karraite Jews* were never yet printed, and are very rarely seen in these *European* parts.) And it is thus: *It was a Custom of the ancient Heathens, when they had gathered in all their Fruits, to take a Kid and boil it the Dam's milk, and then ררך בשפרה, in a Magical way, to go about and besprinkle with it all their Trees and Fields and Gardens and Orchards; thinking by this means they should make them fructifise and bring forth fruit again more abundantly the following year.* Wherefore God forbid his people the *Jews* at the time of their *In-gathering* to use any such Superstitious or Idolatrous Rite. And I produce this the rather, because *Abrabanel*, toward the end of his Comment on this place, mentions a Gloss of some *KARRAITISH* Author upon it, although it be altogether unlike to this which we have here related, וחכמי הקראים כתבו במעם לא תבשר גורי שלא תחערב, הפרח עם העקרין, *Scribunt Sapientes KARRÆORUM, Nè coquas hædum in lacte matris suæ, hoc est, Nè commisceatur Germen cum Radicibus.*

But to return. As from the coherence of the whole Context thus cleared it is manifest that this verse in both places is to be understood only of the *Pässeover*; so it may be farther confirmed from the *Talmudists*, who ever expound it in this sence, as appears by the *Misna* in *Zebachin*, chapter the 6. השוחט את הפסח על החמץ עובר בלא תעשה, *He that killeth the Pässeover with leaven sinneth against a Negative Command* (which is more amongst the *Jews* than to sin against a *Positive*) viz. that in these places already quoted, *Thou shalt not offer the blood of my Sacrifice with leaven*: From whence they collected, as *Maimonides* tells us, that they were to put away Leaven the fourteenth day, a day before the killing of the *Pässeover*. Nay, this place cannot possibly be understood in any other sence, as of Sacrifices in general, because Leaven was sometimes commanded with Sacrifices, as *Levit*, 7. 13.

But that the Blood of the *Pässeovers* was sprinkled, may be demonstrated farther, not only from that of *Hezekiah's Pässeover*, *2 Chron.* 30. 16. *The Priests sprinkled the blood which they received from the hand of the Levites: For there were many in the Congregation that were not sanctified, therefore the Levites had the charge of killing the Pässeovers: but also from Josiah's, chap. 35. ver. 11. which can no ways be evaded; They, that is, the Levites, killed the Pässeover, and the Priests sprinkled the blood from their hands, and the Levites slayed them.* Now the sprinkling of the Blood is the Effence of a Sacrifice, as before we noted from the *Jewish Doctors*. And therefore the *Pässeover* must needs be a *Sacrifice*. וזוהי עולה אֶלֶּהוּ.

For a confirmation of all this, I will describe punctually the whole manner of the *PASCHAL SACRIFICE* from the *Misna* of the *Jewish Talmud*, a Monument of such antiquity as cannot be distrusted in these Rites. Nothing (say they) was killed before the Morning-Sacrifice; and after the Evening-Sacrifice nothing but the *Pässeover*.

The

The Evening Sacrifice was usually killed between the 8. and 9. hour, (that is, half an hour after 2. in the afternoon,) and offered between the 9. and 10. (that is, half an hour after 3.) But in the Evening of the Passeeover the Daily Sacrifice was killed an hour sooner; and after that began the killing of the Passeeover, which was to be done between *the two Evenings*; whereof the first began at Noon, from the Sun's Declination toward the West, the second at Sun-set. Yet the *Pascha* might be killed before the Daily Sacrifice, if there were but one to stir the Blood and keep it from coagulating, till the Blood of the Daily Sacrifice were sprinkled; for that was always to be sprinkled first. The Passeeovers were always killed by three several Companies. When the Court was once full, they shut the doors, and the Priests stood all in their ranks with round vessels in their hands to receive the Blood; those that were of Gold in a rank by themselves, and those that were of Silver; all without bottoms, lest they should be set somewhere on the ground, and the Blood congeal in them. And they killed the Passeeovers, as the Peace-offerings, in any part of the Court, because they were קודשים קלים, *the less holy things*; as the קודשי קודשים, *the Holy of Holies*, were always to be killed at the North-side of the Altar. The Priests then took the Blood, and gave it from one to another, till it came to him that stood next the Altar; and he sprinkled it all at once toward the bottom of the Altar, which was a Square of 32 Cubits, save that the South-East Horn had no bottom. After the Blood was sprinkled, the Lamb was flayed and cut up, the *Imurim* or inwards taken out and laid upon the Altar; then the Owner took up the Lamb with the skin of it, and carried it to his own home. The first Company having ended, then the second came in, and afterward the third; and for every Company they began anew the HALLEL, and sang all the while the Passeeovers were killing: and when they had finished the *Hallel*, they sang it over a second time; and when they had gone over it a second time, they began it a third time; although it was never known that the 3. time they sang out the *Hallel* quite, or came any farther than אהבתי*, before the Priests had done.

But because, besides these *Talmudistick Jews*, there is another Sect of KARRAITES, mentioned before, (that reject all *Talmudical Traditions* which are not grounded upon Scripture) though little known amongst us, yet famous in the Orient; I will produce one Testimony of theirs also from an ancient Manuscript, that so it may appear we have the full consent of all Jewish Antiquity for this Opinion. The Author's name to me is uncertain, because the Papers have lost both their beginning and end. But they contain in them divers large and complete Discourses upon several Arguments in the *Karraite* way, as about the Jewish Year, the Sabbath, the Passeeover, &c. Concerning the Passeeover, he divides his Discourse into several Chapters, whereof the Title of one is this, במקום הקרבת הפסח ואכילתו. *Concerning the Place where the Passeeover was to be offered and eaten*; where he thus begins: דע שהקרבת הפסח הוא במקום המבחר נכתוב לא תוכל לזבוח את הפסח באחד שעריך ומקום שחישתו בעזרה i. e. Know, that the Offering of the Passeeover was always in the place which God had chosen (to put his Name there,) as it is written, Thou shalt not sacrifice the Passeeover within any of thy gates; and the place of the killing of the Passeeover was in the Court called HESRA, and the blood of it was poured out toward the

אהבתי
I love the Lord,
&c. is the beginning of
Psalms 116.
being part of
the Hallel or
Hymn sung at
that time,
which began
at Ps. 113, and
reached to the
end of Ps. 118

bottom of the Altar, and the Imurim or Inward parts of it were burnt upon the Altar, &c.

Hence it was that when *Cestius* once demanded what the number of the Jews was that resorted to *Jerusalem* at the time of their solemn Feasts, the Priests made answer, and told him exactly how many Lambs and Kids were sacrificed at the Passeeover, *εικοσίπεντε μυριάδες, πρόσδε πεντακίχλια εξακίσια, twenty five Myriads, five thousand and six hundred*; which they could not have done, had not they sacrific'd them at the Temple.

But what need have we of any more dispute? When the Passeeover was first kept in *Aegypt*, were not the Paschal Lambs there killed in a Sacrificial and Expiatory way, when the Blood thereof was to be sprinkled upon the houses, for God to look upon, and so pass over them? It is true, they were killed in every private house; but the reason of that was, because there were then Priests in every Family, viz. the *first-born, which were afterward redeemed, when the children of *Israel* gave up the whole Tribe of *Levi* to God for his service. Such Priests as these were those whom *Moses* sent to sacrifice, *Exod. 24. 5.* called there *young men*; *Moses sent young men of the Children of Israel, which offered Burnt-offerings and sacrificed Peace-offerings to the Lord*; where *Onkelos* the Chaldee Paraphrast reads it *שלח ר' בוכרי* He sent the First born: to which agreeth the Arabick Translation of *R. Saadiab*, and the Persian of *Tamasius*, as *Mr. Selden* notes, whom I cannot without honour mention, as the Glory of our Nation for Oriental Learning.

And was not the killing of the Passeeover a special Type of the death of *Christ*, the true Sacrifice of the world? Give me lieve to note one thing to this purpose, upon the credit of *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, That in the ancient Hebrew Copies of the Bible there was in the Book of *Ezra* a speech of his which he made before the Passeeover, expounding the Mystery thereof concerning *Christ*; which because it favoured the Christians, was timely expunged by the Jews. The speech was this; *Καὶ εἶπεν Ἐσδρας τῷ λαῷ, τὸτο τὸ πάχος ὁ Σωτῆρ ἡμῶν ἢ ἡ καταφυγὴ ἡμῶν. Καὶ εἰδὼν διανοηθῆτε, καὶ ἀναστῆ ὑμῶν ὅτι τὴν καρδίαν, ὅτι μέλλομεν αὐτὸν ταπεινῶν ἐν σημεῖον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλπίσωμεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὅτι μὴ ἐρημαθῆ ὁ τόπος Ἰστῶν εἰς τὸ ἀπαύσιον χρόνον, λέγει ὁ θεὸς τῆς δυνάμεως. Ἐὰν ἢ μὴ πισθῶσιν αὐτῷ, μὴδὲ εἰσακούσιν τῷ κηρύγματός αὐτοῦ, ἔσθε ἐπίχρημα τοῖς ἔθνεσι,*
i. e. Et dixit Esdras populo, Hoc Pascha Salvator noster & Perfugium nostrum. Et si in animum induxeritis, & in cor vestrum ascenderit, quidd, humiliaturi eum simus in signo, & postea speraturi in eum, non desolabitur locus iste in omne tempus, dicit Deus exercituum. Sin in eum non credideritis, neque audieritis annunciationem ejus, deridiculum eritis gentibus. Remarkable it is, if it be true; and the Author deserves the better, credit in it. because he was a Samaritan, and therefore might be the better skilled in Jewish Writings. But however I am sure the Apostle tells us, not only that the Passeeover was a Type of *Christ* in respect of his Death, but also that the proper Notion of the Paschal Feast was, to be a Feast upon Sacrifice, in those words, *1 Cor. 5. 7, 8.* *Christ our Passeeover is sacrificed for us; Therefore let us keep the Feast (that is, the Paschal Feast upon this sacrificed Christ) with the unleavened Bread of sincerity and truth.* Where alluding to that common Jewish Custom of

Feasting

* Vide clarif. Seldenum De Succes. in Pontificat. Hebræor. l. i. c. i. § de Succes. ad Leges Heb. l. i. c. 5.

Feasting upon Sacrifices, of which we have before spoken, he implies that the Paschal Supper was a Feast of the same nature, a Sacrificial Feast.

CHAP. III.

An Answer to some Objections against the Passeeover's being a Sacrifice: and the Controversie about the Day upon which the Jews kept the Passeeover about the time of our Saviour's Death discussed. Proved against Scaliger and others of that Opinion, that no Translations of Feasts from one Feria to another were then in use.

BUT yet we will not dissemble what there is of any moment either in Antiquity or Reason against our own Opinion, ere we let this discourse pass, but subject all to an impartial view.

And first, the Authority of Philo, who in his third Book *De vita Mosi* speaks thus concerning the Passeeover: ἐν ἣ ἕχ οι μὲν ἰδιῶται προσάγει τὰ βρωμῶν τὰ ἱερῆα, θύσαι δ' οἱ ἱερεῖς· ἀλλὰ νόμος προσέειπεν ὅτι πάντες τὸ ἔθνος ἱεραῖται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκάστος τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θυσίας ἀνάγειν τῷ καὶ χειροποιεῖν. Ὁ μὲν ἔν ἅλλῃ ἅπας λέως ἐγγυῖται καὶ φαιδρὸς ἦν, ἐκάστος νομίσει ἱερωσὴν πεποιθῆσθαι· i. e. In qua non ut aliàs plebei homines victimas adducunt ad altare maclandas à sacerdotibus, sed jubente Lege tota gens sacrificat, dum pro se quisque maclat hostiam suis manibus. Tunc universus populus exultabat, unoquoque existimante se Sacerdotii dignitate honoratum. And again in his Book *De Decalogo*; ἐν ἣ θύσαι πανδημῶν αὐτῶν ἐκάστος, τὰς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν ἐκ ἀναμένοντες, ἱερωσὴν τὸ νόμος χειροποιεῖν τὰ ἔθνη πᾶσι, μίαν ἡμέραν ἐξελθεῖν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔθνος, εἰς ὡτρυγίαν θυσίαν· Quando populariter singuli sacrificant, non expectatis sacerdotibus, ipsi permissu Legis fungentes Sacerdotio, quotannis per unum diem destinatum huic negotio.

But to this we answer, that Philo doth not here deny the Passeeover to be a Sacrifice, but confirm it rather, in that he calls it often here and elsewhere *θύσια*, and saith that they did ἀνάγειν, bring it to the Altar, and that the people did ἱεραῖσαι, sacrifice; and doth only distinguish this Paschal Sacrifice from all the other Sacrifices in this, that here, according to his opinion, every one of the people was ἱερωσὴν πεποιθῆσθαι, honoured with the Priestly office, and that the Law did ἱερωσὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔθνη χειροποιεῖν, make every one a Priest for that time to offer up their own Passeeover. But moreover, it is well known that Philo, though he were a Jew by Nation, yet was very * ignorant of Jewish Customs, having been born and bred up at Alexandria: and we have a specimen of his mistakes here, in that he seems to make this difference between the Passeeover and the other Sacrifices, that they were only killed by the Priest, but the people themselves killed their own Passeeovers νόμος προσέειπεν, and νόμος χειροποιεῖν, according to the Law; where he means doubtless that in *Exod. 12. 16.* The whole Assembly of the Congregation of Israel shall kill it. For this is that *Solenne delirium* of our late Authors also, which we have chastised before. But if he mean moreover, that the people did not only kill their Passeeovers, but do all

* Scalig. Elench. Tribar. cap. 25. circa finem. Item in Emend. Temp. de Cyclo Jewishorum Harvaim. Et Hug. Grotius in Matt. 26.

other Priestly offices concerning them, when he says they were *ιερωσὴν τετιμμημένοι* · this, as it hath no ground from Scripture, (and I think will hardly find a Patron now to defend it) so it doth not prejudice our opinion of the *Passeover's being a Sacrifice*, but still much confirm it.

Secondly, it may seem to some a kind of impossibility to conceive how so many Sacrifices as there must be at every *Passeover* could all be offered upon one Altar, since there were no more by the Law permitted.

To which nevertheless I need not answer any thing but this, That there was nothing but the Fat and some of the Inwards burnt upon the Altar; and that the Bigness of the Altar was greater than perhaps is ordinarily conceived: For under the second Temple the *Area* thereof upon the Top was a *Square of twenty eight Cubits*, as the *Talmudists* constantly relate; to which *Josephus* also agreeth very near, if the difference of those Cubits which he useth be allowed. Only they may please to learn from the Instance of *Josiah's Passeover*, which was said to be so great, that *there was no Passeover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the Prophet unto that time*, that this was possible to be done: For it either is or must be confessed, that then they were all offered upon the Altar.

2 Chron. 35.

But lastly, we must confess ingenuously that there is one great Difficulty yet behind concerning our Saviour's last *Passeover*, which, according to the general consent of our best Divines, Criticks and Chronologers, was kept a day before the Jews kept their *Passeover*: Whether therefore his Paschal Lamb which he with his Apostles did then eat were first sacrificed at the Temple, and How could that be?

Where not to engage our selves any more than needs we must in that nice and perplexed, but famous, Controversie, concerning the *time of the Jewish Passeover about our Saviour's death*; it will not be amiss first, to take notice that the *Latin Church* ever maintained the contrary Opinion against the *Greeks*, viz. That the *Jews* kept the *Passeover* on the same night which our Saviour did: and though it be true that of later times most of our best-learned Authors have quitted that opinion of the *Latins*, and closed altogether with the *Greeks*, as *Paulus Burgensis*, *Munster*, *Scaliger*, and *Casaubon*; yet notwithstanding our Country-man Mr. *Broughton* (understanding perhaps better than they did that the Jewish *Passeover* was a true and proper Sacrifice, and first, according to God's command, was to be offered up to God, before feasted on) espied a difficulty here concerning our Saviour's *Passeover* (which they took no notice of) that could not easily be solved; and therefore he thought good *scindere nodum*, as *Alexander* did, *to cut the knot which he could not loose*, and absolutely to deny that the Jewish *Passeover* and our Saviour's were then celebrated on two several nights. And he is of late seconded by *Johannes Cloppenburg*, a *Belgick* Divine, [in an Epistle written upon this Argument to *Ludovicus De Dieu*,] insisting upon the very same ground, because the Paschal Lamb which *Christ* with his Disciples did eat could not have been sacrificed at the Temple, unless it had been at the same time when the Jewish *Passeover* was solemnly celebrated.

His

His words to this purpose expressing fully Mr. Broughton's sence are these, *Non potuit mactari Agnus Paschalis extra Templum Hierosolymitanum: In Templo mactari non potuit citra generalem populi consensum: Quare neque Dies mactationis potuit anticipari.* It follows, *vel ergo dicendum Christum comedisse Agnum non mactatum in Templo, atque hoc facto (quod absit) Legem violasse; (juxta Legem enim Agnus privatim comedendus è Templo deferendus domi erat in ædes privatas, post igne absumptum in Templo adipem, & sanguinem delatum ad altare:.) Vel Judæos eodem tempore cum Christo Pascha celebrasse.*

But I must confess, although I am as much addicted to that Hypothesis of the Passeeover's being a Sacrifice, and as tender of it as Mr. Broughton could be or any body else; yet I cannot but yield my self captive to Truth, on which side soever it presents it self, and though it be εις καταστροφην τῆς ιδίας, (as Aristotle saith a Philosopher should do) to the destruction of our own Phenomena.

And indeed those two places especially, brought out of S. John's Gospel, to prove that the Jews kept their Passeeover the day after our Saviour did his, seem to me to be unanswerable, nor any way cured by those σπὰ φάρισαί which are applied to them.

The first is Chap. 19. ver. 14. where the next day after Christ had kept his Passeeover with his Disciples, when Pilate delivered him up to the Jews to be crucified, it is said, that it was then παρασκευὴ τῆς πάσχα, the Preparation of the Passeeover; where they tell us, that by the Preparation of the Passeeover is meant the Preparation of the Sabbath on which the second day of the Passeeover fell. But, *en jecur Criticum!* as Scaliger sometimes cries out; and what a far fetch'd conceit is this?

The second is that in Chap. 18. ver. 28. When Jesus was led into Pilate's Judgment-hall early in the morning, it is said that the Jews themselves went not into the Judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passeeover. Here we are told that by eating the Passeeover is meant the eating of the Chagigah, that was killed the day before with the Passeeover, whereof something perhaps remained till the day following. And this Gloss is little better than the former: For although they appeal to that place in *Deut. 16.2.* to prove that the Chagigah was sometimes called by the name of Passeeover, which indeed, if our English Translation were authentick, would make something for them, *Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the Passeeover unto the Lord thy God of the flock, and the herd,* as if there had been a Passeeover of Oxen as well as Sheep: yet in the Hebrew the words run thus, *וּבַחַח פֶּסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ צֹאן וּבֶקֶר*, which, according to a several punctuation, and a several supplying of something that must be understood, may be expounded several ways; any of which is far better than that which our English Translators have unhappily pitch'd upon.

Onkelos in his Paraphrase (which seldom merits that name, being indeed commonly nothing but a rigid Version) reads it thus, *וּחֲנוּם פֶּסַח קֹדֶם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מִן בְּנֵי עֵינָא וּנְכַסְתָּ קֹדֶשֶׁי מִן חֲזוּרֵי*, i. e. *And thou shalt sacrifice the Passeeover before the Lord thy God of the sons of the flock, and the Peace-offerings (thereof) of oxen:* which interpretation is followed by R. Solomon and *Aben-Ezra* *צֹאן לַחֲדוּב הַפֶּסַח וּבֶקֶר לַשְּׁלָמִים*, i. e. *Sheep for the Passeeover, and oxen for the Peace-offerings*

ings or the *Chagigah*. And it may be confirmed from that of *Josiah's* Passeover, 2 *Chron.* 35. 7. *Josiah* gave to the people, of the flock, lambs and kids, all for the Passeover-offerings, to the number of thirty thousand, and three thousand *Bullocks*: where the *Bullocks* or the *Herd* are divided from the Passeover-offerings, because they served for the Peace-offerings or the *Chagigah*, as appeareth from ver. 13. They roasted the Passeovers with fire according to the ordinance; but the OTHER HOLY OFFERINGS (that is, the Peace-offerings or *Chagigah*) sod they in pots, and cauldrons, and pans. *Nachmanides* hath another interpretation of it to this purpose, יצוה בפסח והוא השנה שהזכיר כבר, ויצאן ובקר אלים ועוים ובני בקר לחוג חגיגה. i. e. He commandeth here the Passeover, which was a Lamb, as he had said before, (making the pause there;) and יצאן ובקר, the flock and the Herd, or the Sheep and the Kids, and the young *Bullocks*, for the *Chagigah*; giving other instances in which the conjunctive particle *Van*, which he doth here supply, is in like manner to be understood.

And this Exposition is rather approved than the former, not only by *Abrabanel*, but also by the *Karraite* which I have before commended, who quoting one *R. Aaron* for the Author of it, doth express it thus, ויהיה מאמר זבחך מושך עצמו ואחר עמו וזבחך פסח ליהוה אלהיך וזבחך צאן ובקר, i. e. The word זבחך (Thou shalt sacrifice) is to be repeated ἀπὸ novis before THE FLOCK AND THE HERD, thus, And thou shalt sacrifice the Passeover to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt sacrifice Sheep and Oxen, or the Flock and the Herd; as in like manner *Prov.* 30. 3. the Particle [אך] is to be repeated ἀπὸ novis from the former part of the verse. So that it cannot hence be proved that the Peace-offerings offered with the Passeover were ever called by the name of *Passeover*.

There is another place in the same Evangelist, that hath not been observed by any one to this purpose, which, if it were rightly understood, would be as clear a Testimony as any of the rest. And it is in the 19. Chapter, vers. 31. ἡν δὲ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα αὐτῆς τῆς σαββάτου, For that Sabbath-day was a great day. μεγάλη ἡμέρα, in the Greek of the *Hellenists*, is used for the First or the Last day of every solemn Feast, in which there was a holy Convocation to the Lord. This appeareth from *Esay* 1. 13. Your New-moons and Sabbaths, the calling of Assemblies, (which was the First and Last day of the Feast) I cannot away with: which the Septuagint render thus, τὰς Νεμυνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς Σάββατα, καὶ τὰς μεγάλας ἡμετέρας, Your New-moons and Sabbaths, and your GREAT DAYS. For the Last day of the Feast we have it used by our Evangelist, Chap. 7. ver. 37. In the last day, the GREAT DAY of the Feast, ἡμέρα τῆς μεγάλης τῆς ἑορτῆς. And doubtless by the same Evangelist for the First day of the Feast, in this place: and therefore the Jews did not eat their Passeover till the night before, which was the same night our Saviour was crucified.

Which may be strengthened farther by this Argument: That if the Jews had celebrated their Passeover the same night which our Saviour did his, it is certain they would never have gone about immediately with swords and staves to have apprehended him, and then have brought him to the High-priests Hall, and afterwards have arraigned him at *Pilate's* Judgment-seat, and lastly have crucified him; all the same

same

same day. For the *First* day of unleavened Bread was by the Law an holy Convocation to the Lord, on which it was not lawful to do any work: And we know the *Jews* were rigid enough in observing these Legal Ceremonies.

If then it must be granted that our Saviour with his Disciples kept the Passover the night before the vulgar *Jews* did celebrate it, our next work is to shew How it might be probable that our Saviour's Passover was first sacrificed at the Temple.

And here perhaps I might run for shelter to that Story in *Suidas*, upon the word *Ἰησοῦς*, that *Christ* was enrolled into the number of the two and twenty Legal Priests that served at the Altar; from the pretended Confession of an ancient *Jew* in *Justinian's* time: and then he might possibly sacrifice his own Passover at the Temple, though the *Jews* had not solemnized theirs till the day after: But that I hold this to be a meer Fable, and that not only ridiculous, but impious.

Or I might take up the Opinion of the *Greeks*, that *Christ* did not keep a true Legal Passover, but a Feast of Unleavened Bread in imitation of it: or, as the learned *Hugo* * *Grotius* (who hath lately asserted this Opinion) expresseth it, not *πάχα ἄσπιμον*, but *μνημονόειον*, such as the *Jews* at this day keep, because the Temple being down, their Sacrifices are all ceased. But this Opinion hath been exploded by most of our late Authors; and indeed I can no way satisfy myself in it, and therefore will not acquiesce in this Answer.

* In Annot.
ad Matth.
cap. 26.

But before we be able to give a true account of this *Quere*, we must search a little deeper into the true ground of this difference between our Saviour's Passover and the *Jews*.

The common Opinion is, that the *Jews* in our Saviours time were wont to translate their Festivals from one *Feria* to another upon several occasions; as when-ever two Festivals were immediately to follow one another, to joyn them into one; and therefore when any fell upon the sixth *Feria*, to put it over to the next *Feria* or the Sabbath, to avoid the concurrence of two Sabbaths together: in the same manner as the *Jews* use to do in their Calendar at this day, where they have several Rules to this purpose, expressed by Abbreviatures thus, *Adu, Badu, Gabaz, Zabud, Agu*; whereof each Letter is a Numeral for some *Feria*: The Rule for the Passover is *ἄδ*, *Badu*; that is, that it should not be kept on the Second, Fourth, or Sixth *Feria*. (There is an Extract of a Rabbinical Decree to this purpose under the name of *R. Eliezer*, in *Munster* upon *Matth.* chap. 26.) And therefore at this time when our Saviour was crucified, the Passover falling upon the sixth *Feria*, or Friday, was, say they, by the *Jews* translated, according to this Rule, to the next *Feria*, and kept on Saturday, or the Sabbath; but our Saviour not regarding these Traditions, observed that day precisely which was commanded in the Law, *εἰς ἣν ἔδωκεν ἰσχυρὰ τὸ πᾶσα*, *Luk.* 22. 7. that is, as they expound it, upon which the Passover OUGHT to have been killed, which was Friday, the day before.

But, under favour, I conceive that all these Decrees, together with that *Ratiocinium* or Calendar to which they do belong, were not then in use in our Saviour's time, (although it be so confidently asserted

verred

verred by the incomparable *Joseph Scaliger*,) but long since invented by the Jews. Which I shall make appear,
 First, in that the ancient *Jews*, about and since our Saviours time, often solemnized as well the *Passeovers*, as the other Feasts, upon the *Feria's* next before and after the Sabbaths and those other *Feria's* which have been made rejectitious since by that Calendar. In the Talmudical Title *Succoth* Chapter the last we read of *יום טוב הסמוך ליום טוב*, that is, *a Feast going immediately before, or following immediately after, the Sabbath.* And in *Betzah*, c. 1. *יום טוב חל להיות אחר שבת*, and *יום טוב חל להיות אחר שבת*, *a Feast that falls to be on the evening of the Sabbath, or the day after the Sabbath.* In *Chagigah*, the second Chapter, *עצרת שחרל להיות בערב שבת*; which is to the same purpose with the former. More particularly concerning the *Passeover*, *Pesachim* chap. 7. sect. 10. *Offa, nervi, & omne residuum Agni paschalis, cremantor sexto decimo: Si is dies SABBATUM, decimo septimo.* From this and divers like places of the Talmud *Aben Ezra* on *Levit.* 23. ver. 4. observes, *כמטנה גם בתלמוד ראיות שהיה פסח בברו*, *There be divers instances in the Misna and the Gemara of the Passeovers being kept in B A D U*, that is, on those days which were made rejectitious in the late Calendar, the Second, Fourth and Sixth *Feria*. Therefore these Translations were not in use when the Doctors of the *Misna* and *Gemara* lived.

Secondly, in that the *Jews* ever, while the Temple stood, observed their New-moons and Feasts according to the *φάσγ* or *Appearance* of the Moon, and therefore had no Calendar for their Rule to sanctifie their Feasts by, but they were then sanctified by the Heavens, as the *Misna* speaks. This is so clearly delivered by *R. Moses Ben Maimon*, in that excellent *Halachah* entituled *KIDDUSH HACCHODESH*, that I wonder so many learned Men that are well skilled in those Authors should miss of it. For having spoken of the Rules of observing the *φάσγ*, he then adds, that these were never made use of since the *Sanhedrin* ceased in the Land of Israel, after the destruction of the Temple; since which time they have used a Calendar, calculated according to the middle motion of the Moon. *ודבר זה הלכה למשה מסיני הוא שבזמן שיש סנהדרין קובעין עלפי הראייה ובזמן שאין שם סנהדרין קובעין עלפי החשבון הזה שאנו מחשבים בו היום ואין נזקקין לראיה אלא פעמים שהיה יום שקובעין בחשבון זה הוא יום הראייה או קודם לו ביום או אחריו ביום*.
Et hæc erat Traditio Moysi in monte Sinai, quod omni tempore quo duraret Sanhedrin, constituerent Neomenias juxta φάσγ. hoc verò tempore quo jam cessavit Sanhedrin, constituerent secundum Calculum hunc Astronomicum quo nos hodie utimur: nec ullo modo jam ad φάσγ nos astringimus, cum sæpe contingat ut dies Legitimus secundum nostrum Calculum vel concurrat cum Lunari φάσγ, vel antevortat eam unicà die, vel etiam subsequatur. And again a little after most punctually, *ומאומת החתילו כל ישראל לחשוב בחשבון זה מסוף חכמי תלמוד בעת שחרבה ארץ ישראל ולא נשאר בית דין קבוע אבל בימי חכמי משנה וכן בימי חכמי תלמוד ער ומי אבוי ורבא ער קבועת ארץ ישראל הוא סומכין*: *Quando primum ceperunt omnes Israelitæ computare secundum hunc Calculum? Afine Doctorum Talmudicorum, quando jam desolata erat terra Israel, neque erat Consistorium aut Synedrium quod determinaret: nam per omnes dies Doctorum Misnæ & Doctorum Gemaræ, usque ad Abæum & Rabbæum, acquiescebant*

acquiescebant omnes Judæi in Sanctione terræ Israelis. And those Rules forementioned of not keeping the several Feasts upon such and such *Feria's* were made together with this Calendar, as the same Author there also avoucheth: אין קובעין בחשבון זרע בימי אדון לפי שהחשבון זרע הוא לקבוץ הירח והשמש בהליכה אמצעי לא במקום אמתו לפיכך עשו יום קביעה זרע; i. e. *In this Account they never constituted the New-moon of Tisri upon Adu, because this Account was made according to the Conjunction of the Sun and Moon in the middle motion; therefore now they constituted some Legitimate and other Rejectionious days, which they could not do before, when the New-moon (and therefore all the other Feasts) was determined according to the φάσις.*

But the *Talmud* was not completely finished till about the 500. year of the Christian *Æra*; therefore this Jewish Calendar, and these Rules concerning the Translation of Feasts, were not in being till about that time, and so could be no reason of this difference between the time in which our Saviour solemnized the Passover, and the other Jews.

For farther confirmation hereof, we may observe that the *Karraites*, which have rejected the fond Traditions of the Pharisees, retain still the ancient custom of reckoning their New-moons ἀπὸ τῆς φάσεως, as **Scaliger* himself hath well observed: though in this he were mistaken, that he thought they had assumed it of late, merely out of hatred to the other Jews; whereas they have kept it in a constant succession from Antiquity, and hold it still as necessary by Divine Right. אמנם הוא

* *Emen. Temp.*
P. 149. 150.

שכל ישראל מורים בה שמוזן המלכות היי מקדשים (saith my Author) מההתקרה החודשים בראיות הירח: ועוד מהקש כח הדבור יודע הענין מלת חדש יודע שהוא החודש הזה והוא חדש חודש ורח בנר חדש: *This is confessed by all Israel, that from the time of the Kingdom they were ever wont to consecrate the New-moons by the φάσις: and the very Etymon of the word Chodesh implies so much, for it signifies the Renewing of something; so that it is denominated from the Change of the Moon, or Phasis, as the Epocha and beginning of it.*

And this is one of the great Controversies to this day between those two Sects of the Jews, the קראים or *Karræi*, and רבנים or *Rabbanæi*; which is grown at length to such a height, that the *Karraites*, decyphering the conditions of those Witnesses whose Testimonies might be accounted valid for the φάσις, make this for one, that they should no way belong to the Sect of *Rabbanists*: which perhaps to observe in the Author's own words would not be unpleasant τοῖς φιλαρχαίοις καὶ φιλολόγοις. התנאי השני שלא יהיה חלוק ברעיון בקדוש החדש מדעת חכמינו והנה מזה הצד ראוי לקבל עדות השמעלים מפני שהם הולכים אחרי דעת חכמינו בעניני הדאיה וברוב חומנים אנו שוים עמם ואף ראוי לקבל לנו עדות הרבנים מפני שהם חלוקים ממנו בזה ואע"פ שאחינו ובשרנו הם אמנם בזה מרו ועצבו את רוח קדשו

i. e. *A second condition is, that they be not such as hold an opinion concerning the Sanctification of the New-moon different from the Opinion of our Wise-men. And therefore in this regard we may receive the testimony of the Ishmaelites, (that is, the Turks and Saracens,) because they follow the opinion of our Wise-men concerning the Phasis, and in most of their appointed times they agree with us: But we may not receive the testimony of any one that is of the Sect of the Rabbins, because they are divided from us in this; and although they be our Brethren and our flesh, yet herein they have rebelled and grieved his holy Spirit.*

Having thus disproved the common and received Opinion, and removed

moved the False Ground of this Difference of time between our Saviour's Pasſeover and the Jews, we come in the next place to lay down the True, which muſt be derived from that way of reckoning the Moneths, and of determining the ראש החודש the *Head or Beginning of the moneth*, which was in uſe in our Saviour's time, which (as we have ſhewed already in general) was by the φάσις. ſo it will be expedient to deſcribe the whole manner of it more particularly from authentick Authors *.

*Talmud Babil. in Roſh Haſhanah, & Maimon. in Kidduſh Ha-cbud.

In the great or outer Court of the Temple there was a houſe called *Beth-Jazeck*, where the Senate ſate all the thirtieth day of every moneth, to receive the Witneſſes of the Moon's apparence, and to examine them. And here they always had a Feaſt provided for the entertainment of thoſe that came, to encourage men to come the more willingly. In ancient times they did admit of Strangers, and receive their Teſtimony, if it were approved upon examination. But when the Hereticks (that is, the Chriſtians) afterward grew up, by whom (they ſay) they were ſometimes deluded, they began to grow ſhy, and to admit of none but ſuch as were approved of to be of the Jews Religion. If there came approved Witneſſes, upon the thirtieth day, of the φάσις ſeen, then the chief man of the Senate ſtood up and pronounced MEKUD DASH, *It is ſanctified*: and the people ſtanding by caught the word from him, and cried out MEKUDDASH, MEKUDDASH. Whereupon there was notice preſently given to all the Country: which was done at firſt by Torches from Mountain to Mountain, till at length the Chriſtians (they ſay) abuſed them in that kind alſo with falſe Fires; wherefore they were fain to ſend Meſſengers from place to place over the whole Land to give intelligence of the New-moon. But if, when the Conſiſtory had ſate all the thirtieth day, there came no approved Witneſſes of the φάσις, then they made an Intercalation of one day in the former month, and decreed the following one and thirtieth day to be the Calends. And yet notwithstanding, if after the fourth or fifth day there ſhould come ſome Witneſſes from afar, that teſtified they had ſeen the φάσις in its due time, nay though they came toward the end of the month, (אפילו באו בסוף החודש) the Senate, when they had uſed all means by affrighting them from that Teſtimony, that ſo, if it were poſſible, they might decline a new Conſecration, (after they had already made an *Emboliſm* in the former moneth) if the Witneſſes remained conſtant, were then bound to alter the beginning of the moneth, and reckon it a day ſooner, to wit, from the thirtieth day.

Here we ſee the true Ground of the Difference of a Day that might ariſe continually about the Calends of the moneth, and ſo conſequentially about any of the other Feaſts, which did all depend on them; viz. between the true time of the Moon's φάσις, upon the thirtieth day, and that of the Senate's Decree, a day after. For ſince it appears out of their own Monuments, how unwilling they were, having once made a Conſecration of the *Neomenia*, to alter it again; it may be probably conceived that in thoſe degenerated times the Senate might many times reſuſe to accept the Teſtimony of undoubted Witneſſes: and then it ſeems they had ſuch a Canon as this, בית דין שקרו ארץ החודש

בין שונגים בין מוטעים הנה זה מקורש וחייבין הכר לחקן המועדים על היום
 אע"פ שיהו יודעשטעו, *That whatsoever time the Senate should conclude of for
 the Calends of the moneth, though it were certain they were in the wrong,
 yet all were bound to order their Feasts according to it: Which I can-
 not think was approved of by our Saviour and the most pious Jews.
 And therefore I conceive it most probable, that this was the very case
 between our Saviour's Pässeover and the Jews, in that he followed
 the True פאָנס, confirmed by sufficient and assured Witnessles; but
 the other Jews superstitiously observed the pertinacious Decree of the
 Senate or Sanhedrin, which was for the day after.*

And now at last we are come again to the *Acme* of the Question
 that was first propounded, How our Saviour's Pässeover, notwith-
 standing all this, might be sacrificed the day before those of the other
 Jews were.

To which I answer, That upon this Ground, not only our Saviour
 and his Apostles, but also divers others of the most religious Jews,
 kept the Pässeover upon the fifteenth day from the true פאָנס of the
 Moon, and not from the Senate's Decree: which I may confirm from
 the Testimony of *Epiphanius*, that reports there was at this time
 סטערק, a Tumult and contention, amongst the Jews about the Pässe-
 over; and so we may easily perswade those other Evangelists, that
 intimate *Christ's* Pässeover to have been solemnized when many
 others kept it, to agree with *S. John*, who assures us that it was also
 by divers Jews kept the day after. Now it was a Custom among the
 Jews, in such doubtful cases as these, which oftentimes fell out, to
 permit the Feasts to be solemnized, or Pässeovers killed, on two se-
 veral days together. *Maimonides* affirmeth, that in the remoter parts
 of the land of *Israel* they always solemnized the Feast of the New-
 moons two days together; nay, in *Jerusalem* it self, where the Senate
 sat, they kept the New-moon of *Tisri*, which was the beginning of
 the year, twice, lest they should be mistaken in it. In the *Talmud*
 we have an instance of the Pässeover's being kept two days together,
 because the New-moon was doubtful, in *Gemara Rosh Hashanah, cap. I.*
 Hence the *Karraites*, who still keep the ancient custom of observing
 the Moon's פאָנס, retain it as a Rule to this day, ויעשו שני ימים מספק,
observare duos dies propter dubium. Nay the *Rabbinical Jews* them-
 selves, since they have changed the *Phasis* for the Synod or Conjun-
 ction of the Moon in the middle motion, in imitation hereof still observe
 to keep the Pässeover two days together, *iisdem Ceremoniis*, as the
 learned Author of the Jewish Synagogue reports: and *Scaliger* him-
 self, not only of that, but also of the other Feasts, *Judei post insti-
 tutionem hodierni computi eandem solennitatem celebrant biduo. propterea
 quod mensem incipiunt à medio motu Lunæ: itaque מספק מחברות המארים
 propter dubium Conjunctionis Luminarium, Pascha celebrant 15. & 16.
 Nisan, Pentecosten 6. & 7. Sivan, Scenopegia 15. & 16. Tisri; idque
 vocant יום טוב שני של גלויות, Festum secundum Exsiliorum.*

Now then we see that nothing hinders but that the Pässeover might
 be a Sacrifice. And thus we have hitherto cleared the way.

C H A P. IV.

Demonstrated, that the Lord's Supper in the Christian Church, in reference to the true Sacrifice of Christ, is a Parallel to the Feasts upon Sacrifices both in the Jewish Religion and Heathenish Superstition.

BUT lest we should seem all this while to set up Fancies of our own, and then sport with them, we come now to demonstrate and evince that *the Lord's Supper* in the proper *Notion* of it is **EPULUM EX OBLATIS**, or **A FEAST UPON SACRIFICE**; in the same manner with the *Feasts* upon the *Jewish Sacrifices* under the *Law*, and the *Feasts* upon **ΕΙΔΩΛΟΘΥΤΑ**, (*things offered to Idols*) among the *Heathens*: And that from a place of Scripture where all these three shall be compared together, and made exact *Parallels* to one another.

I CORINTH. Chap. 10.

14. *Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from Idolatry.*
 15. *I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say.*
 16. *The Cup of Blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?*
 18. *Behold Israel after the flesh; are not they which eat of the Sacrifices partakers of the Altar?*
 20. *Now I say that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with Devils.*
 21. *Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lords Table, and of the Table of Devils.*

Where the Apostle's Scope being to convince the *Corinthians* of the unlawfulness of eating things sacrificed to Idols, he doth it in this manner: shewing that though an Idol were truly Nothing, and things sacrificed to Idols were physically Nothing, as different from other Meats [as it seems they argued, and *S. Paul* confesses, ver. 19.] yet morally and circumstantially, to eat of things sacrificed to Idols in the Idol's Temple, was to consent with the Sacrifices, and to be guilty of them.

Which he doth illustrate, First, from a *Parallel Rite* in Christian Religion; where the eating and drinking of the Body and Blood of *Christ*, offered up to God upon the Cross for us, in the *Lord's Supper*, is a real Communion in his Death and Sacrifice: ver. 16. *The Cup of Blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?*

Secondly from another *Parallel* of the same Rite among the *Jews*; where

where always they that ate of the Sacrifices were accounted partakers of the Altar, that is, of the Sacrifice offered up upon the Altar: ver. 18. *Behold Israel after the flesh; are not they which eat of the Sacrifices partakers of the Altar? In veteri Lege quicumque admittebant ad edendum de Hostiis oblati, censebantur ipsius Sacrificii, tanquam pro ipsis oblati, fieri participes, & per illud sanctificari:* as a late Commentator fully expresses it.

Therefore, as to eat the Body and Blood of *Christ* in the *Lord's Supper* is to be made partaker of his Sacrifice offered up to God for us; as to eat of the Jewish Sacrifices under the Law was to partake in the Legal Sacrifices themselves: so to eat of things offered up in Sacrifice to Idols was to be made partakers of the Idol-Sacrifices, and therefore was unlawful.

For, *the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils; but Christ's Body and Blood was offered up in Sacrifice unto God, and therefore they could not partake of both together, the Sacrifice of the true God, and the Sacrifice of Devils. Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table, and the table of Devils.* S. Paul's Argument here must needs suppose a perfect Analogy between these three, and that they are all Parallels to one another, or else it hath no strength. Wherefore I conclude from hence, That the LORD'S SUPPER is the same among *Christians* in respect of the *Christian Sacrifice*, that among the *Jews* the Feasts upon the Legal Sacrifices were, and among the *Gentiles* the Feasts upon the Idol-Sacrifices; and therefore EPULUM SACRIFICIALE, or EPULUM EX OBLATIS. ΟΠΕΡ ἘΔΕΙ ΔΕΙΞΑΙ.

C H A P. V.

The Result of the former Discourse: That the Lord's Supper is not a Sacrifice, but a Feast upon a Sacrifice.

THUS having declared and demonstrated the True Notion of the *Lord's Supper*, we see then how that Theological Controversie, which hath cost so many Disputes, *Whether the Lord's Supper be a Sacrifice*, is already decided: For it is not SACRIFICIUM, but EPULUM ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΘΥΣΙΑΣ. not A SACRIFICE, but a Feast upon Sacrifice; or else in other words, not OBLATIO SACRIFICII, but, as *Tertullian* excellently speaks, PARTICIPATIO SACRIFICII, not the offering of something up to God upon an Altar, but the Eating of something which comes from God's Altar, and is set upon our Tables. Neither was it ever known amongst the *Jews* or *Heathens*, that those Tables upon which they did eat their Sacrifices should be called by the name of *Altars*. S. Paul, speaking of the Feasts upon the Idol-Sacrifices, calls the places upon which they were eaten the *Table of Devils*, because the Devils meat was eaten on them; not the *Altars* of Devils: and yet doubtless he spake according to the true propriety of speech, and in those technical words that were then in use amongst them. And therefore, keeping the

the same Analogy, he must needs call the *Communion-Table* by the name of *the Lord's Table*, i. e. the Table upon which *God's Meat* is eaten; not his *Altar*, upon which it is offered. It is true, an *Altar* is nothing but a *Table*; but it is a *Table upon which GOD himself eats*, consuming the *Sacrifices* by his *holy Fire*: but when the same *Meat* is given from *GOD* unto *US* to eat of, the relation being changed, the place on which *WE* eat is nothing but a *Table*.

And because it is not enough in any *Discourse*, as *Aristotle* well observeth in his *Ethicks*, to confute an *Error*, unless we can also shew τὸ αἴτιον τῆς ἁμαρτίας, the *Cause of that Error*; having thus discovered the *True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, we may easily discern from hence also how that mistake grew up, and that by the degeneration of this *Truth*. There is a *Sacrifice* in the *Lords Supper* symbolically, but not there as offered up to *God*, but feasted on by *us*; and so not a *Sacrifice*, but a *Sacrificial Feast*: Which began too soon to be misunderstood.

C H A P. VI.

The farther Improvement of that General Notion, How the Lord's Supper is a Federal Rite between God and us, at large: concluded with a memorable Story out of Maimonides and Nachmanides.

I Should now come to make some farther *Improvement* of this *General Notion of the Lords Supper*, by shewing what these *Feasts upon the Sacrifices* did signify under the *Law*; and then applying the same in a more perfect manner to the *Lord's Supper* under the *Gospel*, being warranted thereunto by that *Analogy* which is between them. But because there may be divers *Glosses* and *Interpretations* of these *Feasts upon the Sacrifices*, which are obvious to every common understanding, we will decline them all, and pitch only upon one, which is not so vulgarly understood; and it is this, *That the Eating of Gods Sacrifices was a FEDERAL RITE between God and those that offered them*; according to the *Custom of the Ancients*, and especially in those *Oriental parts*, to confirm and ratifie their *Covenants* by *Eating and Drinking together*.

Thus when *Isaac* made a *Covenant* with *Abimelech* the King of *Gerar*, the *Text* saith, *He made him and those that came with him a Feast; and they did Eat and Drink, and rose up betimes in the morning, and swore to one another.*

When *Laban* made a *Covenant* with *Jacob*, *Gen. 31. ver. 44.* Now therefore come (saith *Laban*) let us make a *Covenant*, I and thou and let it be for a witness between me and thee: Then it follows in the *Text*, *They took stones, and made a heap, and did eat there upon the heap; and Laban called it JEGAR-SAHADUTHA, in his Chaldee Tongue, but Jacob (in the Hebrew Language) GALEED, i. e. A heap of witness; implying that those Stones upon which they had eaten and drunk together should be a witness against either of them that should first violate that Covenant.* R. *Moses Bar Nachman* in his *Comment* thus glosseth upon this place, אכלו שם פעם לזכרון שהוא ררך באים בברית לאכול שניהם

Gen. 26.

שניהם מלחם אחד לחברה ולאחבה ואחריו בואם בשבועה ובברית זבח ועשרה
 שלהם נורה נרולה i. e. *They did eat there a little upon the heap for a Me-
 morial: because it was the manner of those that enter into Covenant to
 eat both together of the same Bread, as a Symbol of Love and Friend-
 ship.* And Isaac Abrabanel much to the same purpose, היה מנהג בנייהם
 על שחאוכלים לחם על שלחן אחד יחשבו לאחים נאמנים i. e. *It was an an-
 cient custom amongst them, that they which did eat Bread together upon
 the same Table should be accounted ever afterward as entire Brethren.*
 And in this sence he conceiveth that place, *Lamentations 5. 6.* may be
 expounded, *We have given the hand to the Egyptians and to the Assyri-
 ans by fulness of Bread,* i. e. *We have made a Covenant with them.*

Josbua 9. vers. 14. when the *Gibeonites* came to the *Israelites*, and de-
 sired them to make a League with them, it is said, *The men of Israel
 took of their victuals, and asked not counsel of the mouth of the Lord;*
 that is, they made a Covenant with them, as *Kimchi* learnedly ex-
 pounds it, לקחו מצודים ואכלו ממנו בברית כדי שיבטחו בהם. *Acceperunt de
 Viatico ipsorum & comederunt cum illis per modum Fœderis.* For so
 it follows afterward in the Text, *And Josbua made peace with
 them.*

Hence also was that emphatical Expression, *Psam 41. 9.* spoken li-
 terally by *David* of *Achitophel*, *Mine own familiar friend, that did eat
 of my Bread, hath lift up the heel against me;* but seeming propheti-
 cally to glance at *Judas*, that dipping with *Christ* in the same dish
 betrayed him. The singular Emphasis of which speech we, that are
 unacquainted with this Custom of the Oriental Nations, cannot ea-
 sily perceive; neither can we any where better learn it, than from
 that passage of *Celsus* in *Origen*, who carping at that History of *Judas*
 his betraying *Christ* in the Gospel, as an incredible thing, made in
 the mean while an excellent Comment upon this Prophecy, when
 he little thought of it. *Ὅτι ἀνθρώπου μὲν ὁ κοινωνήσας τραπέζης ἐν ἅν
 αὐτῷ ἐπιβέβηκεν, πολλῶν πλέον ὁ θεῷ συνδωχθεὶς ἐν ἅν αὐτῷ ἐπιβέβηκε
 ἐχθρῶ, i. e. Si homini nemo insidiaretur ejusdem mensæ particeps, multo
 minus Deo.* And *Origen's* Reply to him, which shews that though
 this were an unusual thing, yet it sometime came to pass, is very preg-
 nant also for our purpose: *Τίς γὰρ ἐν οἴδεν ὅτι πολλοὶ κοινωνήσαντες ἁλῶν
 καὶ τραπέζης ἐπέβησαν τοῖς συνεσίοις; καὶ πλήρης ὄσιν ἡ ἑλλῶν καὶ βαρβα-
 ρῶν ἰσοεὶα τοῖστων ᾠδῶν ἰσχυμάτων. Καὶ οὐκ ἴδων γὰρ ὁ Πάριος Ἰαμβοποιὸς
 ἢ Λυκάμβητα μετὰ ἁλῶν καὶ τραπέζαν συνθήκας ἀδειτήσασα, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν
 ὅρκον ἢ ἐνοσίφιδος μέγαν, ἁλῶν τε καὶ τραπέζαν. i. e. Quis ignorat mul-
 tos ad communionem Salis & Mensæ adhibitos insidiatos tamen suis con-
 tubernalibus? Plena est Historia tam Græcorum quàm Barbarorum exem-
 plis ejusmodi. Et Parius ille Iamborum scriptor, exprobrans Lycambæ
 violatum Fœdus quod Sal & Mensa conciliaverat, sic eum alloquitur,
 Sacramentum irritasti magnum, Salem atque Mensam.* All which makes
 manifest what an heinous offence it was accounted anciently, to be
 guilty of the breach of a Covenant which had been confirmed by
 Eating and Drinking together.

In the seventh Verse of *Obadiab*, that Prophet speaks to *Edom*
 in this manner, *All the men of thy confederacy have brought thee to the
 border; the men that were at peace with thee have deceived thee; they that
 eat thy Bread have laid a wound under thee.*

In the New Testament, that place (*John* the fourth, verse the ninth) is well observed by *Heinsius* in his *Aristarchus* to carry this notion, *How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, being a woman of Samaria? Snavissimè dictum* (saith that forenamed Critick) *ex eorum more qui, cum peregrini essent, aut alieno fuissent animo, animis conciliandis Cibum mutuo ac Potum alter alterius gustabant.*

Wherefore I think from all these Instances I may conclude that this is the true Etymon of that Hebrew word בְּרִית, which signifies a Covenant, or any Federal Communion betwixt parties, from בָּרַר comedere, because it was the constant Custom of the Hebrews and Oriental Nations to establish Covenants by eating and drinking together; as hath been shewed.

And as the Jews, so likewise did the Heathens in the same manner use to ratifie their Covenants between parties by Eating together. *Lucian* in *Toxaris* reports it of the *Scythians*, that when any one was injured, and could not revenge himself; the manner was, that he should kill an Ox and cut it into small pieces; which being boiled, he was to sit down by them with his hands behind him, (which was a gesture of earnest supplication amongst them) and then whosoever was minded to help him came, and did eat a piece of his Flesh, and so with this Ceremony promised to assist him. And this was accounted a Covenant of mutual defence between them; whence that Greek Proverb, *Ἐνὶ βόσκειν ἐκὰδ' ἔλεο*, *In tergore bovis desedit*, of which *Erasmus* in his *Adagies*.

Herodotus reporteth of the *Persians*, that they made their Leagues and Covenants at Feasts: and of the *Nasamones* a people of *Lybia*, that they composed Peace by stretching out a Cup full of Wine to each other, and pledging one another in it. *Alexander ab Alexand.* relates this of the *Thracians* and *Egyptians*, that *E cornibus boum (quæ veteribus Poculorum loco erant) vina sibi invicem propinantes, id firmissimum contracti Fæderis vinculum esse putabant.* *Curtius* reporteth of the *Macedonians*, *quòd patrio ritu Fædus quod sanctissimum velent haberi sic inibant, ut Panem gladio divisum uterque libaret.*

And therefore *Alexander*, when he fell in love with *Roxana*, commanded Bread forthwith to be brought before him; which when he had divided with his sword, and they had both tasted together of, he took her presently to himself as his Wife. And there remaineth a Custom to this day, something like this, at Weddings in many Countries, That when the Bridegroom and Bride are come from Church, they have a piece of Cake brought them, which when the Bridegroom hath tasted, he gives it to the Bride to taste of likewise, in token of a Covenant between them. The *Germans* still use to conclude of Bargains, and ratifie Friendship between parties, by drinking together, as appeareth by that phrase which they have, *Den Friden trincken, Pacem bibere.*

In like manner, I say, the Eating of Sacrifices, which were God's meat, was a Federal Rite between God and those that did partake of them, and signified there was a Covenant of Friendship between him and them.

For the better conceiving whereof, we must observe, That *Sacrifices*, beside the nature of *Expiation*, had the Notion of *Feasts*, which
God

God himself did, as it were, feed upon. Which I explain thus: When God had brought the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, resolving to manifest himself in a peculiar manner present among them, he thought good to *Dwell amongst them* in a visible and external manner; and therefore while they were in the Wilderness and sojourned in Tents he would have a *Tent* or *Tabernacle* built, to sojourn with them also. This *Mystery* of the *Tabernacle* was fully understood by the Learned *Nachmanides*, who in few words, but pregnant, thus expresseth it, עקר החפץ במשכן הוא מקום מנוחת השכינה; and again, סוד המשכן הוא שיהיה הכבוד אשר שכן על הר סיני שוכן עליו: that is, *The Mystery of the Tabernacle was this, that it was to be a place for the Shechinah or Habitation of Divinity to be fixed in*: And this, no doubt, as a special *Type* of God's future *Dwelling* in *Christ's* Humane Nature, which was the **TRUE SHECHINAH**. But when the *Jews* were come into their Land, and had there built them Houses, God intended to have a fixed *Dwelling-house* also, and therefore his moveable *Tabernacle* was to be turned into a standing *Temple*. Whence by imitation came all those *Temples* among the *Heathens*, which they apprehended as so many places of peculiar *Residence* or *Habitation* for their *Dieties*, next the *Heavens*, to dwell in; as appears by that of *Silins*, amongst many others,

————— Tarpeie Pater, qui Tempia secundam
Incolis à Cælo sedem —————

Now the *Tabernacle* or *Temple* being thus as a *House* for God to dwell in visibly, to make up the *Notion* of *Dwelling* or *Habitation* complete, there must be all things suitable to a *House* belonging to it. Hence in the *Holy Place* there must be a *Table* and a *Candlestick*, because this was the ordinary *Furniture* of a *Room*; as the fore-commended *Nachmanides* observes, ענין המשכן, i. e. He addeth a *Table* and a *Candlestick*, because these suit the *Notion* of a *Dwelling-House*. The *Table* must have its *Dishes*, and *Spoons*, and *Bowls*, and *Covers*, belonging to it, though they were never used, and always be furnished with *Bread* upon it. The *Candlestick* must have its *Lamps* continually burning.

Hence also there must be a *continual Fire* kept in this *House* of God's upon the *Altar*, as the *Focus* of it: to which *Notion* I conceive the *Prophet Esay* doth allude, Chap. 31. ver. 9. אשר אור לו בציון ותנור בירושלים. which I would thus translate, qui habet ignem suum in Sion, & focum suum in Jerusalem.

And besides all this, to carry the *Notion* still farther, there must be some *constant Meat* and *Provision* brought into this *House*, which was done in the *Sacrifices*, that were partly consumed by *Fire* upon God's own *Altar*, and partly eaten by the *Priests*, which were *God's Family*, and therefore to be maintained by him. That which was consumed upon God's *Altar* was accounted **GOD'S MESSE**, as appeareth from the first Chapter of *Malachy*, where the *Altar* is called **GOD'S TABLE**, and the *Sacrifice* upon it **GOD'S MEAT**; *Ye say, The Table of God is polluted, and the fruit thereof, his Meat, is contemptible*: And often in the *Law* the *Sacrifice* is called God's **לחם**, that is, his

Ver. 12

E

Bread

Bread or Food. Whence in that learned Hebrew Book *Cozri*, the King *Haber* objects to the Jew *Cozar* against his Religion, that it seemed to place Corporeity in God, in making him to feed upon the Flesh of Beasts in these Sacrifices. To which the Jewish Doctor answers Cabbalistically in this manner; That as in men Corporeal Meat is a means to unite and continue the Soul (which is a Spirit) to the Body: so in the Land of *Israel* the Blood of Beasts offered up in Sacrifice had an attractive Power to draw down Divinity, and unite it to the Jews. And methinks this may be a little farther convinced from that passage in the 50. Psalm, *If I were hungry, I would not tell thee; for the world is mine and the fulness thereof. Will I eat the Flesh of Bulls, or drink the Blood of Goats?* For though it be here denied that God did really feed upon the Sacrifices, yet it is implied there was some such Allusive signification in them.

Wherefore it is farther observable, that beside the *Flesh* of the Beast offered up in Sacrifice, there was a *Mincab* or *Meat-offering*, made of Flowr and Oyl, and a *Libamen* or *Drink-offering*, that was always joyned with the Daily Sacrifice, as the *Bread* and *Drink* which was to go along with God's *Meat*.

It was also strictly commanded that there should be Salt in every Sacrifice and Oblation; because all Meat is unfavoury without Salt: as *R. Moses Bar Nachman* hath here also well observed, מפני שאינו דרך, כבוד להויר לחם השם טפל מבלי מלח i. e. *Because it was not honourable that God's Meat should be unfavoury, without Salt.*

Lastly, all these things were to be consumed on the Altar only by the Holy fire that came down from Heaven, because they were *God's Portion*, and therefore to be eaten or consumed by himself in an extraordinary manner. And this the Devil sometime imitated, in some Sacrifices offered up to him. For so I understand that passage of *Pindar* in his *Olympiacks*, *Ode 7.* speaking of the *Rhodians*, That when they had prepared, and were come to offer Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, they had by chance forgotten to bring Fire with them: But *Jupiter*, being conscious of their good intentions, rained down upon them A GOLDEN SHOWER, (as I understand it) A SHOWER of Fire: A pure imitation of the Sacred Story: Take it in that elegant Poet's own words.

Καί τοι γ' αἰθέρας ἔχοντες
 Σπέρμ' ἀνέβαν φλογός ε,
 Τεύξαν δ' ἈΠΥΡΟΙΣ ἹΕΡΟΪΣ,
 Ἄλσθ' εἰ ἀκροσπλῆι κείνοισι μὲν ξαν-
 δὰν ἀγαγῶν νεφέλαν,
 Πολὺν ὕσε χροστὴν.

That is, according to *Benedictus* his Metaphrase, *Etenim Rhodii ascenderunt, quamvis non habentes ardentis semen ignis. Verum dum instruunt sacrificiis igni carentibus aram in arce, illis quidem flavam adducens nebulam, multum pluit [Jupiter] aurum.*

And *Solinus* reports it of the *Vulcanian Hill* in *Sicily*, that they which offered Sacrifice upon it, never put fire to it, but expected it should be kindled from Heaven. His words according to *Salmasius's*
 Edition

Edition are these; *Nec longè indè Collis Vulcanius, in quo qui divine rei operantur, ligna vitea super aras struunt: nec Ignis adponitur in hanc congeriem. Cum proficiās intulerunt, si adest Deus, si sacrum probatur, Sarmenta, licèt viridia, spontè concipiunt, & nullo inflagrante halitu, ab ipso Numine fit accendium. Ibi epulantes adludit flamma, quæ, flexuosis excessibus vagabunda, quem contigerit non adurit; nec aliud est quàm imago nuncia perfecti ritè Voti.* The place is very remarkable; and where he says thus, *Epulantes adludit flamma*, he alludeth to that custom of *Feasting on the Sacrifices*, which was before explained.

I will add to all this the words of a late learned Author, that sometime stumbled unawares upon this very *Notion* which we are now about, and yet exprest it happily in this manner; *Deus ad suam cum populo Judæorum familiaritatem significandam, sibi ab illo carnes, sanguinem atque fruges in ALTARI atque MENSA offerri voluit, ut ostenderet se quasi COMMUNEM in illo populo habere MENSAM, esse illius CONVIVAM perpetuum, atque ità familiariter cum illis habitare.*

And as it was thus among the *Hebrews*, so it seems that *Sacrifices* had the *Notion of Feasts* likewise among the ancient *Persians* that worshipped the *Fire*; of whom *Maximus Tyrius* thus relateth, *ὅτι ἐπιφορῶντες πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἑπιπέλας, πῦρ θεοῦ, ἔδωκε, i. e. bringing in the Sacrifices to the Fire, which was their god, they were wont to say, Ignis Domine, comede.*

The *Sacrifices* then being *God's Feasts*, they that did partake of them must needs be his *CONVIVÆ*, and in a manner *EAT* and *DRINK* with him, And that this did bear the *Notion of a Federal Rite*, in the *Scriptures* account, I prove from that place, *Levit. 2. 13. Thou shalt not suffer the SALT OF THE COVENANT of thy God to be lacking, with all thine Offerings thou shalt offer Salt.* Where the *salt* that was to be cast upon all the *Sacrifices* is called *THE SALT OF THE COVENANT*, to signify, that as men did use to make *Covenants* by *Eating* and *Drinking* together, where *salt* is a necessary *Appendix*; so *God* by these *Sacrifices*, and the *Feasts* upon them, did ratifie and confirm his *Covenant* with those that did partake of them, inasmuch as they did in a manner *EAT* and *DRINK* with him.

For *Salt* was ever accounted amongst the *Ancients* a most necessary *Concomitant* of *Feasts*, and *Condiment* of all *Meats*. כל סעודה שמתין בה אינה סעודה, saith the *Jewish Proverb*, in *Beracoth*, *Omne Convivium in quo non est salitum, non est convivium.* And therefore because *Covenants* and *Reconciliations* were made by *Eating* and *Drinking*, where *Salt* was always used, *salt* it self was accounted among the *Ancients* *AMICITIÆ SYMBOLUM*. ἄλας ἢ τράπεζα, *Sal & Mensa*, was used proverbially among the *Greeks* to express *Friendship* by; ἄλας ἢ τράπεζαν παραβαλεῖν, in the words of *Origen* before quoted, out of *Archilochus*, *Sal & Mensam transgredi*, was to violate the most *Sacred League of Friendship*. *Aeschines* in his *Oration De perperam habitâ Legatione* hath a passage very pertinent to this purpose, τὰς γὰρ πλείους ἄλας ἢ δημοσίαν τράπεζαν ὅτι πλείους δὲ ποιεῖται, *Etenim Civitatis Sales & communem Mensam ait se plurimi facere de-*

bere. Thus I understand that Symbol of Pythagoras, ἡ ἀλα παρεπιθεσθαι, (by Erasmus's lieve) for Friendship & Hospitality. There is a pregnant instance of this very phrase in the Scripture, Ezra 4. 14. where our Translators read it thus, *Because we have maintenance from the King's Palace:* but the words in the Chaldee run after this manner, בען כול קבל מלח דינלמלחא, i. e. *quòd Sale Palatii salivimus, Because we have eaten of the King's Salt,* [that is, because we have engaged our selves in a Covenant of Friendship to him, by eating of his Meat,] *therefore it is not meet for us to see the King's dishonour.* That Proverb mentioned in Tully makes to this purpose, *Multos modios Salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus completum sit:* Which was, because that Federal Symbol had been so often abused. Nay hence there remaineth a Superstitious Custom amongst us and other Nations to this day, To count the Overturning of the Salt upon the Table ominous, as betiding some evil to him towards whom it falls: *Quia Amoris & Amicitiae Symbolum.* And by this time I think I have given a sufficient Comment upon מלח הברית, the Salt of the Covenant in the Text.

Only I must not forget, that as in God's Sacrifices there was ever Salt to be used, so the like was generally observed in the Heathen Sacrifices; as that one place out of Pliny, amongst many, shall sufficiently testify, *Maxima Salis autoritas è sacris veterum intelligitur, apud quos nulla Sacra sine mola salsa conficiebantur.* And the reason of it also is thus given by that famous Scholiast upon Iliad. α'. διότι οἱ ἄλλες φιλίας σύμβολον, *because Salt is a Symbol of Friendship:* which is the same with that reason given by God, why he would always have Salt in his Sacrifices, because it was מלח הברית, that is, *Sal symbolum fœderis,* as before was shewn. And this Phrase, being thus explained will clearly expound that other Phrase, about which Criticks have laboured so much in vain, where the same words are used, but inverted, and a Covenant is called a *Covenant of Salt,* as Salt is here called *the Salt of the Covenant,* Numb. 18. 19. and 2 Chron. 13. 5. viz. because *Covenants* were established by eating and drinking together, where *Salt* was a necessary Appendix.

Now therefore, that we may return; As the Legal Sacrifices, with the Feasts upon those Sacrifices, were FEDERAL RITES between God and men; in like manner, I say, the Lord's Supper under the Gospel, which we have already proved to be EPULUM SACRIFICIALE, a *Feast upon Sacrifice,* must needs be EPULUM FOEDERALE, a *Feast of Amity and Friendship* between God and men; where by Eating and Drinking at God's own Table, and of his Meat, we are taken into a sacred Covenant and inviolable League of Friendship with him.

Which I will confirm from that forecommended place, whence I have already proved that the Lord's Supper is a *Feast upon Sacrifice.* For there the Apostle thus dehorts the *Corinthians* from eating of the Feasts upon Idol-Sacrifices, which are a Parallel to the Feast upon the Christian Sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, because this was to have *Fellowship* and *Federal Communion* with Devils; *The things that the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God; and I would not, brethren, that ye should have FELLOWSHIP (or COMMUNION, κοινωνίαν) with Devils.* Where the Comment of St. Chrysostome is excellent to

our

our purpose: Εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἄλων ἢ τραπέζης φιλίας ἀφορμὴ, καὶ σύμβολον γίνεται, ἐγχαρῆαι καὶ ἐπὶ δαιμόνων τὸ τοῦτο συμβεῖναι. that is, If among men to communicate of Bread and Salt be a token and Symbol of Friendship; it must carry the same Notion between men and Devils in the Idol Feasts. If therefore to eat the Sacrifice of Devils be to have Federal Communion with those Devils to whom it was offered; then to eat of the Sacrifice of Christ, once offered up to God, in the Lord's Supper, is to have Federal Communion with God.

There is an excellent Story in *Maimonides* his *Moreh Nevochim* concerning an ancient Custom of the *Zabii*, of Feasting together with their gods in this Federal way, which will much illustrate this Notion. For going about to give the reason why the eating of Blood was forbidden in the Law, he fetches it from the Idolatrous use of it then in *Moses's* time among the *Zabii*; according to his Principles, who thought the reason of all the Ceremonial Precepts was to be fetched from some such accidental Grounds, because those Laws were not *Primæ*, but *Secundæ intentionis* in God. *Multarum Legum rationes & causæ* (saith he) *mihî innotuerunt ex cognitione fidei, rituum, & cultûs Zabiorum.*

By these *Zabii* he means the ancient *Chaldeans*; the word in the Original Arabick, according to the Copy of *Joseph Scaliger*, being thus written, **صليبي**. *A Vento Apeliote sic dicti*, (as he * observes) *quasi*

** In Epist. 62.
ad Isaacum
Casaubonum.*

dicas Orientales. And that Book which *Maimonides* so often quoteth concerning that Nation, their Rites and Religion, is still extant among the *Mahumetan Arabians*, as the same *Scaliger* avoucheth. The Story then is this, according to the Hebrew Translation of R. *Abben Tibbon*, lib. 3. cap. 46. **וענין הצאבה ועם כל זה היו אוכלים אותו מפני שהיו חושבים שהוא מזון השדים ונשאל אותו מי שאכלו כבר והשחקו עם השדים ויבואוהו ויורעוהו העתידות כמו שדמו ההמון ממעשי השדים** i. e. *Licet Sanguis impurus & immundus admodum fuerit in oculis Zabiorum; tamen ab illis comestus fuerit, ed quod existimârunt CIBUM HUNC ESSE DÆMONUM, & quod is qui eum comedit hæc ratione COMMUNICATIONEM aliquam cum Dæmonibus haberet, ita ut familiariter cum illo conversentur, & futura ei apperiant.* But because others of them did abhor the eating of Blood, as a thing repugnant unto Nature, they perform'd this service in a little different manner והיו שם אנשים שהיה קשה בעיניהם אכילת הדם כי הוא דבר שימאסוהו טבע האדם והיו שוחטים בהמה ומקבלים דמו בכלי או בחפירה ואוכלים בשר השחוטתה והוא פניב דמה והיו מרמזין במעשה הזה שהשדים יאכלו הדם אשר הוא מזונם והם יאכלו הבשר ובזה תהיה האהבה והאהורה והרעות בהם בעבור שאכלו כלם ערל שלחן אחד ובמושב אחד ויבאו להם שדים ההם לפי מחשבתם בחלום ויגידו להם והעתידות ויעילו להם; i. e. *Mañantes Bestiam aliquam, Sanguinem in circulo sedentes comedebant: imaginantes sibi in hoc opere, ipsi CARNEM COMEDENTIBUS, Dæmones ILLUM SANGUINEM COMEDERE, & hunc esse IPSORUM CIBUM, hócque medio AMICITIAM, FRATERNITATEM & FAMILIARITATEM inter ipsos contrahi, quia omnes in una mensa edunt, uno confessu accumbunt.*

As for the former part of this Story, I find it also in R. *Moses Bar Nachman* upon *Deuteron. 12. 23.* where he goes about to give the reason

son why Blood was forbidden in the Law, as *Maimonides* did, although in the first place, he saith, it was because Blood served in the Sacrifices for Expiation, otherwise than *Maimonides*, (for there was a great Controversie between these two Doctors about the Nature of Sacrifices :) but yet in the second place also he brings in this also, Because it was used superstitiously by the Heathens in the worship of their Idol-gods. והיתה העבודה היא באכילה מן הדם כי היו מקבצים הדם לשרים והם אוכלים עליו וממנו כאילו הם קרואים לשרים לאכול על שלחן השרים ; והם ומתחנרים עמם — והנה היו מחובאים בו ומגידים עתודות

i. e. They performed their Superstitious Worship by eating of Blood in this manner; They gathered together Blood for the Devils their Idol-gods, and then they came themselves, and did eat of that Blood with them, as being the Devil's GUESTS, and INVITED to EAT at the TABLE of Devils; and so were JOYNED in Federal Society with them. And by this kind of Communion with Devils they were able to Prophecie, and foretel things to come.

F I N I S.

THE
First Sermon;
OR A
DISCOURSE

ON

I JOHN Chap. II. Vers. 3, 4.

*Hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep
his Commandments, &c.*

By R. CUDWORTH, D. D.

The Third Edition.

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ON
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ON
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MDCCLXXVI



THE FIRST
S E R M O N.

I JOHN Chap. 2. Ver. 3, 4.

And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his Commandments.

He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his Commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.

WE have much enquiry concerning Knowledge in these latter times. The sons of *Adam* are now as busie as ever himself was about the *Tree of Knowledge* of good and evil, shaking the boughs of it, and scrambling for the fruit; whilest, I fear, many are too unmindful of the *Tree of Life*. And though there be now no Cherubims with their flaming swords to fright men off from it; yet the way that leads to it seems to be so solitary and untrodden, as if there were but few that had any mind to tast of the Fruit of it. There be many that speak of new glimpses and discoveries of Truth, of dawnings of Gospel-light; and no question-but God hath reserved much of this for the very Evening and Sun-set of the World; for *in the latter days knowledge shall be increased*: But yet I wish we could in the mean time see that *day to dawn* which the Apostle speaks of, and that *day-star to arise in mens hearts*. I wish, whilst we talk of *Light*, and dispute about *Truth*, we could walk more as *children of the Light*. Whereas if *S. John's* rule be good here in the Text, that no man truly knows *Christ* but he that keepeth his Commandments; it is much to be suspected, that many of us which pretend to *Light* have a thick and gloomy *Darkness* within over-spreading our souls.

There be now many large Volumes and Discourses written concerning *Christ*, thousands of Controversies discussed, infinite Problems determined concerning his Divinity, Humanity, Union of both together, and what not? so that our Bookish Christians, that

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have all their Religion in writings and papers, think they are now completely furnished with all kind of knowledge concerning *Christ*; and when they see all their leaves lying about them, they think they have a goodly stock of knowledge and truth, and cannot possibly miss of the way to Heaven; as if Religion were nothing but a little *Book-craft*, a mere *Paper-skill*.

But if *S. John's* rule here be good, we must not judge of our knowing of *Christ* by our skill in Books and Papers, but by our keeping of his Commandments. And that I fear will discover many of us (notwithstanding all this Light which we boast of round about us) to have nothing but *Egyptian* Darkness within upon our hearts.

The vulgar sort think that they know *Christ* enough out of their Creeds and Catechisms and Confessions of Faith: and if they have but a little acquainted themselves with these, and like Parrots conned the words of them, they doubt not but that they are sufficiently instructed in all the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven. Many of the more learned, if they can but wrangle and dispute about *Christ*, imagine themselves to be grown great proficient in the School of *Christ*.

The greatest part of the world, whether learned or unlearned, think that there is no need of purging and purifying of their hearts for the right knowledge of *Christ* and his Gospel; but though their lives be never so wicked, their hearts never so foul within, yet they may know *Christ* sufficiently out of their Treatises and Discourses, out of their mere Systems and Bodies of Divinity: which I deny not to be useful in a subordinate way; although our Saviour prescribeth his Disciples another method to come to the right knowledge of Divine Truths, by doing of God's will. *He that will do my Father's will* (saith he) *shall know of the Doctrine whether it be of God.* He is a true Christian indeed, not he that is only *book-taught*, but he that is *God-taught*; he that hath an *Unction from the Holy one* (as our Apostle calleth it) *that teacheth him all things*; he that hath the Spirit of *Christ* within him, that *searcheth out the deep things of God*: *For as no man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of a man which is in him; even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God.*

Ink and Paper can never make us Christians, can never beget a new nature, a living principle in us; can never form *Christ*, or any true notions of spiritual things, in our hearts. The Gospel, that new Law which *Christ* delivered to the world, it is not merely a *Letter* without us, but a *quickenings Spirit* within us. Cold Theorems and Maxims, dry and jejune Disputes, lean Syllogistical reasonings, could never yet of themselves beget the least glimpse of true heavenly light, the least sap of saving knowledge in any heart. All this is but the groping of the poor dark spirit of man after Truth, to find it out with his own endeavours, and feel it with his own cold and benumbed hands. Words and Syllables, which are but dead things, cannot possibly convey the living notions of heavenly Truths to us. The secret mysteries of a Divine Life, of a new Nature, of *Christ* formed in our hearts, they cannot be written or spoken, language and expressions cannot reach them; neither can they be ever truly understood, except the Soul itself be kindled from within, and awakened into the life of them. A Painter that would draw a Rose, though he may flourish

flourish

flourish some likeness of it in figure and colour, yet he can never paint the scent and fragrancy; or if he would draw a Flame, he cannot put a constant heat into his colours; he cannot make his pensil drop a Sound, as the Echo in the Epigramm mocks at him

— *si vis similem pingere, pinges sonum.*

All the skill of cunning Artizans and Mechanicks cannot put a principle of Life into a Statue of their own making. Neither are we able to inclose in words and letters the Life, Soul and Essence of any Spiritual Truths, and as it were to incorporate it in them.

Some Philosophers have determined, that ἀρετή is not διδασκόν, *Vertue cannot be taught* by any certain rules or precepts. Men and Books may propound some directions to us, that may set us in such a way of life and practice, as in which we shall at last find it within our selves, and be experimentally acquainted with it: but they cannot teach it us like a Mechanick Art or Trade. No surely, *there is a spirit in man; and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding.* But we shall not meet with this spirit any where but in the way of Obedience: the knowledge of *Christ*, and the keeping of his Commandments, must always go together, and be mutual causes of one another.

Hereby we know that we know him, if we keep his Commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his Commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.

I Come now unto these words themselves, which are so pregnant, that I shall not need to force out any thing at all from them: I shall therefore only take notice of some few Observations which drop from them of their own accord, and then conclude with some Application of them to our selves.

First then, If this be the right way and method of discovering our knowledge of *Christ*, by our keeping his Commandments; then we may safely draw conclusions concerning our state and condition from the conformity of our lives to the will of *Christ*.

Would we know whether we know *Christ* aright, let us consider whether the life of *Christ* be in us. *Qui non habet vitam Christi, Christum non habet*; He that hath not the life of *Christ* in him, he hath nothing but the name, nothing but a phansie of *Christ*, he hath not the substance of him. He that builds his house upon this foundation, not an airy notion of *Christ* swimming in his brain, but *Christ* really dwelling and living in his heart, as our Saviour himself witnesseth, he *buildeth his house upon a rock*; and when the floods come, and the winds blow, and the rain descends, and beats upon it, it shall stand impregnably. But he that builds all his comfort upon an ungrounded persuasion that God from all eternity hath loved him, and absolutely decreed him to life and happiness, and seeketh not for God really dwelling in his Soul; he builds his house upon a Quick-sand, and it shall suddenly sink and be swallowed up: *His hope shall be cut off, and his trust shall be a Spider's web; he shall lean upon his house, but*

it shall not stand; he shall hold it fast, but it shall not endure.

We are no where commanded to pry into these Secrets, but the wholesome counsel and advice given us is this, to *make our calling and election sure*. We have no warrant in Scripture to peep into these hidden Rolls and Volumes of Eternity, and to make it our first thing that we do when we come to *Christ*, to spell out our names in the Stars, and to persuade our selves that we are certainly elected to everlasting happiness, before we see the *image of God*, in righteousness and true holiness, shaped in our hearts. God's everlasting Decree is too dazzling and bright an object for us at first to set our eye upon. It is far easier and safer for us to look upon the rayes of his goodness and holiness as they are reflected in our hearts, and there to read the mild and gentle characters of God's love to us, in our love to him, and our hearty compliance with his heavenly Will: as it is safer for us, if we would see the Sun, to look upon it here below in a pail of water, than to cast up our daring eyes upon the body of the Sun it self, which is too radiant and scorching for us. The best assurance that any one can have of his interest in God, is doubtless the conformity of his Soul to him. Those divine purposes, whatsoever they be, are altogether unsearchable and unknowable by us, they lie wrapt up in everlasting darkness, and covered in a deep Abyss: Who is able to fathom the bottom of them?

Let us not therefore make this our first attempt towards God and Religion, to persuade our selves strongly of these everlasting Decrees: for if at our first flight we aim so high, we shall haply but scorch our wings, and be struck back with lightning, as those *Giants* of old were that would needs attempt to assault Heaven. And it is indeed a most *Gigantical* Essay, to thrust our selves so boldly into the lap of Heaven; it is the prank of a *Nimrod*, of a *mighty Hunter*, thus rudely to deal with God, and to force heaven and happiness before his face, whether he will or no. The way to obtain a good assurance indeed of our title to Heaven is, not to clamber up to it by a ladder of our own ungrounded persuasions, but to dig as low as Hell by humility and self-denial in our own hearts: And though this may seem to be the farthest way about, yet it is indeed the nearest and safest way to it. We must *ἀναβαίνειν κάτω*, and *καταβαίνειν ἄνω*, as the Greek Epigram speaks, *ascend downward, and descend upward*, if we would indeed come to Heaven, or get any true persuasion of our title to it.

The most gallant and triumphant confidence of a Christian riseth safely and surely on this low foundation, that lies deeper underground, and there stands firmly and stedfastly. When our heart is once tuned into a conformity with the word of God, when we feel our will perfectly to concur with his will, we shall then presently perceive a *Spirit of adoption* within our selves, teaching us to cry *Abba, Father*. We shall not then care for peeping into those hidden Records of Eternity, to see whether our names be written there in golden Characters: no, we shall find a copy of God's thoughts concerning us written in our own Breasts. There we may read the characters of his favour to us, there we may feel an inward sense of his love to us, flowing out of our hearty and unfeigned love to him.

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And we shall be more undoubtedly perswaded of it, than if any of those winged *Watchmen* above, that are privy to Heaven's secrets, should come and tell us that they saw our names enrolled in those *volumes of eternity*. Whereas on the contrary, though we strive to perswade our selves never so confidently, that God from all eternity hath loved us, and elected us to life and happiness; if we do yet in the mean time entertain any iniquity within our hearts, and willingly close with any lust; do what we can, we shall find many a cold qualm ever now and then seizing upon us at approaching dangers; and when Death it self shall grimly look us in the face, we shall feel our hearts even to die within us, and our spirits quite faint away, though we strive to raise them and recover them never so much with the *Strong waters* and *Aqua-vitæ* of our own ungrounded presumptions. The least inward lust willingly continued in will be like a *worm*, fretting the *Gourd* of our jolly confidence and presumptuous perswasion of God's love, and alway gnawing at the root of it. and though we strive to keep it alive, and continually besprinkle it with some dews of our own; yet it will be always dying and withering in our bosoms. But a good Conscience within will be always better to a Christian than *health to his navel, and marrow to his bones*; it will be an everlasting cordial to his heart; it will be softer to him than a bed of Down, and he may sleep securely upon it in the midst of raging and tempestuous seas, when the winds bluster, and the waves beat round about him. A good conscience is the best looking-glass of Heaven; in which the Soul may see God's thoughts and purposes concerning it, as so many shining stars reflected to it. *Hereby we know Christ, hereby we know that Christ loves us, if we keep his Commandments.*

Secondly, If hereby only we know that we know *Christ*, by our keeping his Commandments; then *the knowledge of Christ doth not consist merely in a few barren Notions, in a form of certain dry and sapless opinions.*

Christ came not into the world to fill our Heads with mere Speculations, to kindle a fire of wrangling and contentious dispute amongst us, and to warm our spirits against one another with nothing but angry and peevish debates, whilst in the mean time our Hearts remain all ice within towards God, and have not the least spark of true heavenly fire to melt and thaw them. *Christ* came not to possess our brains only with some cold opinions, that send down nothing but a freezing and benumbing influence upon our hearts. *Christ* was *Vitæ Magister*, not *Scholæ*: and he is the best Christian whose Heart beats with the truest pulse towards Heaven; not he whose Head spinneth out the finest cobwebs.

He that endeavours really to mortifie his lusts, and to comply with that truth in his life which his Conscience is convinced of, is nearer a Christian, though he never heard of *Christ*, than he that believes all the vulgar Articles of the Christian faith, and plainly denieth *Christ* in his life.

Surely the way to Heaven that *Christ* hath taught us is plain
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and easie, if we have but honest hearts: we need not many Criticisms, many School-distinctions, to come to a right understanding of it. Surely *Christ* came not to ensnare us and entangle us with captious niceties, or to puzzle our heads with deep speculations, and lead us through hard and craggy notions into the Kingdom of Heaven. I perswade my self, that no man shall ever be kept out of Heaven for not comprehending mysteries that were beyond the reach of his shallow understanding, if he had but an honest and good Heart, that was ready to comply with *Christ's* Commandments. *Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven?* that is, with high speculations to bring down *Christ* from thence; or, *Who shall descend into the Abyss beneath?* that is, with deep searching thoughts to fetch up *Christ* from thence: but lo, *the word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart.*

But I wish it were not the distemper of our times, to scare and fright men only with *Opinions*, and make men only solicitous about the entertaining of this and that Speculation, which will not render them any thing the better in their lives, or the liker unto God; whilst in the mean time there is no such care taken about *keeping of Christ's Commandments*, and being renewed in our minds according to the image of God in righteousness and true holiness. We say, *Lo, here is Christ*, and, *Lo, there is Christ*, in these and these *Opinions*; whereas in truth *Christ* is neither here, nor there, nor any where, but where the Spirit of *Christ*, where the life of *Christ* is.

Do we not now-adays open and lock up Heaven with the private key of this and that Opinion of our own, according to our several fancies, as we please? and if any one observe *Christ's* Commandments never so sincerely, and serve God with faith and a pure conscience, that yet haply skills not of some contended-for *Opinions*, some darling notions, he hath not the right *Shibboleth*, he hath not the true Watchword, he must not pass the Guards into Heaven. Do we not make this and that *Opinion*, this and that outward *Form*, to be the *Wedding-garment*, and boldly sentence those to outer darkness that are not invested therewith? whereas every true Christian finds the least dram of hearty affection towards god to be more cordial and sovereign to his Soul than all the *Speculative notions* and *Opinions* in the world: and though he study also to inform his Understanding aright, and free his mind from all errour and misapprehensions; yet it is nothing but the Life of *Christ* deeply rooted in his heart which is the Chymical Elixir that he feeds upon. Had he *all faith that he could remove mountains* (as *S. Paul* speaks) had he *all knowledge, all tongues and languages*; yet he prizeth one dram of *Love* beyond them all. He accounteth him that feedeth upon meer notions in Religion to be but an airy and Chameleon-like Christian. He findeth himself now otherwise rooted and centred in God, than when he did before merely contemplate and gaze upon him: he tasteth and relissheth God within himself; he hath *quendam saporem Dei, a certain savour of him*; whereas before he did but rove and guess at random at him. He feel-eth himself safely anchored in God, and will not be dissuaded from it, though perhaps he skill not many of those *Subtilties* which others make the *Alpha* and *Omega* of their Religion. Neither is he scared
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with those childish affrightments with which some would force their private Conceits upon him; he is above the superstitious dreading of mere speculative Opinions, as well as the superstitious reverence of outward Ceremonies: he cares not so much for subtilty, as for soundness and health of mind. And indeed, as it was well spoken by a noble Philosopher, *ἀνεὶ ἀρετῆς θεὸς ὄνομα μόνον*, that *without purity and vertue God is nothing but an empty name*; so it is as true here, that without obedience to *Christ's* Commandments, without the *life of Christ* dwelling in us, whatsoever *Opinion* we entertain of him, *Christ* is but only named by us, he is not *known*.

I speak not here against a free and ingenuous enquiry into all Truth, according to our several abilities and opportunities; I plead not for the captivating and enthralling of our judgments to the Dictates of men; I do not disparage the natural improvement of our understanding faculties by true Knowledge, which is so noble and gallant a perfection of the mind: But the thing which I aim against is, the dispiriting of the life and vigour of our Religion by dry Speculations, and making it nothing but a mere dead *Skeleton of Opinions*, a few dry bones without any flesh and sinews tied up together, and the mis-placing of all our zeal upon an eager prosecution of these, which should be spent to better purpose upon other objects.

Knowledge indeed is a thing far more excellent than riches, outward pleasures, worldly dignities, or any thing else in the world besides Holiness, and the Conformity of our wills to the will of God: But yet our happiness consisteth not in it, but in a certain Divine Temper and Constitution of Soul which is far above it.

But it is a piece of that corruption that runneth through humane nature, that we naturally prize *Truth* more than *Goodness*, *Knowledge* more than *Holiness*. We think it a gallant thing to be fluttering up to Heaven with our wings of Knowledge and Speculation: whereas the highest mystery of a Divine Life here, and of perfect happiness hereafter, consisteth in nothing but mere Obedience to the Divine Will. Happiness is nothing but that inward sweet delight that will arise from the harmonious agreement between our wills and God's will.

There is nothing contrary to God in the whole world, nothing that fights against him, but *self-will*. This is the strong Castle that we all keep garrison'd against Heaven in every one of our Hearts, which God continually layeth siege unto: and it must be conquered and demolished, before we can conquer Heaven. It was by reason of this *self-will* that *Adam* fell in Paradise; that those glorious Angels, those *Morning-stars*, kept not their first station, but dropt down from Heaven like falling Stars, and sunk into this condition of bitterness, anxiety and wretchedness in which now they are. They all intangled themselves with the length of their own wings, they would needs will more and otherwise than God would will in them: and going about to make their Wills wider, and to enlarge them into greater amplitude, the more they struggled, they found themselves the faster pinioned, and crouded up into narrowness and servility; inso-much that now they are not able to use any wings at all, but inheriting the *Serpent's* curse, can only creep with their *bellies* upon
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the earth. Now our only way to recover God and happiness again is, not to soar up with our Understandings, but to destroy this *Self-will* of ours; and then we shall find our wings to grow again, our plumes fairly spread, and our selves raised aloft into the free Air of perfect Liberty, which is perfect Happiness;

There is nothing in the whole world able to do us good or hurt but *God* and our own *Will*; neither riches nor poverty, nor disgrace nor honour, nor life nor death, nor Angels nor Devils; but Willing or Not-willing as we ought. Should Hell it self cast all its fiery darts against us, if our *Will* be right, if it be informed by the Divine Will, they can do us no hurt; we have then (if I may so speak) an enchanted Shield that is impenetrable, and will bear off all. God will not hurt us, and Hell cannot hurt us, if we will nothing but what God wills. Nay, then we are acted by God himself, and the whole Divinity floweth in upon us; and when we have cashiered this *Self-will* of ours, which did but shackle and confine our Souls, our wills shall then become truly free, being widened and enlarged to the extent of God's own will. *Hereby we know that we know Christ indeed, not by our Speculative Opinions concerning him, but by our keeping of his Commandments.*

III. Thirdly, if hereby we are to judge whether we truly *know Christ*, by our *keeping of his Commandments*; so that *he that saith he knoweth him, and keepeth not his Commandments, is a liar*; then, *This was not the Plot and design of the Gospel, to give the world an indulgence to sin, upon what pretence soever.*

Though we are too prone to make such misconstructions of it: As if God had intended nothing else in it, but to dandle our corrupt nature, and contrive a smooth and easie way for us to come to happiness, without the toilsom labour of subduing our lusts and sinful affections: or, as if the Gospel were nothing else but a Declaration to the world, of God's engaging his affections from all eternity on some particular persons in such a manner, as that he would resolve to love them and dearly embrace them, though he never made them partakers of his Image in righteousness and true holiness; and though they should remain under the power of all their lusts, yet they should still continue his *beloved ones*, and he would notwithstanding at last bring them undoubtedly into Heaven. Which is nothing else but to make the God that we worship, the God of the New Testament, *περὸς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην*, an accepter of persons, and one that should encourage that in the world which is diametrically opposite to God's own Life and Being.

And indeed nothing is more ordinary than for us to shape out such monstrous and deformed Notions of God unto our selves, by looking upon him through the *coloured Medium* of our own corrupt Hearts, and having the *eye* of our Soul *tinged* by the suffusions of our own lusts. And therefore because we mortals can *fondly* love and hate, and sometimes hug the very Vices of those to whom our affections are engaged, and kiss their very Deformities; we are so ready to shape out a Deity like unto our selves, and to fashion out such a *God* as will,

in *Christ* at least, hug the very wickedness of the world, and in those that be once his own, by I know not what *fond* affection, appropriated to himself, connive at their very sins, so that they shall not make the least breach betwixt himself and them. Some there are that question whether of the two be the worse Idolatry, and of the deeper stain; for a man to make a god out of a piece of wood, and fall down unto it and worship it, and say, Deliver me, for thou art my God, as it is expressed in the Prophet *Isaiah*; or to set up such an Idol-god of our own Imagination as this is, fashioned out according to the similitude of our own *fondness* and wickedness: and when we should paint out God with the liveliest Colours that we can possibly borrow from any created Being, with the purest Perfections that we can abstract from them; to draw him out thus with the black Coal of our own corrupt hearts, and to make the very Blots and Blurs of our own Souls to be the Letters which we spell out his Name by. Thus do we, that are Children of the Night, make black and ugly representations of God unto our selves, as the *Ethiopians* were wont to do, copying him out according to our own likeness, and setting up that unto our selves for a God which we love most dearly in our selves, that is, our Lusts. But there is no such God as this any-where in the world, but only in some mens false Imaginations, who know not all this while that they look upon themselves in stead of God, and make an Idol of themselves, which they worship and adore for him; being so full of themselves, that whatsoever they see round about them, even God himself, they colour with their own Tincture: like him that *Aristotle* speaks of, that wheresoever he went, and whatsoever he looked upon, he saw still his own face as in a glass, represented to him. And therefore it is no wonder if men seem naturally more devoutly affected toward such an imaginary God as we have now described, than to the True Real God, clothed with his own real Attributes; since it is nothing but an Image of themselves, which *Narcissus*-like they fall in love with: no wonder if they kiss and dandle such a *Baby-god* as this, which, like little children, they have dressed up out of the clouts of their own fond Phancies, according to their own likeness, of purpose that they might play and sport with it.

But God will ever dwell in spotless light, howsoever we paint him and disfigure him here below: he will still be circled about with his own raies of unstained and immaculate glory. And though the Gospel be not God as he is in his own *Brightness*, but God veiled and masked to us, God in a state of Humiliation and Condescent, as the Sun in a Rainbow; yet it is nothing else but a clear and unspotted Mirrour of Divine Holiness, Goodness, Purity; in which Attributes lies the very Life and Essence of God himself. The Gospel is nothing else but God descending into the World in *Our Form*, and conversing with us in our likeness; that he might allure and draw us up to God, and make us partakers of his *Divine Form*. Θεός γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος (as *Athanasius* speaks) ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεοποιηθῶμεν, God was therefore incarnated and made man, that he might Deifie us, that is, (as *St. Peter* expresseth it) make us partakers of the Divine Nature. Now, I say, the very proper Character and essential Tincture of God himself is nothing else but *Goodness*. Nay, I may be bold to add, that God is therefore God, because he is the highest and most perfect

Good : and Good is not therefore Good, because God out of an arbitrary will of his would have it so. Whatsoever God doth in the world, he doth it as suitable to the highest Goodness; the *Idea* and fairest Copy of which is his own Essence.

Virtue and Holiness in creatures, as *Plato* well discourseth in his *Enthyphro*, are not therefore good because God loveth them, and will have them be accounted such; but rather, *God therefore loveth them, because they are in themselves simply good.* Some of our own Authors go a little farther yet, and tell us, that God doth not fondly love himself because he is *himself*, but therefore he loveth himself because he is the highest and most absolute *Goodness*: so that if there could be any thing in the world better than God, God would love that better than himself: But because he is essentially the most perfect *Good*, therefore he cannot but love his own *Goodness* infinitely above all other things. And it is another mistake which sometimes we have of God, by shaping him out according to the Model of our selves, when we make him nothing but a *blind, dark, impetuous Self-will* running through the world; such as we our selves are furiously acted with, that have not the Ballast of *absolute Goodness* to poize and settle us.

That I may therefore come nearer to the thing in hand: God, who is *absolute Goodness*, cannot love any of his Creatures and take pleasure in them, without bestowing a communication of his Goodness and Likeness upon them. God cannot make a Gospel, to promise men Life and Happiness hereafter without being *regenerated*, and made partakers of his *Holiness*. As soon may Heaven and Hell be reconciled together, and lovingly shake hands with one another, as God can be fondly indulgent to any sin, in whomsoever it be. As soon may Light and Darkness be espoused together, and Midnight be married to the Noon-day, as God can be joyned in a league of friendship to any wicked Soul.

The great Design of God in the Gospel is, to clear up this Mist of Sin and Corruption which we are here surrounded with, and to bring up his creatures out of the *shadow of death* to the *Region of Light* above, the Land of Truth and Holiness. The great Mystery of the Gospel is to establish a *God-like* frame and disposition of spirit, which consists in Righteousness and true Holiness, in the hearts of men. And *Christ*, who is the great and mighty Saviour, came on purpose into the World, not only to save us from *Fire and Brimstone*, but also to save us from our *Sins*. *Christ* hath therefore made an Expiation of our sins by his death upon the Cross, that we being thus *delivered out of the hands of these our greatest enemies*, might serve God without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life. This grace of God that bringeth salvation hath therefore appeared unto all men, in the Gospel, that it might teach us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and that we should live soberly, righteously and godlily in this present world: looking for that blessed hope and glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purifie to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. These things I write unto you, (saith our Apostle a little before my Text) that you sin not: therein expressing the end of the whole Gospel, which is, not only to cover sin, by spreading

spreading the purple Robe of *Christ's* Death and sufferings over it, whilst it still remaineth in us with all it's filth and noisomness unremoved; but also to convey a powerful and mighty Spirit of holiness, to *cleanse* us and free us from it. And this is a greater grace of God to us than the former, which still go both together in the Gospel; besides the free remission and pardon of sin in the *blood of Christ*, the delivering of us from the power of sin by the *Spirit of Christ* dwelling in our hearts.

Christ came not into the world only to cast a Mantle over us, and hide all our filthy sores from God's avenging eye, with his merits and righteousness; but he came likewise to be a Chirurgeon and Physician of Souls, to free us from the filth and corruption of them; which is more grievous and burthensom, more noisom to a true Christian, than the guilt of sin it self.

Should a poor wretched and diseased creature, that is full of sores and ulcers, be covered all over with Purple, or clothed with Scarlet, he would take but little contentment in it whilst his sores and wounds remain upon him: and he had much rather be arraid in rags, so he might obtain but soundness and health within. The Gospel is a true *Bethesda*, a *pool of Grace*, where such poor, lame and infirm creatures as we are, upon the moving of God's Spirit in it, may descend down, not only to wash our skin and outside, but also to be cured of our diseases within. And whatever the world thinks, there is a powerful Spirit that *moves* upon these *waters*, the waters of the Gospel, spreading its gentle, healing, quickening wings over our Souls. The Gospel is not like *Abana* and *Pharpar*, those common Rivers of *Damascus*, that could only cleanse the outside; but is a true *Jordan*. in which such leprous *Naamans* as we all are may wash and be clean, *Blessed indeed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered: Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin: But yet rather blessed are they whose sins are like a Morning-cloud, and quite taken away from them. Blessed, thrice blessed, are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*

Our Saviour *Christ* came (as *John the Baptist* tells us) with a Fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly purge his floor and gather his wheat into his garner: but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire. He came (as the Prophet *Malachy* speaks) like a Refiner's fire, and like Fuller's sope; to sit as a Refiner and Purifier of silver, and to purifie all the sons of *Levi*, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness.

Christ came not only to write Holiness to the Lord upon *Aaron's* forehead, and to put his *Urim* and *Thummim* upon his Breast-plate; but, *This is the Covenant, saith the Lord, that I will make with them in those days; I will put my Law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and then I will be their God, and they shall be my people: they shall be all Kings and Priests unto me. God sent his own Son (aith S. Paul) in the likeness of sinful flesh, and by a sacrifice for sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.*

The first *Adam*, as the Scripture tells us, brought in a real defile-

ment, which, like a noisom Leprosie, hath overspread all mankind : and therefore *the Second Adam* must not only fill the World with a *conceit* of Holiness and mere imaginary Righteousness ; but he must really convey such an *immortal seed* of Grace into the hearts of true Believers as may prevail still more and more in them, till it have at last quite wrought out that *poison* of the *Serpent*.

Christ, that was nothing but *Divinity dwelling in a Tabernacle of flesh*, and God himself immediately acting a humane nature, came into the World to kindle here that *Divine life* amongst men, which is certainly dearer unto God than any thing else whatsoever in the world ; and to propagate this Celestial fire from one heart still unto another, until the end of the World. Neither is he, nor was he, ever absent from this spark of his Divinity kindled amongst men, where-soever it be, though he seem bodily to be withdrawn from us. He is the standing, constant, inexhausted Fountain of this divine Light and Heat, that still toucheth every Soul that is enlivened by it with an out-stretched Ray, and freely lends his Beams, and disperseth his *Influence* to all, from the beginning of the world to the end of it. *We all receive of his fulness grace for grace* ; as all the Stars in Heaven are said to light their Candles at the Sun's flame. For though his Body be withdrawn from us, yet by the lively and *virtual Contact* of his Spirit he is always kindling, chearing, quickening, warming and enlivening hearts. Nay, this *Divine life* begun and kindled in any heart, where-soever it be, is *something of God in flesh*, and, in a sober and qualified sence, *Divinity incarnate* ; and all particular Christians that are really possessed of it, so many *Mystical Christs*.

And God forbid that *God's own life and Nature*, here in the World should be forlorn, forsaken and abandoned of God himself. Certainly where-ever it is, though never so little, like a sweet, young, tender *Babe*, once born in any heart, when it crieth unto God the *Father* of it, with pitiful and bemoaning looks imploring his compassion, it cannot chuse but move his *Fatherly bowels*, and make them *yern*, and turn towards it, and by strong sympathy draw his compassionate arm to help and relieve it. Never was any tender Infant so dear to those Bowels that begat it, as an *Infant new-born Christ*, formed in the heart of any true believer, to God the *Father* of it. Shall the children of *this World*, the *sons of darkness*, be moved with such tender affection and compassion towards the fruit of their bodies, their own natural Off-spring ? and shall God, who is the *Father of lights*, the Fountain of all goodness, be moved with no compassion towards his true Spiritual Off-spring, and have no regard to those sweet *Babes of Light* ingendred by his own beams in mens hearts, that in their lovely countenances bear the resemblance of his own face, and call him their *Father* ? Shall he see them lie fainting and gasping and dying here in the World, for want of nothing to preserve and keep them but an *Influence* from him, who first gave them life and breath ? No, hear the language of God's heart, hear the *sounding of his bowels* towards them : *Is it Ephraim my dear son ? is it that pleasant child ? Since I spake of him, I do earnestly remember him, my bowels, my bowels are troubled for him ; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord.* If those expressions of goodness and tender

tender affection here among the creatures be but drops of that full Ocean that is in God; how can we then imagine that this *Father* of our *Spirits* should have so little regard to his own dear Off-spring, I do not say our Souls, but that which is the very Life and Soul of our Souls, the *Life of God* in us, (which is nothing else but God's own self communicated to us, his own Son born in our hearts) as that he should suffer it to be cruelly murdered in its *Infancy* by our Sins, and, like young *Hercules*, in its very *cradle* to be strangled by those filthy *vipers*? that he should see him to be crucified by wicked *Lusts*, nailed fast to the cross by invincible *Corruptions*, pierced and gored on every side with the poisoned spears of the Devil's *temptations*, and at last to give up the Ghost; and yet his tender heart not at all relent, nor be all this while impassioned with so sad a spectacle? Surely, we cannot think he hath such an *adamantine* breast, such a *flinty* nature as this is.

What then? must we say that though indeed he be willing, yet he is not able, to rescue his crucified and tormented *Son*, now bleeding upon the Cross; to *take him down* from thence and *save him*? Then must Sin be more powerful than God; that weak, crazie and sickly thing more strong than the *Rock of ages*; and the Devil, the Prince of Darkness, more mighty than the God of Light. No surely, there is a weakness and impotency in all Evil, but a masculine strength and vigour in all Goodness: and therefore doubtless the *Highest Good*, the *περσιτον αγαθον*, as the Philosophers call it, is the strongest thing in the World. *Nil potentius Summo Bono*. God's Power displayed in the World is nothing but his *Goodness* strongly reaching all things, from height to depth, from the highest Heaven to the lowest Hell; and irresistibly imparting it self to every thing, according to those several degrees in which it is capable of it.

Have the Fiends of Darkness then, those poor forlorn spirits, that are fettered and chained up in the Chains of their own wickedness, any strength to withstand the force of infinite *Goodness*, which is infinite *Power*? or do they not rather sculk in holes of darkness, and fly, like Bats and Owls, before the approaching beams of this Sun of Righteousness? Is God powerful to kill and to destroy, to damn and to torment? and is he not powerful to save? Nay, it is the sweetest Flower in all the Garland of his Attributes, it is the richest Diadem in his Crown of Glory, that he is, *Mighty to save*: and this is far more magnificent for him, than to be styled *Mighty to destroy*. For that, except it be in a way of Justice, speaks no Power at all, but mere Impotency; for the Root of all Power is Goodness.

Or must we say, lastly, that God indeed is able to rescue us out of the power of Sin and Satan, when we sigh and groan towards him, but yet sometimes, to exercise his absolute Authority, his uncontrollable Dominion, he delights rather in plunging wretched Souls down into infernal Night and everlasting Darkness? What shall we then make the God of the whole World? Nothing but a cruel and dreadful *Erinnys*, with *curled fiery Snakes* about his head, and *Firebrands* in his hands, thus governing the World? Surely this will make us either secretly to think that there is no God at all in the World, if he must needs be such, or else to wish heartily there were none.

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But doubtless God will at last confute all these our *Misapprehensions* of him, he will unmask our *Hypocritical pretences*, and clearly cast the shame of all our sinful Deficiencies upon our selves, and vindicate his own Glory from receiving the least stain or blemish by them. In the mean time, let us know that the Gospel now requireth far more of us than ever the Law did; for it requireth a *New Creature*, a *Divine Nature*, *Christ formed in us*: but yet withal it bestoweth a *quickenning Spirit*, an *enlivening Power*, to enable us to expresse that which is required of us. Whosoever therefore truly *knows Christ*, the same also *keepeth Christ's Commandments*. But *he that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his Commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.*

I Have now done with the *First part* of my Discourse, concerning those *Observations* which arise naturally from the words, and offer themselves to us: I shall in the next place, proceed to make some general *Application* of them all together.

NOW therefore, I beseech you, let us consider whether or no we know *Christ* indeed: not by our acquaintance with *Systems* and *Models* of Divinity, not by our skill in *Books* and *Papers*; but by our *keeping of Christ's Commandments*. All the Books and Writings which we converse with, they can but represent Spiritual Objects to our understandings; which yet we can never see in their own true Figure, Colour and Proportion, until we have a *Divine light* within, to irradiate and shine upon them. Though there be never such excellent Truths concerning *Christ* and his Gospel set down in words and letters; yet they will be but unknown Characters to us, until we have a *living spirit* within us that can decypher them, until the same Spirit, by secret Whispers in our hearts, do comment upon them, which did at first endite them. There be many that understand the Greek and Hebrew of the *Scripture*, the Original Languages in which the Text was written, that never understood the *Language of the Spirit*.

There is a *Caro* and a *Spiritus*, a *Flesh* and a *Spirit*, a *Body* and a *Soul*, in all the Writings of the Scriptures. It is but the *Flesh* and *Body* of Divine Truths that is printed upon Paper; which many Moths of Books and Libraries do only feed upon; many walking *Skeletons* of knowledge, that bury and entomb Truths in the living Sepulchres of their Souls, do only converse with; such as never did any thing else but pick at the mere Bark and Rinde of Truths, and crack the Shells of them. But there is a *Soul* and *Spirit* of Divine Truths that could never yet be congealed into Ink, that could never be blotted upon Paper, which by a secret traduction and conveyance passeth from one Soul unto another, being able to dwell or lodge no-where but in a Spiritual Being, in a Living thing, because it self is nothing but *Life* and *Spirit*. Neither can it, where indeed it is, expresse it self sufficiently in Words and Sounds, but it will best declare and speak it self in Actions: as the old manner of *writing* among the *Egyptians* was, not by Words, but Things. The *Life* of Divine Truths is better expressed in Actions than in Words, because Actions are more *living* things than Words: Words are nothing but
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dead resemblances and Pictures of those Truths which *live* and *breath* in Actions: and the Kingdom of God (as the Apostle speaketh) *consisteth not in word*, but in Life and Power. τὰ πρέβρατα ἔχουσιν φέρονται τοῖς ποιμαίνουσιν ἐπιδιδόντες πῶσον ἐφαγόν· (saith the Moral Philosopher) ἀλλὰ τὴν νομῶν ἕσω πέλαστα ἔχουσιν ἔξω φέροι ἐν γάλα· *Sheep do not come and bring their Fodder to their Shepherd, and shew him how much they eat; but inwardly concocting and digesting it, they make it appear by the Fleece which they wear upon their backs, and by the Milk which they give.* And let not us Christians affect only to talk and dispute of *Christ*, and so measure our knowledge of him by our words; but let us shew ἀπὸ τῆς θεωρημάτων πεφθέρων τὰ ἔργα, our knowledge *concocted* into our lives and actions; and then let us really manifest that we are *Christ's* *sheep* indeed, that we are his *Disciples*, by that *Fleece* of Holiness which we wear, and by the *Fruits* that we daily yield in our lives and conversations: for *herein* (saith *Christ*) *is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my Disciples.*

Let us not (I beseech you) judge of our *knowing Christ* by our ungrounded *Persuasions* that *Christ* from all Eternity hath loved us, and given himself particularly for us, without the Conformity of our lives to *Christ's* *Commandments*, without the real partaking of the Image of *Christ* in our hearts. The great Mystery of the Gospel doth not lie only in *Christ* *without us*, (though we must know also what he hath done for us) but the very Pith and Kernel of it consists in *Christ* *inwardly formed* in our hearts.

Nothing is truly ours but what lives in our Spirits. *Salvation* it self cannot *save* us as long as it is only without us; no more than *Health* can cure us, and make us sound, when it is not within us, but somewhere at distance from us; no more than *Arts* and *Sciences*, whilst they lie only in Books and Papers without us, can make us learned. The Gospel, though it be a sovereign and Medicinal thing in it self, yet the mere knowing and believing of the history of it will do us no good: we can receive no virtue from it till it be inwardly digested and concocted into our Souls; till it be made *ours*, and become a *living thing* in our hearts. The Gospel, if it be only without us, cannot save us; no more than that Physician's Bill could cure the ignorant Patient of his disease, who, when it was commended to him, took the Paper only and put it up in his pocket, but never drank the Potion that was prescribed in it.

All that *Christ* did for us in the flesh, when he was here upon earth, from his lying in a *Manger* when he was born in *Bethlehem*, to his bleeding upon the *Cross* on *Golgotha*, it will not save us from our sins, unless *Christ* by his Spirit dwell in us. It will not avail us to believe that he was born of a *Virgin*, unless the *power of the most High* overshadow our Hearts, and beget him there likewise. It will not profit us to believe that he died upon the *Cross* for us, unless we be *baptized* into his death by the Mortification of all our Lusts; unless *the old man of sin* be crucified in our hearts. *Christ* indeed hath made an Expiation for our sins upon his *Cross*, and the Blood of *Christ* is the only sovereign Balsam to free us from the guilt of them: but yet besides the *sprinkling* of the blood of *Christ* upon us, we must be made partakers also of his Spirit. *Christ* came into the World, as well to redeem us

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from the power and bondage of our sins, as to free us from the guilt of them. *You know* (saith St. John) *that he was manifested to take away our sins: whosoever therefore abideth in him sinneth not; whosoever sinneth hath not seen nor known him.* Lo the end of Christ's coming into the World: Lo a design worthy of God manifested in the flesh.

Christ did not take all those pains, to lay aside his Robes of Glory, and come down hither into the World, to enter into a Virgin's Womb, to be born in our Humane shape, and be laid a poor crying Infant in a Manger, and having no *form or comeliness* at all upon him, to take upon him the *form of a servant*, to undergo a reprochful and ignominious life, and at last to be abandoned to a shameful death, a death upon the Cross; I say, he did not do all this merely to bring in a *Notion* into the World, without producing any real substantial effect at all, without the changing, mending and reforming of the World: so that men should still be as wicked as they were before, and as much under the the power of the Prince of Darkness; only they should not be *thought so*: they should still remain as full of all the filthy sores of sin and corruption as before; only they should be *accounted whole*. Shall God come down from Heaven, and *pitch a Tabernacle* amongst men? shall he undertake such a huge Design, and make so great a noise of doing something, which, when it is all summed up, shall not at last amount to a *Reality*? Surely Christ did not undergo all this to so little purpose; he would not take all this pains for us, that he might be able at last to put into our hands nothing but a Blank. *He was with child, he was in pain and travel; and hath he brought forth nothing but wind?* hath he been delivered of the *East-wind*? Is the great Design that was so long carried in the Womb of Eternity now proved abortive, or else nothing but a mere windy Birth? No surely: The end of the Gospel is *Life and Perfection*, 'tis a *Divine Nature*, 'tis a *God-like* frame and disposition of spirit; 'tis to make us partakers of the *Image of God* in Righteousness and true Holiness, without which Salvation it self were but a *Notion*.

Christ came into the World to make an Expiation and Atonement for our sins; but the end of this was, that we might eschew sin, that we might forsake *all ungodliness and worldly lusts*. The Gospel declares pardon of sin to those that are *heavy laden* with it, and willing to be disburthened, to this end, that it might quicken and enliven us to new obedience. Whereas otherwise the *Guilt* of sin might have detained us in horreur and despair, and so have kept us still more strongly under the *Power* of it, in sad and dismal apprehensions of God's wrath provoked against us, and inevitably falling on us. But Christ hath now appeared like a *Day-star* with most chearful beams; nay, he is the *Sun of Righteousness himself*, which hath risen upon the World with his *healing wings*, with his exhilarating light, that he might chase away all those black despairing thoughts from us. But Christ did not rise that we should play and sport and wantonize with his light; but that we should do *the work of the day* in it; that we should walk *ἀσχημίζως* (as the Apostle speaketh) not in our *Night-clothes* of sinful Deformity, but clad all over with the comely *Garments of Light*. The Gospel is not big with child of a *Phancy*, of a mere *Conceit* of Righteousness without us, hanging at distance over us; whilst our hearts

hearts within are nothing but Cages of *unclean birds*, and like Houses continually haunted with Devils, nay the very Rendezvous of those Fiends of Darknes.

Holiness is the best thing that God himself can bestow upon us, either in this World or the World to come. True Evangelical Holiness, that is, *Christ formed* in the hearts of Believers, is the very Cream and Quintessence of the *Gospel*. And were our hearts sound within, were there not many thick and dark fumes that did arise from thence, and cloud our understandings, we could not easily conceive the substance of Heaven it self to be any thing else but *Holiness*, freed from those encumbrances that did ever clog it and accloy it here; neither should we wish for any other Heaven besides this. But many of us are like those Children, whose Stomachs are so vitiated by some disease, that they think Ashes, Coal, Mud-wall, or any such trash, to be more pleasant than the most wholesom food: such sickly and distempered Appetites have we about these Spiritual things, that hanker after I know not what vain shews of happiness, whilst in the mean time we neglect that which is the only true food of our Souls, that is able to nourish them up to *everlasting life*.

Grace is *Holiness militant*, Holiness encumbred with many enemies and difficulties, which it still fights against, and manfully quits it self of; and Glory is nothing else but *Holiness triumphant*, Holiness with a Palm of Victory in her hand, and a Crown upon her head, *Deus ipse cum omni sua bonitate, quatenus extra me est, non facit me beatum, sed quatenus in me est: God himself cannot make me happy, if he be only without me, and unless he give in a participation of himself and his own likeness into my Soul*. Happiness is nothing but the releasing and un-fettering of our Souls from all these narrow, scant and particular good things; and the espousing of them to the Highest and most Universal Good, which is not *this* or *that* particular Good, but *Goodness* it self: and this is the same thing that we call *Holiness*. Which because we our selves are so little acquainted with, (being for the most part ever courting a mere Shadow of it,) therefore we have such low, abject and beggarly conceits thereof; whereas it is in it self the most noble, heroical and generous thing in the World. For I mean by *Holiness* nothing else but *God stamped* and *printed* upon the Soul. And we may please our selves with what conceits we will; but so long as we are void of this, we do but *dream* of Heaven, and I know not what fond *Paradise*; we do but blow up and down an *airy Bubble* of our own Phancies, which riseth out of the froth of our vain hearts; we do but court a *painted Heaven*, and woo Happiness in a *Picture*, whilst in the mean time a *true* and *real Hell* will suck in our Souls into it, and soon make us sensible of a *solid woe* and *substantial misery*.

Divine wisdom hath so ordered the frame of the whole Universe, as that every thing should have a certain proper place, that should be a Receptacle for it. Hell is the Sink of all sin and wickedness. The strong *Magick* of Nature pulls and draws every thing continually to that place which is futable to it, and to which it doth belong; so all these heavy bodies press downwards towards the Centre of our Earth, being drawn in by it: In like manner Hell, wheresoever it is, will by strong *Sympathy* pull in all sin, and *magnetically* draw

it to it self: as true Holiness is always breathing upwards, and fluttering towards Heaven, striving to embosom it self with God; and it will at last undoubtedly be conjoynd with him; no *dismal shades* of Darknes can possibly stop it in its course or bear it back.

ὡς αἰεὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἀγὰ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον.

Nay, we do but deceive our selves with names: Hell is nothing but the Orb of Sin and Wickedness, or else that Hemisphere of Darknes in which all Evil moves: and Heaven is the opposite Hemisphere of Light, or else, if you please, the bright Orb of Truth, Holiness and Goodness: and we do actually in this Life instate our selves in the possession of one or other of them. Take Sin and Disobedience out of Hell and it will presently clear up into Light, Tranquillity, Serenity, and shine out into a Heaven. Every true Saint carrieth his Heaven about with him in his own heart; and Hell, that is without him, can have no power over him. He might safely wade through Hell it self, and, like the *Three children*, pass through the midst of that *fiery Furnace*, and yet not at all be scorched with the flames of it: he might walk through the *Valley of the shadow of death*, and yet *fear no evil*.

Sin is the only thing in the World that is contrary to God. God is Light, and that is Darknes: God is Beauty, and that is Ugliness and Deformity. All Sin is direct Rebellion against God; and with what Notions soever we sugar it and sweeten it, yet God can never smile upon it, he will never make a truce with it. God declares open war against Sin, and bids defiance to it; for it is a professed enemy to God's own Life and Being. God, which is infinite Goodness, cannot but hate sin, which is purely Evil. And though sin be in it self but a poor, impotent and crazy thing, nothing but Straitness, Poverty and Non-entity, so that of it self it is the most wretched and miserable thing in the world, and needeth no farther punishment besides it self; yet Divine Vengeance beats it off still farther and farther from God, and, wheresoever it is, will be sure to scourge it and lash it continually. God and Sin can never agree together.

That I may therefore yet come nearer to our selves: *This is the Message that I have now to declare unto you, That God is Light, and in him is no Darknes at all. If we say that we have Fellowship with him, and walk in Darknes, we lye, and do not the truth. Christ and the Gospel are Light, and there is no darknes at all in them: if you say that you know Christ and his Gospel, and yet keep not Christ's Commandments, but dearly hug your private darling corruptions, you are liars, and the truth is not in you; you have no acquaintance with the God of Light, nor the Gospel of Light. If any of you say that you know Christ, and have an interest in him, and yet (as I fear too many do) still nourish Ambition, Pride, Vain Glory within your breasts, harbour Malice, Revengefulness and cruel Hatred to your neighbours in your hearts, eagerly scramble after this worldly Pelf, and make the strength of your parts and endeavours serve that blind Mammon, the God of this World; if you wallow and tumble in the filthy puddle of fleshly Pleasures, or if you aim only at your selves in your lives, and make your self*
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the Compass by which you sail, and the Star by which you steer your course, looking at nothing higher or more noble than *your selves*; deceive not your selves, *you have neither seen Christ, nor known him*; you are deeply incorporated (if I may so speak) with the *Spirit of this World*, and have no true *Sympathy* with God and *Christ*, no *fellowship* at all with them.

And (I beseech you) let us consider; Be there not many of us, that pretend much to *Christ*, that are plainly in our Lives as Proud, Ambitious, Vain-glorious as any others? Be there not many of us that are as much under the power of unruly Passions, as Cruel, Revengeful, Malicious, Censorious as others? that have our minds as deeply engaged in the World, and as much envassalled to Riches, Gain, Profit, those great admired Deities of the sons of men, and their Souls as much overwhelmed and sunk with the cares of this life? Do not many of us as much give our selves to the Pleasures of the flesh, and though not without regrets of Conscience, yet ever now and then secretly soke our selves in them? Be there not many of us that have as deep a share likewise in Injustice and Oppression, in *vexing the fatherless and the widows*? I wish it may not prove some of our cases at that last day, to use such pleas as these unto *Christ* in our behalf; *Lord, I have prophesied in thy name*; I have preached many a zealous Sermon for thee; I have kept many a long Fast; I have been very active for thy cause in Church, in State; nay, I never made any question but that my name was written in thy Book of Life: when yet, alas! we shall receive no other return from *Christ* but this, *I know you not*; *Depart from me ye workers of iniquity*. I am sure there be too many of us, that have long pretended to *Christ*, which make little or no progress in *true Christianity*, that is, Holiness of life; that ever hang hovering in a *Twilight of Grace*, and never seriously put our selves forward into clear *Day-light*, but esteem that glimmering *Crepusculum* which we are in, and like that faint *Twilight* better than broad open Day: whereas, *The Path of the just* (as the *Wise man* speaks) *is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day*. I am sure there be many of us that are perpetual *Dwarfs* in our spiritual Stature, like those *filly women* (that *S. Paul* speaks of) *laden with sins and led away with divers lusts*, that are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; that are not now one jot taller in *Christianity* than we were many years ago, but have still as sickly, crazy and unsound a temper of Soul as we had long before.

Indeed we seem to do something, we are always moving and lifting at the stone of Corruption that lies upon our hearts, but yet we never stir it notwithstanding, or at least never roll it off from us. We are sometimes a little troubled with the guilt of our sins, and then we think we must thrust our lusts out of our hearts; but afterwards we sprinkle our selves over with I know not what *Holy-water*, and so are contented to let them still abide quietly within us. We do every day truly confess the same sins, and pray against them; and yet still commit them as much as ever, and lie as deeply under the power of them. We have the same water to pump out in every Prayer, and still we let the same leak in again upon us. We make a great deal of noise, and raise a great deal of dust with our feet; but we do not move

from off the ground on which we stood, we do not go forward at all: or if we do sometimes make a little progress, we quickly lose again the ground which we had gained; like those upper *Planets* in the Heaven, which (as the *Astronomers* tell us) sometimes move forwards, sometimes quite backwards, and sometimes perfectly stand still; have their *Stations* and *Retrogradations*, as well as their *Direct Motion*. As if Religion were nothing else but a *Dancing* up and down upon the same piece of ground, and making several *Motions* and *Friskings* on it; and not a sober *Journeying* and *Travelling* onwards toward some certain place. We do and Undo; we do *Penelopes telam texere*; we weave sometimes a *Web of Holiness*, but then we let our *Lusts* come, and undo and unravel all again. Like *Sisyphus* in the Fable, we roll up a mighty Stone with much ado, sweating and tugging up the Hill; and then we let it go, and tumble down again unto the bottom: and this is our constant work. Like those *Danaides* which the *Poets* speak of, we are always filling water into a Sieve, by our *Prayers*, *Duties* and *Performances*, which still runs out as fast as we pour it in.

What is it that thus cheats us and gulls us of our Religion? that makes us thus constantly to tread the same Ring and Circle of *Duties*, where we make no progress at all forwards, and the farther we go, are still never the nearer to our journey's end? What is it that thus starves our Religion, and makes it look like those *Kine* in *Pharaoh's Dream*, *ill-favoured and lean-fleshed*, that it hath no Colour in its face, no Blood in its veins, no Life nor Heat at all in its members? What is it that doth thus *be-dwarf* us in our Christianity? What low, sordid, unworthy Principles do we act by, that thus hinder our growth, and make us stand at a stay, and keep us always at the very *Porch* and *Entrance* where we first began? Is it a sleepy, sluggish conceit, That it is enough for us if we be but once in a *State of Grace*, if we have but once stepped over the threshold; we need not take so great pains to travel any farther? Or is it another damping, choaking, stifling Opinion, That *Christ* hath done all for us already *without* us, and nothing need more to be done *within* us? No matter how wicked we be in our selves, for we have *Holiness without* us; no matter how sickly and diseased our Souls be within, for they have *Health without* them. Why may we not as well be satisfied and contented to have *Happiness* without us too to all *Eternity*, and so our selves for ever continue miserable? *Little Children, let no man deceive you: he that doth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous: but he that committeth sin is of the Devil.* I shall therefore exhort you in the wholesome words of *S. Peter*; *Give all diligence to add to your faith vertue; and to vertue, knowledge; to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; to patience godliness; and to godliness, brotherly-kindness; and to brotherly-kindness, charity: For if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.* The *Apostle* still goes on, and I cannot leave him yet: *But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was once purged from his old sins. Wherefore the rather, Brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall.* Let us not only talk and dispute of *Christ*, but let us indeed put on
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the Lord Jesus Christ. Having those great and precious promises which he hath given us, let us strive to be made partakers of the Divine Nature; escaping the corruption that is in the world through lust: and being begotten again to a lively hope of enjoying Christ hereafter, let us purifie our selves, as he is pure.

Let us really declare that we know Christ, that we are his Disciples, by our keeping of his Commandments: and amongst the rest, that Commandment especially which our Saviour Christ himself commendeth to his Disciples in a peculiar manner; *This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you:* and again; *these things I command you, that you love one another.* Let us follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see God. Let us put on as the Elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave us: And above all these things let us put on Charity, which is the bond of perfectness. Let us in meekness instruct those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the Truth; that they may recover themselves out of the snares of the Devil, that are taken captive by him at his will. Beloved, let us love one another; for Love is of God, and whosoever loveth is born of God and knoweth God.

O Divine Love! the sweet Harmony of Souls! the Musick of Angels! the Joy of God's own heart! the very Darling of his Bosom! the Source of true Happiness! the pure Quintessence of Heaven! that which reconciles the jarring Principles of the World, and makes them all chime together! that which melts mens Hearts into one another! See how S. Paul describes it, and it cannot chuse but enamour your affections towards it: *Love envieth not, it is not puffed up, it doth not behave it self unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.* I may add in a word, it is the best-natur'd thing, the best complexion'd thing in the world. Let us express this sweet harmonious affection in these jarring Times: that so, if it be possible, we may tune the World into better Musick. Especially in matters of Religion let us strive with all meekness to instruct and convince one another. Let us endeavour to promote the Gospel of Peace, the Dove-like Gospel, with a Dove-like Spirit. This was the way by which the Gospel at first was propagated in the World: *Christ did not cry, nor lift up his voice in the streets; a bruised reed he did not break, and the smoking flax he did not quench;* and yet he brought forth judgment unto victory. He whispered the Gospel to us from Mount Sion, in a still voice; and yet the sound thereof went out quickly throughout all the earth. The Gospel at first came down upon the world gently and softly, like the Dew upon Gideon's fleece; and yet it quickly soaked quite through it: and doubtless this is still the most effectual way to promote it farther. Sweetness and Ingenuity will more command mens minds than Passion, Sourness and Severity: as the soft Pillow sooner breaks the Flint than the hardest Marble. Let us ἀληθῶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ, follow truth in love: and of the two indeed, be contented rather to miss of the conveying

conveying of a Speculative Truth, than to part with Love. When we would convince men of any Error by the strength of *Truth*, let us withal pour the sweet Balm of Love upon their heads. *Truth* and *Love* are two the most powerful things in the world; and when they both go together, they cannot easily be withstood. The Golden Beams of *Truth*, and the Silken Cords of *Love*, twisted together, will draw men on with a sweet violence whether they will or no.

Let us take heed we do not sometimes call that *Zeal* for God and his Gospel, which is nothing else but our own tempestuous and stormy Passion. *True Zeal* is a sweet, heavenly and gentle Flame, which maketh us active for God, but always within the Sphere of Love. It never calls for *Fire from Heaven*, to consume those that differ a little from us in their apprehensions. It is like that kind of Lightning (which the Philosophers speak of) that melts the Sword within, but findgeth not the Scabbard: it strives to save the Soul, but hurteth not the Body. *True Zeal* is a loving thing, and makes us always active to *Edification*, and not to *Destruction*. If we keep the Fire of *Zeal* within the Chimney, in its own proper place, it never doth any hurt; it only warmeth, quickeneth and enliveneth us: But if once we let it break out, and catch hold of the Thatch of our Flesh, and kindle our corrupt Nature, and set the House of our Body on fire, it is no longer *Zeal*, it is no heavenly Fire, it is a most destructive and devouring thing. *True Zeal* is an *Ignis lambens*, a soft and gentle Flame, that will not scorch ones hand; it is no predatory or voracious thing: But *car-nal* and *fleshy Zeal* is like the spirit of Gunpowder set on fire, that tears and blows up all that stands before it. *True Zeal* is like the *Vital heat* in us, that we live upon, which we never feel to be angry or troublesome; but though it gently feed upon the *Radical Oyl* within us, that sweet Balsam of our *Natural Moisture*, yet it lives lovingly with it, and maintains that by which it is fed: But that other furious and distempered *Zeal* is nothing else but a *Fever* in the Soul. To conclude, we may learn what kind of *Zeal* it is that we should make use of in promoting the Gospel, by an Emblem of God's own given us in the Scripture, those *Fiery Tongues* that upon the day of *Pentecost* fate upon the Apostles; which sure were harmless Flames, for we cannot read that they did any hurt, or that they did so much as singe an hair of their heads.

I will therefore shut up this with that of the *Apostle*; *Let us keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*. Let this soft and silken Knot of *Love* tie our Hearts together; though our Heads and Apprehensions cannot meet, as indeed they never will, but always stand at some distance off from one another. Our *Zeal*, if it be heavenly, if it be true *Vestal Fire* kindled from above, will not delight to tarry here below, burning up Straw and Stubble and such combustible things, and sending up nothing but gross earthy fumes to Heaven; but it will rise up, and return back pure as it came down, and will be ever striving to carry up mens hearts to God along with it. It will be only occupied about the promoting of those things which are *unquestionably good*; and when it moves in the irascible way, it will quarrel with nothing but *sin*. Here let our *Zeal* busie and exercise it self, every one of us beginning first at our own Hearts. Let us be more zealous than ever we have
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yet been in fighting against our Lusts, in pulling down those *strong holds of Sin and Satan* in our hearts. Here let us exercise all our Courage and Resolution, our Manhood and Magnanimity.

Let us trust in the *Almighty Arm* of our God, and doubt not but he will as well deliver us from the *Power of Sin* in our hearts, as preserve us from the *wrath to come*. Let us go out against these *uncircumcised Philistins*, I mean our Lusts, not with *Shield or Spear*, not in any confidence of our own strength, but in the name of the *Lord of Hosts*; and we shall prevail, we shall overcome our Lusts: *For greater is he that is in us, than he that is in them. The Eternal God is our refuge, and underneath are everlasting arms; he shall thrust out these enemies from before us, and he shall say, Destroy them.* We shall enter the true *Canaan*, the good Land of Promise, *that floweth with milk and honey*, the Land of Truth and Holiness. *Wherefore take unto you the whole Armour of God, that you may be able to withstand. Let your loins be girt about with truth; have on the breast-plate of righteousness; and let your feet be shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace. Above all take the shield of faith, whereby you shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the Wicked; and take the helmet of Salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.* And lastly, be sure of this, that ye be *strong only in the Lord, and in the power of his might*.

There be some that dishearten us in this spiritual warfare, and would make us let our weapons fall out of our hands, by working in us a despair of Victory. There be some *evil spies*, that *weaken* the hands and hearts of the *children of Israel*, and bring an ill report upon that Land that we are to conquer, telling of nothing but strange *Giants*, the *sons of Anak*, there, that we shall never be able to overcome. *The Amalekites* (say they) *dwell in the South, the Hittites, Jebustes, Amorites in the Mountains, and the Canaanites by the Sea-coast*; huge armies of tall invincible Lusts: *we shall never be able to go against this people; we shall never be able to prevail against our Corruptions.* Harken not unto them, (I beseech you) but hear what *Caleb and Joshua* say; *Let us go up at once, and possess it, for we are able to overcome them; not by our own strength, but by the power of the Lord of Hosts.* There are indeed *Sons of Anak* there, there are mighty *Giantlike Lusts* that we are to grapple with; nay there are *Principalities and Powers* too that we are to oppose: But the great *Michael, the Captain of the Lord's Host*, is with us; he commands in chief for us, and we need not be dismayed. *Understand therefore this day, that the Lord thy God is he which goeth before thee as a consuming fire; he shall destroy these enemies, and bring them down before thy face.* If thou wilt be faithful to him, and put thy trust in him, *as the fire consumeth the stubble, and as the flame burneth up the chaff*, so will he destroy thy Lusts in thee: *their root shall be rottenness, and their blossom shall go up as the dust.*

But let us take heed that we be not discouraged, and before we begin to fight despair of Victory: but to believe and hope well in the power of our God and his strength, will be half a Conquest. Let us not think, Holiness in the hearts of men here in the world is a forlorn, forsaken and outcast thing from God, that he he hath no regard of.
Holiness,

Holiness, where-ever it is, though never so small, if it be but hearty and sincere, it can no more be cut off and discontinued from God, than a *Sun-beam* here upon Earth can be broken off from its intercourse with the *Sun*, and be left alone amidst the mire and dirt of this World. The Sun may as well discard its own *Rays*, and banish them from it self into some Region of darkness far remote from it, where they shall have no dependence at all upon it, as God can forsake and abandon Holiness in the World, and leave it a poor Orphan thing, that shall have no influence at all from him to preserve and keep it. Holiness, is something of God, where-ever it is; it is an *Efflux* from him, that always hangs upon him, and lives in him: as the *Sun-beams*, although they guild this lower World, and spread their golden wings over us, yet they are not so much here, where they shine, as in the Sun, from whence they flow. God cannot draw a Curtain betwixt himself and Holiness, which is nothing but the *splendour* and *shining* of himself: He cannot hide his face from it, he cannot desert it in the World. He that is once *born of God* shall overcome the World, and the Prince of this World too, by the Power of God in him. Holiness is no solitary neglected thing; it hath stronger Confederacies, greater Alliances, than Sin and Wickedness. It is in league with God and the Universe; the whole Creation smiles upon it: there is something of God in it, and therefore it must needs be a victorious and triumphant thing.

Wickedness is a weak, cowardly and guilty thing, a fearful and trembling Shadow. It is the Child of Ignorance and Darkness; it is afraid of Light, and cannot possibly withstand the power of it, nor endure the sight of its glittering Armour. It is allied to none but wretched, forlorn and apostate Spirits, that do what they can to support their own weak and tottering Kingdom of Darkness, but are only strong in Weakness and Impotency. The whole Polity and Commonwealth of Devils is not so powerful as one *Child of Light*, one *Babe in Christ*: they are not able to *quench* the least *smoking flax*, to extinguish one spark of Grace. Darkness is not able to make resistance against Light, but ever, as it comes, flies before it. But if Wickedness invite the Society of Devils to it, (as we learn by the sad experience of these present Times, in many examples of those that were possessed with Malice, Revengesfulness and Lust) so that those cursed Fiends do most readily apply themselves to it, and offer their service to feed it and encourage it, because it is their own Life and Nature, their own *Kingdom of Darkness*, which they strive to enlarge and to spread the Dominions of; shall we then think that Holiness, which is so nearly allied unto God, hath no good *Genius* at all in the world to attend upon it, to help it and encourage it? Shall not the *Kingdom of Light* be as true to its own Interest, and as vigilant for the enlarging of it self, as the *Kingdom of Darkness*? Holiness is never alone in the world, but God is always with it, and his loving *Spirit* doth ever associate and joyn it self to it. He that sent it into the World is with it, as *Christ* speaketh of himself, *The Father hath not left me alone, because I do always those things that please him.* Holiness is the Life of God, which he cannot but feed and maintain wheresoever it is: and as Devils are always active to encourage evils,

evils;

evil ; so we cannot imagine but that the heavenly Host of blessed Angels above are busily employed in the promoting of that which they love best, that which is dearest to God whom they serve, the *Life and Nature of God*. There is joy in Heaven at the conversion of one sinner, Heaven takes notice of it ; there is a Quire of Angels that sweetly sings the *Epithalamium* of a Soul divorced from Sin and Satan, and espoused unto *Christ*. What therefore the *Wise man* speaks concerning *Wisdom*, I shall apply to *Holiness* : *Take fast hold of Holiness, let her not go, keep her, for she is thy Life : Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of Life, and of Death too*. Let nothing be esteemed of greater consequence and concernment to thee than what thou doest and addest, how thou livest. Nothing without us can make us either happy, or miserable ; nothing can either defile us, or hurt us, but what goeth out from us, what springeth and bubbleth up out of our own hearts. We have dreadful apprehensions of the Flames of Hell without us ; we tremble and are afraid when we hear of *Fire and Brimstone* ; whilst in the mean time we securely nourish within our own hearts a true and living Hell.

————— & cæco carpinur igni :

the dark fire of our Lusts consumeth our bowels within, and miserably scorseth our Souls, and we are not troubled at it. We do not perceive how Hell steals upon us whilst we live here. And as for Heaven, we only gaze abroad, expecting that it should come in to us from without, but never look for the beginnings of it to arise within, in our own Hearts.

But lest there should yet haply remain any prejudice against that which I have all this while heartily commended to you, *true Holiness*, and the *keeping of Christ's Commandments*, as if it were a *Legal* and a *servile* thing, that would subject us to a *State of Bondage* ; I must here needs add a Word or two, either for the *Prevention* or *Removal* of it. I do not therefore mean by *Holiness*, the meer performance of outward Duties of Religion, coldly acted over as a task ; nor our habitual Prayings, Hearings, Fastings, multiplied one upon another, (though these be all good, as subservient to an higher end :) but I mean an inward *Soul and Principle of Divine Life* that spiriteth all these, that enliveneth and quickeneth the dead carcase of all outward Performances whatsoever. I do not here urge the *dead Law of outward Works*, which indeed, if it be alone, subjects us to a *State of Bondage* ; but the *inward Law* of the Gospel, the *Law of the Spirit of Life*, than which nothing can be more free and ingenuous : for it doth not act us by Principles without us, but is an inward *Self-moving* Principle living in our hearts.

The first, though it work us into some outward Conformity to God's Commandments, and so hath a good effect upon the World ; yet we are all this while but like dead Instruments of Musick, that sound sweetly and harmoniously when they are only struck and played upon from without by the Musician's Hand, who hath

the Theory and *Law* of Musick *living* within himself.

But the second, the *living Law* of the Gospel, the *Law of the Spirit of Life* within us, is as if the *Soul of Musick* should incorporate it self with the Instrument, and live in the Strings, and make them of their own accord, without any touch or impulse from without, dance up and down, and warble out their Harmonies.

They that are acted only by an *outward Law* are but like *Neurospasts*, or those little Puppets that skip nimbly up and down, and seem to be full of quick and sprightly motion; whereas they are all the while moved artificially by certain Wires and Strings from without, and not by any Principle of Motion from themselves within: or else like Clocks and Watches, that go pretty regularly for a while, but are moved by Weights and Plummetts, or some other artificial Springs, that must be ever now and then wound up, or else they cease.

But they that are acted by the *new Law of the Gospel*, by the *Law of the Spirit*, they have an inward principle of life in them, that from the Centre of it self puts forth it self freely and constantly into all obedience to the will of *Christ*. This *New Law of the Gospel* is a kind of *Musical Soul*, informing the dead *Organ* of our Hearts, that makes them of their own accord delight to act Harmoniously according to the Rule of God's word.

The Law that I speak of is a *Law of Love*, which is the most powerful Law in the World; and yet it freeth us in a manner from all Law without us, because it maketh us become a *Law unto our selves*. The more it prevaileth in us, the more it eateth up and devoureth all other Laws without us; just as *Aaron's living Rod* did swallow up those Rods of the Magicians that were made only to counterfeit a little Life.

*Quis Legem det amantibus?
Major lex Amor est sibi.*

Love is at once a Freedom from all Law, a state of purest Liberty; and yet a Law too, of the most constraining and indispensable Necessity.

The worst *Law* in the World is the *Law of Sin* which is in our members; which keeps us in a condition of most absolute Slavery when we are wholly under the Tyrannical commands of our Lusts: this is a cruel *Pharaoh* indeed, that sets his hard Task-masters over us, and maketh us wretchedly drudge in Mire and Clay.

The *Law of the Letter* without us sets us in a condition of little more Liberty, by restraining us from many outward Acts of Sin; but yet it doth not disenthral us from the power of sin in our hearts.

But the *Law of the Spirit of Life*, the *Gospel-Law of Love*, it puts us into a conditon of most pure and perfect Liberty; and whosoever really entertains this Law, he hath thrust out *Hagar* quite, he hath cast out the *Bond-woman and her Children*; from henceforth *Sarah the Free woman* shall live for ever with him, and she shall be to him a Mother of many children; her seed shall be as the sand of the sea-shoar for number, and as the stars of heaven. Here is Evangelical Liberty, here is Gospel-freedom, when the *Law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus* hath
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made us free from the Law of sin and death; when we have a liberty from Sin, and not a liberty to sin: for our dear Lord and Master hath told us, that *Whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of it.*

He that lies under the power and vassalage of his base lusts, and yet talks of Gospel-freedom, he is but like a poor condemned Prisoner, that in his sleep dreams of being set at liberty, and of walking up and down wheresoever he pleaseth, whilst his Legs are all the while lock'd fast in Fetters and Irons. To please our selves with a Notion of Gospel-liberty, whilst we have not a Gospel-principle of Holiness within us to free us from the power of sin, is nothing else but to guild over our Bonds and Fetters, and to phansie our selves to be in a Golden Cage. There is a Straitness, Slavery and Narrowness in Sin: Sin crowds and crumples up our Souls, which, if they were freely spread abroad, would be as wide and as large as the whole Universe.

No man is truly free but he that hath his *Will* enlarged to the extent of God's own Will, by loving whatsoever God loves, and nothing else. Such a one doth not fondly hug this and that particular created good thing and envassal himself unto it; but he loveth every thing that is lovely, beginning at God, and descending down to all his Creatures, according to the several degrees of perfection in them. He enjoys a boundless Liberty, and a boundless Sweetness, according to his boundless Love. He incompasseth the whole World within his out-stretched arms; his Soul is as wide as the whole Universe, as big as *yesterday, to day, and for ever.* Whosoever is once acquainted with this disposition of Spirit, he never desires any thing else, and he loves the *Life of God* in himself dearer than his own Life. To conclude this therefore; if we love *Christ*, and keep his *Commandments*, his commandments will not be grievous to us: his yoke will be easie, and his burthen light: it will not put us into a State of Bondage, but of perfect Liberty. For it is most true of Evangelical Obedience, what the Wise man speaketh of Wisdom, *Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace: she is a tree of Life to those that lay hold upon her, and happy are all they that retain her.*

I will now shut up all with one or two *Considerations* to perswade you farther to the *keeping of Christ's Commandments.*

First from the desire which we all have of *Knowledge.* If we would indeed know Divine Truths, the only way to come to this is by *keeping of Christ's Commandments.* The grossness of our apprehensions in *spiritual things*, and our many mistakes that we have about them, proceed from nothing but those dull and foggy *Steams* which rise up from our *foul Hearts*, and becloud our Understandings. If we did but heartily comply with *Christ's Commandments*, and purge our hearts from all gross and sensual Affections, we should not then look about for *Truth* wholly without our selves, and enslave our selves to the Dictates of this and that Teacher, and hang upon the *Lips of men*: but we should find the Great Eternal God inwardly teaching our Souls, and continually instructing us more and more in the mysteries of his will; and *out of our bellies should flow rivers of living*

waters. Nothing puts a stop and hinderance to the passage of Truth in the World but the Carnality of our Hearts, the Corruption of our Lives.

'Tis not wrangling Disputes and Syllogistical Reasonings that are the mighty Pillars that underprop *Truth* in the world: if we would but underfet it with the Holiness of our Hearts and Lives, it should never fail. *Truth* is a prevailing and conquering thing, and would quickly overcome the World, did not the Earthiness of our Dispositions and the Darkness of our false Hearts hinder it. Our Saviour Christ bids the *Blind man* wash off the *Clay* that was upon his eyes in the *Pool of Siloam*, and then he should see clearly; intimating this to us, that it is the Earthiness of mens Affections that darkens the Eye of their Understandings in Spiritual things. *Truth* is always ready and near at hand, if our eyes were not closed up with Mud, that we could but open them to look upon it. *Truth* always waits upon our Souls, and offers it self freely to us, as the Sun offers its Beams to every Eye that will but open, and let them shine in upon it. If we could but purge our Hearts from that filth and defilement which hangeth about them, there would be no doubt at all of *Truth's* prevailing in the World. For *Truth is great, and stronger than all things: all the Earth calleth upon Truth, and the Heaven bleisseth it; all works shake and tremble at it. The Truth endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore. She is the Strength, Kingdom, Power and Majesty of all ages. Blessed be the God of Truth.*

Secondly, *If we desire a true Reformation*, as some would be thought to do; Let us begin here in reforming our *Hearts and Lives*, in *keeping Christ's Commandments*. All outward Forms and Models of Reformation, though they be never so good in their kind, yet they are of little worth to us without this *inward Reformation* of the Heart. Tin or Lead, or any other baser Metal, if it be cast into never so good a Mold, and made up into never so elegant a Figure, yet is but Tin or Lead still, it is the same Metal that it was before. If Adulterate Silver, that hath much Alloy or Dross in it, have never so current a Stamp put upon it, yet it will not pass notwithstanding when the Touchstone trieth it. We must be *reformed within*, with a *Spirit of Fire* and a *Spirit of Burning*, to purge us from the Dross and Corruption of our hearts, and refine us as Gold and Silver; and then we shall be *reformed truly*, and not before. When this once comes to pass, then shall Christ be set upon his *Throne* indeed, then the *Glory of the Lord shall overflow the Land*; then we shall be a People acceptable unto him, and as *Mount Sion* which he dearly loved.

F I N I S.

THE
Second Sermon;
OR A
DISCOURSE
ON
I CORINTH. XV. 57.

*But thanks be to God which giveth us the Victory
through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

By R. CUDWORTH, D. D.

The Third Edition.

S. Gregory Nyssen.

Χριστιανικός ὄχι τ' ὁσίας φύσεως μίμησις.

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M D C L X X V I.

THE SECOND SERMON

Second Sermon;

ON
THE
GOSPEL OF
MATTHEW

DISCOURSE

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THE
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MATTHEW

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MDCCLXXVI



THE SECOND
S E R M O N.

I C O R. Chap. XV. Ver. 57.

*But thanks be to God who giveth us the Victory
through our Lord Jesus Christ.*



CH R I S T ' S Resurrection, which the Apostle treateth of in the former part of this Chapter, is one of the main and principal Articles of our Christian Faith: For though *Christ* by his *Death* upon the Cross made a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the World, yet it was his *Resurrection* only which did manifest his *Death* to be effectual and available for that end, and did evidence its acceptance with God. For if the *Grave* had detain'd *Christ*, and held him Prisoner, this would have

been an argument that the Debt for which he was committed to that dark Dungeon was not yet paid, nor Satisfaction made; for *if Christ* ^{Verse 17.} *be not raised,* (saith the Apostle) *your Faith is vain, ye are yet in your sins.* But now *Death* and the *Grave* having delivered up *Christ* out of their custody, his *Resurrection* is an undoubted argument that they had no more to lay to his charge, as he was a Surety and Undertaker for Mankind, but the Debt which was owing to the Law and Divine Justice was in the Court of Heaven fully acquitted and discharged. For *Christ* was delivered for our Sins, and rose again for our ^{Rom. 4.} *Justification.*

And though *Christ's* other *Miracles* ought to have conciliated Belief to his *Doctrine* from the *Jews*; yet his *Resurrection* from the dead, (foretold by himself and really accomplished,) added to all the rest, was a most undoubted and unquestionable Confirmation

mation of his Prophetical Ministry. For if it were supposed (as the Jews of old and the Talmudists of later times maliciously calumniated our Saviour *Christ*) that a mere *Wizzard* or *Magician* should have appeared, and not only have done many Miracles by *Beelzebub* and the Powers of Darkness, but also have foretold that after he had been put to death he should *rise again*, and have given this as a farther sign to confirm his prophecy, as our Saviour did, *Matth. 12. 39.* it could never be conceiv'd that Divine Providence should suffer such an Impostor miraculously to rise again, in so remarkable a manner, and so often to appear before the eyes of so many Spectators, and at last visibly to ascend up to Heaven. Because this would have been *Tentatio invincibilis* to mankind, it being not imaginable what greater assurance Heaven it self could give to *confirm* and *seal* a Prophet, and perswade the World that what he did was by the Finger of God, and not by *Magical imposture*, than this is. And therefore it is observable, that though a good while after our Saviour's time, when the Jews had now forfeited that peculiar Providence that watched over them, a certain counterfeit *Messias*, one *David El-Roy*, was permitted to do several strange and miraculous things by *Magick* and *Witchcraft*, if the Jewish Relations be true; yet when he gave this for a Sign to the *Persian King* to prove himself the *Messias*, that after he was beheaded by him he should *rise again*, he plainly discovered his Imposture, to the great disappointment of the deluded Jews, who (as *Maimonides* writes) in vain expected his *Resurrection* a good while after.

In Iggereth
Zeman.

Moreover, *If Christ had not risen again after death, the world would not have had sufficient ground to trust and believe in him as a Saviour.* *S. Austin* reckon'd it as great a *Miracle* as any that *Christ* ever did upon earth, that the World should be brought off to believe in a crucified Saviour. For to worship יהוה, as the Jews by way of Disgrace call our Saviour, or ἄνασκολοπιζόμενον in *Lucian's* Language, one that was hanged, for a God, and to believe in him, could not but seem a monstrous and prodigious thing both to Jews and Gentiles; and certainly it would never have been brought to pass, had there not been unquestionable assurance given of *Christ's Resurrection from the dead.* For who would be so sottish as to believe in a *dead Saviour*, and to expect help and assistance from him that had not been able to help himself, and therefore had given no proof that he was able to help others? nay, from him that to all humane appearance had now no being at all? Upon which account the Psalmist upbraids the sottish Heathen, that they ate the Sacrifices of the dead. Wherefore it is observable in the Gospel, that when *Christ* was now dead and buried in his Sepulchre, the Hope and Expectation of his Disciples, who had formerly believed in him, lay as it were intombed in the same Sepulchre with him. And then the two Disciples that went to *Emmaus* could only say, *We trusted that this had been he which should have redeemed Israel.* But afterwards, when they were able upon good grounds to affirm that κύριος ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη, *The Lord was risen indeed*, then their Faith revived a-new, and mounted up higher than ever, and grew triumphant in them.

Psal. 106.

Luk. 24.

Again, there was another excellent Design in *Christ's Resurrection*
from

from the dead, which the Apostle pursues largely also in this Chapter; viz. To give the world assurance of a Life after death, and a blessed Immortality to be enjoyed by all true Believers and Followers of Christ. Christ by his Resurrection hath abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light, as the Apostle speaks 2 Tim. I. 10. or, as the Church sings in that divine Anthem, *After he had overcome the sharpness of Death, he opened the kingdom of Heaven to all Believers.* The reasons of Philosophy that prove the *Soul's Immortality*, though firm and demonstrative in themselves, yet they are so thin and subtil to vulgar apprehensions, that they glide away through them, and leave no such palpable impressions on them, as can be able sufficiently to bear up against that heavy weight of gross infidelity that continually sinks down the minds of men to a distrust of such high things as be above the reach of Sense. Neither are these considerations any longer of force than men can actually attend to the strength and coherence of the Demonstration; and when that actual attention (which is operose and difficult) is taken off, then the Truth it self like a Spectre or Apparition suddenly vanishes away, and men question with themselves afterwards whether there were any such thing or no. Such thin and evanid things are Philosophical Speculations about the high Mysteries of Faith and Religion. But *Christ* his raising of the self same Body which was laid in the Sepulchre, and afterwards appearing in it often to his Disciples, gave such evident assurance of the *Soul's Immortality* and *Life after death*, as must needs strike more strongly upon Vulgar minds, and make more palpable impressions on them, and be always of more present and ready use than any Philosophical Reasons and Demonstrations.

And the Scripture is herein very harmonious and agreeable to it self both in the Old and New Testament: for as in the one it makes the original of Death's entrance into the world to be the Sin and Disobedience of the *First Adam*, who was ἀναγωγῆς ἐκ γῆς, γινῶς, of the earth, earthy; so in the other it attributes the recovery of Life and Immortality to the meritorious Obedience of the *Second Adam*, that was ὁ κύριος ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, ἐπεφθιγῆς, the Lord from heaven, heavenly, who by his Death vanquished and destroyed Death. For as *Sampson*, (who was a Type of our Saviour) when he was besieged by the *Philistines* in the City *Gaza* (*Judges* 16.) rose up at midnight, and pulled up the Gates of the City and the Posts, and laying them upon his shoulders carried them up to the top of the Hill: in like manner *Christ* our Lord, when he was environ'd and encompass'd by Death, after he had been a while detain'd under the custody thereof, he ascended victoriously out of the Power of the Grave, and carried the Gates of Hell and Death upon his Shoulders along with him triumphantly into Heaven; he slighted and dismantled that mighty Garrison whose Walls were stronger than Brass, and Gates harder than Adamant, that it should be no longer a Prison with doors and bars to shut up those that believe in him, but an open and free passage, and a broad Highway to Life and Immortality. He is the Resurrection and the Life, (*John* 11. 25.) and he that believeth in him, though he were dead, yet shall he live. For he that liveth and was dead and is alive for evermore, even he hath the Keys of Hell and of Death, *Rev.* 1. 18.

But that which I chiefly aim at this time, concerning *Jesus* his *Resurrection* and *Ascension into Heaven*, is this, *That by and after it he was made Lord and Christ, King and Saviour, and Sovereign of his Church.* Not but that *Christ's Humanity* was always hypostatically united to the Divinity; but because the *Oeconomical Kingdom of Christ* as Mediator, according to the Scripture-calculation, seems not to commence till after his state of Humiliation was over, and so begins its *Epocha* from *Christ's Resurrection*, or his *Exaltation to sit at God's right hand in Heaven.* Acts 2.36. *Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and Christ.* Acts 5. 31. *Jesus whom ye slew and hanged on a Tree, him hath God exalted on his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, &c.* Philip. 2. 9. *Who humbled himself and became obedient to the death of the Cross; Wherefore God hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, &c. and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* And that Article of our Creed concerning *Christ's sitting at God's right hand in Heaven* signifies thus much unto us, *That Christ* after his *Resurrection* and *Ascension into Heaven* hath all Power given him both in Heaven and in Earth, all things being made subject to him, *excepting him only that hath put all things under him.* He being, for the Comfort of his Church and Members here upon Earth, according to his Humanity made God's Vicegerent, and seated in his Father's Throne, and having a *Mediatorious Kingdom* bestowed upon him that shall continue *till he hath put down all Authority and Power, and hath subdued all his Enemies under his feet,* and then hath delivered up this *Oeconomical Kingdome* to God the Father, *that God may be all in all.*

1 Cor. 15. 27.

Verse 24.

Verse 28.

And this is an unspeakable Consolation that Christian Religion affords to us, and a most gracious Condescension of the All-wise God; That forasmuch as we that dwell in these houses of Clay are so far removed from the pure and abstracted Deity, and so infinitely disproportioned unto it, that there should be such a contrivance as this set on foot, that we should have one of our own Flesh and Blood, that was in all things tempted like unto us, and had experience of all our difficulties and calamities, who demonstrated his infinite love to us in laying down his Life for us, and therefore we cannot doubt but hath a most tender Sympathy and fellow-feeling with us in all our Infirmities; I say, that we should have such a one exalted to God's right hand, and invested with all Authority and Power both in Heaven and Earth, that he might administer all things for the good of his Church and Members, and supply them in all their wants and necessities. Which consideration must needs be far more comfortable, chearing and reviving to every true Christian, than it was to the Sons of *Jacob*, when they went down to *Egypt* to buy Corn and provision for their necessities, to think that *Joseph* their Brother was made Lord over all the Land.

And yet notwithstanding this is wholly eluded and evacuated by those high flown *Spiritualists* of these latter times, that slight and reject the Letter of the New Testament as a mean and carnal thing, and will acknowledge no other *Death* and *Resurrection of Christ*, no other

other

other *Ascension* and *Sitting at God's right hand*, nay no other *Day of Judgment* nor *Resurrection of the Body*, but what is *Mystical* and *Allegorical*: Whereby they do not only impudently slur the Gospel according to the *History* and the *Letter*, in making it no better than a *Romantical Legend* or a mere *Æsopick Fable*, that contains a good *Επιμυσιον* or *Moral* under it; but also plainly defeat the Counsel of God against themselves and mankind, by antiquating *Christianity*, and bringing in in stead thereof *old Paganism* again disguised under a few canting Phrases of Scripture-language. For though *Moses* had a *Veil* over his face, though there were many obscure *Umbrages* and *Allegories* in the *Law*, (the Children of *Israel* being then not able to bear the the brightness of that *Evangelical Truth* that shined under them;) yet now under the Gospel we do all with open face behold as 2 Cor. 3. in a *Glass* the glory of the Lord nakedly represented to us, being changed into the same image from glory to glory.

But to let pass these, and still to improve our former Meditation farther; Let us in the next place consider, that *Christ*, who received all this Power after his *Resurrection* and *Ascension*, did not receive it in vain and to no purpose, either taking no notice of our humane transactions here below, as having removed his *Pavilion* too far into those *Regions of Light* and *Glory* from us; or else remaining notwithstanding an idle *Spectator*, and no way concerning or interesting himself in the *Issues* of our humane affairs. Which will be so much the more improbable, if we consider what the *Scripture* and *experience* tell us, that the *Devil* and *Apostate spirits* are perpetually active and busie in promoting the concerns of the *Kingdom of Darknes*. And therefore doubtless He whom God hath made the *Shepherd* and *Bishop* of our *Souls* can never be so regardless of his *Office*, nor so careless of his *Flock* and tender *Lambs* committed to his charge, as to suffer those cruel *Wolves* to prey upon them at pleasure; and to have no pity at all for them, nor to extend his watchful *Providence* over them, whom once he vouchsafed to redeem with his own precious blood. No certainly, he that waded through so many difficulties and agonies for us in the days of his *Flesh*, he that bore our griefs and carried our sorrows, he that was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities, that sweet drops of blood in the *Garden* and was nailed to the *Cross* for us in *Golgotha*, He cannot so easily forget those whom he hath so dearly bought, nor suffer all that power, which God hath invested him with for the good of his *Church*, to lie by him idle and unemployed.

But to the end that there might not be the least ground of *Suspicion* or *Distrust* left in the minds of men concerning this particular, *Christ* after his *Ascension* into *Heaven* thought good to give us a sensible demonstration both of his *Kingly Power* and of his watchful *Care* and *Providence* over his *Church*, that he would not leave them orphans and destitute of all assistance, by sending down his *Holy Spirit* on the *Day of Pentecost* in a visible and miraculous manner upon his *Disciples*. *Acts 2. 32.* This *Jesus* hath God raised up, of which we are all *Witnesses*: Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the *Father* the *Promise* of the *Holy Ghost*, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear. And verily if there had been no news heard of

our Lord and Saviour *Christ*, after he ascended above the Clouds out of his Disciples Sight, no real and visible Demonstration of his Existence, Power, and Providence over his Church; the distrustful hearts of men would have been too prone to suspect that the pretence of an invisible Kingdom at God's right hand above had been no better than a mere Dream, an airy and phantastick Notion; and they would have been too ready to have called in question the truth of all his other Miracles, his Resurrection and Ascension, witnessed only by his own Disciples, and to have surmised those several Apparitions of his that we read of after his Death, had been nothing else but Spectres or Phantasms, like the vulgarly-believed Apparitions of the Ghosts of men in Airy bodies. But the sensible and miraculous *Pouring out of the Holy Ghost* upon his Disciples, after his Ascension into Heaven, was a palpable Confirmation of all *Christ's* other Miracles, of the Validity of his *Meritorious Death* and *Passion*, of the Truth of his *Resurrection* and *Ascension*; and gives most comfortable assurance to all Believers to the World's end, that though his Bodily presence be withdrawn from them, yet he hath not left his Church utterly forlorn and destitute of all assistance, but that *his Spirit*, the Holy Comforter, continueth to be present amongst them as his Vice-gerent, and to assist them for all the holy purposes of the Gospel, to the World's end. Now the principal Effects of *Christ's* holy Spirit, which are to be hoped for and expected by every true Believer and private Christian, are comprised by the Apostle under *Three Heads* here in the Text, as consisting in a *Threesfold Victory over a threefold Enemy. The sting of Death is Sin, and the strength of Sin is the Law: But thanks be to God which giveth us the Victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

1. *A Victory over Sin*, as that which is the Cause of *Death*.
2. *A Victory over the Law*, as that which aggravates the Guilt, and exasperates the Power of *Sin*.
3. Lastly, *A Victory over Death*, the Fruit and Consequent of *Sin*.

FIRST therefore, *There is a Victory over Sin to be obtained in and through Christ.*

Some there are that will acknowledge no other *Victory over Sin* but an *External* one, that whereby it was conquered for us by *Christ* upon the Cross sixteen hundred years since, where he *spoiled Principalities and Powers, and made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it*, Col. 2. 15. and where he *redeemed us from the Curse of the Law, being made a Curse for us*, Gal. 3. 13. And doubtless this was one great end of *Christ's* coming into the World, to make a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of mankind: Not only that he might thereby put a period to those continually-repeated & ineffectual Sacrifices of Brute Beasts, and the offering of the blood of bulls and Goats, that could not take away Sin, nor propitiate his Divine Majesty; but also that he might at once give a sensible Demonstration both of God's high Displeasure against Sin, and of his Placableness and Reconcilableness to Sinners returning to Obedience; and therefore, to that end that the despair of Pardon might not hinder any from Repentance and

and Amendment of Life, promulgate free Pardon and Remission of Sins through his Blood to all that should repent, and believe the Gospel.

But it is a very unsound and unwholsome Interpretation of this Salutory Undertaking of *Christ's* in the Gospel, as if the ultimate End and Design of it were to procure *Remission of Sin* and *Exemption from Punishment* only, to some particular persons still continuing under the Power of Sin, and to save them at last in their Sins, that is, with a mere outward and carnal Salvation; it being a thing utterly impossible, that those *undefiled Rewards* of the Heavenly Kingdom should be received and enjoyed by men in their Unregenerate and unrenewed Nature.

For what is this else but to make *Christ* the grand Patron of the Kingdom of Darkness, and to suppose God to be such a Being as may be bribed and corrupted by Sacrifice and Intercession, to a partial Connivence and fond Indulgence of men in their Sins to all Eternity? or else to insinuate that there is no other *Evil* at all in Sin, but only in respect of that *outward Punishment* consequent upon it? which is to destroy the Nature and Reality of Sin, and to make it nothing but a mere Name or Phancy; as if *Good* and *Evil*, *Just* and *Unjust*, (as some Philosophers dreamed) were not φύσις, but νόμος and ἀρετή only, had no Reality in Nature, but depended only upon arbitrary Laws enforced by outward Punishments, or mere Opinions; and so were only ποιητά, (as *Democritus* expressed it) mere Factitious things, or else φαντασμά, Fictitious and Imaginary: Either of which opinions if they were true, then indeed *Remission of Sin* and *Exemption from Punishment* would quite take away all the Evil of Sin.

But if Sin be not a mere Name or Phancy, but that which hath a real and intrinsecal Evil in it, greater than that of *outward Punishment*; then certainly it cannot be so transcendent a Happiness as some men carnally conceit, to have an Impunity in Sinning to all Eternity, that the Accomplishment thereof should be thought the only fit Undertaking for the Son of God to engage in, and that which would deservedly entitle him the Saviour of Mankind. For that of *Socrates* in *Plato* must then needs be true, τὸ ἀδιόρθητον μὴ διδόναι δούλω, πλείων μάλιστα τε ἢ, πρῶτον κακῶν εἶναι, *That* (in those which are not incorrigible and incurable) *it is the greatest Evil that can possibly befall them, to continue in Wickedness unpunished; and the greatest Kindness that they can receive, by the lesser Evil of Punishment and Castigation to be cured of the greater Evil of Sin:* For (as the same Philosopher speaks) ἰατρικὴ τῆς πονηρίας δίκη, *Chastisement and Correction is the natural Remedy and Cure of Wickedness;* which our Saviour confirms when he saith, *As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten:* and sure the Remedy is not worse than the Disease.

Wherefore it was so far from being the ultimate End of *Christ's* undertaking to die for Sin, that men might securely live in it, that on the contrary the Death of *Christ* was particularly intended as an Engine to batter down the Kingdom of Sin and Satan, and to bring men effectually unto God and Righteousness, as the Scripture plainly witnesseth, 1 Pet. 2. 24. *His own self bare our Sins in his Body on the Tree;*

Revel. 3. 19.

1 Pet. 4.1.

Tree, that we, being dead to Sin, might live to Righteousness. The Death of Christ conducing to this great End not only as it was Exemplary, and Hieroglyphically instructed us that we ought to take up the Cross likewise, and follow our crucified Lord and Saviour, suffering in the Flesh, and ceasing from Sin; but also as it doth most lively demonstrate to us, God's high Displeasure against Sin, and the malignant Nature of it, that could not otherwise be expiated than by the Blood of that innocent and immaculate Lamb, the only-begotten Son of God; and lastly, as the Hope of Pardon and free Remission of Sin in the Blood of Christ for the truly Penitent might invite and animate men to chearful and vigorous endeavours against Sin.

Others there are that tell us there is indeed something farther aimed at in the Gospel besides the bare Remission of Sins, but that it is nothing else but the Imputation of an External Righteousness, or another's Inherent Holiness, which is so completely made ours thereby to all intents and purposes, as if we our selves had been really and perfectly righteous; and this upon no other Condition or Qualification at all required in us, but only of mere Faith scrupulously prescind- ed from all Holiness and Sanctification, or the laying hold or apprehending only (as they use to phrase it) of this External and Imputed Righteousness, that is, the merely believing and imagining it to be ours: Which kind of Faith therefore is but the Imagination of an Imagination, or of that which really is not, and, as Pindar calls Man, Σνιός ὄναρ, the very Dream of a Shadow.

For though this be pretended by some to be spoken only of Justification as contradistinct from Sanctification, the latter of which they conceive must by no means have any conditional Influence upon the former; yet it will unavoidably extend to the taking away of the Necessity of Inherent Righteousness and Holiness, and all Obligation to it: upon which very account it is so highly acceptable, because under a specious shew of Modesty and Humility it doth exceedingly gratifie mens Hypocrisie and Carnality. For he that is thus completely justified by the Imputation of a mere External Righteousness, must needs have ipso facto a Right and Title thereby to Heaven and Happiness without Holiness; for Rom. 8. 30. whom he justifieth. them he also glorifieth. Neither can any thing be required inherently in them, where all Inherency is perfectly supplied by Imputation. And though it be pretended that Sanctification will spontaneously follow after by way of Gratitude; yet this is like to prove but a very slippery Hold, where it is believed that Gratitude it self, as well as all other Graces, is already in them by Imputation. Neither can it be reasonably thought that true Holiness should spring by way of Gratitude or Ingenuity from such a Principle of Carnality as makes men so well contented with a mere Imaginary Righteousness.

Prov 17.15.

But this Opinion, as it makes God in Justifying to pronounce a false Sentence, and to conceive of things otherwise than they are, and to do that which himself hath declared to be abominable, to justify the wicked (in a forensick sence) and as it is irreconcilable to those many Scriptures that assure us God will render to every man according to his Works; so it also takes away the Necessity of Christ's Meritorious and Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Remission of Sins: for where

where a complete Righteousness is imputed, there is no Sin at all to be pardoned. And lastly, it vainly supposes *Righteousness* and *Holiness* to be mere Phantastical and Imaginary things; for otherwise it were no more possible that a Wicked man should be made Righteous by another's Righteousness imputed, than that a Sick man should be made Whole by another's imputed Health. *If a Brother or Sister be naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be you warmed, and be you filled; notwithstanding you give them not those things which are needfull for the body; what doth it profit?* James 2. 15. 16. *Even so what doth it profit, my Brethren, if a man say he hath Faith, (or imputed Righteousness) and have not Works? (that is, real and inherent Righteousness, or inward Regeneration) can such a Faith (that is, Imagination or Imputation) save him?* Certainly no more than mere words can cloath a naked man's Back, or feed a hungry man's Belly, or warm and thaw him whose Blood is frozen and congealed in his veins. Nay it is no more possible for a man to be made *Holy*, than to be made *Happy*, by mere Imputation, which latter few men would be contented withal; and, were it not for their Hypocrisie, they would be as little contented with the former; and it would as little please them to be *Opinione tantum Justi*, as *Opinione tantum Beati*, to use *Tully's* expression against the *Epicureans*. Nay, since it is most certain that the greatest part of our *Happiness* consisteth in *Righteousness* and *Holiness*, it will unavoidably follow, that if we have no other than an *Imputative Righteousness*, we can have no other than an *Imputative Happiness*, and a mere Imaginary Heaven, which will little please us when we feel our selves to be in a true and real Hell.

But it is not our intention here to quarrel about Words and Phrases, as if *Christ's* meritorious Satisfaction might not be said to be *Imputed* to those that repent and believe the Gospel, for Remission of Sins; much less to deny what the Holy Scripture plainly asserts, True and living *Faith*, that *worketh by Love*, which is the very Essence of the New Creature, or Regenerate Nature, λογίζεσθαι εἰς δικαιοσύνην, *to be imputed or accounted for Righteousness* under the Gospel-dispensation, where God will not proceed according to Legal Rigour and Severity with his fallen Creatures, but according to that *Equity* and *Εμενδία* which the Philosopher tells us is the *truest Justice*. But our onely design is, to caution against that *Antinomian Error* which is too often insinuated under the Notion of *Imputed Righteousness*, as if there were no necessity of *Inherent Righteousness* and a *Real Victory over Sin* in order to Salvation, but that an *Imputed or Imaginary* one might serve the turn. Which Error, springing up very early amongst the *Gnostick Christians*, *S. John* gives a very seasonable Antidote against it, 1 *John* 3.7. *Little Children, let no man deceive you; he that doth Righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous:* and in Chap. 2. v. 4. *He that saith I know him, and keepeth not his Commandments, is a Liar, and the Truth is not in him.* To which purpose is that also in his first Chap. v. 5. *This is the Message which we have heard of him and declare to you, That God is Light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have Fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lye, and do not the Truth: But if we walk in the light, as he is in the Light,*

Light, we have Fellowship one with another, and the Blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all Sin. Wherefore the same Apostle in that Epistle tells us of overcoming the Wicked one, Chap. 2. 14. and of overcoming the World, by our Faith in Christ, Chap. 5. 4. And in the Apocalypse he propoundeth from Christ himself divers remarkable Promises to him that overcometh: That he shall eat of the Tree of life that is in the midst of the Paradise of God, c. 2. v. 7. That he shall not be hurt of the Second Death, v. 11. That he shall have the hidden Manna, and a white Stone with a new Name written in it, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it, v. 17. That he will give him the morning Star, v. 28. That he shall be cloathed in white Raiment, and his name shall not be blotted out of the Book of Life, c. 3. v. 5. That he shall be a Pillar in the Temple of God, v. 12. and that he shall sit with Christ in his Throne, as he overcame and sate down with his Father in his Throne, v. 21. The Condition of all which Promises being Overcoming, we may well conclude from thence, that there is a Real and not an Imaginary Victory only to be obtained over the Power of Sin as well as the Guilt of it.

Nay, it is true and very observable, that those Places which are usually quoted as the Foundation of an Imputed Righteousness in some other sense than what we have before mentioned, are indeed no otherwise to be understood than of a Real Inward Righteousness that is wrought or infused by the Spirit of Christ. As that principal one, Philip. 3. v. 8. *Yea doubtless, and I count all things loss for the excellency of the Knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, — that I may win him, and be found in him, not having mine own Righteousness which is of the Law, but that which is of the Faith of Christ, the Righteousness which is of God by Faith.* Where Christ, whom the Apostle desires to win and to be found in, and the Righteousness which is through the Faith of Christ, and the Righteousness which is of God through Faith, are no external Imputed Righteousness, but the real Inward Righteousness of the New Creature wrought by the Spirit of Christ through Faith, which is opposed here to *our own Righteousness, and the Righteousness which is of the Law*, that is, the Righteousness of outward Works done by our own Natural power, according to the Letter of the Law, in our Unregenerate state: for so the following words explain the meaning, *That I may know him, and the power of his Resurrection, and the fellowship of his Sufferings, being made conformable unto his Death; If by any means I might attain to the Resurrection of the dead.* And this same Inward and Real Righteousness is often elsewhere called *Christ*, and the *New man*, that is said to be *in us*, and which we are exhorted to *put on*, not by Conceit or Imagination only, but by real Conformity to his Nature and Participation of his Spirit.

And whereas the Magnifiers of Free Grace in an Antinomian sense, and the Decriers of *Inherent Righteousness*, commonly conceive that the Free Grace of God consists in nothing but either in the Pardon of Sin and Exemption from Punishment, or the Imputation of an External Holiness, and accounting men just freely, without any Condition but only the mere Believing of this that they are so accounted; and that Faith is no otherwise considered in the Gospel than in order to the Believing of this Imputation; and that our own Works, when they

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they are comparatively undervalued to *Grace* and *Faith*, are to be taken for all Inherent Righteousness and Holiness, even the *New Creature* it self: That all these are Errours, as it might be abundantly proved from sundry other places of Scripture, so it may sufficiently appear from that one, *Ephes. 2. v. 4. &c. God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickned us together with Christ, (by Grace ye are saved,) and hath raised us up together* — That in the Ages to come he might shew the exceeding riches of his Grace, and his kindness towards us in *Christ Jesus*. For by *Grace* are ye saved through *Faith*; and that not of your selves; it is the gift of God: Not of Works, lest any man should boast. For we are his *Workmanship*, created in *Christ Jesus* unto good works. For when we are here said to be saved by *Grace*, it is plain that the Apostle means by *Saved*, inwardly Quickned and Sanctified: *σωζεται* (saith *Grotius* well here) is *Purgari à Vitiis*: which inward Sanctification is here attributed to God's *Free Grace*, and denied to our selves and to *Works*; the meaning whereof is, that it is not effected by our own Works, (whether of outward Morality or Legal Ceremonies) done by our Natural power in the Unregenerate state, but by the quickning and enlivening Spirit of *Christ* inwardly creating us a new. And lastly, *Faith* is plainly made the Instrument of this inward Sanctification, that is not wrought by our own Works, but the *Grace* and Spirit of *Christ*. Whence we may well conclude, That the true Object of the Christian *Faith* is not only the *Blood of Christ* shed upon the Cross for the Remission of Sin, but also the *renewing Spirit of Christ* for the inward conquering and mortifying of it, and the quickning or raising of us to an Heavenly Life.

And I dare be bold to say, that the inward sense of every true and sincere-hearted Christian in this Point speaks the same language with the Scripture. For a true Christian that hath any thing of the Life of God in him, cannot but earnestly desire an *inward Healing* of his sinful Maladies and Distempers, and not an *outward Hiding* and *Palliation* of them only. He must needs passionately long more and more after a new Life and Nature, and the Divine Image to be more fully formed in him; insomuch that if he might be secured from the pains of Hell without it, he could not be fully quieted and satisfied therewith. 'Tis not the *Effects and Consequents of Sin* only, the *External Punishment* due unto it, that he desires to be freed from, but the *Intrinsic Evil of Sin* it self, the Plague of his own heart. As he often meditates with comfort upon that *Outward Cross* to which his Saviour's hands and feet were nailed for his Sins; so he impatiently desires also to feel the virtue of that *Inward Cross* of *Christ*, by which the World may be crucified to him, and he unto the World; and the Power of *Christ's Resurrection* in him, still to raise him farther unto Newness of life. Neither will he be more easily perswaded to believe that his sinful Lusts, the malignity and violence whereof he feels within himself, can be conquered without him, than that an Army here in *England* can be conquered in *France* or *Spain*. He is so deeply sensible of the *Real Evil* that is in Sin it self, that he cannot be contented to have it only histrionically triumphed over. And to phanſie himself covered all over with a thin veil of mere external Imputation,

putation, will afford little satisfactory Comfort unto him that hungers and thirsts after Righteousness, and is weary and heavy laden with the burthen of Sins, and doth not desire to have his inward Maladies hid and covered only, but healed and cured. Neither can he be willing to be put off till the hour of Death for a Divorce betwixt his Soul and Sin; nor easily perswaded that though Sin should rule and reign in him all his Life-long, yet the last parting grone, that shall divide his Soul and Body asunder, might have so great an Efficacy as in a moment also to separate all Sin from his Soul.

BUT that we may not seem here either to beat the Air in Generals and Uncertainties, or by an indiscreet zeal to countenance those conceited and high-flown Enthusiasts of latter times, that, forgetting that example of Modesty given us by the blessed Apostle, [*Not as though I had already attained, or were already perfect — But this one thing I do; forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the Mark,*] boldly arrogate to themselves such an *Absolute Perfection*, as would make them not to stand in need of any Saviour, nor to be cleansed by the Blood of the Lamb, which therefore they allegorize into a mystical fence; we must declare that we speak not here of Inherent Righteousness and a *Victory over Sin* in a *Legal* or *Pharisaical* sense, but in such an *Evangelical* sense as yet notwithstanding is true and real.

Phil. 3. 12.
 The First degree whereof is a *Principle of New Life*, infused into the Soul by the Spirit of *Christ* through Faith, (which the Apostle calls *Semen Dei, the Seed of God*) inclining it to love God and Righteousness as a thing correspondent to its nature, and enabling it to act freely and ingenuously in the ways of God, out of a living Law written upon the Heart, and to eschew Sin as contrary to a vital Principle. For the true Gospel-Righteousness, which Christ came to set up in the World, doth not consist merely in outward Works, whether Ceremonial or Moral, done by our own natural power in our Unregenerate state, but in an inward Life and Spirit wrought by God. Which those very Philosophers seemed in a manner to acknowledge, that denied ἀρετῶν to be διδασκόντων π, that *Virtue could be taught by outward Rules and Precepts like an Art or Trade*; and *Aristotle* himself also, when he inclines to think that men are δεῖα μόλις ἀρετοί, and that their being Good depends upon some extraordinary Divine Influence and Assistance. Which I the rather take notice of, because some late Pretenders to Philosophy have prophanely derided this Doctrine after this manner, as if it made *good Thoughts and virtuous Dispositions* to be *POURED* and *BLOWN* into men by God.

1 John 3. 9.
 But there is a *Second Degree of Victory over Sin*, which every true Christian ought not only to look upon as possible, but also to endeavour after, and restlessly to pursue; which is *such a measure of Strength in the Inward man*, and such a degree of Mortification or Crucifixion of our sinful Lusts, as that a man will not *knowingly* and *deliberately* do any thing that his Conscience plainly tells him is a Sin, though there be never so great Temptations to it.

Whether or no this be that *Evangelical Perfection* which was the
 Mark

Mark that S. Paul pressed towards, and which he seems mystically to call the *Resurrection from the Dead*, or any thing farther, I leave it to others to make a Judgment of. But doubtless, they that have attained to such a Principle of new Life, and such a measure of inward Strength, as is already mentioned, that is, to the Perfection of *unfeigned Sincerity*, may, notwithstanding the Irregularities of the first Motions, violent Assaults and Importunities of Tentations, sudden Incurfions and Obreptions, Sins of mere Ignorance and Inadvertency, (which are all wash'd away in the Blood of Christ) in a true *Evangelical* sense be said to have attained to a *Victory over Sin*.

Wherefore I demand in the next place, *Why it should be thought impossible by the Grace of the Gospel and the Faith of Christ to attain to such a Victory as this is over Sin?* For Sin owes its original to nothing else but Ignorance and Darknes. *πᾶς ὁ πονηρὸς ἀγνοῖ*, Every wicked man is Ignorant. And therefore in that sense that other Maxim of the Stoicks may have some Truth also, that *ἀνορτες ἀμαρτάνουσι*, Men sin against their will; because if they knew that those things were indeed so hurtful to them, they would never do them. Now we all know how easily Light conquers Darknes, and upon its first approach makes it flie before it, and like a guilty shade seek to hide it self from it, by running round about the Earth. And certainly the Light of God arising in the Soul can with as much ease scatter away the night of sinful Ignorance before it. For Truth hath a cognation with the Soul; and Falshood, Lies and Impostures are no more able to make resistance against the Power of Truth breaking forth, than Darknes is able to dispute with Light. Wherefore the Entrance in of Light upon the Soul is half a conquest over our Sinful Lusts.

Again, though Sin have had a long and customary Possession in the Soul, yet it has no just Title, much less a Right of Inheritance in it. For Sin is but a Stranger and Foreigner in the Soul, an Usurper and Intruder into the Lord's Inheritance. Sin it is no Nature, as St. *Austin* and others of the Fathers often inculcate, but an adventitious and extraneous thing; and the true and ancient Nature of the Soul of Man suffers violence under it, and is oppressed by it. It is nothing else but the preternatural state of Rational Beings, and therefore we have no reason to think it must needs be perpetual and unalterable. Is it a strange thing that a jarring Instrument by the hand of a skilful Musician should ever be set in tune again? Doubtless, if an Instrument of Musick were a living thing, it would be sensible of Harmony as its proper state, and abhor Discord and Dissonancy as a thing preternatural to it. The Soul of Man was Harmonical as God at first made it, till Sin, disordering the Strings and Faculties, put it out of tune and marr'd the Musick of it: but doubtless that great *Harmosies* that tunes the whole World, and makes all things keep their Times and Measures, is able to set this lesser Instrument in tune again. Sin is but a Disease and Dyscrasie in the Soul, Righteousness is the Health and natural Complexion of it; and there is a Propension in the Nature of every thing to return to its proper state, and to cast off whatever is heterogeneous to it. And some Physicians tell us that Medicaments are but subservient to Nature, by removing obstructions and impediments; but Nature it self and the inward *Archæus* releas-

ed and set at liberty works the Cure. Bodies when they are bent out of their place, and violently forced out of the natural Position of their Parts, have a *Spring* of their own and an inward strong Propension to return to their own natural Posture, which produceth that *Motion of Restitution* that Philosophers endeavour to give a reason of. As for example, *Air* may be forced into much a lesser room than it would naturally expand it self into; but whilst it is under this Violence, it hath a *Spring* or strong *Conatus* to return to its proper state, (of which several ingenious Observations have been lately published by a Learned hand.) Now Sin being a violent and preternatural state, and a Sinner's returning to God and Righteousness being *Motus Restitutionis & Liberationis*, whereby the Soul is restored to its true Freedom and ancient Nature; why should there not be such an *Elater* or *Spring* in the Soul, (quickned and enlivened by Divine Grace) such a natural *Conatus* of returning to its proper state again? Doubtless there is, and the Scripture seems sometimes to acknowledge it and call it by the name of *Spirit*, when it speaketh of our free acting in God's ways from an inward Principle. For the *Spirit* is not always to be taken for a Breath or Impulse from without; but also for an inward Propension of the Soul, awakened and revived in it, to return to its proper state, as it is Intellectual, and then to act freely in it according to its ancient Nature. For if the *Spirit* were a mere *external Force* acting upon the Soul without the concurrence of an *innate Principle*, then *to be acted by the Spirit* would be a state of Violence to the Soul, which it could not delight always to continue under; whereas the *state of the Spirit*, is a state of Freedom, and not of Violence, as the Apostle witnesseth, when he calls it *the Freedom of the Spirit*: It is the Soul's acting from an inward Spring and Principle of its own Intellectual nature, not by a mere outward Impulse, like a Boat that is tugged on by Oars or driven by a strong blast of Wind. Wherefore the Soul's returning from Sin to Righteousness, which is its Primitive Nature, must needs have great advantages, it going on *secundo flumine*, according to the genuine Current of its true Intellectual nature, and having besides the assistance of a gentle Gale of the Divine Spirit from without to help it forwards.

Why should it be thought so great an impossibility for men willingly to do that which is agreeable to the Laws of Goodness, since this is the genuine Nature of the Soul when once it is freed from mistakes and encumbrances, from that which is heterogeneous and adventitious to it, that cloggs it and oppresses it; and every Life and Nature acts freely according to its own Propensions? Why should it seem strange that the *Superiour Faculties* of the Soul should become predominant, since they are *φύσις δεσποτική*, of a Lordly nature, and made to rule, and the *Inferiour Faculties* of a servile temper, and made to be subject? Why should it seem impossible for *Equity, Light* and *Reason* to be introned in the Soul of Man again, and there to command and govern those exorbitant Affections that do so lawlessly rebel against them? For if some grave Commanders and Generals have been able by the majesty of their very Looks to hush and silence a disorderly and mutinous Rout of Soldiers; certainly *Reason* re-en-
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throned in her majestick Seat, and re-invested with her ancient Power and Authority, which is natural and not usurped, would much more easily be able to check and control the tumultuous Rabbble of Lusts and Passions in us.

Doubtless God hath no other Design upon us in Religion and the Gospel of his Son than what is for our good, and to restore us to the Rectitude and Perfection of our own Beings : Wherefore he seeks to redeem and call off our Affections from the perishing Vanities of this World, which being so infinitely below us do debase and pollute our Spirits ; wherefore he would not have us to addict ourselves wholly to the Gratifications of our *lower Faculties*, which are but the *Brute* in us, but he would have the best in us to be uppermost, *the Man* to rule the *Brute*, and the τὸ θεῖον, that that is of God in us, to rule our Manly and Rational Faculties. He would not have us, *Narcissus*-like, to be always courting our own Shadow in the Stream ; for, according to the ancient *Democritical* Philosophy, this whole visible World is nothing else but mere extended Bulk, and hath nothing real in it but *Atomes* or *Particles* of a different Magnitude, diversly placed and agitated in a continual Whirlpool. But all the Colour, Beauty and Varnish, all that which charms and bewitches us in these Objects without us, is nothing but the Vital Sensations and Relishes of our own Souls. This gives all the Paint and Lustre to those Beauties which we court and fall in love withal without us, which are otherwise as devoid of Reality and as phantastical as the Colours of the Rainbow. So that this *Outward World* is not unfitly compared to an *enchanted Palace*, which seems indeed mighty pleasing and ravishing to our deluded Sense, whereas all is but imaginary and a mere prestigious show. Those things which we are enamoured with, thinking them to be without us, being nothing but the vital Energies of our own Spirits.. In a word, God would have Man to be a living Temple for himself to dwell in, and his Faculties Instruments to be used and employed by him ; which need not be thought impossible, if that be true which Philosophy tells us, that there is *Cognatio quedam* a certain near *Kindred* and *Alliance* between the Soul and God.

Lastly, we must observe, though this inward Victory over Sin be no otherwise to be effected than by the Spirit of *Christ* through Faith, and by a Divine Operation in us, so that in a certain sence we may be said to be *Passive* thereunto ; yet notwithstanding we must not dream any such thing, as if our *Active* Cooperation and Concurrence were not also necessarily required thereunto. For as there is a Spirit of God in Nature which produceth Vegetables and Minerals, which humane Art and Industry could never be able to effect, namely that *Spiritus intus alens* which the Poet speaks of, which yet notwithstanding doth not work *absolutely, unconditionally* and *omnipotently*, but requireth certain preparations, Conditions and Dispositions in the Matter which it works upon ; (For unless the Husbandman plow the Ground and sow the Seed, the Spirit of God in Nature will not give any increase :) In like manner the Scripture tells us that the Divine Spirit of Grace doth not work *absolutely, unconditionally* and *irresistibly* in the Souls of men, but requireth cer-
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tain Preparations, Conditions and Cooperations in us; forasmuch as it may both be *quenched*, and *stirred up or excited*, in us. And indeed unless we *plow up the Fallow-ground of our hearts*, and *sow to our selves in Righteousness*, (as the Prophet speaks) by our earnest endeavours; we cannot expect that the Divine Spirit of Grace will show down that Heavenly increase upon us. Wherefore if we would attain to a *Victory over Sin* by the Spirit of *Christ*, we must endeavour to *fight a good Fight*, and *run a good Race*, and to *enter in at the strait gate*, that so overcoming we may receive the Crown of Life.

And thus much shall suffice to have spoken at this time concerning the first Particular, *The Victory over Sin*.

I Shall now proceed to speak something briefly to the *Two* other *Victories* that remain, which are attainable also by *Christ*, over the *Law* and *Death*.

And the *Law* may be considered two manner of ways. First, as an *outward Covenant of Works* that pronounceth Death and Condemnation to all that do not yield absolute and entire Obedience to what-ever is therein commanded; and which imposed also with the same Severity a multitude of *outward Ceremonial Observations*, which had no intrinsecal Goodness at all in them, but kept men in a state of Bondage and Servility. Now the *Law* in this sence, as it is an *outward Letter and Covenant of Works*, is already conquered externally for us by *Christ's* Death upon the Cross, *Galat. 3. 13. Christ hath redeemed us from the Curse of the Law, being made a Curse for us; for it is written, cursed is every one that hangeth on a Tree; That the Blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ, that we might receive the Promise of the Spirit through Faith.* And he hath thereby freed us also from our Obligation to those *Commandments* that were not good, having broken down the *Middle-wall of Partition* that was betwixt Jew and Gentile, *abolishing in his flesh the Enmity, even the Law of Commandments, Ephel. 2. 14, 15. And blotting out the hand-writing of Ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and taking it out of the way, nailing it to his Cross, Coloss. 2. 14.*

Ezek. 20. 25.

Secondly, The *Law* is sometimes also considered in Scripture as an *inward State of Mind*, wrought by the *Law* and *Truth* of God, whether written outwardly in the *Letter* of the Scripture, or inwardly in the *Conscience*, prevailing only so far as to beget a *Conviction* of mens *Duty* and of the *wrath* of God against *Sin*, but not enabling them with inward strength and power to do what is commanded, willingly, out of a *Love* of it. It is such a State, when men are only *Passive* to God's *Law*, and unwillingly subject to it (as an *Enemy*) for fear of *Wrath* and *Vengeance*. And this must needs be a state of miserable *Bondage* and *Servility*, *Distraction* and *Perplexity* of mind; when men are at once strongly convinced of the *Wrath* of God against *Sin*, and yet under the power of their *Lusts* haling and dragging of them to the commission of it. It is that state (as I conceive) which *S. Paul* describes, *Rom. 7.* after this manner; *The Law is Spiritual, but I am Carnal, sold under Sin: for that which I do, I allow*

not;

not; for what I would, that do I not, but what I hate, that do I. And again, I see another Law in my Members warring against my Mind, and bringing me into Captivity under the Law of Sin. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death? Now from the Law in this sense, that is, from the Bondage and Servility of the Legal state, we are not delivered, nor made Conquerors by what Christ did outwardly upon the Cross, as some imagine; as if he had there purchased for us an Indulgence to sin without control: but by the inward working of his Holy Spirit, freeing us from the Power and Bondage of Sin, and unbewitching us from the Love of it.

Wherefore there is a double Freedom from this Legal state to be taken notice of; a True and a False Freedom; which I cannot better explain than by using the Apostle's own Similitude in the beginning of the 7. Chap. Know ye not, Brethren, that the Law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth? (or rather as long as It, that is, the Law, liveth?) For the Woman which hath an Husband is bound by the Law to her Husband so long as he liveth; but if her Husband be dead, she is loosed from the Law of the Husband. So then, if while her Husband liveth she be married to another man, she shall be called an Adulteress: but if her Husband be dead, she is free from that Law; so that she is no Adulteress though she be married to another man. Where the Law is compared to an Husband; and one that is under the Law, or in a Legal state, to a Woman that hath an Husband. And as there are two ways by which a Woman may be freed from her Husband; The one, if she break loose from him whilst he yet liveth, contrary to the Laws of Wedlock, and marry to another man; which is an undue and unlawful Freedom, for then she is justly stiled an Adulteress; Another, if she stay till her Husband be dead, and then, being free from the Law of her Husband, does lawfully marry to another man: In like manner there are two ways by which men may be freed from the Law, as it is an inward state of Bondage and Servility. The first is, when men do illegally and unlawfully break loose from the Law, which is their Husband, whilst he is yet alive and ought to have Dominion over them, and marry themselves to another Husband; which Husband's name is Carnal Liberty or Licentiousness, too often mis-called in these latter Times by the name of Christian Liberty: and such as these may well be stiled in the Scripture-language Adulterers and Adulteresses. But there is another Freedom from the Law, which is a due and just Freedom, when we do not make ourselves free before the time, violently breaking loose from it; but when we stay till the Law, which is our Husband, is dead, and the Compulsory power of it taken away by the Mortification of our Lusts and Affections, and so marry another Husband, which is Christ or the Spirit of Righteousness Rom. 8. 2. The Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the Law of Sin and Death.

Wherefore there are Three general states of Men, in order to God and Religion, that may be here taken notice of. The First is of those that are alive to Sin, and dead to the Law. This the Apostle speaks of Rom. 7. 9. I was alive without the Law once. These are those whose Consciences are not yet considerably awakened to any Sense of their Duty, nor to the Discrimination of Good and Evil; but sin freely
without

without any check or control, without any disquieting Remorse of Conscience.

The *Second* is, when men are at once alive both to the Law and Sin, to the Conviction of the one, and the Power and Love of the other; both these struggling together within the Bowels of the Soul, checking and controlling one another. This is a *broken, confounded and shatter'd* state; and these in the Apostles language are said to be *slain by the Law*. *I was alive without the Law once; but when the Commandment came, Sin revived, and I died: And the Commandment which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death. For Sin taking occasion by the Commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me.* Here is no Peace, Rest nor Comfort to be had in this state, mens Souls being distracted and divided by an intestine and civil War, between the *Law of the Mind* and the *Law of the Members* conflicting with one another.

Wherefore the *Third* state is, when men are *dead both to the Law and Sin*, and *alive unto God and Righteousness*; the *Law of the Spirit of Life* freeing them from the *Law of Sin and Death*. In the *First* of these *Three* states, which is the most wretched and deplorable of all, we are *Sin's Free-men*, that is, free to commit Sin without check or control. In the *Second* we are *Bondmen to God and Righteousness*, and serve God out of a Principle of Fear, and according to an outward Rule only; Children of *Hagar* the Bond-maid, and of the Letter. In the *Third* we are *God's freemen* and Sons, and serve him in the Newness of the Spirit, out of a Love to God and Righteousness; Children of the New Testament and of *Sarah* the Free-woman.

Wherefore here are *Two Mistakes* or *Errors* to be taken notice of, that defeat and disapoint the Design of *Christ* in giving us *Victory over the Law*. The *First* is of those that we have already mentioned, that seek to themselves a Freedom from the Bondage of the Law otherwise than by *Christ* and the *Spirit of Righteousness*, namely, in a way of Carnal Liberty and Licentiousness, whereby, in stead of being *Bondmen to God and Righteousness*, they become perfect *Free-men to Sin and Wickedness*, which is the most deplorable Thraldom in the World. Wherefore these men, in stead of going forward from the *Second* state unto higher Perfection, wheel back again unto the *First*: just as if the Children of *Israel*, after they had been brought out of *Egypt* and travelled a while in the Desert of *Arabia*, where the *Law* was given, instead of entring into *Canaan*, should have wheeled back into *Egypt*, and then, enjoying the Garlick and Onions and Flesh-pots thereof, should perswade themselves this was indeed the true *Land of Promise that floweth with Milk and Honey*. And there is very great danger, lest when men have been tired out by wandring a long time in the dry and barren Wilderness of the *Law*, where they cannot enjoy the pleasure of Sin as formerly, and yet have not arrived to the relish and love of Righteousness, by reason of their Impatience they should at last make more haste than good speed, being seduced by some false shows of *Freedom* that are very tempting to such weary Travellers, and promise much comfort and refreshment to them, inviting them to sit down under their shadow: Such as are a *Self-chosen Holiness*, *Ceremonial Righteousness*, *O-*
pinionative

pinionative Zeal, The Tree of Knowledge mistaken for the Tree of Life, High-flown Enthusiasm and Seraphicism, Epicurizing Philosophy, Antinomian Liberty, under the pretence of Free Grace and a Gospel-Spirit.

The *Second* Mistake that is here to be heeded is, of those that would by all means persuade themselves That there is no higher state of Christian Perfection to be aimed at or hoped for in this Life than this *Legal state*; That the Good they would do, they do not; the Evil they would not do, that they do; That the Law of Sin in their Members still leads them captive from the Law of their Minds: having no other Ground at all for this, but a novel Interpretation of one Paragraph in the Epistle to the *Romans*, contrary to other express Places of Scripture, and the Sence of all ancient Interpreters: and yet with so much zeal, as if it were a principal part of the Gospel Faith to believe this, (which is indeed arrant Infidelity) and as if it were no less than Presumption or Impiety to expect a *Living Law written upon our Hearts*. But this is nothing else but, in stead of seeking Liberty out of the Bondage of the Law, to fall in love with our Bonds and Fetters, and plainly to deny the *Victory over the Law by Christ*, and to affirm that the Gospel is but the *Ministration of a dead and killing Letter*, not of the Spirit that quickneth and maketh alive.

I Come now in the Third and last place to the *Victory over Death*; expressed by the *Resurrection of the Body to Life and Immortality*; which as it was meritoriously procured for us by *Christ's dying upon the Cross*, (his Resurrection afterward being an assured pledge of the same to us) so it will be really effected at last by the same Spirit of *Christ* that gives us *Victory over Sin* here. Rom. 8. 11. *If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal Bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.* As if he should have said, If the Spirit of *Christ* dwell in you, regenerating and renewing your Souls, the very same Spirit hereafter shall also immortalize your very Bodies. *Avicen*, the *Mahumetan* Philosopher, in his *Almahad*, hath a conceit, That the meaning of the *Resurrection of the Body* is nothing else but this, to persuade Vulgar people, that though they seem to perish when they die and their Bodies rot in the Grave, yet notwithstanding they shall have a real Subsistence after Death, by which they shall be made capable either of future Happiness or Misery: But because the apprehensions of the Vulgar are so gross, that the Permanency and Immortality of the Soul is too subtil a Notion for them who commonly count their *Bodies for Themselves*, and cannot conceive how they should have any Being after Death, unless their very *Bodies* should be raised up again; therefore, by way of Condescension to vulgar Understandings, the future Permanency and Subsistence of the Soul in Prophetical Writings is expressed under this Scheme of the *Resurrection of the Body*, which yet is meant $\tau\omicron\ \delta\delta\epsilon\alpha\nu$ only, and not $\kappa\alpha\tau\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$. Which conceit how well soever it may besit a *Mahumetan* Philosopher, I am sure it no way agrees with the Principles of *Christianity*. The Scripture here and elsewhere assuring us that the *Resurrection of the Body*

dy is to be understood plainly and without a Figure; and that the Saints departed this life in the Faith and Fear of *Christ*, shall not be mere Souls without Bodies to all Eternity, as *Avicen*, *Maimonides* and other Philosophers dreamed, but consist of Soul and Body united together. Which Bodies though (as the Doctrine of the Church instructeth us) they shall be both Specifically and Numerically the same with what they were here; yet notwithstanding the Scripture tells us they shall be so changed and altered in respect of their Qualities and Conditions, that in that sence they shall not be the same. V. 36, 37. *Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickned except it die: Thou sowest not that Body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of Wheat or of some other grain; but God giveth it a Body as it pleaseth him, and to every seed his own Body.* The Apostle here imitating the manner of the *Jews*, who (as appeareth from the **Talmud*) were wont familiarly to illustrate the business of the Resurrection of the Body by the Similitude of Seed sown into the Ground and springing up again. Accordingly he goes on, *It is sown in Corruption, it is raised in Incorruption; sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; sown in weaknes, it is raised in power; sown a Natural Body, raised a Spiritual Body.* Which Epithet was used also in this case both by the Philosophers and the *Jews*: for *Hierocles* upon the Golden Verses calls them $\delta\chi\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \pi\nu\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$ *Vehicula Spiritualia*, Spiritual Bodies; and *R. Menachem* from the ancient *Cabbalists* התלבשות רוחנית the *Spiritual Clothing*. Lastly, the Apostle concludes thus; *Now this I say, Brethren, that Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither doth Corruption inherit incorruption.* For which cause he tells us elsewhere, that they which do not die must of necessity be changed. And indeed if men should be restored after death to such gross, foul and cadaverous Bodies as these are here upon Earth, which is the very Region of Death and Mortality, without any change at all; what would this be else but, as *Plotinus* the Philosopher against the *Gnosticks* writes, $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\alpha\delta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \upsilon\pi\nu\omicron\nu$, to be raised up to a Second Sleep, or to be entombed again in living Sepulchres? For the corruptible Body presseth down the Soul, and the earthly Tabernacle weigheth down the Mind that museth upon many things, *Wisdom* 9. 15. Wherefore we must needs explode that old Jewish conceit commonly entertained amongst the *Rabbinical* Writers to this day, That the future Resurrection is to be understood of such gross and corruptible Bodies as these are here upon Earth, to eat, drink, marry, and be given in marriage, and (which must needs follow) afterward to die again. *Nachmanides*, in his *Shaar Haggemul*, is the only Jewish Author that ventures to depart from the common rode here, and to abandon this Popular Error of the *Jews*, endeavouring to prove that the Bodies of the Just after the Resurrection shall not eat and drink, but be Glorified Bodies: but **Abra vanel* confutes him with no other Argument than this, *That this was the Doctrine and Opinion of the Christians.* Let us therefore now consider how abundantly God hath provided for us by *Jesus Christ*, both in respect of our Souls and of our Bodies: Our Souls, in freeing us by the Spirit of *Christ* (if we be not wanting to our selves) from the Slavery of Sin and Bondage of the Law, as it is a Letter only: Our Bodies, in that *this Corruptible shall put on Incorruption, and this*

* See Gemara in Chetuboth, cap. 13. Ein Ifrael, num. 50.

*In Nachalaib Avoth, cap. 4. דעת הנוצרים היא וגו' This is the very same with the opinion of the Christians, that hold that after the Resurrection men shall not eat, drink, marry or be given in marriage, or die again, but continue eternally in those bodies resembling the Heavenly Bodies; and these they vulgarly call Glorified Bodies.

this *Mortal Immortality*, and that these *vile Bodies* shall be made like to *Christ's glorious Body*. In both which the complete Salvation of Man consisteth, the Perfection and Happiness both of Soul and Body. For though our Salvation consists chiefly in the former, in the *Victory over Sin*, and in the Renovation of the Mind; yet without the latter which is the *Victory over Death*, and the immortalizing of our Bodies, it would be a very lame and imperfect thing. For Righteousness alone, if it should *malè habitare*, dwell always in such inconvenient houses as these earthly Tabernacles are, how-ever the high-flown *stoick* may brag, it could not render our condition otherwise than troublesome, solicitous and calamitous. Wherefore the Holy men in Scripture not without cause longed for this future Change. *Rom. 8. 23. We groane within our selves, waiting for the Adoption, to wit, the Redemption of our Bodies. 2 Cor. 5. 2. In this we groane earnestly, desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from Heaven.* But there is no obtaining of this future *Victory over Death* and Mortality, except we first get a *Victory over Sin* here. For this is that *Crown of Life* that *Christ*, the First-begotten from the dead, will set upon the Heads of none but those that have here fought a good Fight and overcome. For as Death proceeds only from Sin and disobedience, so the way to conquer Death and to arrive at Life and Immortality is by seeking after an inward Conquest over Sin. For *Righteousness is immortal, Wisd. 1. 15.* and will immortalize the entertainers of it, and, as the *Chaldee Oracle* speaks;

————— ἵκεῖνας πνευόνων ὄντων,
ἔργον ἐπ' ἀσεβείας ἔδωκόν τε σῶμα σωσέας.

HAVING hitherto shewed what are the great things we hope for by *Christ*, and are to endeavour after, namely, to procure an *Inward and Real Victory over Sin* by the Spirit of *Christ*, that so we may hereafter attain a *Victory over Death and Mortality*; We cannot but take notice, briefly, of some Errors of those that, either pretending the Impossibility of this Inward Victory over Sin, or else hypocritically declining the Combat, make up a certain Religion to themselves out of other things, which are either Impertinent and nothing to the purpose, or else Evil and noxious.

For first, Some (as was intimated before) make to themselves a mere phantastical and imaginary Religion, conceiting that there is nothing at all for them to do, but confidently to believe that all is already done for them, all imputed and accounted to them; that they are dearly beloved of God without any Conditions or Qualifications to make them lovely. But such a Faith as this is nothing else but mere Phancy and carnal Imagination, proceeding from that *natural Self-love* whereby men fondly dote upon themselves, and are apt to think that God loves them as fondly and as partially as they love themselves, tying his Affection to their particular outward Persons, their very Flesh and Blood; hereby making God a Being like unto themselves, that is, wholly acted by arbitrary Self-will, Fondness and Partiality; and perverting the whole Nature and Design of Religion,

which is not mere Phantasty and an histrionical Show, but a Real Victory over the real Evil of Sin, without which God can neither take pleasure in any man's Person, nor can there be a possibility of being happy, a real turning of the Soul from Darkness unto Light, from the Power of Satan unto God.

Again, Some there are that, in stead of *Walking in the Narrow way* that *Christ* commendeth to us, of subduing and mortifying our sinful Lusts, make to themselves certain other *Narrow ways* of affected Singularity in things that belong not to Life and Godliness, outward Strictnesses and Severities of their own chusing and devising; and then perswade themselves that this is the *Strait gate* and *Narrow way* of *Christ* that leadeth unto Life. Whereas these are indeed nothing else but some particular Paths and narrow Slices cut out of the *Broad way*. For though they have an outward and seeming Narrowness, yet they are so broad within, that Camels with their burthens may easily pass through them. These, in stead of taking up *Christ's Cross* upon them, make to themselves certain Crosses of their own, and then laying them upon their Shoulders and carrying them, please themselves with a conceit that they bear the *Cross of Christ*; whereas in truth and reality they are many times too much strangers to that *Cross of his*, by which the World should be crucified to them and they unto the World.

Some place all their Religion in endless scrupulosities about *Indifferent* things, neglecting in the mean time the *τὰ βαρύτερα τῆ νόμου*, the *more weighty things* both of *Law* and *Gospel*, and (as our Saviour farther expresseth it) *διδίχοντες τὸ κέντρον, τὴν ἢ κάμηλον καὶ καταπινοῦτες*, *straining at a Gnat, and swallowing a Camel*, that is, being not so scrupulous as they ought to be about the *Substantials* of Religion and a Good life. For as we ought not to place the chief of our Religion in the mere Observation of *outward Rites and Ceremonies*, whilst in the mean time we hypocritically neglect the *Morals* and *Substantials*; which may deservedly be branded with the the name of *Superstition*: So we ought to know that it is *equal Superstition* to have such an abhorrence of *Indifferent* things, as to make it the main of our Religion to abstain from them: Both of these arguing *equal Ignorance* of the Nature of God, as if he were some morose, humorous and captious Being; and of that Righteousness which the Kingdom of God consisteth in, as if these outward and Indifferent things could either hallow or defile our Souls, or as if Salvation and Damnation did depend upon the mere using or not using of them. The Apostle himself instructeth us that the *Kingdom of God* consisteth no more in *ἀνεργεσία* than in *ἔργον*, no more in *Uncircumcision* than in *Circumcision*, that is, no more in *not using* outward Ceremonies and Indifferent things than in *using* of them. Wherefore the *Negative Superstition* is equal to the *Positive*, and both of them alike call off mens attention from the main things of Religion, by engaging them overmuch in *Small and Little things*. But the sober Christian, that neither places all his Religion in external observances, nor yet is superstitiously Anti-ceremonial, as he will think himself obliged to have a due regard to the Commands of lawful Authority in *Adiaphorous* things, and to prefer the Peace and Unity of the Christian Church,

and

and the observation of the Royal Law of Charity, before the satisfaction of any Private Humour or Interest; so he will be aware of that ἀμετρία ἢ ἀνβολικῆς which many run into, of banishing away all the Solemnity of external Worship, the Observation of the Lord's Day and of the Christian Sacraments, under the Notion of Ceremonies, quite out of the World. To conclude, Unless there be a due and timely regard had to the Commands of lawful Authority in Indifferent things, and to Order, Peace and Unity in the Church, it may easily be foreseen that the Reformed part of Christendom will at length be brought to *Confusion*, by crumbling into infinite Sects and Division, and then to utter *Ruine*.

Again, Many mistake the Vices of their natural Complexion for Supernatural and Divine Graces. Some think dull and stupid *Melancholy* to be Christian Mortification. Others, that turbulent and fiery *Zeal* is the vigour of the Spirit. Whereas *Zeal* is one of those things that *Aristotle* calls τὰ μέσα, of a middle nature, neither Good nor Bad in it self, but which, as it is circumstantiated, may indifferently become either *Vertue* or *Vice*. For there is a πικρὸς ζῆλος, as the Apostle calls it, a bitter *Zeal*, which is contrary to all Christian Love and Charity, and is nothing else but the Vices of Acerbity, Envy, Malice, Cruelty, tinctur'd and gilded over with a Religious show. And there may be also a turbulent and factious *Zeal*, when men, under a pretence of acting for the Glory of God, violate just and lawful Authority, in order to the advancement of their own private Self-interest. Indeed there was amongst the *Jews* a certain Right called *Jus Zelotarum*, or the *Right of Zelots*, whereby private persons, acted by a *Zeal* for God, might do immediate execution upon some Malefactors, without expecting the Sentence of any Court of Judicature. And some conceive that our Saviour by this *Right of Zelots*, did whip the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, and overturn the Tables of the Money-changers; because he was never questioned by the *Jews* for it. But this was then a Legal and Regular thing, permitted by the publick Laws of that Nation in some certain Cases, yet so as that those *Zelots* were afterward accountable to the *Sanhedrin* for what they did. However, a little before the destruction of the Temple, as *Josephus* tells us, there were a Crew of desperate Miscreants that, abusing this Right, and calling themselves by the name of *Kannain*, i. e. *Zelots*, made a pretence from hence to commit most villainous actions. And I wish some had not too much entertain'd this Opinion, that Private persons might reform Publick Abuses, whether belonging to the Ecclesiastical or the Civil Polity, without and against the consent of the Supreme Magistrate, in a turbulent manner, *Jure Zelotarum*, by the *Right of Zealots*; nay, and that Actions, that are otherwise altogether unwarrantable in themselves, may notwithstanding be justified by *Zeal* for God and good Ends. But God needs no man's *Zeal* to promote an *Imaginary Interest* of his in the World by doing unjust things for him. Will you speak wickedly for God, or talk deceitfully for him? will you accept his Person? 'Twas the generous Expostulation of *Job* with his Friends; and he tells them in the following words, that this was nothing else but to mock God as one man mocketh another.

True

True Divine Zeal is no *Corybantick* Fury, but a calm and regular Heat, guided and managed by Light and Prudence, and carried out principally neither for nor against indifferent Rites and unnecessary Opinions, but those things that are immutably Good and Fundamental to Christianity; always acknowledging a due Subordination to that Authority Civil and Ecclesiastical that is over us.

Lastly, Some there are whose pretence to Religion and the Spirit is founded in nothing else but a Faculty of Rhetoricating and extemporizing with Zeal and Fervency, which they take to be nothing less than *Divine Inspiration*, and that which the Scripture calls *Praying in the Holy Ghost*, an undoubted Character of a person truly Regenerated. Which being a great Delusion whereby many are hindered from seeking after the real effects of the Divine Spirit, by idolizing instead thereof that which is merely *Natural*, (if not *Artificial*;) I think it not impertinent here to speak a little of it. And certainly that which is frequently attained to in the very height by persons grossly hypocritical and debauched can never be concluded to be *Divine Inspiration*, or to proceed from any higher Principle than mere *Natural Enthusiasm*. For there is not only a *Poetical Enthusiasm*, of which *Plato* discourseth in his *Ion*, but though *Oratory* be a more sober thing, a *Rhetorical Enthusiasm* also, that makes men very eloquent, affectionate and bewitching in their language, beyond what the power of any bare Art and Precepts could enable them unto: in so much that both these, *Poets* and *Orators*, have oftentimes conceited themselves to be indeed *divinely inspired*; as those known Verses testify.

Est Deus in nobis, agitante calefcimus illo;

and,

Sedibus aethereis Spiritus ille venit.

And concerning *Orators* the like might be proved, if the time would here permit, by sundry Testimonies: but I shall here instance only in *Aristides*, a famous Orator, who not only speaks positively of himself as *inspired* in his *Orations*, but affirms the same also concerning *Rhetoric* in general, when it is extraordinary, that it comes by *immediate Inspiration* as *Oracles* and *Prophecies* do, and not from *Art* or *Nature*. Wherefore it is not at all to be wondred at, if when men are employed in Religious and Devotional Exercises, the same *Natural Enthusiasm*, especially having the advantage of *Religious Melancholy*, which makes men still more *Enthusiastical*, should so wing and inspire the Phancies of these Religious Orators, as to make them wonderfully fluent, eloquent and rapturous, so that they beget strange Passions in their Auditors, and conclude themselves to be *Divinely inspired*. Whereas notwithstanding they may have no more of Divine Inspiration in all this than those *Poets* and *Orators* before mentioned had, that is to say, be no otherwise inspired than by a *Rhetorical* or *Hypochondriacal Enthusiasm*, that is, *merely Natural*. But it is far from my Intention here to disparage the sincere and ardent Affections of devout Souls, naturally and freely breathing out their earnest Desires
unto

unto God in private; although perhaps this be not without some kind of *Enthusiasm* also. For *Enthusiasm*, as well as *Zeal*, and other Natural things, may be well used, and, being rightly circumstantiated and subservient to a better Principle become irreprehensible. Some have observed, that no great work of the Brain, that begot much admiration in the World, was ever atchieved without some kind of *Enthusiasm*; and the same may be affirmed of the most transcendently Vertuous and Heroical Actions. But then the Goodness of these Actions is never to be estimated merely by the degree of *Enthusiastick* Heat and Ardor that is in them, but by such other Laws and Circumstances as moralize humane Actions. Wherefore my meaning, as I said before, is only this, To caution against that Vulgar and Popular Error of mistaking the Natural and *Enthusiastick* Fervour of mens spirits, and the Ebulliency of their Phancy, when it is tinctur'd with Religion, and idolizing of it instead of the supernatural Grace of God's Holy Spirit; and of looking for the Effect of God's Spirit principally in *Words* and *Talk*, or thinking that God is chiefly glorified with a *loud Noise* and *long Speeches*. For the true Demonstration of God's Holy Spirit is no-where to be look'd for but in *Life* and *Action*, or such earnest and affectionate breathings after a farther participation of the Divine Image as are accompanied with real and unfeigned endeavours after the same; which is the true *Praying in the Holy Ghost*, though there be no extemporaneous effusion of words. And therefore when some *Corinthians* were puffed up by reason of a Faculty which they had of Rhetorically Religiously, S. Paul like an Apostle tells them, that he would 1 Cor. 4. 19. come amongst them, and *know, not the Speech of them that were puffed up, but the Power. For the Kingdom of God (saith he) consisteth not in Word, but in Power and Life.* Wherefore laying aside these and such like childish Mistakes and things that are little to the purpose, let us seriously apply our selves to the main Work of our Religion, that is, to mortifie and vanquish our Sinful Lusts by the Assistance of God's Holy Spirit through Faith in *Christ*; that so being dead to Sin here, we may live with God eternally hereafter.

T H E E N D.

in private; although things are not without their
 kind of utility. For instance, as well as God and other
 things may be well used, and may be very beneficial
 and improving to a person's mind, but in the
 world, some have observed, that no great work of the
 that sort of much about the world, was ever effected with-
 out some kind of assistance; and the same may be said of the
 and therefore, it is necessary to be eliminated, not only by the
 doctrine of the Bible, but also by the fact that it is contained in
 other laws and circumstances as mentioned in the Bible. It is
 necessary, as I have said, to be eliminated, not only by the
 that light and popular error of maintaining the Natural and
 which favour of materiality, and the absence of the
 when it is reduced with Religion, and is a kind of
 the natural Grace of God's Holy Spirit, and is a kind of
 of God's Spirit principally in a word, and is a kind of
 which is filled with a law, and is a kind of
 demonstration of God's Spirit, which is a kind of
 that is not only a kind of, and is a kind of
 for a further participation of the living image as an accompa-
 nion with the natural and supernatural, which is
 the true nature of the Holy Spirit, though there be no exten-
 sion of the nature of words. And therefore, when some
 were pulled up by reason of a variety which they had of
 being Religious, I was like an Apostle to tell them, that he would
 commandment that God gave, not the spirit of them that were
 as for the power of the Kingdom of God (which he) could not be
 law, but the law of life. Therefore, laying aside that and such
 like things, which are things that are true to the purpose, for us
 to study, and to be in the main work of our Religion,
 that is to maintain and magnify our spiritual life by the witness of
 God's Holy Spirit, through faith in Christ; that is to be led to sin
 here, we may be with God eternally hereafter.

THE END.

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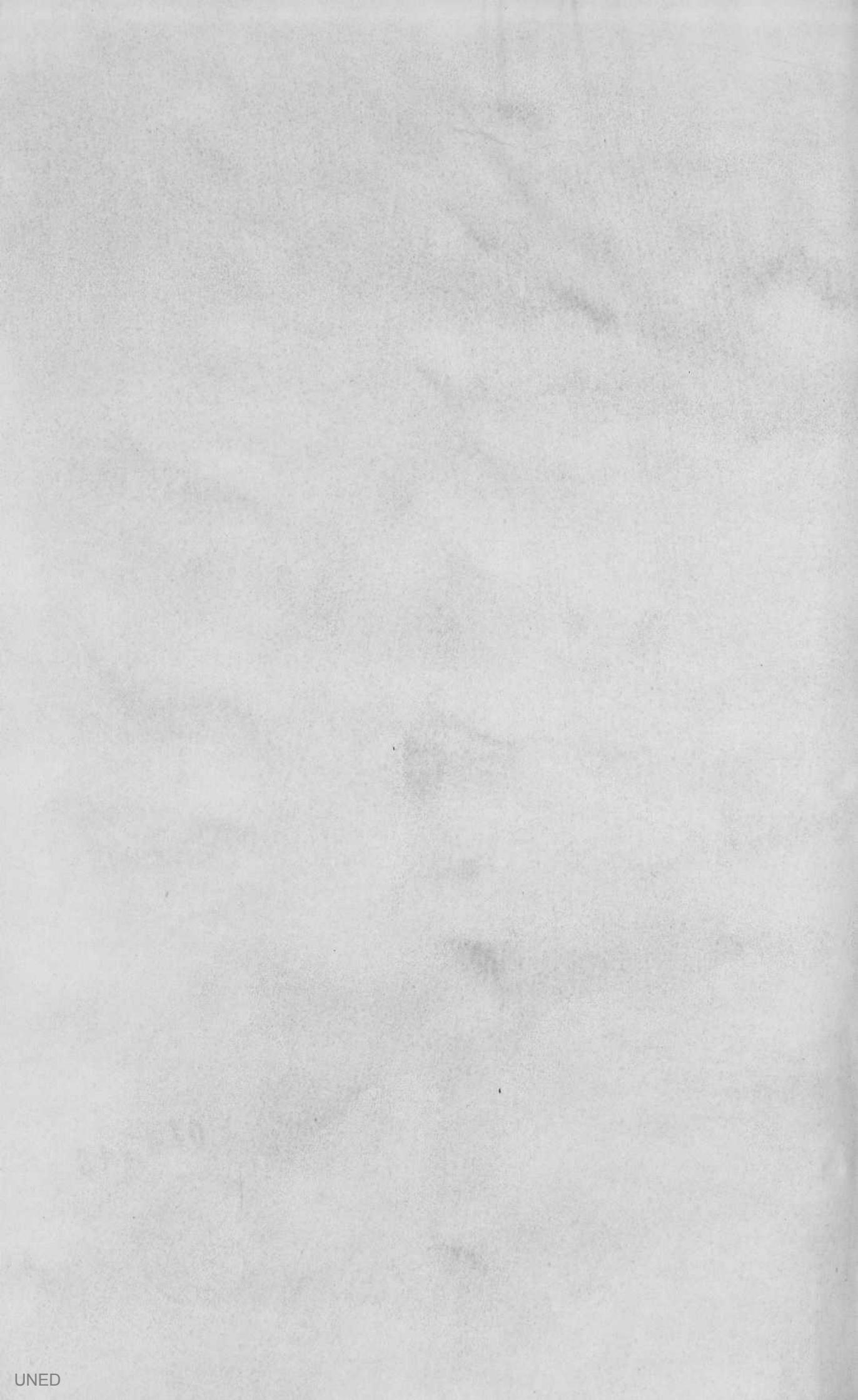
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INTELLECTUAL SYSTEM
OF THE
UNIVERSE



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