

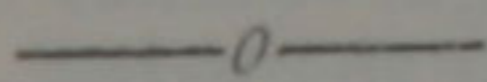
midst of all the tortures you exercise us with to unsay it. Torn and mangled and covered over in our own blood, we cry out as loud as we are able to cry that we are worshippers of God through Christ. Believe this Christ, if you please, to be a man, but let me tell you He is the only man by whom and in whom God will be known and worshipped to advantage. But to stop the mouth of Jews, I have this to answer, that they received every tittle of their religion from God by the meditation and ministry of the man Moses; and as to the Greeks, did not Orpheus upon Mount Pieria, and his disciple Musæus at Athens, and Melampus at Argos, and Trophonius in Bœotia, were not all these men who initiated these several countries in their religion? And to turn my eyes upon you, who are the masters of the world, was it not the man Numa Pompilius, who bound on these heavy burdens of ceremony and superstition upon the Romans? Why then, I pray you, must not Christ be tolerated to give the world a commentary of that divinity¹ which is His own, properly His and His alone? He who did not begin His government upon a wild uncultivated people, and astonish them into subjection and civility by a multitude of imaginary gods, after the example of your Numa, but addresses the most polished and

not Plato afterwards dodge about, and disguise himself under feigned names, and say and unsay the most excellent truths for the security of his skin? And did not all the academics afterwards keep much upon the reserve, for fear that dogmatizing should send them after their master Socrates? How then comes it to pass that Christians, and Christians only, should dare to suffer at this rate above all the philosophers in the world, and that the same generation of men should hold on suffering for four hundred years together, till they had subdued the world by dying for their religion? Had not Christians the same flesh and blood, the same sense and feeling as other men? and did they not desire happiness as much as other men? If so, then nothing but the clearest, the most powerful and convincing arguments could possibly engage such numbers of men in a particular worship, and support them under it in defiance of death in the most shocking circumstances. And with what face could a Christian offer to persuade a heathen to embrace such a persecuted religion, without the clearest convictions imaginable? This argument from the primitive sufferings, and from the manner of them, for the truth of Christianity I insist upon the longer, not only because it is strong in itself, and so often appealed to in these Apologies, but because to me it is more moving, and apter to take hold of the heart, than all the speculative proofs in nature.

¹ *Licuerit et Christo commentari Divinitatem, rem propriam.* Here it is observable that Tertullian calls the divinity of Christ, *Rem propriam*, an expression which denotes our Saviour to be as truly and really God, as man can be said to be the proprietor of anything in the sense of the law. Thus when our Saviour said, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," the Jews sought to kill Him, because *πατέρα ἴδιον ἔλεγε τὸν Θεόν*, He said God was His own proper Father in a sense incommunicable to any creature, making Himself equal to God, John v. 17, 18.

brightest people in the world, a people blinded and lost in their own philosophy and wisdom, and helps them to eyes to see their folly and the way of truth.

Inform yourselves carefully, therefore, whether the divinity of Christ is not the true divinity you ought to worship, and which, if once entertained, new makes the old man, and forms him to every virtue, and consequently all divinities but Christ ought to be renounced as false, and those especially, in the first place, which lie lurking under the names and images of dead men, and by lying signs and wonders and oracles pass for gods, when in truth they are but devils, as I am now going to prove.



CHAPTER XXII.

CONCERNING DEMONS, THEIR POWER, AND THEIR WAYS OF OPERATION.

WE say then that there are a certain kind of spiritual substances existing in nature, which go by the name of demons, and the name is not of a modern stamp; the name and the thing being both well known to the philosophers, for Socrates undertook nothing without the privy council of his demon. And no wonder, when this familiar is said to have kept him close company from his childhood to the conclusion of his life, continually, no doubt, injecting dissuasives from virtue.¹ The poets likewise talk of demons, and even the illiterate vulgar

¹ *Dehortatorium plane a bono.* The words immediately before concerning this demon of Socrates are almost exactly transcribed by Lactantius, lib. ii. p. 105. However, I cannot but say that this character contradicts all the accounts we have concerning the practice of this demon, from such persons as were best able to understand the matter of fact, who represent it quite contrary to this character of Tertullian. Nothing occasioned more speculations and amusement in the time of Socrates than his demon, insomuch that one of his friends went to consult the oracle about it. *Vid.* Plutarch of the *demon of Socrates*. Nor would Socrates make Simias any answer upon the question, and therefore the rest of his friends desisted for the future from asking him any more about it. But Xenophon and Plato, who certainly were two of his nearest friends, and best understood this matter, were far from imagining, as some since have done, that this demon was nothing more than his natural sagacity or understanding. The sum of the story, as we have it in the Dialogue entitled *Theages*, and elsewhere, is this: the directions of this demon were only dehortatory, but not from good, as Tertullian thinks, but from evil. The demon never advised him to do, but

frequently apply to them when they are in the cursing mood ; for by a secret instigation on their minds when they invoke these demons in their imprecations, they do in effect invoke Satan,¹ who is the prince of the evil spirits. Plato himself is express for the being of angels, and the magicians are ready to attest the same when they have recourse to the names of angels and demons both, in their enchantments. But how from a corrupted stock of angels, corrupted by their own wills, another worse and more degenerate race² of

only to forbear an action ; when it would be of ill consequence either to Socrates or his friends, he heard a voice, which was the sign to forbear ; when he heard it not, it was always his warrant to proceed ; so that one would be apt from hence to conclude that the voice was not articulate, but a bare sign only. And Xenophon reports that of all the numberless predictions (of which, according to Tully, Antipater collected a large volume) of disasters that would befall his friends, not one of them failed in the event. But Plato's Apology of Socrates, Camb. Edit. sec. 21, is very remarkable, where we have a very plain and strange account of the operations and nature of this demon. "It is very strange" (says Socrates, addressing his judges with incomparable calmness just before his execution) "that the prophetic voice of the demon, which never failed before of dissuading me in matters of the smallest moment, where the consequence would be ill, εἴ τι μέλλοιμι μὴ ὀρθῶς πράξειν, etc., should now in the worst of evils, according to your opinion, be silent, and neither when I left my house in the morning, nor when I went to the bar, nor all the time I have been pleading here, should ever give me the wonted signal, οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἠναντιώθη ἄν μοι τὸ εἰωθὸς σημεῖον, εἰ μή τι ἔμελλον ἐγὼ ἀγαθὸν πράξειν ; for it could not be but that I should hear his usual dissuasive was I not upon doing my duty, or that which would turn to my advantage." Now when I read the character of Socrates from those who certainly were best acquainted with him, when I find him employing all his reason to bring men off from barren speculations to the knowledge of themselves, and the practice of substantial virtue, when I find him the greatest master of his passions, the most judicious despiser of riches within his reach, the most temperate, humble, courteous, inoffensive man living in the Gentile world, when I find him encouraged by his demon to die for the profession of the one true God ; when Justin Martyr in his *First Apology*, sec. 5, says that the evil demons contrived his death for his attempts to rescue mankind from the worship of devils ; that he, by his share of reason, did among the Greeks what the Logos Himself did among the Barbarians, and that both were condemned for the same good designs ;—who, after this, I say, can think Socrates possessed and governed by an evil spirit ? Why not rather divinely assisted to preach down idolatry, and bring moral righteousness into practice, and by such means to prepare and qualify the heathen world for the revelation of the Messiah ?

¹ *Nam et Satanam—execramenti voce pronunciat*, etc. I do not find that the Romans ever cursed expressly by the name of Satan, but by making use of the word *Malum* or a mischief, take you, as we say ; and Satan being the prince of mischief and virtually included in every such curse, they might be said in this sense to pronounce Satan in their imprecations.

² *Sed quomodo de Angelis quibusdam sua sponte corruptis, corruptior Gens Dæmonum evaserit*, etc. This odd opinion we find in both the Apologies of Justin Martyr, as well as in this of Tertullian, and so likewise in Athenagoras, etc. The ground of it I take to be this : the Fathers were generally of opinion

demons arose, condemned by God, together with those they descended from, and Satan the prince of them, whom I just now mentioned, for the history of this, I say, I must refer you to the Holy Scriptures.

But not to insist upon their generation, it will be sufficient to my purpose to explain their operations, or their ways of acting upon the sons of men. I say, then, that the ruin of mankind is their whole employment; these malicious spirits were bent upon mischief from the beginning, and fatally auspicious in their first attempt, in undoing man as soon as he was made; and in like manner they practise the same destructive methods upon all his posterity, by inflicting diseases upon their bodies, and throwing them into sad disasters, and stirring up sudden tempests and preternatural emotions in the soul; and they are fitted by nature for both these kinds of evil, the subtilty and fineness of their substance giving them an easy access to body and soul both. These spirits certainly have great abilities for mischief, and that they do it is apparent, though the manner of effecting it is invisible, and out of the reach of human senses; as, for instance, when a secret blast nips the fruit in the blossom or the bud, or smites it with an untimely fall just upon its maturity, or when the air is infected by unknown causes, and scatters the deadly potions about the world; just so, and by a contagion that walketh in the like darkness, do demons and evil angels blast the minds of men, and agitate them with furies and

that evil spirits were clothed with a finer sort of body, which was fed and refreshed from the nidours and steams of the sacrifices. They found these spirits had a prodigious power over the bodies they possessed, and could not certainly tell but this power might extend even to generation. And finding in Josephus, lib. i. cap. 4, πολλοὶ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ, etc., that many angels of God mixing with women begot a devilish wicked offspring, and perhaps meeting likewise an ancient edition of the Septuagint, which read ἄγγελοι where we read οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, the angels of God, instead of the sons of God, went in to the daughters of men, Gen. vi. 4. And meeting perhaps with something of the same nature in that supposititious piece which went under the name of Enoch's prophecy, they might by these means be led into this mistake. However, St. Chrysostom, *Hom. 22 upon Gen.*, St. Ambrose, *lib. de Noe et Arca*, cap. 4, have set this matter right, by interpreting the sons of God to be the posterity of Seth. And though some men, who think themselves well employed in raking this, and all they can, to invalidate the authority of the Fathers, in order to serve their cause, may think it reasonable not to depend upon such mistaken men, yet such mistakes, in my opinion, do not in the least affect their authority in such cases, for which we chiefly depend upon them; for is there any consequence in this way of reasoning? Because the Fathers have sometimes been mistaken in matters of pure reasoning, as the wisest and best of men may sometimes be, therefore they are not to be credited in plain matters of fact, wherein they cannot be mistaken.

extravagant uncleannesses, and dart in outrageous lusts with a mixture of various errors; the most capital of which errors is that, having taken possession of a soul, and secured it on every side from the powers of truth, they recommend to it the worship of false gods, that by the nidours of those sacrifices they may procure a banquet for themselves, the stench of the flesh and the fumes of the blood being the proper pabulum or repast of those unclean spirits; and what more savoury meat to them than to juggle men out of the notion of the true God with delusions of divination, which delusions I come now to unfold.

Every spirit, angel, and demon, upon the account of its swiftness, may be said to be winged, for they can be here and there and everywhere in a moment; the whole world to them is but as one place, and any transactions in it they can know with the same ease they can tell it; and this velocity passes for divinity among such as are unacquainted with the nature of spirits; and by this means they would be concluded the authors of those things sometimes of which they are only the relators; and verily sometimes they are the authors of the evil, but never of the good. They have collected some designs of providence from the mouths of the prophets; and to those sermons, whose sound is gone into all the earth, do they apply at present to pick out something whereby to form their conjectures about events to come; and so, by filching from hence some revolutions which have succeeded in time, they rival the divinity, and set up for gods, by stealing his prophecies. But in their oracles,¹ what dexterity they have showed in tempering their

¹ *In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, sciunt Cræsi, sciunt Pyrrhi.* The notorious ambiguity of the heathen oracles in general, and particularly in the cases of Croesus and Pyrrhus,

*Aio te Æacide Romanos vincere posse,
Intrepidus si Cræsus Hylam, etc.*

This ambiguity, I say, together with the folly and flattery of the responses and the like, made some of the heathens, who were most inclined to atheism, to conclude it all pure priestcraft; and for no better reasons have some moderns, no well-wishers to the doctrine of spirits, concluded the same also, and treated the Fathers as a parcel of good-natured, easy men, who took everything upon trust. But now I would ask these men of criticism and infidelity, what kind of proofs will content them in matters of fact; was ever any fact better and more universally attested even by the heathens themselves, than oracles and the cessation of them? Was ever anything more notorious in the time of our Saviour than the possessions of private persons? Was anything more commonly appealed to than the dispossession of evil spirits, for some hundreds of years after, by the first Christians? Does not Tertullian challenge the senate upon this article, and

responses with a convenient ambiguity for any question, the Crœsuses and the Pyrrhuses know with a witness. It was by virtue of the forementioned velocity that Pythian Apollo, cutting through the air in a moment to Lydia, brought back word that Crœsus was boiling a tortoise with the flesh of a lamb.¹ Moreover, these demons, by having their residence in the air, and by reason of their neighbourhood and commerce with the stars and clouds, come to know the dispositions of the heavens, and promise rain, which they see falling when they promise. These demons likewise are very beneficent no doubt in the cure of diseases, for they first inflict the malady, and then prescribe the remedy, but remedies marvellously strange, and contrary to the distemper; and after the patient has used the recipe, the demon omits to afflict him, and that omission passes for a cure. But why should I give more instances of their wiles and strength in delusion, or mention the phantoms of Castor and Pollux,² or a sieve holding water,³ or a ship drawn by a girdle,

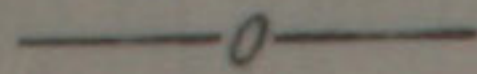
stake his life and the truth of his religion upon this proof, that upon a Christian's adjuring a person possessed, the evil spirit shall not only come out of him, but confess himself a devil in the presence of them all, as truly as before he had falsely owned himself to be a god; if so, I would fain see a good reason why an evil spirit should not possess a Pythian priestess as well as any other person. Sure I am that the kingdom of darkness was mainly supported by keeping up the oracles; nothing therefore could hinder the devil from this but want of power; and why he should have so much power over private persons, and not over his own priestesses, is hard to tell. That there was oftentimes much tricking and human fraud in the management of oracles, I doubt not; but that it was all pure priestcraft therefore is a consequence I can never allow, until men can prove there is no good money because there is much counterfeit; whereas there would be no counterfeit was there no reality for the ground of imitation. Had but the heathen world known that our first parents were seduced by the devil; had they but known the distinction of good and evil spirits, and that these latter had been always intent upon the destruction and delusion of mankind, and that one great reason of Christ's coming into the world was to destroy the worship of devils, they would never have questioned the existence of oracles; nor would the Fathers have been thus discredited in a matter of fact, for which they had the testimony of their senses. But finding abundance of false and foolish things reported of the oracles, and from thence justly concluding they could not come from an all-wise and good being, and not considering that they might proceed from ignorant and malicious spirits, and having no mind perhaps to such strong proofs of another state, they ran into a common extreme from believing everything to believe nothing, and to conclude the whole business of oracles to be mere trick and imposture.

¹ This story about the tortoise is told at large by Herodotus in his *Clio*.

² The phantoms of Castor and Pollux are said to have acquainted the Romans of the victory of the Macedonic war the same hour it was obtained.

³ Tucia is the vestal virgin, who is reported to have done this feat with a sieve; and Claudia the other, who dragged along a ship foundered on the Tyber by the strength of her girdle.

or a beard turned red with a touch?¹ For all these are impostures only of demons to keep idolatry in countenance, to make men take stones for deities, and to detain them from any further inquiries after the true God.



CHAPTER XXIII.

CONCERNING THE SUBJECTION OF EVIL SPIRITS TO THE COMMAND OF CHRISTIANS.

MOREOVER, if magicians do set before your eyes a scene of spectres, and, by their black arts, or direful forms in necromancy, call up the souls of the dead;² if they throw children into convulsions,³

¹ It was Domitian's black beard, which is here said to be turned red with a touch of Castor and Pollux, to make him give credit to the news of the victory they told him of, and from hence he was surnamed *Ænobarbus* or Rusty Beard. One thing the reader can hardly forbear taking notice of in the conclusion of this chapter, and that is, between the tricks and amusements of evil spirits and the substantial miracles of mercy wrought by Christ and His apostles, between discolouring a beard and curing the sick or raising the dead.

² *Defunctorum animas infamant, aliter inclamant.* These several species of magic you find mentioned by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. sec. 24. See more of this in our author, *de Anima*, cap. 57, etc. *Vid.* Maxim. *Tyr. Dissert.* 22. This kind of divination by the dead, called necromancy, was very ancient and very familiar in the Gentile world. A memorable example of which we find, 1 Sam. xxviii., where Saul being about to war with the Philistines, and God denying to answer him either by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets, he repairs to the witch of Endor, and demands that Samuel might be raised up from the dead, to tell him the issue of the war. This was performed sometimes by the magical use of a bone of a dead body, with other black solemnities; sometimes by pouring hot blood into the carcase to make it answer a question, as *Erictho* does in *Lucan*.

*Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit,
Protinus astrictus caluit Cruor, atraq. ; fovit
Vulnera.*

Hence that of Horace—

Animas responsa daturas.

And in allusion to the same practice is that of Virgil—

Nec jam exaudire vocatos.

³ *Si pueros in eloquium Oraculi elidunt.* Concerning this kind of divination, see Apuleius, *Apol.* i., and Spartian. *in vit. Jul.* Hence that of Propertius,—

Rectulit in triviis omnia certa Puer.

and a while after make them vent the fury in oracles; if by their juggling wiles they delude the senses with abundance of mock miracles, and inject dreams in the dead of sleep,¹ by first invoking the assistance of their angels and demons, by whose sophistry even goats and groaning boards² are wont to divine: if then these evil

¹ *Si et Somnia imittunt.* These are the same with those called by Justin, in the section aforesaid, *ὄνειροπομποὶ*. As the God of Israel was pleased sometimes to communicate Himself to His prophets by dreams, so likewise the devil, in imitation, had his dreamer of dreams among the Gentiles. The Lacedæmonians kept men on purpose to sleep in the temple of Pasithea to watch for dreams. The vanity of these sort of diviners Juvenal takes occasion to lash in these words—

*Non Delubra Deūm, nec ab æthere Numina mittunt,
Sed sibi quisque facit.*

Whoever has a mind to amuse himself more upon this subject, may consult Tully, *de Divinat.* lib. i., Valer. Max. lib. v. cap. 7, Plin. lib. vii. cap. 50, Macrobian *de Somn. Scip.* lib. i. cap. 3; Plutarch in *Pompeio*, concerning a dream of Mithridates, and Fulgent. *Mitholog.* lib. i.

² *Per quos et Capræ, et Mensæ divinare consueverunt.* Of goats trained up to divination we find mention in Eusebius, from a quotation out of Clemens Alex., *αἴγες ἐπὶ μαντικὴν ἠσκημέναι*, Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 3, p. 62. Why goats are particularly here specified for brutes of divination, I conjecture the reason to be this: Before the oracle of Apollo came to be fixed at Delphos, the place was nothing more than a common, and the goats which were grazing about there coming to a den, large before with a little mouth at top, and looking in, fell a-skiping and making an odd noise, not unlike perhaps the possessed swine mentioned in the gospel, though not so fatal. The goat-herd (Coretas by name, as Plutarch calls him) ran to the place to see what was the matter with his flock, and fell into the same frolic, and likewise into a fit of prophesying; and so it fared with many others, who went afterwards to visit the place, and many were strangled (says Tully) with *terræ anhelitu*, with the fumes of the earth. *Vid.* Diodor. lib. xvi. Upon this hole of the earth therefore was the tripod, or a three-footed stool placed, and a maid upon it consecrated for a priestess, who received her inspiration from below, as the Scholiast upon Aristophanes in *Avid.* describes, *ἐκαθημένη τῷ τρίποδι*, etc. These belly-prophets, who delivered themselves in a tone like a speaking trumpet, were called *ἐγγαστριμύθοι*, and thus Isaiah viii. 19, "Seek unto them which have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and mutter;" which the Septuagint, more to my purpose, renders thus, *ζητήσατε τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας, τοὺς κενολογοῦντας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνήσουσιν*. And more expressly yet, xxix. 4, "Thou shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit out of the ground, and thy voice shall whisper out of the dust." Which words are still more expressive of the Pythoness in the Septuagint, *καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου, καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου δύσονται, καὶ ἔσται ὡς οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἢ φωνὴ σου, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔδαφος ἢ φωνὴ σου ἀσθενήσει*. Now the *Mensæ* in this place of Tertullian I take to be the Tripodess, called by Virgil *Mensæ*, 2 *Æn.*

———*Huc undique Troia Gaza,
Incensis erepta adytis, Mensæq.; Dæorum.*

Sözomen in his sixth book, cap. 35, tells us that the Gentile philosophers, being

spirits will do so much at the impulse of men, what will they not do by their own impulse, and for their own interest? They will surely collect the whole stock of malicious power into one effort for the defence of themselves and the kingdom of darkness. Or if angels and demons act the same with your gods, pray where is the difference between them and Him you look upon as the Sovereign and supremest of powers? Is it not therefore more becoming to presume those to be gods, who do the things which make others pass for gods, than to bring down the gods to a level with demons? But perhaps I am to think that it is the difference of places only which causes the distinction of titles, and that your gods are to be looked upon as gods only in their own temples, and he who flies through a sacred turret is begodded; but he who passes through a common house, bedeviled. Or that the priest who cuts off his privities, or lances his arms, is inspired; but he who cuts his throat, possessed; however, the fury of both has a like event, and the instigation is the same.

Hitherto I have argued upon point of reason, and contented myself with words only; I come now to things, and shall give you a demonstration from fact to convince you that your gods and demons both are but the same beings, though of different denominations. Let a demoniac¹ therefore be brought into court, and the

extremely concerned at the increase of Christianity, made and consecrated a tripod of laurel, with all the letters of the alphabet fastened to it, to know who should be the man that was to succeed Valens in the empire; a contrivance perhaps in imitation of Urim and Thummim, which (as some say) consisted of all the letters of the alphabet, which upon a question proposed did arise after a strange manner, and joined themselves into words or syllables, and so returned a complete answer.

¹ *Edatur hic aliquis sub Tribunalibus vestris, etc.* This is the famous challenge I just now referred to, and which I would not have the reader to pass over without reflection; for never was anything appealed to in more daring words, or more easy to be detected, if an imposture. He challenges their senses, their eyes, and their ears to be judges in the case; he defies them to deny it if they can; he stands ready to answer for the experiment with his own blood, that their celestial virgin, their Æsculapius, and all the rest of those they worship for gods, shall not only quit the bodies they possess, but publicly in the hearing of them all confess themselves to be devils, upon the demand of any Christian. Hear what his scholar St. Cyprian says to Demetrianus, proconsul of Africa, upon the same subject: *O si audire eos velles, et videre quando a nobis adjurantur, et torquentur Spiritualibus flagris, et verborum tormentis de obsessis corporibus ejiciuntur, quando ejulantes et gementes voce humanâ, et potestate Divinâ flagella et verbera sentientes, venturum Judicium confitentur; veni, et cognosce vera esse quæ dicimus.* And a little after, *Videbis sub manu nostrâ stare vinctos, et tremere captivos quos tu suspicis, et veneraris ut Deminos.* Not to mention Lactantius, who speaks to the same purpose, *de Just.*

spirit which possesses him be commanded by any Christian to declare what he is, he shall confess himself as truly to be a devil as he did falsely before profess himself a god. In like manner, let one of those be produced, who is thought to labour with a god, whom he conceived from the steams of the altar, and of which after many a belch and many a pang he is delivered in oracles. Let the celestial virgin, the great procurer of rain, or Æsculapius, the great improver of medicine, who by the help of scordian, and other sovereign and cordial medicines, recovered those who could not have lived a day longer. If all these, I say, do not declare themselves in court to be devils, not daring to lie in the presence of a Christian, that Christian is willing to be taken for the cheat, and stands ready to answer for it with his own blood. What now can be more glaringly evident than this demonstration from fact? What proof more unexceptionable? Here you have truth shining full upon you in her native simplicity, without the colouring of words, or any assistance but from her own proper virtue; suspicion itself here will find no entrance. You may say this is done by magic or some such sophistry, if your eyes and ears will give you leave to say it; but what can be objected against that which is exposed in its pure naturals, against mere naked truth? Moreover, if on one hand they are really gods, why should they be such silly liars as to say they are devils? What, in obedience to us? Your gods then are in subjection to Christians; but that surely is a very sorry god which is subject to a man, and to a man too who is his professed enemy, and when such a subjection makes so much to his disgrace.

lib. v. cap. 21. All the primitive Fathers assert the same fact, with the same assurance. Let me ask then a few questions. Did ever any heathen priest or magician make such a challenge at the hazard of their lives? Did the evil spirits ever stand in awe of them, or any of the philosophers? Will the critics say that these long quotations are foisted into the text, when they are in every primitive writer? And are not these matters of fact, not of reason, wherein Christians and heathens could not be imposed upon? If so, what can be urged against this demonstration of the truth of the Christian religion? What stronger evidence, what more sensible conviction, could the heathens have, than to see and hear the gods they worshipped, howl and wail and fly, at the name of Christ, and confess themselves to be all devils in the presence of their worshippers? This kingdom of darkness was permitted to grow to its full height, and the ruin of it then providentially reserved for the coming and conquest of the Son of God; and though the dispositions and confessions of evil spirits recorded of Him and His apostles in the New Testament do sufficiently prove Him to be sent from God, yet the exercise of the same power in their Master's name before proconsuls and tribunals for many ages, makes the argument *still* the stronger and more unexceptionable. For it is not possible for a miracle of three or four hundred years' continuance in public to be suspected for a cheat.

On the other hand, if they are demons or angels, how comes it to pass that they personate gods, when they give their responses to any but Christians? For as those who have the reputation of gods would not say they are devils if they are truly gods, because they would not divest themselves of their majesty, so those you know to be demons durst never aspire to the titles of gods if there were any gods of those titles they usurp, because no doubt they would be afraid of smarting for that usurpation from those superior deities they have thus affronted.

The consequence therefore is undeniable, that the deities you worship are no deities; for if they were, the devils would never presume to lay claim to the title of gods, or the gods disclaim it. Since therefore both one and the other concur to the acknowledgment of this truth, that the gods in worship are no gods, you must confess them to be all of the same kind, that is devils. Bethink yourselves now, and examine the gods on every side. For those you presumed to be gods you plainly see to be devils; and by the help of Christians, and by the help of your very gods, not only confessing themselves, but all the rest also not to be gods, you will presently learn which is the true God; whether it is He, and He alone whom the Christians profess, and whether He is to be believed and worshipped, according to the Christian rule of faith and worship. When we conjure these evil spirits in the name of Christ, let them reply if they dare, Who is this Christ with His fable of a gospel? Let them say that He is of the common order of men; or will they call Him a magician? Or say that after He was buried, His disciples came and stole away His body out of the sepulchre, or that He is yet among the dead? Or rather will they not own Him to be in heaven, and that He will come down from thence, and put the whole universe in a tremor at His coming, and all mankind, but Christians, into horror and lamentation? Shining in His native glory, as He is the power of God, and the Spirit of God, and the Logos, and the Wisdom, and the Reason, and the Son of God. Let the devils keep their votaries company in derision, and join you with their wit and drollery upon these things. Let them deny that Christ will come in judgment upon every soul from the creation, having first restored its body. Let them declare, and in open court if they think fit, that they are of a mind with Plato and the poets, that it is the lot of Minos and Rhadamanthus to be judges of the world. Let them wipe off the brand of their own ignominy and damnation. Let them renounce themselves to be unclean spirits, though this is evident from the nature of their food, from the

blood, and stench, and putrid sacrifices of animals, and the abominable forms made use of in divination. And lastly, let them disown themselves to be in a damned state, and under dreadful expectations of the final judgment, where they shall receive the recompense of sins, together with their worshippers, and all such workers of iniquity.

But now this power and dominion of ours over these wicked spirits has all its efficacy from the name of Christ, and from our reminding them of those judgments which are dropping upon their heads from the hand of God through Christ, whom He has made Judge of the world; and the dread they have of Christ in God, and God in Christ, is the thing which subjects them to the servants of God and Christ. Thus therefore by a touch of our hand, or the breath of our mouth, scorched as it were with the prospect and representation of future flames, they go out of the bodies they possess at our command, but sore against their will, and gnashing and red-hot with shame, to quit their possessions in the presence of their adorers.

Now then let me advise you to believe the devils when they speak true of themselves, you who are used to credit them in their lies; for no man is a fool to such a degree as to be at the pains of lying to his disgrace, but only to his reputation; and one is a thousand times apter to believe men when they confess to their disadvantage than when they deny for interest.

These testimonies then of your gods against themselves often conduce to the making of Christians, because there is no believing them, without believing in our Master Christ. The very devils kindle in us the belief of Holy Scripture; the very devils are edifying, and raise our hope to assurance. But you worship them, and with the blood of Christians too, I well know; and therefore they would by no means lose such good clients and devoted servants as you are, not only for the sake of their honours and offerings, but for fear, should any of you turn Christians, you should dispossess and serve them as we do. They would never, I say, baulk a lie, in so grand a concern, was it in their power to lie, when a Christian interrogates them in order to give you a proof of his religion by their own confession.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THAT THE ROMANS ARE THE CRIMINALS IN POINT OF
RELIGION, AND NOT THE CHRISTIANS.

THIS universal confession of the evil spirits, whereby they disclaim the title of gods, and whereby they declare that there is no other God but one, whose servants we profess to be; this confession, I say, is argument enough with a witness to discharge Christians from the crime of irreligion, especially towards the Roman gods; for if the Roman gods for a certain are no gods, then their religion for a certain is no religion; and if theirs be no religion, because theirs be no gods, then certainly we cannot be justly charged upon the article of irreligion, with respect to the worship of the Roman deities. But this reproach rebounds upon yourselves, for you who worship a lie, and not only neglect the true religion of the true God, but moreover join all your forces to fight it out of the world, are in truth guilty of that which is most properly irreligion. For should I grant those you worship to be gods, do not you likewise subscribe to the common opinion that there is one most high and powerful Deity, who is the Author and Sovereign of the world, of infinite majesty and perfection? For thus many among you have ranged the gods, so as to vest the supreme power in one only, and make the rest subaltern gods, and under-officers merely of this Almighty of deities; and thus Plato¹ describes great Jove as attended above by an heavenly host of inferior gods and demons. Can you say, then, that we must pay the same honours to his procurators and prefects and presidents, as to the emperor himself? And pray now, where is the crime to be ambitious of getting into the good graces of Cæsar only? and to acknowledge the title of God like that of the emperor, His due alone who has the sovereign authority? since by your laws it is capital to call any one Cæsar who is not supreme, or to hear him so called by any other. I will grant you there is a difference in the modes of worship between a worshipper of God and a worshipper of Jove. Let us then suppose that one

¹ *Ut Plato Jovem magnum in cælo comitum exercitu describit Deorum pariter et Dæmonum.* This passage we have in Greek in Athenagoras, thus—'Ο δὲ μέγας ἡγούμενος ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται, διακοσμῶν πάντα, καὶ ἱπμιλουμένος; τῷ δὲ ἵπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων. Athenat. *Legat. pro Christian.* The supremacy of one deity is what you will find by Minutius Felix proved at large from all the philosophers.

man worships the true supreme God, another Jove; one prays with suppliant hands lifted up to heaven, another lays them upon the altar of Fides,¹ another (if you will think them deities) prays looking upon the clouds,² others upon the stately roofs of the temple; one devotes his own life to his god, another the life of a goat. But you had best see to it whether this does not concur to the making up of another article of irreligion against you—namely, to deprive men of the liberty of worshipping after their own way, and to interdict them the option of their deity; so that I must not worship the god I would, but am forced to worship the god I would not; and yet it is agreed upon on all hands, that forced or unwilling services are not grateful either to God or man; and for this reason even the Egyptians are tolerated in their superstition, which is the very vanity of vanities: they are permitted to make gods of birds and beasts, and to make it capital to be the death of any of these kinds of deities. Every province and city has its proper gods, as Syria the god Ashtaroth,³ Arabia has Disares, Bavaria Belinus, Africa the Celestial Virgin,⁴ and Mauritania their kings. Now these pro-

¹ *Aram Fidei*. Tully in his *Offices*, lib. iii., has these words—*Fidem in Capitolio vicinam Jovi Opt. Max. Majores nostri esse voluerunt*. Hence that of Silius—

*Ille etiam qua prisca Fides stat Regia, nobis
Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe.*

There was likewise one Fidius, a Sabine god, whose temple was upon the Mons Quirinalis. He was the god who took care of oaths, hence that of Plautus in *Asinar*, *Per Divum Fidium quæris*. This oath was afterwards contracted into one word, *Mediusfidius*, though Festus Pompeius expounds it otherwise, *quasi diis filius*, lib. xi.

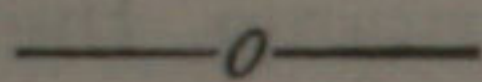
² *Nubes numeret orans*. The wise and good Socrates was lashed by Aristophanes in his *Nubibus* for a worshipper of the clouds, because he worshipped the one true God with eyes lifted up to heaven like the Christians, who having in a Gentile sense neither temple, image, nor altar, as the heathen in Minutius objects, were charged, as Tertullian intimates, for adoring clouds; but how that in Minutius is to be understood, I refer the reader to my notes upon that passage. Scaliger understands this of Juvenal of the Christians, and reads it thus—

Nil præter Nubes, et Cæli Numen adorant.

³ *Syriæ Astartes*. Eusebius from Sanchoniathon will have it to be Venus, Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10, p. 38. Suidas says this—*Ἀστάρτη ἡ παρ' Ἕλλησιν Ἀφροδίτη λεγομένη, Θεὸς Σιδωνίων*. This was the goddess of the Sidonians whom Solomon himself went after, and to whom he built an house. 1 Kings xi. 5; 2 Kings xxiii. 13. And in the house of Ashtaroth called by the LXX. *Ἀστάρτη* did the Philistines hang up Saul's armour after his death. 1 Sam. xxxi. 10.

⁴ *Cælestis*. This celestial virgin was peculiarly honoured at Carthage, and is supposed by some to be Juno, though there is huge controversy about it. And the rest of the idols here mentioned are so obscure, and so much disputed, that I believe the reader will thank me if I say no more about them.

vinces (if I mistake not) are under the Roman jurisdiction, and yet I do not find any of the Roman gods in worship among them; because the gods of these countries are as little known at Rome as many of the municipal deities in several towns in Italy, as Delventinus of Casinum, Visidianus of Narni, Ancaria of Ascoli, Nursia of Volsinium, Valentia of Ocricoli, Nortia of Sutri, and Juno of Monte Fiasco, who was worshipped by the name of Curetis in honour of her father Cures. But we Christians, we alone are the people who are not tolerated to enjoy a separate religion proper to ourselves; we offend the Romans, and are not to be looked upon as Romans, because we do not worship the God of the Romans; however, we have this advantage, that God is the God of all, whose we are all, whether we will or no; but there is a universal toleration among you to pay divine honours to any but the true God, as if this was not emphatically the God of all, whose creatures we all are.



CHAPTER XXV.

THAT THE ROMAN GRANDEUR IS NOT OWING TO THE ROMAN RELIGION.

I HAVE now, in my opinion, given sufficient proofs of the false and the true divinity; having not only disputed and demonstrated this point from arguments drawn from reason, but also from the very confessions of those you acknowledge for gods; so that nothing more seems necessary to be reinforced upon that head. But because the Roman greatness is an objection that comes properly in my way, I will not decline the combat I am challenged to, by the presumption of those who say that the Romans¹ arrived to such a pitch of grandeur as to be masters of the world, by the pure

¹ *Romanos pro merito Religiositatis diligentissimæ in tantum Sublimitatis elatos.* That the Roman greatness was not owing to the Roman religion, Prudentius proves at large, lib. ii. *adver. Symmach.*

*Sed multi duxere Dii per prospera Romam,
Quos colit ob meritum magnis donata Triumphis,
Ergo age, Bellatrix, quæ vis subjecerit, ede.*

And Minutius is very particular upon the same head, but because he has borrowed so many hints from Tertullian, and is subjoined to this Apology, I will not forestall the reader. However, that the Romans valued themselves as extraordinary

dint and merits of their religion ; and consequently that theirs were the right gods, inasmuch as they who served them out-flourished all others in glory, as much as they surpassed them in devotion to these deities ; and this surpassing figure, no doubt, was the return your own Roman gods made you for their worship ; and these proper gods, who have thus enlarged your borders must be Sterculus, and Mutunus, and Larentina ; for it is not to be imagined that strange gods should find in their hearts to be greater friends to a strange nation than to their own ; and that they should make over their own native soil, in which they were bred, and born, and buried, and deified, to an outlandish people. Let Cybele see to it, whether she transplanted her affections to Rome for the sake of her beloved countrymen the Trojans, screened from the Grecian arms I warrant by her divine protection ; let her say whether she went over to the Romans upon this view, as foreseeing them the people that would revenge her upon her enemies, and one day triumph over Greece, as Greece had done over Troy ; and to prove that she did go over to the Romans upon this prospect, she has given a most glorious instance of her foresight in our age, for M. Aurelius being taken off at Sirmium the seventeenth day of March,¹ her chief priest and eunuch on the twenty-fourth day of the same month, having lanced his arms, and let out his impure blood upon the altar, offered up his usual vows for the life of the emperor, who was dead some days before. O leaden-heeled couriers ! O drowsy dispatches ! not to give Cybele notice before the emperor was dead ; in good troth, Christians must make a little merry with such a goddess.

But had kingdoms been at Jove's disposal, Jove surely had never suffered his own Crete to have come under the Roman rod ; unmindful of the Idean cave and the never-to-be-forgotten noise the Corybantes made to drown his infant cries, and of the agreeable sweets of his fragrant nurse the Goat Amalthæa. What ! would not he have preferred his own tomb before any capitol, and made the country which contained Jove's ashes² the mistress of the

favourites of heaven upon the account of their grandeur, is evident from that of Valerius, lib. i. *Non Mirum igitur si pro eo imperio augendo custodiendoq. ; pertinax Deorum indulgentia semper excubuit.*

¹ *M. Aurelio—exempto, die decimo sexto Kalend. Aprilium.* Thus Dion Cassius of the same emperor says—*τῆ ἑπτά καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Μαρτίου μεταλλάξεν.*

² *Quæ cineres Jovis texit.* There is hardly any one thing more talked of than Crete by the poets and historians, and the Christians apologists, where Jove was born, bred, and buried. Thus Virgil—

Dictæ Cæli Regem pavere sub antro.

Thus St. Cyprian, *de Idol. van. Antrum Jovis in Creta visitur.* And in the

world? Would Juno, do you think, could she have helped it, suffered her beloved Carthage, more beloved than Samos, to have been sacked and ruined by the detested race of Trojans; for I know her passion for this city from your own Virgil:

—Here, here, this darling place,
Immortal Juno's arms, and chariot grace;
And here to fix the universal reign
The mighty goddess strove, but strove in vain,
By mightier fate o'ercome.¹

Poor unhappy Juno, wife and sister both to Jove, and yet not a match for fate! For, as another poet has it,

Even Jove himself must bend to fate.²

And yet the Romans cannot afford the fates who made them masters of Carthage in spite of all the intrigues of Juno, half so much honour as they pay to the most infamous of prostitutes, Larentina. But it is certain that many of your gods reigned once upon earth: if therefore kingdoms are now at their disposal, pray tell me from whom did they themselves receive their crowns? Who was the god that Saturn or Jove worshipped? Some dunghill-god, Sterculus I suppose; but this could not well be, for Saturn and Jupiter were both dead long before Sterculus got his immortal honour at Rome for teaching his countrymen the art of dunging their ground. But though some of your gods never arrived to the honour of being kings, yet others who were kings have not had the honour to be gods. The disposal of kingdoms therefore must be lodged elsewhere, and not in the kings themselves; because they are kings before they have the good luck to be gods, or the disposers of kingdoms. But how ridiculous a thing is it to ascribe the Roman grandeur to the merits of the Roman religion, when the grandeur is older than the religion; or rather the religion increased and multiplied in proportion to the state. For though your superstitious

Alexandrian Chronic. we have this inscription,—ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΘΑΝΩΝ ΠΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΖΕΥΣ ΘΝ. ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΚΑΝΟΤΣΙΝ—HIC SITUS JACET PICUS MORTUUS, QUI ET JUPITER, QUEM JOVEM VOCANT.

¹ *Hic illius arma,
Hic currus fuit, hoc Regnum Dea Gentibus esse,
Si qua Futa sinant, jam tum tenditq. ; fovetq. ;*

—*Fato stat Jupiter ipse.*

curiosities had their first conception in Numa's brain,¹ and yet during his reign the Roman worship was without either statue or temple, their old religion was a thrifty plain religion,² without any pompous rites, or any capitol vying with heaven;³ their altars were rude and hasty, and of turf only; their sacred vessels of Samian clay. And from hence the moderate steams of a slender sacrifice ascended, and not the image of any god to be seen amongst them; for as yet the Grecian and Tuscan artists had not overflowed the city with the invention of images; and therefore it is certain that the Romans were not so exceeding religious before they were so exceeding great; and consequently their greatness cannot be owing to their religion.

But with what forehead can men entitle their greatness to religion, when their greatness stands upon the ruins of religion?

¹ *A Numâ concepta est Curiositas Superstitiosa.* It has been objected that the consent of nations, if it argues anything, argues for Polytheism, that being more universal, and consequently more natural than the worship of one god; but this is a very foolish objection; for there is in all mankind a propensity to religion in general, as there is an inclination to eat and drink in all; and as it is left to the direction of our appetites what we should choose to eat and drink in particular, so is it left to our reason what we should worship; but to eat and drink and worship something, we are all inclined, though often abused as to the object. It is this natural propensity to religion designing men strike in with; and they would never apply to it so universally did they not find all mankind readily disposed for divine worship; for an atheist has been looked upon as a monster in all ages. Thus it was that Numa Pompilius worked upon his subjects, and procured an implicit veneration to all his institutions, by pretending an acquaintance with the goddess Ægeria: *Numa Pompilius, ut Populum Romanum sacris obligaret, volebat videri sibi cum Dea Ægeria congressus esse nocturnos, ejusque monitu accepta Diis Immortalibus sacra instituire.* Valer. Max. lib. i. cap. 2.

² *Frugi Religio*, etc. Varro says that the Romans worshipped their gods one hundred and seventy years without any image, and thinks they had been better served had there been no images made; and this frugality in religion lasted to the conquest of Asia, *usque ad devictam Asiam*, says Pliny, lib. xxxiv. Thus Ovid, speaking of the ancient simplicity, says—

*Jupiter exiguâ vix totus stabat in Æde,
Inque Jovis dextrâ fictile Fulmen erat.*

In Fast. 3, and in like manner Juvenal—

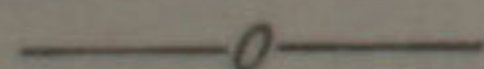
*Hanc rebus Latiis curam præstare solebat
Fictilis, et nullo violatus Jupiter auro.*

Vid. Cicer. Paradox. I.

³ *Capitolia certantia cælo.* Capitols vying with heaven. Agreeable to which Martial thus describes it—

*Nec Capitolini summum penetrabile Tonantis,
Quæque nitent Cælo proxima Templâ suo.*

For, if I mistake not, kingdoms or empires are got by wars, and propagated by victories, and wars and victories for the most part conclude in the captivity and desolation of cities. And this sort of business is not likely to be despatched without treading upon religion; for the walls of a town and those of a temple are battered both alike—priests and people slain without distinction; and the plundering soldier will no more pardon the riches of the gods than those of men. The Romans therefore may compute their sacrileges by their trophies, and tell how many gods they have triumphed over, by the nations they have conquered; and withal remember that all the statues of the captive deities now in the temple are but so many spoils of war. And yet these gods will endure to be worshipped by such enemies, and decree them a perpetual empire¹ for so doing, when in honour they ought to be revenged upon their outrages, rather than be cajoled by their adoration; but gods who have neither sensation nor knowledge may be injured with as much impunity as they are served with vanity. Certainly it cannot enter into any one's head to imagine that the Romans grew to this bulk of greatness by the influence of religion, who (as I have suggested) one way or other always mounted to their greatness by treading upon religion; for even those whose kingdoms are melted down, as it were, into one mass of Roman empire, those, I say, when they lost these kingdoms were no more without religion than they who got them.



CHAPTER XXVI.

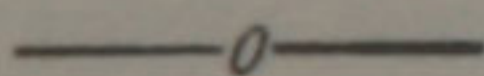
THAT KINGDOMS ARE ONLY AT HIS DISPOSAL WHO IS THE TRUE GOD.

CONSIDER therefore with yourselves, and see whether it must not needs be Him who is the disposer of kingdoms, who is the maker and proprietor of the world which is governed, and of the man who governs it; whether it must not be Him who orders the revolutions of empire in succeeding ages of time, who was before time itself, and who of the several parts or links of ages composed the whole body or chain of time; whether it is not He who raises up and

¹ *Illis Imperium sine fine decernunt.* Tertullian frequently quotes Virgil expressly, which makes it probable that in these words he alludes to a like passage in that poet—

Imperium sine fine dedi.

pulls down cities, under whom mankind once sojourned without any cities at all. Why will you thus persist in error? For ancient uncultivated Rome¹ is ancients than many of your gods. She had her kings before she had such a circumference of her ground taken up with a capitol. The Babylonians, and Medes, and Egyptians, and Assyrians, and Amazons had all their kingdoms before your Pontiffs, and Quindecemviri, and Salii, and Luperci were thought of. After all, had the Roman gods been the dispensers of kingdoms, the ancient Jews had never risen to such an ascendant as to reign in defiance of all the common deities all the world over; to which god of the Jews you yourself have offered sacrifices, and to whose temple you have presented gifts; and which nation for a long time you honoured with your alliance;² and which, let me tell you, you had never reigned over had they not finally filled up the measure of their sins with their sin against Jesus Christ.



CHAPTER XXVII.

THAT THE GENTILES ARE SET AGAINST CHRISTIANS BY THE
INSTIGATION OF EVIL SPIRITS.

THIS I take for a sufficient answer to that article which charges us with treason against the gods, having demonstrated them to be no gods, and consequently no harm done them. When therefore we are called forth to sacrifice, we set conscience before to support us against the order, which tells us what kind of beings those are which these sacrifices are made to, that are made to the images prostituted for worship, and to the consecrated names of men. But some look upon it as madness, that when we might sacrifice occasionally, and depart in a whole skin, or without hurting our conscience, by virtue of an inward reserve to continue firm to our

¹ *Sylvestris Roma.* Wild uncultivated Rome; in which state Virgil thus describes it, *Æn.* 8—

*Hinc ad Tarpeiam Sedem, et Capitolia ducit,
Aurea nunc, olim Sylvestribus horrida dumis.*

² *Fœderibus.* Concerning the alliance and frequent leagues of the Romans with the Jews, *vid.* Machab. lib. i. cap. 8, lib. ii. cap. 11, etc.; and Joseph. lib. xiv. p. 486, lib. xvi. cap. 10, p. 562. But for offering sacrifice to the god of the Jews I cannot find, though Heraldus affirms it, and from Josephus.

religion, that we should be such blockheads as to prefer our opiniatretè to our lives. Thus, forsooth, you give the counsel by what means we are to abuse you ; but well we know from whence the suggestions come ; who it is that is behind the scene and prompts all this ; and how he works sometimes by persuasive wiles, and sometimes by dint of cruelty, and all to throw us off from our constancy. It is verily the devil of an angel, a spirit divorced from God, and for that reason our immortal enemy, and one who gnashes with envy at the divine graces we enjoy, and plays all his engines of destruction against us from your minds, as it were from a citadel. Which minds of yours are by his secret injections modified and suborned to that perverseness of judgment, and savage injustice against us, which I mentioned in the beginning of my Apology. For although the whole force of demons and such kind of spirits is subjected to us, yet, like other rebellious slaves, their fear is mixed with contumacy, and it is their meat and drink to be hurting those whom otherwise they are afraid of, for servile fear inspires hatred.

Besides, in this stage of rage and despair, they look upon mischief as their whole comfort ; and all the lucid interval¹ they have for this devilish enjoyment is but until the day of judgment ; and yet when we apprehend them, they surrender and submit to their condition ; and whom they battle at a distance they beseech at hand. Therefore when by their instinct you treat us like rebels, and condemn us to workhouses, or prisons, or the mines, and such like servile punishment ; when thus, I say, by you their instruments they break out against us, in whose power they are (for they know their imparity full well, and their malice is but the more enraged at their impotency), then we take another course, and engage these odious spirits, as it were, upon equal terms, and resist with patience impregnable ; that being the quarter they attack us upon with all their fury, and we never come off so triumphantly as when we suffer victoriously, and resist unto death.

¹ *Fruendæ iterum malignitati de Pœnæ morâ.* “ And all the lucid interval they have for this devilish enjoyment is but until the day of judgment.” In these words our author plainly alludes to the Second Epistle of St. Peter ii. 4—“ For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment.” And this allusion, in a point of doctrine, in some measure proves that this Epistle went for genuine in our author's time.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THAT THE ROMANS HAVE THEIR EMPERORS IN GREATER
VENERATION THAN THEIR GODS.

BUT because it seems manifestly wrong to drag men to sacrifice against the natural freedom of their wills, since, as I have elsewhere declared, religion must be a pure act of the will, it must needs be very foolish to press men to the service of the gods, whom for their own sakes they ought to serve freely; and that it should not be in a man's choice, which he has a right to by the liberty of his will, to say, I will not have Jove for my god. Who are you, pray, sir, that pretend to have my will in keeping? I care not a farthing for Janus, let him turn his brows upon me from which forehead he pleases. What have you to do with me in the choice of religion? But they which put you upon forcing us to sacrifice to the gods are the same spirits which inform you to make us sacrifice¹ for the safety of the emperor; and so Cæsar's safety being twisted with the honour of the gods, you are by this stratagem necessitated to compel, and we to suffer.

I come now to the second article of lese majesty, but majesty more august with you than that of your gods; for you are more sincerely afraid and circumspect in your devotions to Cæsar than to Olympian Jove; and deservedly too if you understood it; for what man alive is not preferable to a dead one? But this difference in your devotions is not grounded so much upon reason, or the knowledge you have of your deities, as upon the consideration of the emperor's present sensible power upon you; and it is upon this account here I tax you with irreligion, because you stand more heartily in awe of Cæsar than of all your gods; for, in fine, you will sooner invoke all your gods round to bear witness to a lie than swear falsely by the single genius of Cæsar.²

¹ *Pro salute Imperatoris sacrificare.* When Herod and his father Nicetes took up Polycarp into their coach, they attempted to persuade him off of his resolution to suffer, in this form of words, τί γὰρ κακόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, κύριε Καίσαρ, καὶ θύσαι καὶ διασωζέσθαι. "Where is the harm to say, O Lord Cæsar, and to sacrifice, and so save yourself?" And when the martyr was brought before the tribunal, the proconsul charges him to swear by the genius of Cæsar, ὁμοσον τοῦ Καίσαρος τυχήν, μετανόησον, εἶπον αἶψα τοῦς ἀθίους, that is, swear by Cæsar's genius, repent, say take off the atheists, that is, the Christians. These and such like were the forms upon which they tried Christians. *Vid. Euseb. Ecc. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 15, p. 131.*

² *Citius denique apud vos. Tutius per Jovis Genium pejerare, quam Regis* It

CHAPTER XXIX.

THAT THE EMPERORS MAINTAIN THE GODS RATHER THAN THE
GODS THE EMPERORS.

FIRST therefore make it appear that those you sacrifice to can protect either kings or subjects, and then charge us with treason against gods and men; for if angels or demons, spirits essentially wicked or of the most destructive nature, can be the authors of any good; if spirits lost and undone themselves can save others, if the damned can give freedom, and lastly if the dead (as you know in your conscience your gods to be) can defend the living, pray why do they not defend in the first place their own statues and images and temples, which in my opinion are defended by Cæsar's guards, who keep watch and ward for their security. But the materials of these I think come from Cæsar's mines; and the temples depend on Cæsar's nod; and lastly, many of the gods have felt Cæsar's displeasure; and if he has been propitious to the gods, and liberal, and bestowed privileges upon them, it still makes for our cause. Thus then how is it likely that they who are at Cæsar's nod, as they all entirely are, should be the guardians of Cæsar's life? Is it not more likely that the gods should be in Cæsar's keeping, than Cæsar in theirs? What! are we traitors to the emperors because we do not set them below their own possessions? because we will not make mock addresses for their safety, concluding it cannot be in the keeping of hands of lead. But you are the only persons of religion who pray for their safety where it cannot be had, and overlook Him who alone has it in His power. But those who know how to ask it, and can obtain it too, because they know how to ask it; those, I say, you are persecuting out of the world.

is much safer, says Minutius, to swear falsely by the genius of Jove than Cæsar.

Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras, says Horace.

For he who swore falsely by the gods was noted only by the censors, and exposed to shame. *Vid. Ciceron. lib. iv. de Repub.* But one perjured by the genius of Cæsar was severely bastinadoed, and exposed into the bargain. For thus says Ulpian, lib. xiii., *de Jure-jurando. Siquis juraverit in re pecuniariâ per Genium Cæsaris, et pejeraverit, etc. Imperator noster cum Patre rescripsit, fustibus eum castigandum dimittere, et ita ei superdici, προπετιῶς μὴ δύνουσι, petulanter ne jurato.*

CHAPTER XXX.

CONCERNING THE GOD OF CHRISTIANS BY WHOM KINGS REIGN,
AND THE PRAYERS OF CHRISTIANS FOR THE LIFE OF THE
EMPERORS.

THE God we pray to for the life of emperors is the eternal God, the true God, the God of life, and whom above all the emperors themselves principally desire to propitiate; they know by whom they reign as kings and live as men. They are sensible that He is the only God, and in whose power alone they are; and that they themselves are, next under Him, supreme; and after Him the first in honour above all men, and all your other gods too into the bargain. And why not? since they are above all men living, and the living surely are above the dead. They consider how far their power will go, and find it infinitely below the reach of heaven, and so come to be sensible of a God above them; and consequently that the powers they have must be from God. Let an emperor make war upon heaven, and pride himself with the thoughts of leading captive heaven in triumph; let him set guards upon heaven, and try to reduce it to a Roman province, and he will find his weakness. He is therefore great, because he is but less than heaven; for he is a creature of His who made heaven and every creature that ever had a being. He made him an emperor who made him a man; the author of his life is the author of his power.

To this Almighty Maker and Disposer of all Things it is that we Christians offer up our prayers, with eyes lifted up to heaven, unfolded hands in token of our simplicity,¹ and with uncovered heads,

¹ *Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, etc.* The primitive Christians at their devotion did not only lift up their hands to heaven, for so we find the heathens did, according to that of Virgil—

Et duplices tendens ad sidera palmas,

but they laid their expanded hands transverse in the form of a cross; and so we are to understand our author here by his *manibus expansis*, and so likewise in his book *de Orat.* cap. 11—*Nos vero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus, et Dominicâ Passione modulamur.* Vid. Not. Vales. in Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 14, p. 242. I cannot but take notice here of a most extraordinary objection against set forms of prayer, urged by David Clarkson in his discourse concerning liturgies, from this passage: "That the Christians then lifted up their hands and eyes to heaven in prayer, which shows they had no books." It shows it indeed just as much as our lifting up our hands and eyes shows now that we have no Common Prayer-Book in our Church; but certainly both ministers and people being constantly used to one form may have so much memory as to find time to look off from their books, and look up to heaven at proper seasons.

because we have nothing to blush for in our devotion ; and without a prompter,¹ because we pray with our hearts rather than our tongues ; and in all our prayers are ever mindful of all our emperors and kings wheresoever we live, beseeching God for every one of them without distinction, that He would bless them with length of days and a quiet reign, a well-established family, a stout

¹ *Denique sine Monitore, quia de Pectore oramus.* This is just such another obscure passage as the ὄδη Δύναμις in Justin Martyr already mentioned ; but as dark as it is, yet with some men it is as clear as the day for the use of extempore prayer in Tertullian's time. But before I enter upon this controverted place, I desire the reader to take notice first, that though our author does not give us the very form, because he wrote to unbelievers, yet in this chapter he gives the heads of a stated prayer for the emperor, namely, a long life, a quiet empire, a well-established family, a valiant army, a faithful senate, a virtuous people, etc. Now he could not deliver in these particulars as a proof of the Christian loyalty, unless they prayed constantly for these things, and that must be by a constant settled form ; for extempore prayer is as uncertain as the wind, and could have been no evidence in this or any other case. Secondly, by this phrase, "without a monitor," cannot possibly be meant without any one to dictate a form of words to them, because in all their public prayers the minister was always the mouth of the congregation, and whether he prayed by a form, or extempore, his words must be a form of words to the people who prayed after him. Whatever therefore this dubious expression may mean, it cannot possibly mean without a form, unless it means without a minister ; because, as I have said, the prayers of the minister must be a form to the people. And now for the phrase itself ; we pray *Sine Monitore*, without a prompter or monitor, because *de Pectore*, from the heart, that is extempore, as Mr. Clarkson and the anti-formulists expound it. Bishop Bilson, in his *Christian Subject*, with great modesty says, "This seems to be meant of the miraculous gift of prayer, which dured in the Church unto his time." *Vid. Christian Subj.* part iv. p. 411. But then he supposes withal that this extraordinary gift ceased soon after, and that liturgies came into practice long before the time of St. Basil or Chrysostom ; so that, allowing this conjecture, it will by no means follow that because ministers, while divinely inspired, prayed without a form, therefore they ought to keep on praying extempore when the days of inspiration are over. But with all respect to this learned prelate, he seems not to reach the design and meaning of Tertullian in this place ; and in order hereunto, it is to be remembered that the heathen had abundance of deities, and every deity to be invoked in a several form, for such blessings as lay within his particular province. Thus, for instance, Bacchus was invoked in this wise, O Bacchus ! son of Semele, the giver of riches, etc. *Vid. Casaub. Exercit.* lib. xvi. p. 42. And so again for Janus, O Father Janus ! with this cake I offer thee my good wishes, etc. *Vid. Fest. in verb. Signif.* And so again for Jupiter, Mars, and all the rest. Now in such a swarm of deities and different invocations, a god might easily be passed over, or the invocation ill worded, or ill pronounced (which was looked upon very ominous, and hence perhaps that phrase of *Bona Verba*). For fear, I say, that there should be any omission or blunder in these divine addresses, these several forms of invocation were not only read out of the ritual by one priest, but there was another priest also appointed, as a public monitor, to oversee and set them right in their repetitions. And that this was the case seems very probable from that of Pliny, lib. xxviii. cap. 2—*Inprecationibus, ne quid Verborum prætereatur,*

army, a faithful senate, an honest people, and a peaceful world, and whatever else either prince or people can wish for.

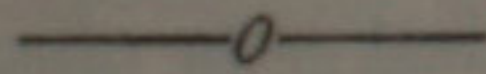
But these are blessings I cannot persuade myself to ask of any, but Him who I know can give them, and that is my God, and my God only, who has them in His disposal; and I am one to whom He has obliged Himself by promise to grant what I ask, if I ask as I should do; for I am His servant, and serve Him only, and for

aut præposterum dicatur de Scripto præire aliquem, rursusque alium Custodem dari, qui attendat. "In certain prayers, lest any of the words should be omitted, or preposterously repeated, there is one to dictate to the people out of a book, and another appointed as overseer, to attend how they pronounce." Now this last, whom Pliny calls the *custos*, or overseer, seems not unlikely to be the monitor alluded to by Tertullian. We pray then without a monitor, because *de Pectore*, from the heart; which may either signify that we repeat not our prayers aloud after the priest, as you do, but join with him in our soul; or else, that we can say our prayers by heart, and so have no occasion for such a monitor, and then *de Pectore* answers exactly to ἀποστηθίζειν, and such Græcisms are much affected by this writer. *Vid.* Thornd. *Relig. Assemb.* p. 237. Another learned person understands this phrase *de Pectore* of those prayers which every private Christian used in the solemn assemblies on the stationary days, in the intervals between the public offices of the Church, while the congregation kept silence; and considering that they stayed at these stations for nine hours together, and that all this time was not taken up in reading, expounding, singing, and in common prayers, it is not improbable but the interspaces were allowed for the exercise of mental devotion. And then this phrase *de Pectore* can argue nothing against set forms in public prayers. Besides, it was a custom, and taken notice of by Plutarch, that while the priest was officiating, for another to go behind him with this admonition, *Hoc age quod agis*, "Be sure to mind what you are about;" and this perhaps might be the monitor. But Christians who prayed *de Pectore*, with all their hearts and souls, had no need of such an officer. Lastly, if we consider that Tertullian is here proving the sincerity of the Christian loyalty above that of the heathens, it seems most agreeable to his design in my opinion, and what the words will very well bear, to understand him thus: the heathens were obliged to offer up their vows and sacrifices in public for the life of the emperor; and for fear they should omit to name him, either out of negligence or malice, or name him only by way of imprecation, there was a *custos*, or monitor, appointed to see that they rightly pronounced the form of words dictated by another priest from writing. And to this Seneca no doubt alludes in these remarkable words, *lib. de Clement. cap. 19—Quid pulchrius est, quam vivere optantibus cunctis, et vota non sub Custode nuncupantibus?* "What more lovely or desirable than to live in the hearts of his subjects, and to have them all praying for him without the help of a monitor?" And therefore, says our author, we pray *sine Monitore*, without an overseer, because *de Pectore*, that is, *ex animo*, because we pray for emperors from our very heart and soul. Thus then we see how many ways there are of expounding this obscure passage, each of which is much more probable than that which is urged for the justification of extempore prayer. And thus likewise we see how the authority of the ancients is valued like an oracle, when they deliver themselves in agreeable ambiguity; but when they cannot be made to speak for the party, why then the Fathers are very ordinary people.

whose service I am killed all the day long, and to whom I offer that noble and greatest of sacrifices which He has commanded, a prayer which comes from a chaste body, an innocent soul, and a sanctified spirit; not a farthing's worth of frankincense, not the tears of an Arabian tree, or two drops of wine; not the blood of a discarded bull worn out with age; and after all these defilements, a conscience the most defiling thing of all. So that in truth, when I reflect upon the pollutions of the sacrificers who are to examine the qualifications of the sacrifice, I cannot but wonder why the entrails of the beasts should be rather inspected than the inwards of the priests.

Thus, then, while we are stretching forth our hands to our God, let your tormenting irons harrow our flesh; let your gibbets exalt us, or your fires lick up our bodies, or your swords cut off our heads, or your beasts tread us to earth. For a Christian upon his knees to his God is in a posture of defence against all the evils you can crowd upon him.

Consider this,¹ O you impartial judges, and go on with your justice, and while our soul is pouring out herself to God in the behalf of the emperor, do you be letting out her blood.



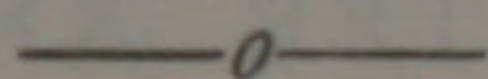
CHAPTER XXXI.

THAT CHRISTIANS ARE COMMANDED TO LOVE THEIR ENEMIES.

BUT perhaps our vows and intercessions with heaven for the life of the emperor are to be looked upon merely as the spices of flattery, and a trick only to elude the severity of the laws; but if you will have it a trick, it has had this advantage, to procure us the liberty

¹ *Hoc agite, boni Præsides, extorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro Imperatore.* There is a most bitter sarcasm implied in these words, *Hoc agite*, that is, "be intent upon your sacrifice, and wrack out the soul of a Christian while it is praying to God for the life of the emperor;" wherein our author manifestly alludes to the custom just now mentioned from Plutarch, that while the priest was sacrificing, the crier or *præco* went behind with these words, *Hoc age*, mind what you are about; for thus Plutarch tells us in *Coriolano*, ὅταν γὰρ ἄρχοντες ἢ ἱερεῖς πράττωσι τι τῶν θείων, ὁ κῆρυξ πρόστεισι μεγάλη φωνὴ βοῶν, ὅκ ἄγε, σημάνει γὰρ φωνή, τοῦτο πράττει, προσέχων κελύουσα τοῖς ἱεροῖς, καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐμβαλεῖν μεταξὺ, μηδὲ χρεῖαν ἀσχολίας.

of proving what we proposed to do in our justification. Thou therefore that thinkest that the Christian religion expresses no concern for the life of Cæsar, look into the word of God, the word we go by, and which we do not suppress in private, and which many accidents have thrown into the hands of strangers, and there you may see with what superabundant charity we are commanded to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, to do good to them that hate us, and to pray for them which despitefully use us, and persecute us, Matt. v. 44. And who such cruel persecutors of Christians as the emperors for whom they are persecuted? And yet these are the persons we are commanded by the word of God expressly, and by name, to pray for; for thus it runs—"I exhort therefore, that first of all supplications and prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty," 1 Tim. ii. 1. For when the government is shaken, the members of it feel the shock, and we (though we are not looked upon as members by the people), yet we must be found somewhere in the calamity of the public.



CHAPTER XXXII.

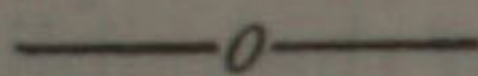
CONCERNING ANOTHER REASON OF THE CHRISTIANS IN PRAYING FOR THE EMPERORS.

BUT there is another and more prevailing reason which determines us to intercede with heaven for the emperors, and for the whole estate of the empire, and their prosperity. And it is this, that we are of opinion that the conflagration of the universe which is now at hand, and is likely to flame out in the conclusion of this century, and to be such a horrid scene of misery, is retarded by this interposition of the Roman prosperity;¹ and therefore we desire not to

¹ *Quod vim maximam universo orbi imminetum*, etc. Tertullian in this passage alludes to that of St. Paul, 2 Thess. ii.—"And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time," etc. And so likewise in his book *de Resur. Carnis*, cap. 24—*Jam enim arcanum iniquitatis agitur; tantum ut qui tenet, teneat, donec de medio fiat. Quis nisi Romanus Status?* etc. And it was the current opinion of the Fathers that Antichrist should not come until the Roman Empire was destroyed. To this purpose Theod. Chrysost. : *Τινες τὸ κατέχον τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐνοσθαι βασιλείαν, τινὲς δὲ τὴν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος, οἱ μὲν τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν χάριν φασίν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν οἷς ἔγωγε μάλιστα τίθειμαι.* And

be spectators of dissolving nature; and while we pray for it to be deferred, we pray for the subsistence of the Roman Empire.

But then as to your other objection concerning oaths; to this I answer, that swear we do,¹ and if not by the geniuses of the Cæsars, yet by their life, which is of more veneration to us than all the genii put together. But you seem to be ignorant that the genii are called demons, and from thence by a diminutive word *demonia*, that is, little devils. We reverence the providence of God in the persons of the emperors, who has made choice of them for the government of the world. We know that the power they have, they have by the will of God; and therefore we wish well to that which God has willed to be; and we look upon that as a very sacred oath which is made by so sacred a person; but as for demons, that is genii, we are used to exercise them, and not to swear by them, for fear of giving that honour to devils which is due only to God.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIAN LOYALTY, AND THEIR REFUSING TO CALL THE EMPEROR BY THE TITLE OF GOD.

BUT what need I say more to show the sacred tie which binds on the duty of allegiance upon Christian subjects? It is enough to

so again St. Jerome—*Nisi, inquit, fuerit Romanum Imperium ante desolatum, et Antichristus præcessarit, Christus non veniet. Hieron. Epist. ad Algas. Qu. II, f. 60.*

¹ *Sed et juramus, sicut non per Genios Cæsarum, ita per Salutem eorum, etc.* Here we have the lawfulness of an oath expressly asserted by our Tertullian, though now gainsaid by some new-fashioned Christians (if the Quakers may be called Christians), and an oath too by the life of the emperors; and a very sacred oath too it is, says our author, when so sacred a person is sworn by. They would not swear by their genii indeed, because they looked upon that as swearing by the devil and his angels; and thus we find that Joseph swore by the life of Pharaoh. Some are of opinion that this custom of swearing by the safety of the emperor was introduced by Augustus, from that of Horace,

*Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
Jurandasq. ; tuum per numen ponimus aras.*

However this be, it is certain from Suetonius *in Vita Tiberii*, and from Cornelius Tacitus, lib. i., that Tiberius forbade all such swearing either by his life or genius. *Vid. Dion. Rom. Hist. lib. lvii.*

say that we look upon ourselves under a necessity to honour the emperor as a person of God's election; so that I may very deservedly say that we have much the greatest share in Cæsar, as being made emperor by our God. And therefore it is I who more effectually recommend him to God,¹ because I not only earnestly ask it of Him who can give it, or because I am such a petitioner as have the most reason to obtain it, but also because by setting Cæsar below his god, I set him higher in his affection, to which God alone I subject him; and I subject him to God, by not making him his equal.

I will not give the title of god to the emperor,² either because I dare not speak against my conscience, nor ridicule him; or because he himself will not endure the title. If he be a man, it is the interest of a man to give place to God; let him content himself with the name of emperor, for this is the most majestic name upon earth, and it is the gift of God. He lays aside the emperor who takes upon him the God; he must be a man to be an emperor. When he is in the very prime of his glory sitting in his triumphal chariot, even then he is admonished to know himself a man, by one speaking from behind in these words, "Look back, and remember yourself to be but man;"³ and he is then the more contented to find

¹ *Plus ego illi operor in Salutem.* "It is I who more effectually recommend him to God." This word *operor* I take to be very significative and emphatical in this place; for as *facere* often is used for *Rem sacram facere*, to sacrifice; so *operari*, when applied to religious matters, is the same with the Greek *ἐνεργεῖν*, by sacrifice or prayer to work upon God with energy, or efficaciously.

² *Non enim Deum Imperatorem dicam.* "I will not call the emperor God." Antiochus, king of Syria, arrived to the extravagant blasphemy of taking upon him this title of God. *Vid. Appian. in Syr.* So likewise among the Romans, Caligula commanded himself to be called Optimus Maximus and Jupiter Latialis. See Sueton. *in vita ipsius*, cap. 22, and Philo in his *Legatione ad Caium*. And thus Tacitus, lib. iii., speaks of Domitian, *Mox imperium adeptus, Jovi Custodi templum ingens, seq. ; in sinu Dei sacravit. Vide etiam Sueton. cap. 13.* Hence that of Martial, lib. v. Epigr. 8—

Edictum Domini, Deiq. ; nostri.

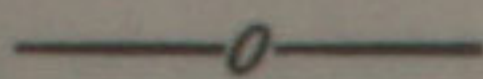
And so again, lib. viii. Epigr. 2—

Terrarum Domino, Deoq. ; rerum.

³ *Suggeriter enim ei a tergo, Respice post te, Hominem memento te.* In the same chariot, behind him who triumphed, was the public servant carried, who held up a huge heavy crown above the head of the triumpher, both to express his merits and his weakness by a glorious weight he could not bear, and with the mortifying words just now mentioned. In allusion to this is that of Juvenal, Sat. 10—

*Quippe tenet sudans hanc Publicus, et sibi Consul,
Ne placeat, curru Servus portatur eodem.*

himself on such a dazzling height of glory as to make it necessary for him to be advised of his humanity. He is the weakest of princes who can feel himself a man, and would be flattered as Almighty; and he the Cæsar truly great, that will bear the truth that is designed to keep him within the bounds of mortality.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

CONCERNING AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

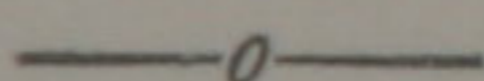
AUGUSTUS,¹ the founder of the Roman Empire, would by no means admit of the style of Dominus, or lord, for this is the surname of God. Nevertheless, I should not scruple to call the emperor lord;² but then it must be when I am not compelled to do it in a sense peculiarly appropriated to God; for I am Cæsar's free-born subject, and we have but one Lord, the Almighty and Eternal God, who is his Lord as well as mine.

But why should you call him lord, who is styled the father of his country? Surely that name of affection sounds sweeter much than that of power; and they had rather be called fathers of great families, than lords of slaves. But if Augustus would never assume the title of lord, he would much less have thought it Cæsar's due

¹ *Augustus, ne Dominum quidem dici se volebat.* Suetonius in the life of Augustus writes thus of his refusing the title of Dominus, or lord, cap. 53—“*Domini appellationem, ut maledictum et opprobrium semper exhorruit. Cum spectante eo ludos, pronunciatum esset in mimo, O Dominum æquum et bonum: et universi quasi de ipso dictum exultantes comprobassent: statim manu vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit, et insequenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto, Dominumque se posthac appellari, ne a liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis, vel serio vel joco, passus est; atque hujusmodi blanditias etiam inter ipsos prohibuit.*”

² *Dicam plane Imperatorem Dominum, sed more communi,* etc. If the Quakers would be determined by Tertullian, a person of great mortification, a mighty stickler for anything which had the least appearance of extraordinary piety, and withal an exceeding admirer of Montanus, and the false pretenders to the spirit of that age, they might hear him in this place frankly declaring that he should make no scruple to call the emperor Dominus, or lord, to own him supreme, or as he in the foregoing chapter expresses it, subject to God only, provided this term Dominus might be taken in the common sense, and noways intrench upon the prerogative of God. And this proviso he had reason to make, because the adoration of emperors was then grown into fashion.

to have been styled god; a flattery not only most fulsome, but of a most destructive influence to both parties. It is just as if you should pass by the rightful emperor, and give his title to another; would not this be an unpardonable offence in you who give the title, and fatal to him who takes it? Let me advise you therefore, as you tender Cæsar's safety, not to rob God of His attributes, to bestow them upon Cæsar; forbear to believe that there is any other god, and to style him god who stands in need of God every moment of his being. But if you are proof against all shame, and can daub the emperor with such a lie of a title as you do by calling such a mortal, god; at least, methinks, you should be afraid of having such an ill-boding name in your mouths, for it is a kind of imprecation against Cæsar's life, to call him a god before the time of his apotheosis.



CHAPTER XXXV.

CONCERNING THE DIFFERENT OBSERVATION OF PUBLIC FESTIVALS BETWEEN THE CHRISTIANS AND THE HEATHENS.

CHRISTIANS therefore lie under the odium of public enemies, because they join not in the public flatteries, in the false fantastic honours which are dedicated to emperors upon public festivals; because the professors of the true religion celebrated such solemnities with sobriety of conscience, and not with the liberties of a dissolute joy.¹ A mighty instance of loyalty, no doubt! to make bonfires, to bring out tables and feasts in the streets, and metamorphose the whole city into a tavern;² to make the conduits run wine, and see the mob suck up dirt and liquor together, and run

¹ *Veræ Religionis Homines etiam solemnia eorum, conscientiam potius quam lasciviam celebrant.* Here you have another instance of the primitive Christians complying with heathen solemnities, so far as was consistent with innocence. The festival here mentioned seems to be a day of rejoicing for the suppressing the faction of Niger and his adherents. The Christians made no scruple to observe the day with a conscientious mirth, though they would not join in the public debauchery.

² *Civitatem tabernæ habitu abolere.* "To metamorphose the city into a tavern." Agreeable to this description is that of Martial, lib. vii.—

*Tonsor, Caupo, Coquus, Lanius, sua limina servant,
Nunc Roma est, nuper magna Taberna fuit.*

about in troops like mad into all the confusions of injury, impudence and lust, their heated imagination prompts them to. Is such a scene of public shame a proper expression of public joy? And are these becoming practices upon an holy day, which upon any day are abominable? Shall they who seem so mighty devout for Cæsar's safety be so mighty drunk for Cæsar's safety too? Shall licentiousness pass for loyalty, and luxury for religion? Oh the just condemnation of Christians! For why should we dare to be so singularly sober, chaste, and honest upon Cæsar's birthday, and be so unfashionably religious in discharging our vows and rejoicings for him? When all the world has given such a loose to joy, why do we not do so too, and darken our gates with laurels,¹ and put out the day with illuminations? For certainly it is a very fine figure to see your houses upon holy days dressed up in the fashion of the stews.

But touching the religion upon these sacred festivals to Cæsar, who is the second majesty next to God, and upon whose account we are convened as guilty of a second sacrilege, for not celebrating these days according to your modes of worship, which temperance, modesty, and chastity will not permit us to do. I would set this matter, I say, in a better light, and lay before you your own allegiance and sincerity, that we may judge whether they are not more to blame in this point than Christians, who will not have us treated as Romans, but as enemies of the State.

For the truth of this I convene the populace of Rome, the natives of the Seven Hills, and let them answer whether their tongues, as much Roman as it is, have spared any of their own Cæsars? Let the pasquils fixed upon the statue of Tiberius speak, and the Circus too, that academy where beasts are sent to learn the art of killing men with a better grace.

Had nature covered our breasts with transparent matter, so that we might look into the people's heart, what heart should we see

¹ *Cur diu læto non Laureis Postes obumbramus?* Juvenal, speaking in the person of the people applauding the emperor's happiness upon the overthrow of his enemy, says, *Pone domi Lauros.* Sat. 10. And so again, Sat. 6—

Ornentur Postes, et grandi Janua Lauro.

But this also (says our author in the words following) was the habit of the stews; and lib. ii. *ad Uxor.*—*Procedit de Januâ Laureat à et lucernatâ, ut de novo Consistorio libidinum Publicarum.*

that was not inscribed with a scene of Cæsar's fresh and fresh distributing the doles to the people, which are usual at their first coming to the throne? We should see these wishes, I say, in their hearts for Cæsar's death, even in the moment that their mouths are full of cry for Cæsar's life, according to that of the poet:¹

Shorten my thread of life, good Jove! from mine
Take many years to lengthen Cæsar's line.

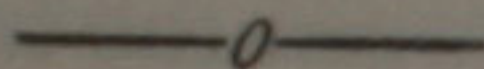
But a Christian dares no more take their words in his mouth than their wishes in his heart; but this you will say is mob, and to be considered as mob only. But let me tell you, this mob are Romans, and the worst too of enemies we have; the Romans then of better rank are certainly better subjects, and their fidelity greater in proportion to their quality; not a man of the senatorian or equestrian order but is all subjection; and not a breath of rebellion ever comes from camp or court. If so, whence came the Cassiuses, the Nigers and Albinuses?² Whence those who set upon the Emperor Commodus between the two laurel groves at Lauretum? and those who got him strangled at his exercise with his wrestling-master Narcissus? Whence those who broke into the palace, sword in hand, and murdered Pertinax, in a more audacious manner than Domitian was by the Sigeriuses and Partheniuses? Now these parricides (if I mistake not) were men of rank, and Romans; and not a Christian among them. And these traitors just before the perpetration of this horrid impiety offered sacrifice for Cæsar's life, and swore by Cæsar's genius, with religion in their faces, and murder in their hearts, and branded the Christians with the character of public enemies. But the principals and abettors of this wicked conspiracy against Severus which are daily detected, and picked up as the gleanings after a vintage of rebellion.³ Bless me! with what loads of laurel did they signalize their gates on

¹ *De nostris annis Jupiter augeat annos.*

² *Unde Cassii, et Nigri, et Albini?* Whoever has a mind to see a particular account of these Tyranni, and those that adhered to them, may read the life of Avidius Cassius in Vulcatius, the life of Niger in Spartianus, and that of Albinus in Capitolinus. See also the preface of Baldwinus before Minutius Felix.

³ *Post Vindemiam Parricidarum Racematio Superstes.* How this passage determines the time of this Apology, I have already mentioned; and that relates not to the death of Plautianus, according to Baronius, tom. ii., *Annal.* p. 264, and according to Mr. Dodwell, *Cyp. diss.* xi. cap. 51, p. 282, but to the death of Pertinax, is to me most probable from the history of Zosimus, lib. i., where he gives this account—*καὶ πρόγι ἀπάντων*, etc., *Ante omnia* (Severus) *de Militibus qui Pertinacem necaverant, et Juliano tradiderant Imperium, acerba Supplicia sumpsit.*

Cæsar's birthday! With what extraordinary illuminations did their porches overcast the sun!¹ With what exquisite and stately tables did they take up the forum! Not in truth to celebrate the public joy, but to take omens from hence of their own future empire, and to inaugurate this image of their hopes, even upon Cæsar's festival, by calling themselves in their hearts by the name of Cæsar. They likewise pay the same observances who are so officious in consulting astrologers, and soothsayers, and augurs, and magicians about the life of the emperors;² for these fortune-telling arts delivered by fallen angels, and interdicted by God, the Christians never apply to in any cause of theirs. For what business has a man to be so curious about Cæsar's life, who has no design against it, or expectations from it? For we seldom ask questions about our dearest friends, with the same intent as we do about our masters; and the solicitude of relations, and the curiosity of slaves, are generally upon very different principles.



CHAPTER XXXVI.

CONCERNING THE CHRISTIAN DUTY OF LOVING ENEMIES.

IF the case be thus, that such as are found traitors in the very fact shall be indulged the title of Romans, why are we denied the benefit of that title who are only thought traitors? Can we not be Romans without being rebels, because so many Romans have been found guilty of rebellion? That piety, veneration, and loyalty

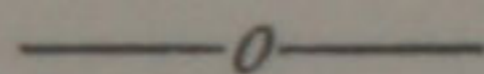
¹ *Lucernis vestibula enubilabant.* It was the manner of the Grecians to express the celebration of festival days by φωσι καὶ σπιφανώμασι, by illuminations and coronets of flowers. And Persius, speaking of Herod's birthday, has these words—

*Unctâq. ; fenestrâ
Dispositæ pinguem nebulam vomuere Lucernæ.*

But the Christians would not express their joy by lights and laurels; and for candles, we find an express prohibition against them in the Apostolical Canons, can. 70—*Si quis Christianus oleum tulerit ad sacra Gentilium, vel Synagogam Judæorum, Festis ipsorum diebus, aut lucernas accenderit, de Societate pellatur.*

² *Qui Astrologos et Aruspices, et Augures, et Magos de Cæsarum capite consultant.* Our author mentions these several sorts of conjurors, because many of them had been put to death upon this account by Severus. For thus Spartianus in his life of Severus, *Multos etiam, quasi Chaldaeos, aut vates, de sua salute consulissent, interemit.*

therefore which is due to emperors, does not consist in the fore-mentioned shows of duty, which even rebellion cloaks herself in to pass undiscovered, but in such virtues as civil society finds necessary to be practised sincerely towards prince and people. Nor are these actions of a virtuous mind looked upon by us as a tribute due to Cæsar only; for we have no respect of persons in doing good, because by so doing we do good to ourselves, who catch at no applause or reward from men, but from God only, who keeps a faithful register of our good works, and has ample rewards in store for this universal charity; for we have the same good wishes for emperors as for our nearest friends. To wish ill, to do ill, to speak ill, or to think ill of any one, we are equally forbidden without exception. What is injustice to an emperor is injustice to his slave; and that which is unlawful against the meanest is much more so against the greatest of men; and him too especially who came to this greatness by the appointment of God.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

A CONTINUATION OF THE UNLIMITED LOVE OF CHRISTIANS.

IF then (as I have elsewhere declared) we Christians are expressly commanded by our Master to love our enemies, whom then have we left to hate? And if when hurt we must not return the evil, for fear of being like the rest of the world, where shall we find a man to hurt? How well we practise this command of our Master, you yourselves can tell with a witness; for how many times, partly in compliance with a brutish passion, partly in obedience to the laws, have you judges showed a most savage cruelty to Christians! How often without your authority has the hostile mob of their own mere motion invaded us with showers of stones and fire! The mob, I say, who acted with the furies of a Bacchanal spare not even a dead Christian, but tear him from the quiet of a tomb, the sacred refuge of death, and mangle the body, hideously deformed already, and rotting to pieces; and in this rueful condition drag it about the streets. But now in all this conspiracy of evils against us, in the midst of these mortal provocations, what one evil have you observed to have been returned by Christians? Whereas we could in a night's time with links and firebrands in our hands have

made ourselves ample satisfaction by returning evil for evil, had we not thought it unlawful to quit the score of one injury with another. But God forbid that any of this divine sect should seek revenge by fire, after the manner of men, or grudge to suffer what is sent to refine them.

But if we would not revenge ourselves in the dark, but as professed enemies engage you in the open field, do you think we could want forces? The Moors, and Marcomans, and Parthians, which you have lately conquered, or any other people within the bounds of a country, are more numerous perhaps than those who know no other bounds than the limits of the world. We are but of yesterday, and by to-day are grown up, and overspread your empire; your cities, your islands, your forts, towns, assemblies, and your very camps, wards, companies, palace, senate, forum, all swarm with Christians. Your temples indeed we leave to yourselves, and they are the only places you can name without Christians. What war can we now be unprepared for?¹ And supposing us unequal

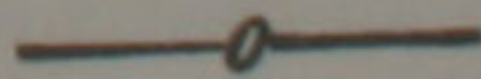
¹ *Cui bello non Idonæi, etc.?* In the preliminary discourse to this Apology, I have shown at large from this and the foregoing chapters that it was not for want either of strength or courage that the primitive Christians sat still and suffered; but purely the reverence they bore to the character of God in the emperor, tied their hands, and secured their passions, and perfectly got the better of self-preservation. It was the doctrine and example of their suffering Master which made them content to go this rugged way to heaven; and I cannot but think this extraordinary, supernatural patience, a mighty, strong, and moving argument for the truth of Christianity, to see its professors in such numbers, and for some ages, so willingly comply with a religion which, as Tertullian says, taught men they must choose rather to be killed than to kill. But because the measures of Christian obedience to the supreme powers are nowhere better argued and more clearly stated both from Scripture and antiquity, and from these passages, than by the Right Reverend and learned Bishop of Sarum himself in his four Conferences, printed at Glasgow in the year 1673, I recommend the reader for fuller satisfaction on this head to those excellent dialogues. However, for fear they should be out of print, I shall give him a taste for his encouragement to read the whole. Thus then he expresses his zeal with a justifiable primitive warmth, p. 17—"Whatever other cases allow of, certainly the defence of religion by arms is never to be admitted; for the nature of the Christian religion is such that it excludes all carnal weapons from its defence. And when I consider how expressly Christ forbids His disciples to resist evil, Matt. xxv. 39, how severely that resistance is condemned by St. Paul, and that condemnation is declared the punishment of it, I am forced to cry out, Oh! what times are we fallen in, in which men dare against the express laws of the gospel defend that practice upon which God hath passed this condemnation—"If whosoever break the least of these commandments, and teach men so to do, shall be called the least in the kingdom of God," what shall their portion be who teach men to break one of the greatest of these commandments, such as are the laws of peace and subjection? And what may we not look for from such

in strength, yet considering our usage, what should we not attempt readily? we whom you see so ready to meet death in all its forms of cruelty, was it not agreeable to our religion to be killed rather than to kill.

We could also make a terrible war upon you without arms, or fighting a stroke, by being so passively revengeful as only to leave you; for if such a numerous host of Christians should but retire from the empire into some remote region of the world, the loss of so many men of all ranks and degrees would leave a hideous gap, and a shameful scar upon the government; and the very evacuation would be abundant revenge. You would stand aghast at your desolation, and be struck dumb at the general silence and horror of nature, as if the whole world was departed. You would be at a loss for men to govern, and in the pitiful remains you would find more enemies than citizens; but now you exceed in friends, because you exceed in Christians.

Besides, whom would you have left to deliver you from the incursions of your invisible enemies, who lay waste both body and soul? From the devils I mean, from whose depredations we defend you gratis; and had we a spirit of revenge, it would make the passion full amends only to abandon you freely to the mercy of those impure beings; but without the least touch of gratitude for the benefit of so great a protection, you declare a sect of men, which are not only not burdensome, but necessary, to be public enemies; as we are indeed, but not in your sense, enemies not of human kind but of human errors only.

teachers, who dare tax that glorious doctrine of patient suffering, as brutish and irrational; and though it be expressly said, 1 Pet. ii. 21, that Christ by suffering for us left us His example how to follow His steps, which was followed by a glorious cloud of witnesses, yet in these last days, what a brood hath sprung up 'of men who are lovers of their own selves, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, who creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins!' It is our sins that provoked God to open the bottomless pit, and let loose such locusts; but were we turning to God, and repenting of the works of our own hands, we might hope that their power should be taken from them, and that their folly should be made known unto all men." Thus that great prelate.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THAT CHRISTIANS CAN NEVER BE JUSTLY SUSPECTED OF DESIGNS
AGAINST THE STATE.

THE Christian sect therefore for a certain ought to meet with kinder treatment than it does, and to be tolerated among other lawful societies,¹ because it is a sect from whom nothing hostile ever comes, like the dreadful issue of other unlawful factions. For, if I mistake not, such a multiplicity of sects is suppressed upon reasons of State, that the city should not be split into parties, for such breaches would let in a general disorder into all your popular elections, councils, courts, assemblies, and public sights, by the ambitious clashings of the contending factions; and never more reason to provide against such disorders than now, when the parties are sure not to want violent hands for any design; if they want not money to pay them.

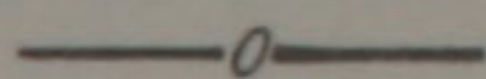
But for us who are stark cold and dead to all the glories upon earth, what occasion can we have for caballings? And in good truth nothing is further from our soul than the thoughts of mixing in State affairs, or in any private designs; for we look upon ourselves as citizens of the world.

We renounce your sports as much as we condemn their original,²

¹ *Inter licitas Factiones.* The politicians and statesmen troubled not their heads much about any religion, but only to support that which was by law established, and there being a law against the Heteriæ already mentioned, they prosecuted the Christians under the notion of a society dangerous to the State, among the rest without distinction. These Christian meetings, *ubi congregabantur oraturi, et verbi divini interpretationem accepturi, ac sacras Synaxes, habituri*, they called Conventicula, saith Heraldus. *Vid. Observat. in. Arnob. lib. iv.*

² *Spectaculis vestris in tantum renunciamus*, etc. This charge of sequestering themselves from the public sports and pleasures is urged against the Christians by the heathen in Minutius; and it is certain they thought themselves obliged so to do by their baptismal vow, which was an engagement upon their admission to renounce the devil and all his works, pomps, and pleasures, that is, saith St. Cyril, *Cat. Myst. i. p. 510*, the sights and sports of the theatre, and such like vanities. They looked in good truth upon these public pastimes, not only as scenes of folly and lewdness, but of idolatry; as places where the devil eminently ruled, and reckoned all his own who came there; and accordingly Tertullian, *de Spect. cap. 26, p. 83*, tells us of a Christian woman who, going to the theatre, was there possessed by an evil spirit, who upon his ejection being demanded how he durst set upon a Christian, immediately replied, "I did but what was just and fitting, for I found her upon my own ground."

which we know is owing to superstition and idolatry, and never are present at any of your diversions. We have nothing to do with the madness of the Cirque, with the obscenity of the stage, and the cruelty of the amphitheatre, and the vanity of the Xystus.¹ The Epicurean sect is tolerated in the exercise of their pleasures, and why are we such intolerable offenders for non-conforming with you in point of pleasure? Nay, if mortification is the Christian pleasure, where is the harm to you? if it be a harm, it is to ourselves only. But thus it is, your pleasures are our aversion, and ours affect not you.



CHAPTER XXXIX.

CONCERNING THE DISCIPLINE OF CHRISTIANS, AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT AND WAYS OF LIVING.

HAVING vindicated our sect from the calumnies of rebellion, etc., I come now to lay before you the Christian way and fashion of living.

We Christians then are a corporation or society of men² most strictly united by the same religion, by the same rites of worship,

¹ *Cum Xisti vanitate.* The Xystus was a gallery or portico of great length and breadth, and planted about with trees, where in the winter time the *athletæ* performed. *Vid. Alex. ab Alex.* tom. ii. cap. 9, p. 659. It was certainly a place too where philosophers and men of learning met, for here it was Justin Martyr met and disputed with Trypho the Jew.

² *Corpus sumus de conscientia Religionis, et Disciplinæ Unitate.* "We are one body by our agreement in religion and our unity of discipline." I know nothing less understood, or less regarded, than unity of discipline, as if that was no part of Church unity; forms of worship and government are now to be passed over with moderation, though the ancient and best of Christians reckoned unity of discipline, as well as faith, necessary to make them members of the same body. Dr. Barrow, a truly moderate and good man, in his excellent discourse concerning the unity of the Church, says, "That all Christians are one by a specific unity of discipline, resembling one another in ecclesiastical administrations, which are regulated by the indispensable sanctions and institutions of their sovereign. That they are all bound to use the same sacraments, according to the forms appointed by our Lord, not admitting any substantial alteration. They must uphold that sort of order, government, and ministry, on all its substantial parts, which God did appoint in His Church." And a little after he says, "That no power ought to abrogate, destroy, infringe, or violate the main form

and animated with one and the same hope. When we come to the public service of God, we come in as formidable a body as if we were to storm heaven by force of prayer, and such a force is a most grateful violence to God. When this holy army of supplicants is met and disposed in godly array, we all send up our prayers for the life of the emperors,¹ for their ministers, for magistrates, for the good of the State, for the peace of the empire, and for retarding the final doom.

We meet together likewise for the reading of Holy Scriptures,² and we take such lessons out of them as we judge suit best with the condition of the times, to confirm our faith either by

of discipline constituted by divine appointment. Hence the Meletians rejected by the Church for introducing ordinations. Hence was Ærius accounted a heretic for meaning to innovate in so grand a point of discipline as the subordination of bishops and presbyters. Upon which grounds" (says he at the conclusion of his discourse) "I do not scruple to affirm the recusants in England to be no less schismatics than any other separatists; they are indeed somewhat worse, for most others do only forbear communion, these do rudely condemn the Church to which they owe obedience, they strive to destroy it, they are most desperate rebels against it." Another person too of known learning, the Right Reverend author of the Conferences abovesaid, thus argues for unity of discipline, *Conf.* iii. p. 275—"If therefore the worship of God among us continue undefiled, even in the confession of all; if the sacraments be administered as before; if the persons who officiate be ministers of the gospel, then certainly such as separate from our public meetings do forsake the assemblies of the saints, and so break the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace." And page 280 he goes on—"But if separation be a sin, it must have a guilt of a high nature, and such as all who would be thought zealous watchmen ought to warn their people of. And what shall be said of those (even Churchmen) who, at a time when the laws are sharply looked to, do join in our worship; but if there be an unbending in these, they not only withdraw and become thereby a scandal to others, but draw about them divided meetings; are not those time-servers? For if concurrence in our worship be lawful, and to be done at any time, it must be a duty which should be done at all times; and therefore such masters of conscience ought to express an equality in their ways, and that they make the rules of their concurrence in worship to be the laws of God, and not the fear of civil punishment." Whoever would see more concerning the nature of Church unity, and the sin of occasional conformity, let him read the whole Conference.

¹ *Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro Ministris eorum*, etc. This, not without good reason, is thought to be the "common prayer" mentioned by St. Justin just before the communion, and much the same with that in our Communion Service for the Church Militant; the form whereof in the Apostolical Constitutions is described at large, *Const. Apost.* lib. ii. cap. 57, p. 881, and so lib. viii. cap. 10, p. 1011, which is still a further proof that the passage *sine monitore* ought not to be understood of extempore prayer.

² *Cogimur ad Divinarum literarum Commemorationem*, etc. This is just the same almost with what you had in the conclusion of Justin's Apology, and therefore the same note may serve for both.

forewarning us what we are to expect, or by bringing to our minds the predictions already fulfilled. And certainly our spiritual life is wonderfully nourished with reading the Holy Scriptures, our hopes thereby are erected, and our trust fixed and settled upon God. However, besides the bare reading, we continually preach and press the duties of the gospel with all the power and argument we are able; for it is in these assemblies that we exhort, reprove, and pass the divine censure or sentence of excommunication;¹ for the judgments in this place are delivered with all solemnity, and after the maturest deliberation imaginable, as being delivered by men who know they are pronouncing God's sentence, and act with the same caution as if God stood visibly among them; and the censures here pronounced are looked upon as an anticipation of the judgment to come, and the sinner precondemned by God, who has sinned to such a degree as to be shut out by his ministers from the fellowship of the faithful, the communion of prayers and sacraments, and the rest of that sacred commerce.

¹ *Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura Divina,—Summumque futuri Judicii Prejudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit ut a Communicatione Orationis et conventus et omnis Sancti commercii relegatur.* The Church subsisted now purely as a spiritual society independent of the State, and while it did so, and its censures were managed *magno cum pondere*, as our author speaks, with great gravity and judgment, they were looked upon as divine, and an anticipation of the judgment to come. And had this inherent power of the Church acted still independently of the civil power, and the people been made sensible of the necessity of the communion of the Church in order to salvation, I cannot see why excommunication should not have as good an effect, and be as much dreaded now, as in the primitive times, upon the same principles. However, thus much is observable from this passage, that men were first admonished and then reprov'd more severely, before the sentence of excommunication was passed. Secondly, that this sentence excluded them from all religious intercourse. And thirdly, that it was looked upon as the forerunner of future condemnation in the world to come. To the same purpose St. Cyprian speaks—*ad Pomponium, Spirituali Gladio superbi, et contumaces necantur, dum de Ecclesiâ ejiciuntur: neque enim vivere foris possent, cum Domus Dei una sit; et nemini salus esse, nisi in Ecclesiâ possit.* “The proud and contumacious are slain with the spiritual sword, by being cast out of the Church; for they cannot live without (or be admitted into any other Church), since the house of God is but one, and there can be no salvation to any, but only in the Church.” And thus again, *de Orat. Domin.* p. 192—*Eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum Salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstenti et non communicantes a Cœlesti Pane prohibemur; a Christi corpore separamur.* “We receive the Eucharist every day, as the food that nourishes to salvation; and while for any more grievous offence we do not communicate, but are debarred from the heavenly bread, we are separated from the body of Christ.” So far was this martyr from thinking that excommunication was little more than the loss of a grace-cup, or the Church ministers refusing him that bread and wine which was not bought with his, but other men's money.

The presidents or bishops¹ among us are men of the most venerable age and piety, raised to this honour not by the powers of money, but the brightness of their lives; for nothing sacred is to be had for money. That kind of treasury we have is not filled with any dishonourable sum, as the price of a purchased religion; every one puts a little to the public stock, commonly once a month,² or when he pleases, and only upon condition that he is both willing and able; for there is no compulsion upon any. All here is a free-will offering, and all these collections are deposited in a common bank for charitable uses, not for the support of merry meetings, for drinking and gormandizing, but for feeding the poor and burying the dead, and providing for girls and boys who have neither parents nor provisions left to support them, for relieving old people worn out in the service of the saints, or those who have suffered by shipwreck, or are condemned to the mines, or islands, or prisons, only for the faith of Christ; these may be said to live upon their profession, for while they suffer for professing the name of Christ, they are fed with the collections of His Church.

But strange! that such lovely expressions of Christian charity cannot pass with some men without a censure; for look ye, say they, how these Christians seem to love each other, when in their hearts they hate each other to death! How forward are they to

¹ *Præsident probati quique Seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti.* The presiding elders here are undoubtedly the same with the *προεστῶτες* in Justin Martyr's foregoing Apology, that is, the bishops; for our author, speaking of the power of excommunicating where it is lodged, tells us it was in the president, *ut extra Ecclesiam detur, inerat in Præsidentis officio, lib. de Pud. cap. 14.* And thus his scholar St. Cyprian, *de Unitate Ecclesiæ, Tenere firmiter, et vindicare debemus, maxime Episcopi qui in Ecclesia præsidemus.* They were *Probati Seniores*, men of age, and publicly approved for their life and conversation. For thus again, St. Cyprian in *Epist. ad Felicem—Quod ad ipsum videmus divinâ Auctoritate descendere, uti Sacerdos plebe præsentē sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio et testimonio comprobetur.* Agreeable to the practice of the apostles, who left it to the congregation as the most competent judges to choose fitting men, and then they ordained them to the office of deacon by prayer and laying on of hands.

² *Modicam unusquisque Stipem menstrua die, etc.* We have St. Paul, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, giving order to the Churches of Galatia and Corinth for weekly offerings for the saints, "That upon the first day of the week" (when they never failed to receive the sacrament) "they should every one of them lay by him in store according as God had prospered him." But I have already given an account of these charities, and therefore only remark here, that according to St. Paul's order, the collections were weekly to the time of Justin Martyr, but in the age following, that of Tertullian, we find these offerings sunk to monthly, *Menstrua die, etc.*

stake down their lives for one another, when inwardly they could cut one another's throats ! But the true reason of this defamation, upon the account of styling ourselves brethren, I take to be this, because the name of brother is found with these men to be only a gilded expression of a counterfeit friendship. But you need not wonder at this loving title among Christians, when we own even you yourselves for brethren by the right of one common nature ; although indeed you have cancelled this relation, and by being inhuman brethren have forfeited the title of men ; but by what diviner ties are we Christians brethren ! We who all acknowledge but one and the same God as our universal Father, who have all drunk of one and the same Holy Spirit, and who are all delivered as it were from one common womb of ignorance, and called out of darkness into His marvellous light. But maybe we cannot pass for right brothers with you, because you want a tragedy about the bloody feuds of the Christian fraternity ; or because our brotherly love continues even to the division of our estates, which is a test few brotherhoods will bear, and which commonly divides the dearest unions among you.

But we Christians look upon ourselves as one body, informed as it were by one soul ; and being thus incorporated by love, we can never dispute what we are to bestow upon our own members. Accordingly among us all things are in common,¹ excepting wives ; in this alone we reject communion, and this is the only thing you enjoy in common ; for you not only make no conscience in violating the wife of your friend, but with amazing patience and gratitude lend him your own. This doctrine, I suppose, came from the school of the Grecian Socrates, or the Roman Cato, those wisest of sages, who accommodated their friends with their own wives, wives which they espoused for the sake of children of their own begetting, as I imagine, and not of other folks.

Whether the wives are thus prostituted with their own consent, in truth I cannot tell, but I see no great reason why they should be

¹ *Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos*, etc. Dr. Potter observes from hence that among many other reasons why a certain proportion for the maintenance of the clergy was not fixed by the apostles, this was one, that there could be no occasion to determine the portion then, when men laid all they had at their feet ; and the same reason held good to our Tertullian's time, for he says here that Christians had all things in common but their wives. *Vid.* Dr. Potter's *Discourse of Church Government*, p. 434. I only observe further, what great veneration is due to the writers of those ages, when men valued nothing but religion, and followed Christ in the highest expression of charity, in selling all they had for the support of Christians.

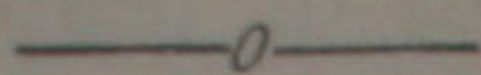
much concerned about that chastity which their husbands think not worth keeping. Oh, never-to-be-forgotten example of Athenian wisdom! Socrates the great Grecian philosopher, and Cato the great Roman censor, are both pimps.

But is it any great wonder that such charitable brethren as enjoy all things in common should have such frequent love-feasts? For this it is you blacken us, and reflect upon our little frugal suppers, not only as infamously wicked, but as scandalously excessive. Diogenes, for aught I know, might have us Christians in his eye when he said that the Megarensians feast as if they were never to eat more, and build as if they were to live for ever; but every one sees a straw in another's eye sooner than a beam in his own; or else you must be sensible of your own beastliness in this case; for the very air in the streets is soured with the belches of the people coming from their feasts in their several wards. The Salii cannot sup without the advance of a loan, and upon the feast of tithes to Hercules the entertainment is so very costly that you are forced to have a bookkeeper on purpose for expenses. At Athens likewise when the Apaturia, or feasts in honour of Bacchus for a serviceable piece of treachery he did, are to be celebrated, there is a proclamation for all the choice cooks to come in and assist at the banquet; and when the kitchen of Serapis smokes, what baskets of provisions come tumbling in from every quarter! But my business at present is to justify the Christian supper; and the nature of this supper you may understand by its name; for it is the Greek word for love. We Christians think we can never be too expensive, because we think all is gain that is laid out in doing good; when therefore we are at the charge of an entertainment, it is to refresh the bowels of the needy, but not as you gorge those parasites among you who glory in selling their liberty for stuffing their guts, and can find in their hearts to cram their bellies in spite of all the affronts you can lay upon them; but we feed the hungry, because we know God takes a peculiar delight in seeing us do it. If therefore we feast only with such brave and excellent designs, I leave you from hence to guess at the rest of our discipline in matters of pure religion; nothing earthly, nothing unclean, has ever admittance here; our souls ascend in prayer to God before we sit down to meat; we eat only what suffices nature, and drink no more than what is strictly becoming chaste and regular persons. We sup as servants that know we must wake in the night to the service of our Master, and discourse as those who remember that they are in the hearing of God. When supper is ended, and we have washed our hands, and the candles are

lighted up, every one is invited forth to sing praises to God, either such as he collects from the Holy Scriptures, or such as are of his own composing ;¹ and by this you may judge of the measures of drinking at a Christian feast. And as we began, so we conclude all in prayer, and depart not like a parcel of heated bullies, for scouring the streets and killing and ravishing the next we meet, but with the same tenor of temperance and modesty we came, as men who have not so properly been a-drinking as imbibing religion. This assembly of Christians therefore is deservedly ranked among unlawful ones, if it holds any resemblance with them ; and I will not say a word against condemning it, if any man will make good any one article against it which is charged upon other factions. Did we ever come together to the ruin of any one person ? We are the same in our assemblies as at home, and as harmless in a body as apart ; in neither capacity injuring or afflicting any person whatever. When therefore so many honest and good, pious and chaste people

¹ *Post aquam manualem et lumina, ut quisq. ; de Scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio Ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere.* Pliny, lib. x. ep. 97, reports it as a main part of the Christian worship, that they met together before day to join in singing hymns to Christ as God. These hymns were taken either out of the Holy Scriptures (and the compiler of the *Apostolical Constitutions* mentions the 33rd Psalm, lib. viii. cap. 13, p. 1023), or else such as were *de proprio Ingenio*, of their own head, of their own composing ; for it was usual at this time for any persons to compose divine songs in honour of Christ, and sing them in the public assemblies, till the Council of Laodicea ordered that no songs composed by private persons should be recited in the church, Can. 59. The dispute between us and the dissenters is about the sense of this phrase, *de proprio Ingenio*, which they will have to signify extempore raptures, in vindication of their own effusions ; against which the Reverend Mr. Bennet argues thus : That allowing this hymn to be extempore, yet it made nothing to the purpose, unless it could be proved that the congregation joined in it. Secondly, he denies the fact that the psalm was extempore, because no such thing as an extempore psalm was ever heard of ; those of David, though inspired, were notwithstanding precomposed. Nor does singing *de proprio Ingenio* psalms of their own composing, imply that they were extempore psalms, for psalms *de proprio Ingenio* are in this place opposed to psalms *de Scripturis Sanctis*, taken out of Scripture, and not to precomposed ones. Thus, that judicious person in his very laborious and very valuable *History of Set Forms of Prayer*, p. 243, which I had not the satisfaction to see till it was too late to add any improvements from him to my own remarks upon that passage, *Sine monitore quia de Pectore*, and therefore I recommend the reader to his eighth chapter, p. 95, where he will find this phrase largely and substantially treated. But after all, supposing these hymns to have been extempore, yet it is granted on all hands that the season of miracles and inspiration was not over in Tertullian's time, and therefore it is great contempt of authority and presumption in them to pray the same way, till they can prove they have the same gifts, especially since they find all such effusions censured and forbid by the Council of Laodicea already cited.

are met together, and regulated with so much discipline and order, such a meeting, I say, is not to be called factious, but as orderly an assembly as any of your courts.



CHAPTER XL.

THAT THE CAUSES OF PUBLIC EVILS ARE MOST MALICIOUSLY
THROWN UPON THE CHRISTIANS.

ON the contrary, faction is a name which belongs to those only who conspire in the hatred of the good and virtuous, and remonstrate full cry for innocent blood, sheltering their malice under this vain pretence, that they are of opinion, forsooth, that the Christians are the occasion of all the mischief in the world. If Tiber overflows,¹ and Nile does not; if heaven stands still and withholds its rain, and the earth quakes; if famine or pestilence take their marches through the country, the word is, Away with these Christians to the lion! Bless me! what, so many people to one lion! Pray tell me what havoc, what a mighty fall of people has been made in the world and Rome before the reign of Tiberius, that is, before the advent of Christ? We read of Hierannape, and Delos, and Rhodes, and Co, islands swept away with many thousands of their inhabitants. Plato tells of a tract of land bigger than Asia and Africa together, devoured by the Atlantic Ocean. Besides, an earthquake drank up the Corinthian Sea, and an impetuous force of water tore off Lucania from Italy, and banished it into an island, which goes now by the name of Sicily. Now these devastations of whole countries I hardly believe you will deny to be public calamities.

¹ *Si Tiberius ascendit in Mœnia, statim Christianos ad Leones.* The overflowing of Tiber was looked upon as an ill omen, as we see by that of Horace,

Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis, etc.

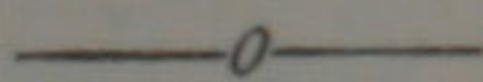
That it was the hard fate of the Christians to be continually charged as the cause of all the public calamities, we find by St. Cypr. *ad Demetr.* p. 197; and in the very first page of Arnobius *adv. Gent.* Nay, so hot and lasting was this calumny, that when the Goths and Vandals broke in upon the Roman empire, St. Austin was obliged to write his books *de Civit. Dei*, to silence this objection. And so likewise for the same reason did Orosius at St. Austin's request write his seven books of history. And Melito, Bishop of Sardis, in that fragment of his oration which we have in Eusebius, pursues the same design. *Vid. Eus. H. Eccl.* iv. cap. 26, pp. 119, 120. Whoever has a mind to be more particularly acquainted with the history of the following calamities will meet with references in abundance in Pamelius, and therefore I shall say nothing to them.

But where now, I do not ask, were the Christians, the professed despisers of your gods? But where, I trow, were your gods themselves when the deluge blotted out the whole world, or, as Plato will have it, the plains only? For that your gods were not in being in the time of the deluge, the cities wherein they breathed their first and their last, as well as those they founded, are a proof with a witness; for had they existed before the flood, they had not continued to this day, but been overwhelmed in the general ruin. As yet, the Jews, the original of the Christian sect, were not gone from Egypt into Palestine when the adjacent countries of Sodom and Gomorrah were consumed by a storm of fire; the land smells of burning to this day, and the apples that grow there are agreeable to the eye only, but turn to ashes upon the touch. Besides, we have not a word of complaint against the Christians from Tuscany or Campania, when Heaven shot his flames upon Volsinium, and Vesuvius discharged his upon Pompeium. Was there any worshipper of the true God at Rome when Hannibal made such havoc of the Romans at Cannæ, and computed the numbers of the slaughtered gentry by bushels of rings picked up after the battle? Were not all your gods everywhere in worship when the Gauls surprised the capitol? And it is really worth observing that in all these public evils the towns and temples both are involved in the same misfortune; which would not be, methinks, had your gods anything to do in the matter, because they would hardly have a hand in doing themselves a mischief.

But would you know the true reason of such judgments, you must know that mankind has always served God very ill; first by a stupid neglect of Him; for when they might have understood the divine nature in some measure, they would not pursue after it with their understanding, but let their vain imaginations go after gods of their own invention; and secondly, because that when God had been at the expense of revelation, they would not be at the pains of inquiring after it, nor be ruled by that Master He had sent to teach them righteousness; and to take vengeance on their sins, God gave them over to a reprobate mind to work all uncleanness with greediness. But had they went on as far as the light of nature, that candle of the Lord, would have led them, they had certainly found the God they looked for, and consequently would have served Him only, whom they found to be the only God; and by this means have experienced His mercies rather than His judgments. But now they lie under His just judgments, and which too they have felt long before the name of Christian had a being in the world, and whose goods man enjoyed long before he had made himself any

gods. Why will he not be persuaded to think that the Being who has done him the good without any thanks for his blessings, is the same Being that does him the evil for his ingratitude, since every person is so far guilty as he is unthankful?

However, if we enter into a comparison of past and present calamities, we shall find the account much abated since the coming of Christianity; for since that time the innocence of Christians has tempered the iniquities of the age, and there have been a set of men who knew the right way of deprecating the vengeance of God. Lastly, when we are in great want of rain, and the year in anxiety about the succeeding fruits, then you are at your baths and debauches, and offering your water sacrificès to Jupiter,¹ and ordering processions on barefoot for the people. You look for heaven in the capitol, and gape to the clouds upon the ceiling to dissolve in rain, without ever turning your eyes to the true heaven, and applying to the true God, who is the only help in time of need. But then in this great drought, we Christians sympathize with the world and dry up ourselves as it were with fasting, and are exceedingly temperate in all respects, differing the most frugal meals of life, and rolling in sackcloth and ashes; and in this pitiable posture we knock aloud for admission of our prayers with as much importunity as if we would bring odium upon heaven for denying our petition; and when we have, as it were, extorted pity from our God by the violence of prayer, then, forsooth, your Jove must have the honour of the grant.



CHAPTER XLI.

CONCERNING THE CAUSE AND REASON OF PUBLIC CALAMITIES.

IT is not Christians therefore but yourselves who are the bane of human affairs; you are the men who are continually drawing down judgments upon the world, you who set aside the true God, and set up images in His stead. For certainly it is more reasonable to

¹ *Aquilicia Jovi immolamus.* These Aquilecia were the sacrifices offered to Jupiter under great scarcity of water, *propter aquam eliciendam*; and thence called Jupiter Elicius, according to that of Ovid. *Fast.* lib. 3.

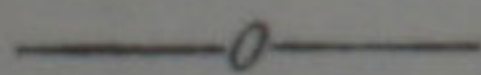
*Eliciunt cælo te Jupiter, unde minores
Nunc quoq. ; te celebrant, Eliciunq. ; vocant.*

believe that ours is the God provoked, who is in contempt among you, and not those you have in worship. Or verily yours are very unjust kinds of deities, who revenge themselves upon their worshippers for the sake of Christians who will not worship them, and make no distinction between friends and foes. But this, say you, reflects equally upon the God of Christians, for He makes no difference between them and heathens. But would you understand the economy of His providence, you would forbear this reflection; for He who has once determined at the end of the world to give every man his everlasting doom according to his works, will not anticipate His own appointed season, and make that difference now, which He has said He will not make till the conclusion of the world. In the meanwhile, therefore, the divine providence smiles and frowns upon all mankind without distinction, and scatters good and evil with an indifferent hand, that the pious and the impious might have both a taste of happiness and misery during this present state of things; and because we know the reason of these proceedings from God Himself, therefore we have a due sense both of His kindness and severity, but both to you are contemptible; and therefore it follows that all the evils which are sent by God upon the world are sent for our admonition and your punishment. But we are no ways concerned with what befalls us here, because in the first place our great concern is to get out of the world as fast as we can; and because in the next place what misfortunes do fall, we know that they are your provocations which have pulled them down; and when they do fall upon us, as without a miracle they must, considering how we are blended together in this world, we rejoice and are exceeding glad to find the miseries foretold verified in ourselves; and this sensible fulfilling of divine prophecies gives new life to our faith, and wing to our hope.

But if it be as you say, that they be the gods you worship who do you all this mischief, and for our sakes too, why do you continue such ungrateful and unjust gods in worship, who are so much obliged to vindicate and assist you to the utmost of their almightiness against the Christians?

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CHAPTER XLII.

THAT THE CHRISTIANS ARE A VERY USEFUL SORT OF PEOPLE.

ANOTHER article we are indicted upon is this, that we are a good-for-nothing, useless sort of people to the world; but how can this possibly be, since we converse with you as men, we use the same diet, habit, and necessary furniture? We are no Brahmins, or Indian gymnosophists, who live in woods, and as it were in exile from other men; and we act as men under the warmest sense of gratitude to God our Lord, the Creator of all things; and we reject nothing He has made for the use of man. We are indeed very temperate in our enjoyments, and cautious in transgressing the bounds of reason, and abusing the favours of His indulging providence, therefore we come to your forum,¹ we frequent your shambles, your baths, your shops, your stalls, your inns, and your marts, and all other kinds of commerce; we cohabit, we sail, we war, we till, we traffic with you; we likewise communicate our arts and work for the public; and notwithstanding all this, how we should be of no service to the public is a thing quite past my understanding.

But what if I do not frequent your festivals, I hope I may be a man, and have hands and feet for the public at that time as well as any other. If I do not bathe about night at your Saturn's feasts,²

¹ *Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis, etc.* You may observe from hence that the Christians of old, as devout and religious as they were, yet they conversed and traded with the heathen world, were active and diligent in their secular professions, and refused no calling whatever that was innocent in itself and useful to the public; for had they been never so good, and lived only to God and themselves, in woods and cloisters, they had not been shining lights, but candles under a bushel. Fishers of men must converse with multitudes, to spread their nets to greater advantage and for larger draughts; and we find by all the apologists that they caught as many by their examples, and preached as powerfully with their lives, as their sermons. And as the Jews were hated for their reservedness, selfishness, and ill-nature, and therefore made little progress, so, on the other hand, the Christians were as much admired even by their enemies, for the sweetness of their temper, their patience and unbounded charity, and therefore spread the more prodigiously.

² *Non labor diluculo Saturnalibus, etc.* The Saturnalia were noted feasts in the month December, blessed times of liberty, wherein the servants all sat at table and the masters waited. See more of this in Macrobius, *Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. 7. And December being a cold season, our author jeeringly tells them that he did not much like bathing so early, and that it was time enough for washing

it is because I am a better husband for the public than to wash away day and night to so little purpose ; however, I bathe at proper hours for my health's sake ; it is time enough in conscience to grow stiff and pale with washing when I am dead. I do not care for feasting with you in public, upon the festivals of Bacchus, because methinks I look like one of those condemned wretches who at these feasts is supping his last, and when you have given him his bellyful you throw him to your beasts. But however at this time, somewhere or other I do eat, and of some such victuals too as you eat. I lay out no money in chaplets of flowers to crown my temples, and pray how is your interest concerned which way I dispose of my flowers? It is more agreeable to me to see them free and loose and scattered about in a grateful confusion ; but yet when they are wreathed into a garland, even then it is my way to apply them to my nose ; let them if they please apply them to their head, who smell with their hair.¹ We come not to your sights, but if we want anything which is brought thither, we freely go and buy it at those places where it is ordinarily sold. We buy no frankincense, and if the Arabians complain, let the Sabæan merchants know that we take off greater quantities of more costly spices for the embalming our dead,² than others do for incensing

and being made stiff with cold when he was dead, alluding to the custom of washing the dead which was very ancient ; according to that of Ennius—

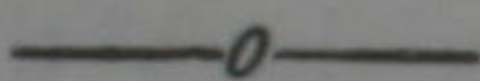
Tarquiniæ Corpus bona fœmina lavit et unxit.

The λουτρὰ πανύστατα (as Electra in Euripides calls it), extreme washings, or washing the dead bodies, was counted so necessary a thing, that towards the conclusion of Plato's *Phædo*, sec. 47, Edit. Cantab. *Select. Dial.*, we find that Socrates, when he intended to drink his poison, thought it best to set about washing himself beforehand to save the women the labour.—σκιδὸν τι μοι ἄρα τραπέθει πρὸς τὸ λυτρὸν. Δοκεῖ γὰρ ἤδη βελτίον εἶναι λουσάμενον πρὸς τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναῖξι παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν. And we find this custom of washing the dead in the Acts of the Apostles, ix. 37—“And it came to pass in those days, that she (Tabitha) was sick and died ; whom when they had washed, they laid her in an upper chamber.”

¹ *Non emo capiti coronam—Viderint, qui per capillum odorantur.* In reference to this, but in a more intelligible expression, is that of Minutius,—*Sane quod caput non coronamus ; ignoscite, Auram boni Flores naribus ducere, non occipitio capillisve solemus haurire.*

² *Sciunt Sabæi, pluris et carioris suas mercis Christianis sepeliendis,* etc. Thus again we have it in Minutius, *Reservatis unguento Funeribus.* The primitive Christians were very careful about funerals, and very costly in their spices and odours for embalming their dead ; and therefore when St. Polycarp was put to death they burnt his body in spite to the Christians, who had begged it of the proconsul, in order to embalm it and give it a solemn interment, whereupon they gathered up the bones and decently committed them to the earth, and there used to meet and celebrate the memory of that holy martyr. *Vid.*

their gods. Certainly, say you, the rates for the temple now come to nothing, and who can brag of any collections for the gods? And really we cannot help it; for in good truth we are not able to relieve such a parcel of beggars, both of gods and men; we think it very well if we can give to those that ask; and I will pass my word that if Jupiter will but hold out his hand, he shall fare as well as any other beggar. For we bestow more in the streets than you with all your religion do in your temples. However, if your temple wardens have reason to complain against Christians, the public, I am sure, has not, but on the contrary very great reason to thank us for the customs we pay with the same conscience as we abstain from stealing. So that was the account fairly stated how much the public is cheated in its revenues by the tricks and lies of those of your religion, who bring in an inventory of their goods in order to be taxed accordingly; you would soon find, I say, at the foot of the account that what the temple may lose in her offerings by the Christian religion, the State sufficiently gets in her taxes by the Christian fidelity in their public payments.



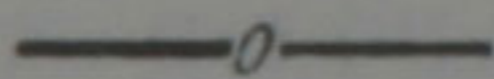
CHAPTER XLIII.

A FURTHER VINDICATION OF THE USEFULNESS OF CHRISTIANS TO THE PUBLIC.

BUT shall I tell you who the gentlemen be, if there be any in good truth, who make these heavy complaints of the unprofitableness of

Euseb. *H. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 15, p. 135. "This cost" (says Dr. Cave, *Prim. Christian*, part iii. cap. 2, p. 275) "the Christians doubtless bestowed upon the bodies of the dead, because they looked upon death as the entrance into a better life, and laid up the body as the candidate and expectant of a joyful and happy resurrection. Besides, hereby they gave some encouragement to suffering, when men saw how much care was taken to honour and secure the relics of their mortality, and that their bodies should not be persecuted after death." And I take leave to add, that considering how very careful the first Christians were to follow the Scriptures even in ceremonies indifferent, I question not, but finding how Joseph was embalmed, Gen. l. v. ult., and especially considering how the alabaster box of ointment of spikenard, very precious, was approved by our Lord Himself for His own burial, in that of St. Mark xiv. 8, "She has done what she could; she is come beforehand to anoint my body to the burying;"—I doubt not, I say, but this prevailed very much with the first Christians to be so expensive in their spices upon the dead.

Christians to the public? Why, first they are your panders, and pimps,¹ and filthy pliers about your baths;² next, your cut-throats, poisoners, and magicians; lastly, your soothsayers, wizards, and astrologers! These the gentlemen we Christians are so useless to, and I think it is very well for the public we are so; however, if you are sufferers in anything by Christians, they make you ample recompense another way; for what a valuable blessing is it you are in possession of, in having such a people among you who are not only your defence against devils, and always upon their knees to the true God in your behalf; not to insist upon this, I say, what a treasure is it barely to have such people to serve you as you are sure will never do you any harm!



CHAPTER XLIV.

THAT THE CHRISTIANS ARE CONDEMNED MERELY UPON THE
ACCOUNT OF THEIR NAME.

BUT your reason is so entirely blinded with prejudice that you have not an eye left to see the public damage, a damage as visibly great as true. Not a man weighs what the common injury amounts to by thus depopulating the empire of the most just and innocent subjects in it; it is hardly credible to imagine how many Christian prisoners your judges destroy at every gaol delivery, but only their trials are upon record. Among all this number of criminals, and this variety of indictments, what Christians do you find arraigned for assassinating, or for a pickpocket,³ or for sacrilege, or for pilfering at the bath? Do you hear at the trials any article

¹ These *Preductores* are much the same with *Lenones*, according to that of Horace—

—*Putasne*

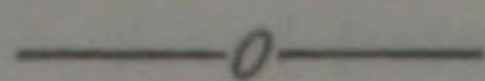
Perduci poterit, tam frugi tamq. ; pudica?

² *Aquarioli*. Filthy pliers about baths. *Aquarioli*, saith Festus, *dicebantur Mulieram impudicarum Asseclæ*. And are what Martial calls *Balneatores*—

*Certe Lucernâ Balneator extinctâ
Admittat inter bustuarias mæhas.*

³ *Manticularius*. A pickpocket. Of this word Festus speaks thus: *Manticularum usus pauperibus in nummis recondendis etiam nostro sæculo fuit, unde Manticularii dicebantur qui furandi gratiâ mantículas attrectabant.*

against Christians, like that which other malefactors are charged withal? Does not the prison sweat with your heathen criminals continually? Do not the mines continually groan with the load of heathens? Are not your wild beasts fatted with heathens? And is not the whole herd of condemned wretches which some public benefactors¹ keep alive for the entertainment of the amphitheatre, are not they all of your religion? Now, among all these malefactors, there is not a Christian to be found for any crime but that of his name only, or if there be, we disown him for a Christian.



CHAPTER XLV.

CONCERNING ONE GREAT REASON FOR THE INNOCENCE OF CHRISTIANS ABOVE THAT OF ALL OTHER PEOPLE.

WE then are the only harmless people among you, and where is the wonder, if it cannot well be otherwise? As in truth it cannot, considering our education; for the innocence we are taught, we are taught from God, and we know our lesson perfectly well, as being revealed to us by the Master of all perfection, and we observe it faithfully as the command of an all-seeing Lawgiver, who we know is not to be despised but at the hazard of eternal happiness. Whereas your systems of virtue are but the conjectures of human philosophy, and the power which commands obedience merely human; and so neither the rule nor the power indisputable, and consequently the one too imperfect to instruct us fully, and the other too weak to command us effectually, both which are abundantly provided for by a revelation from God. Where is the philosopher² who can so clearly demonstrate the true good as to

¹ *Munerarii*. Such sports and plays which were exhibited by private men at their own charges in order to ingratiate with the people, were called *Ludi honorarii*; and those of this nature were for the most part either fencing or stage-plays. Fencing is that which is here meant, and because freely bestowed, called *Munus*, and the bestowers of them *Munerarii*. In allusion to this is that of St. Jerome, *Munerarius Pauperum, et Egentium Candidatus Epist. ad Pammach.*

² *Tanta est Prudentia Hominis ad demonstrandum bonum, quanta Auctoritas ad exigendum, tam illa falli facilis, quam ista contemni.* “Where is the philosopher who can so clearly demonstrate the true good as to fix the notion beyond dispute? and what human power is able to reach the conscience, and bring down

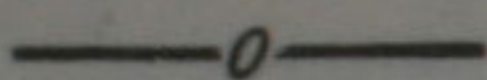
fix the notion beyond dispute? and what human power is able to reach the conscience, and bring down that notion into practice? For human wisdom is as subject to error as human power is to contempt. And therefore let us enter a little into a comparison between your laws and ours. Tell me then, which do you take to be the fullest and completest law, that which says, Thou shalt do no murder, or that which restrains the very passion of anger? Which expresses greatest purity and perfection, the law which prohibits the outward act of adultery, or that which condemns the bare lust of the eye? Which is the wisest provision for innocence, to forbid evil-doing, or not to permit so much as evil-speaking? Which is the most instructing lesson for the good of mankind, to debar men from doing injury, or not so much as to allow the injured person the common privilege of returning evil for evil?

But this is not all, for I must give you to understand that these very laws of yours, which are but in the way to perfection, are no more in good truth than a transcript of the old law of God, older by much than any law of your making, but I have already laid before you the antiquity of Moses.

But as our law is more perfect in its precepts, so is it more cogent in its penalties; for pray tell me what is the force of human

the notion into practice? For human wisdom is as subject to error as human power is to contempt." It is plain, in fact, from the sad state of darkness which overspread the world at the coming of our Saviour, that human reason unassisted was not sufficient for the establishment of true moral righteousness, or to make one entire and perfect system of the law of nature. But supposing such a body of ethics possible to be collected from the writings of the philosophers as we find in the gospel, how far must such a collection fall short from a complete, steady, indisputable rule of morality! It is all at most but human wisdom, and that (as Tertullian says) is as subject to error as human power is to contempt, and both consequently subject to dispute. Had the sayings of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, etc., any authority? They were only the sayings and opinions of mere men, and so might be rejected or embraced as men thought fit; or if any part of the doctrine of a philosopher must go for law, the whole must pass for such too, or else his authority ceases. Such a system therefore of morality as was not only perfectly agreeable to right reason, but also of divine indisputable authority in every point, was wanting to the world before the coming of our Saviour, allowing mere human philosophy as perfect as you please in point of truth. Such a system, I say, was wanting which was not only right in every rule, but of infallible wisdom and authority in every precept, and easy and intelligible in all things necessary to every understanding; and the gospel, and only the gospel, is such a system, dictated by divine wisdom, and confirmed by divine authority, by such a wisdom as is not subject to error, and by such a power as cannot be disputed.

laws? Which an offender has oftentimes a chance to escape either by lying hid in his wickedness, or else by pleading inadvertency or compulsion. Reflect likewise upon the shortness of human punishment, which always ends with life; for this reason you see how little Epicurus valued any kind of torment, by laying down this for his maxim of comfort, that a little pain is contemptible, and a great one is not lasting. But we who know we must account to a God who sees the secrets of all hearts; we who have a prospect of that eternal punishment He has in store for the transgressors of His laws; we, I say, may well be looked upon under so much revelation, to be the only men who always take innocence in their way; and considering the omniscience of our Law-giver, and that darkness and light to Him are both alike, and withal weighing the heaviness of future torment, torment not lasting only, but everlasting, we proportion our fear and obedience accordingly, fearing Him whom those judges ought to be afraid of, who condemn Christians for standing more in awe of God than the proconsul.



CHAPTER XLVI.

THAT CHRISTIANS HAVE A BETTER RIGHT TO A TOLERATION THAN PHILOSOPHERS.

I HAVE now, as I think, stood the whole charge, and replied to every article, for which men have been so deadly clamorous for the blood of Christians. I have likewise laid before you our whole state, and the ground of our faith, namely, the antiquity of the divine Scriptures most credibly attested, together with the testimony and confession of the very devils themselves; he therefore that will take upon him to refute me ought to disprove these facts in the same method and simplicity as I have proposed them, and not to fold himself in quirks of logic or the disguise of eloquence.

In the meantime, I cannot but take notice of the strange incredulity of some men, who notwithstanding they are convinced of the excellency of our sect, which they are notoriously sensible of by their conversation and dealings with us, yet they will not be convinced that Christianity is of diviner original than mere human philosophy. For, say they, philosophers prescribe and profess the

same doctrine as Christians, namely, innocence, justice, patience, temperance, and chastity. But now if this comparison be just, and Christianity and philosophy be the same things, pray, what is the reason that we have not the same philosophic treatment? Why are we not equalled to those in points of privilege and impunity, to whom we are compared in points of discipline? Why are not they who are of the like profession with us put upon the same offices with us, and which we for refusing run the risk of our lives? But what philosopher is compelled to sacrifice or swear by your gods, or to hang out a parcel of insignificant lights at noonday upon your festivals? And yet these philosophers destroy your gods openly,¹ and write against your superstitions, and with your approbation into the bargain. Nay, many of them not only snarl, but bark aloud against the emperors, and you bear it very contentedly; and not only so, but give them statues and pensions instead of throwing them to the beasts for so doing; and all this, no doubt, with great reason, because they go by the name of philosophers, and not Christians,—a name² which gives no disturbance to the demons, and how should it? since the philosophers do these demons the honour as to place them next the gods. For it was a constant form in the mouth of Socrates, By my demon's leave I will do so or so. Yet even this same philosopher after he had given such an instance of his true wisdom in denying the divinity of your gods, yet notwithstanding this (such was the inconstancy of the man) he

¹ *Quin imo et Deos vestros palam destruunt,—laudantibus vobis.* These and the following words are plainly an imitation, or rather a translation of those in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. sec. 4—κακείνων τὰ διδάγματα οἱ μετερχόμενοι οὐκ εἴργονται πρὸς ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ τιμὰς τοῖς εὐφωνέσι ὑβρίζουσι τούτοις ἠθέλει.

² *Nomen hoc Philosophorum Dæmonia non fugat.* When the more sober and inquisitive heathens took a stricter view of the lives of the preachers of the gospel, and of the genuine followers, instead of the common and rude name of impostors, they gave them the more civil title of philosophers, as we find from the beginning of this chapter: *Sed dum unicuiq. ; manifestatur veritas nostra, quod usu jam et de commercio innotuit, non utiq. ; Divinum negocium existimant, sed magis Philosophiæ genus.* They could not but own Christianity to be a more exalted kind of philosophy, when they saw the Christians live above the very notions of the philosophers. But the difference between the life of a Christian and a philosopher was not the only characteristic; for, says our Tertullian, *Nomen hoc Philosophorum Dæmonia non fugat.* Philosopher is a name the devils value not; they stand in no awe of a philosopher's beard, nor will the hem of his pallium cure any diseases. But Christians did not only outlive them in virtue, but outdid them in power. For Christ was a name that made the very devils tremble; a thing which the philosophers with all their mighty wisdom were so far from pretending to, that they worshipped those very demons next to their gods. So that Christianity and philosophy differ just as much as heaven and earth, as a name that can do everything, and a mere empty title.

ordered a cock to be sacrificed to Æsculapius¹ just upon the point of expiring, in gratitude, I suppose, to his father Apollo, who had given him out for the wisest of mortals. O inconsiderate Apollo! was you bewitched thus to ungod yourself, by crying up such a one for the wisest of men, who cried down the whole race of heathen gods?

But forasmuch as men of corrupted minds have always a burning hatred to truth, so her strictest followers must expect to meet with the severest usage; but he who adulterates truth will be sure to have the thanks of her enemies for his service. Accordingly, philosophers affect truth only in appearance, and this affectation puts them upon corrupting her, for the glorious vanity of a name; but Christians are heartily and violently set upon pure truth, and perform her commands sincerely, as men who have nothing to care for here, but in order to their salvation hereafter; and therefore Christians, both in respect of conscience and discipline, notwithstanding your comparison, are very different persons. And for a further proof of this difference, consider what was the answer that Thales the prince of naturalists made Cræsus, when he was pressed by him plainly to declare his positive notions of the divine nature. Did not the philosopher put off the prince from time to time with his "I will consider on it"? But the meanest mechanic among Christians apprehends God, and can answer the question, and can assign substantial reasons, and very sensibly explain himself upon all these disquisitions about the divine nature; though Plato affirms it to be so difficult to find out the Creator of the universe, and when found, to express himself intelligibly upon that subject. But if you make a challenge between Christians and heathens, in point of morals, let us enter the lists, and begin with chastity; and in the trial of Socrates I read one article of the Athenians against him for sodomy; but a Christian keeps inviolably to one sex and one woman. I find also that Diogenes could not lie contentedly in his tub without his mistress Phryne; and I hear of one Speusippus of Plato's school, slain in the very act of adultery; but a Christian is a man only to his own wife. Democritus by putting out his eyes, because he could not look upon a woman with innocence, and was not easy within the bounds of chastity, sufficiently published his incontinence by his cure; but a Christian can

¹ *Æsculapio tamen gallinaceum prosecari in fine judebat.* The last dying words of Socrates we have in the conclusion of Plato's *Phædo*, and they are these—*ὦ κρίτων, ἦφην, τῷ Ἄσκληπιῷ ὀφείλομεν ἀλεκτρούνα, ἀλλὰ ἀπόδοτε καὶ μὴ ἀμιλήσατε.*

look upon a woman securely, because his mind is blind to all impressions of that nature. If the question is about probity or sweetness of temper, behold Diogenes with his dirty feet treading upon Plato's stately carpets, and crying he trampled upon Plato's pride, though the sloven did it with a greater pride of his own; but the Christian expresses not the least air of haughtiness to the poorest man on earth. If we contend about moderation with respect to worldly greatness, behold Pythagoras affecting tyranny at Thurium, and Zeno at Priene! But a Christian has not the ambition to aspire even to the office of an ædile. If we compare equanimity, remember Lycurgus made away with himself because he was unable to bear the thought of the Lacedæmonians correcting the severity of his laws; but a Christian after condemnation is able to return thanks to those who have condemned him. If you vie with us in fidelity, there is your Anaxagoras who had not fidelity enough to restore the strangers the goods they had deposited in his trust; but a Christian has the name of faithful, even among the enemies of his faith. If we dispute humility, I must tell you that Aristotle could not sit easy until he proudly made his friend Hermias sit below him; but a Christian never bears hard, so much as upon his enemy. The same Aristotle was as gross a dauber of Alexander, to keep that huge pupil under his management, as Plato was of Dionysius for the benefit of his belly. Aristippus in his purple, and under the greatest show of gravity, was an arrant debauchee; and Hippias¹ was killed while he was actually in ambush against the city, a thing which no Christian ever attempted for the deliverance of his brethren, though under the most barbarous usage. But perhaps it may be replied that some Christians are far from living up to their profession, to which I reply again, that then they are as far from having the reputation of Christians among those who truly are so; but yet philosophers shall enjoy the name and honour of philosophy among you in spite of the wickedness of

¹ *Hippias dum Civitati insidias disponit, occiditur; hoc pro suis omni atrocitate dissipatis nemo unquam Christianus tentavit.* Concerning the several crimes charged upon the philosophers in this catalogue, the reader may find them sufficiently dilated on by the commentators; but that which I think mostly remarkable in this comparison between a philosopher and a Christian is, that he concludes the whole with the instance of rebellion in Hippias, "a thing," says he, "which no Christian was ever heard to have attempted for the rescue of his brethren, though under the most provoking and barbarous usage." This upon all occasions he shows to be the distinguishing character of Christians, this he triumphs upon, and therefore concludes the period with non-resistance like an orator who gradually rises higher and higher, and clinches all with that he thinks most likely to leave the deepest impression.

their lives. And where is now the similitude between a philosopher and a Christian? between a disciple of Greece and of heaven? a trader¹ in fame and a saver of souls? between a man of words and a man of deeds? between a builder up of virtue and a destroyer of it? between a dresser up of lies and a restorer of truth? between a thief and a guardian of this sacred depositum?

¹ *Famæ Negotiator, et Vitæ.* "A trader in fame, and a saver of souls." *Philosophus Gloriæ Animal. et popularis auræ vile mancipium*, says Jerome *ad Julianum*. "A philosopher is an animal of fame, one who basely drudges for the breath of the people." Lactantius is not a little severe with Cicero upon this very score, for thus he delivers himself in his second book *de Origine Erroris*, sec. 3, p. 67, Cantab. Edit., *intelligebat Cicero falsa esse*, etc. "Cicero," says he, "was very sensible of the vanities in worship, and when he had said enough in all reason utterly to overthrow the established religions, yet he concludes that these were the truths not to be told the people for fear of unhinging the religions of the State. Now what is to be done with a man who knows himself in an error, and yet knowingly dashes upon a rock, that the people may do so too? who pulls out his own eyes to secure others in darkness; who neither deserves well of those he permits to wander, nor of himself, whom he associates with practices he condemns; who makes no use of his wisdom for the regulation of his life, but wilfully entangles himself to ensnare others, whom as the wiser person he was obliged to rescue from error. But, O Cicero! if you have any regard for virtue, attempt rather to deliver the people out of ignorance; it is a noble enterprise, and worthy all your powers of eloquence; never fear but your oratory will hold out in so good a cause, which never failed you in the defence of so many bad ones. But Socrates' prison is the thing you dread, and therefore truth must want a patron. But certainly, as a wise man, you ought to despise death in competition with truth; and you had fallen more honourably by much for speaking well of truth, than for speaking ill of Antony. Nor will you ever rise to that height of glory by your Philippics, as you would have done by labouring to undeceive the world, and dispute the people into their senses." This I take to be a just character, Socrates excepted, of all the heathen philosophers; they were traders for fame, and enriched their heads only to fill their pockets; they never loved truth well enough to suffer for her, nor would plead her cause before the Areopagus or Senate, at the hazard of their lives; their notions were inactive, and lay floating only on their fancies, nor were the people nor themselves the better men for their philosophy; Socrates' prison spoiled all. How unlike to this was the carriage of the apostles and their genuine followers! How did they engage in the defence of truth! With what zeal did they preach their crucified Master before Sanhedrim and Senate, in the face of all the discouraging tortures witty malice could invent! They accounted no hazards comparable to the advantage the world would enjoy by the propagation of Christian philosophy; they rejoiced that they were accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. This showed a truly noble and generous spirit, that would not be discouraged from doing the world good, though the benefactors met with such hard usage for their pains. This likewise showed the divine power of the Christian religion, that it was able to raise its professors above all considerations present, for the joy that was set before them. Such was the difference between a philosopher and a Christian, between a disciple of Greece and a disciple of heaven.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THAT THE HEATHEN POETS AND PHILOSOPHERS STOLE MANY OF THEIR NOTIONS FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

THE antiquity¹ of the divine writings which I have already established would be a proper topic to insist upon here, in order to convince you that those writings have been the treasury of all succeeding wisdom; and this topic I would pursue at large, was it not for fear of swelling this Apology to a volume. But, to be short, which of your poets,² which of your sophisters have not drank from

¹ *Antiquior omnibus*, etc. Was it not for fear of swelling this tract beyond the bounds of an Apology, Tertullian says, he would enter into a particular proof of the antiquity of the Holy Scriptures. The reader will find this largely treated by Eusebius in his *Præpar. Evang.*, where in the fifth chapter, lib. x., you will see that the Grecians had not so much as the use of letters till Cadmus the Phœnician introduced them, which the Phœnicians had from the Syrians, that is, the Hebrews, which bordered upon them. In this chapter you will see also, not only the affinity between the Hebrew and Greek alphabet, which I have already mentioned, but how all the two-and-twenty letters in the Hebrew have their proper signification, which in the Greek have no meaning at all; which plainly proves the one to be but an imperfect copy of the other, especially when the letters are just almost the same in both, as Alph, Alpha, etc.

² *Quis Poetarum, qui non omnino de Prophetarum fonte potaverit?* The Grecian bards of old were the instructors of the people, and priests generally as well as poets; they travelled much into Egypt and other parts most noted for antiquity and learning; and from thence freighted themselves with ancient traditions, which they set their fancies to work upon, and so hacked and hewed and disguised the originals, that it was hard to say from what country they came. *Græcia Mendax* was a true motto. I will not go about to show particularly how the poets have plundered the prophets, since Bochartus, *Vossius de Idol.*, and Bishop Stillingfleet, *Orig. Sac.*, have so nicely traced the plagiaries and discovered the foundation of almost the whole fabulous superstructure, in spite of all their artifice to conceal it. However, it may not be amiss just to mention some of the ways they took to conceal and colour the impostures. And one way was, to alter the Hebrew name and put a Greek one in the place of like importance. Thus Cham or Ham, who either for his minority or undutifulness had his share of government allotted him in the barren sands of Africa, and was there for many ages worshipped under the name of Jupiter Hamon, which the Egyptians by leaving out the aspirate call Ἀμμῶν or Ἀμοῦν, according to that of Herodotus in his *Euterpe*, Ἀμμῶν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλεοῦσι τὴν Δία. Thus I say, for Ὡν Ham, which signifies *fervidus* from the radix Ὡν *fervere*, they put Ζεῦς, from ζω, which signifies the same in Greek with Ham in Hebrew. This Ammon had a temple in the city of No, as we find from that of Jeremiah xlvi. 25: "Behold, I will punish the multitude of No, and Pharaoh and Egypt with their gods." That which we render the multitude of No, is in the original *Amon de No*,

the fountain of the prophets? It is from these sacred sources likewise that your philosophers have refreshed their thirsty, inquisitive spirits. From hence also it is that philosophy has been proscribed some countries, as Thebes, Sparta, and Argos, for the monstrous issue she produced from the adulterous mixture of divine truths with human inventions; and no wonder, since (as I have said) these philosophers were men of glory only, and driven on with the lust of eloquence. Accordingly, if they found anything in our divine digests¹ which hit their fancies, or might serve

the God Amon, whose temple was in the city No. *Vid.* Bochar. *Phaleg.* lib. i. pp. 5, 6. Another way of disguising their thefts was by taking the Hebrew in its literal and proper sense, thus finding Noah (whom Bochartus has demonstrated to be the same with Saturn) to be called, Gen. xi. 20, אִישׁ הָאֲרָמָה, *vir Terræ*, a husbandman, as *Vir Sanguinis*, *Vir Pecoris*, a bloody man, a shepherd, 2 Sam. xvi. 7, Gen. xlvi. 32. A most familiar phrase among the Hebrews, they take *vir Terræ* or husbandman in a literal sense for ἀνὴρ τῆς γῆς, the husband of the earth; and so Saturn, which was Noah, is reported to have married Rhea, that is, the earth. *Vid.* Bochart. *Phaleg.* lib. i. cap. 1, p. 3. And so likewise where the Oriental languages were ambiguous or equivocal, by omitting the obvious sense and following the obscure, they spun out strange stories. Thus again the great Bochartus, lib. iv. cap. 31, has traced the fable of the Golden Fleece, which was nothing but the robbing the treasury of the king of Colchis, framed from the equivocal Syriac word כֹּוֹא, which signifies both a fleece and a treasury; and so the bulls and dragons which kept it were nothing but the walls and brazen gates, for שׁוֹר signifies both a bull and a wall, and שַׁחַב, brass and a dragon. I shall mention but one Grecian artifice more, which was by ascribing to some of their own nation what is recorded in the sacred history. Thus the Thessalians make Deucalion to be the person who escaped the flood, and from whom the world was peopled after it; and whoever compares the relation of Deucalion's flood in Apollodorus, *Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 19, with that of Moses, may easily turn Apollodorus's Greek into the language of Scripture by only turning Greece into the whole earth, and Deucalion into Noah, Parnassus into Ararat, and Jupiter into Jehovah. *Vid.* Bishop Stillingfleet's *Orig. Sac.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

¹ *Si quid in Sanctis Scripturis offenderunt, pro instituto Curiositatis ad propria opera verterunt.* In the foregoing Apology, Justin Martyr gives several instances wherein Plato had stolen from Moses; and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* 1, calls Plato, τὸν Ἑβραίων φιλόσοφον. See St. Austin, *de Doctr. Christ.* lib. ii. cap. 28, *de civit. Dei*, lib. xviii. cap. 41, and lib. viii. cap. 11. But above all, see this philosopher hunted through all his coverts, and traced home to the prophets by Eusebius in his *Præpar. Evang.* lib. xi. xii. xiii., and there you will find with what good reason the Fathers charged the philosophers in general, and Plato in particular, for shirking from the Holy Scriptures, according to that of Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.* lib. xi. cap. 10, τί γὰρ ἐστὶ Πλατων, ἢ Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων; *Quid est aliud Plato, quam Moses Atticè loquens?* Origen is of opinion that Plato by conversing with the Jews in Egypt came acquainted with the history of the fall of man, which after his enigmatical way he describes in his *Symposiacs*, where he introduces Porus the god of plenty feasting with the rest of the gods; after supper Penia comes to the door a-begging; Porus being drunk with nectar, goes into Jupiter's garden, and there falls fast asleep; Penia observing it steals to

their hypothesis, they took it and turned it and bent it to a compliance with their own curiosity; not considering these writings to be sacred and unalterable, nor understanding their sense, which was then under a cloud to those carnal minds, as it is at this day to the very Jews, to whom they were appropriated. For if in any place truth appeared in its native simplicity without the disguise of type or metaphor, worldly wisdom, instead of submitting her faith, blended the certainties of revelation with her own philosophic uncertainties; for having dipped in the Holy Scripture, and found there is no other God but one, they presently divided into various speculations about the divine nature, some asserting it to be incorporeal, others corporeal, as the Platonics and Stoics; some composing him of atoms, and others of numbers, as Epicurus and

him, and by this cunning conceived by him. In this fable of Plato, Origen observes the resemblance between Jupiter's garden and Paradise, and between Penia and the serpent, etc. And he is the rather confirmed in his conjecture, because he knew it to be Plato's custom to wrap up his sublimest notions in fable, for fear of disobliging the fabulous Greeks, who hated the Jews, and who would have themselves pass for the wisest, if not the most ancient people; and I may add, too, that nobody else might know from whence Plato had his notions. *Vid. Orig. cont. lib. iv.* And as Plato purloined his divinest discoveries from the prophets, and perplexed them on purpose to hide the theft, so is it very remarkable that the latter Platonists, such as Jamblichus, Hierocles, Simplicius, etc., talk in a kind of evangelical strain, and as much above Plato as the apostles do above the prophets; and at the same time vilify the Christians for a blind to make believe that there was nothing in the Christian doctrine worth borrowing, just as their master Plato had done before them. For it is to be remembered that Plotinus, Porphyrius, Jamblichus, and Hierocles were brought up under the great Ammonius of Alexandria, as well as Herennius and Origen. This Ammonius both lived and died a Christian, as Eusebius and Jerome testify, *Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 19, Hieron. de Script. Eccl.*, and so instructed his scholars in the Christian mysteries, as well as the pagan philosophy at the same time. The not observing therefore that the admirable discourses of these latter Platonists had their rise from a Christian master, has been the ground of two scurvy mistakes amongst some learned critics, namely, of overvaluing the Platonic philosophy, as if in their notions of the origin of evil, and the degeneracy of our souls from their primitive purity, etc., they outdid revelation, though it is evident that their noblest flights took wing from the gospel. Secondly, of charging the primitive Fathers with Platonizing, a charge (as I have proved) they utterly deny, and on the contrary tax the philosophers with Christianizing, or stealing from the doctrine of Christ; which they wrested only to serve their hypothesis, and without telling a word whence they had the notion; and not only the philosophers, but the heretics (says Tertullian) had got a trade of blending philosophy and Christianity together. And our author complains not only here of this tampering with Scripture among Christians, but cries out in his *Prescription against Heretics, cap. 7—Viderint qui Stoicum et Platonicum et Dialecticum Christianismum protulerunt.* And it is notorious of late years what attempts have been made to reform religion by philosophy, instead of making philosophy bend to revelation.

Pythagoras, and some of fire, as was the opinion of Heraclitus. The Platonists likewise maintain his care and providence over his creation; on the contrary, the Epicureans make him a careless, inactive God, and, as I may say, nobody in the world. Again, the Stoics place him without the world, and turning the globe about, like a porter sitting without his wheel. The Platonists place him within the world like a pilot of a ship steering the universal vessel that contains him. In like manner we find these sages at variance about the world itself, whether it was made or unmade, and whether it would dissolve or last for ever. The same disputes we find about the state of the soul, some contending for it to be of a divine immortal nature, and others of a nature corruptible; every one inferring and reforming as the maggot bit. Nor do I wonder to find the philosophic wits play such foul pranks with the Old Testament, when I find some of the same generation among ourselves who have made as bold with the New, and composed a deadly mixture of gospel and opinion, as the same philosophizing vanity led them; and out of one plain road have cut a world of labyrinths and inextricable mazes to confound men in the way of salvation; which therefore I thought proper to advertise you of, that this noted diversity of opinions among Christians should not justify a parallel between us and philosophers, and make men condemn truth itself from the contentions about it. But this in short is my prescription¹ against these adulterers of the faith, to try all their doctrines by the gospel, that rule of truth which came from Christ, and was transmitted by His apostles, that, I say, is the

¹ *Expedite enim prescribimus Adulteris nostris, illam esse Regulam veritatis quæ veniat à Christo transmissa per comites ipsius.* I shall not here enter into the necessary qualifications of a perfect rule of faith, and prove such qualifications to be in Holy Scripture, but observe only, that supposing philosophers to be in the right, yet all their reasonings were but the reasonings of mere men, and therefore fallible. No one system of philosophy then could be collected from their writings (granting all necessary truths to lie scattered amongst them) for a standing authoritative rule in matters of controversy, for such a collection can be of no more authority than the collector, and must want a sanction more than human; for all men have a natural right to reason for themselves, till God determines it by a rule divine: the want of such rule therefore was a great desideratum in the Gentile world; and this was one of the great wants provided for by Christ's coming into the world, who is emphatically said to have brought life and immortality to light through the gospel. The heathens then of old, and the deists at present, vainly object against Christianity the many differences about it; for, says Tertullian, there is an infallible rule transmitted by Christ through His apostles, which we apply to upon all occasions to measure doctrines by, and which is wanting to the philosophers; and therefore all the fundamental differences which arise among Christians do not rise for any fault in the rule but in themselves.

touchstone by which all the different opinions of succeeding teachers is to be proved.

All the arrows¹ that are shot at truth are taken from her own quiver, for the heresies are to look with a gospel face in emulation of divine truth, and the spirits of error have a great stroke in the picture. These are they which suborn men to discolour the doctrines of salvation, and stain them with their own inventions. By the same spiritual wickednesses are fables foisted in, to invalidate the credibility of our religion, or rather to procure this credibility for themselves, that the doctrines of devils being dressed up like truth might have the same veneration with the word of God; so that either a man might disbelieve a Christian, because he disbelieves a poet or a philosopher, or rather conclude he has the greater reason to give credit to a philosopher or a poet, because he cannot find in his heart to believe a Christian. From this sacrilegious mixture it is that we are so ridiculed when we preach about the day of judgment, for in imitation of this the poets and philosophers have their tribunal in the infernal region; and if we threaten them with hell, which is a subterranean treasure of secret fire reserved for the punishment of the wicked, we are hooted at; for thus they ape us too with their *Puriphlegeton*² or burning river among the shades below; and if we mention Paradise,³ a place of

¹ *Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsâ veritate constructa sunt, operantibus emulationem istam spiritibus Erroris.* The Holy Scriptures being confessedly of divine authority, the most effectual way of doing mischief is not to descry them, but to put a crown on their head and a reed in their hands, and to bow before them, and cry, "Hail King of the Jews!" to pretend a mighty deal of reverence to the Scriptures, and then crucify them to their own sense. This was always the way of heretics and designing men, set on foot, says our author, and carried on by the agency of the spirits of darkness. And it is observable that the old serpent took the same course in tempting the second Adam with a text from Scripture; and I know not any author that ever copied closer after the devil in this very thing than the author of the *Rights of the Christian Church*, who, with all the strength of delusion, has done his best to set up the kingdom of darkness, and to unchurch Christendom from Scripture.

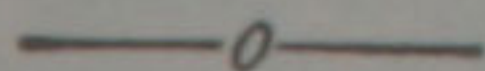
² *Sic enim Pyriphlegeton apud mortuos amnis est.* From the 7th of Daniel and the 10th verse, where it is said that "a fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, and the judgment was set, and the books were opened;" from this passage, I say, Eusebius shows the affinity between Plato and the prophet as to the future judgment, and particularly that the *Puriphlegeton* or burning river in Plato, *πυρὶ ψυχῆς*, is plainly the fiery stream in Daniel. *Vid. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. xi. cap. 58.*

³ *Et si Paradisum nominemus, Locum Divinæ amœnitatis recipiendis Sanctorum spiritibus destinatum, maceris quâdam ignea illius Zonæ segregatum.*

divine pleasure, destined for the reception of the spirits of holy men, and guarded from the notice of the common world by the torrid zone or wall of fire, immediately they trump upon us with their Elysium. From whence now, I pray, had your poets and philosophers these resemblances? Whence, if not from the books of our sacred mysteries? And if they copied from them, then they have the prerogative of antiquity, and consequently are the more credible; since you look upon an original of more authority than the copy. But now, if they were the founders of these inventions, then we must take our religion from them, which is as impossible in

Paradise, says Philo, *de Plaut. Noæ*, p. 171, is *συμβόλον ψυχῆς ὑπὸ πλῆθους καὶ μεγισθους χαρᾶς ἀνασκιρτώσης*, "The representation of a soul exulting for fulness and excess of joy." By Paradise or Abraham's bosom, or Abraham's port, as the Greek word *κόλπος* truly signifies, the primitive Christians understood a place of ease and divine happiness, next to heaven, but not heaven itself, or the perfect fruition of the beatific vision; they were of opinion that the departed souls of just men in general ascended not into heaven till after the resurrection; which Irenæus and Tertullian prove from the example of Christ, to which we must be conformed; for Christ Himself did not ascend into heaven till after His resurrection, but as His body rested in the grave, so His soul went into the place of departed souls, and when He rose again, then He ascended into heaven; and thus, say they, we must do also. Not that they affirmed no souls immediately entered into heaven, for they believed the souls of martyrs did, and this belief seems to have increased the passion so much for martyrdom in that age. Here then the reader is desired to observe, that Tertullian asserts a middle state without a Purgatory, for he asserts Paradise to be a garden of divine pleasure prepared for the refreshment of holy souls till the resurrection; and therefore our author could not possibly imagine it to be a place of torment, to expiate the temporal punishment due to sin, when the eternal punishment is remitted, which is the popish Purgatory, an invention not only against the current doctrine of the Fathers, but highly derogatory to the all-sufficient merits of our crucified Master,—a most discouraging and barbarous representation of the Christian religion, and such a one as had never been framed, had it not been a convenient engine to make a way into the pockets of the people. This Paradise (says our author) is guarded about with a wall of fire, like what the torrid zone is commonly supposed to be, plainly alluding to the cherubim and the flaming sword which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life; hereby intimating, as I conceive, that as Paradise was the blissful seat of man in innocence, so Abraham's bosom or port was such an Eden of happiness for righteous spirits; and as that was guarded from the re-entrance of sinful Adam and his posterity by those ministering spirits, which the psalmist, and after him the author to the Hebrews, calls a flame of fire, so was this blessed mansion of pure souls, this port after the storms of life, secured by the same ministers from the incursion of evil spirits: the devil they knew to be prince of the air, and this lower region to be filled with his legions, who in the opinion of the Fathers stood always ready to seize on a departed soul; and therefore as the soul of Lazarus was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom, so they concluded that every righteous soul in the like manner was conducted in triumph through the dominions of the devil, and lodged in the same port of happiness till the day of judgment.

nature as for a shadow to be before the substance,¹ or the image before the reality.



CHAPTER XLVIII.

CONCERNING THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

LET us now consider a little the different treatment of a philosopher and a Christian. If a philosopher affirms, as Laberius from Pythagoras has done, that after death the soul of a man departs into a mule, and that of a woman into a serpent, and turns all the sails of eloquence to carry this absurd point, shall not he find credit, and harangue some of you into abstinence even from the flesh of animals? And will not many scruple to eat a piece of beef, for fear of eating a piece of their ancestors? But now if a Christian shall affirm that man shall be made man again after death, and Caius rise the very same Caius again, he is in danger of being mobbed, and having all the sticks and stones in the street presently about his ears. But if you can find it reasonable to believe the transmigration of human souls from body to body, why should you think it incredible for the soul to return to the substance it first inhabited? For this is our notion of a resurrection, to be that again after death, which we were before; for, according to the Pythagorean doctrine, these souls now are not the same they were, because they cannot be what they were not without ceasing to be what they were. A man might be very merry upon this subject, had he leisure and inclination to give himself a loose, and hunt

¹ *Nunquam enim corpus Umbra, aut veritatem Imago præcedit.* It was a mighty objection with the heathens, that Christianity was a novel upstart religion, formed out of the corruption of the heathen mythology; but this Tertullian argues to be as impossible as for the shadow to be before the substance, or an imitation before the reality. This very objection we find almost continually in the mouth of Celsus the Epicurean; for, says he, "the building of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues were patched up out of the fable of the Aloidæ in Homer's *Odyssey*; the story of the flood, from Deucalion; Paradise, from Alcinous's gardens; the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, from the story of Phaeton; the folly of which objection Origen answerably demonstrates by showing the far greater antiquity of those relations among the Jews, than of these or any other fables among the Greeks; and therefore the corruption of the tradition must be in them, and not in the Jews." *Vid. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv. pp. 174, 179.*

after all the animals in which all the departed souls from the beginning have taken up their lodgings.

But instead of digressing, I think it of more consequence to establish this doctrine of the resurrection; and we propose it as more agreeable to reason and the dignity of human nature to believe that man will be remade man, and every person after death himself again; so that the soul shall be habited with the same qualities it was invested with in its former union, though the man may receive some alteration in his figure. For certainly the reason of a resurrection is only in order to judgment; and therefore it is necessary that the bodies which have been instrumental to the actions should be the same bodies which are summoned from the grave to judgment, "that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or whether it be evil."

The graves then shall repay the bodies at the day of judgment, because it is not conceivable perhaps how a mere soul should be passible without a union with matter, I mean the flesh; but especially because the divine justice will have souls suffer in the body they have sinned. But perhaps you will ask how the particles of a body dissolved to dust can be made to rally and reunite after such a dissolution? Reflect upon yourself, O man! and in yourself you will find an answer. Consider what you were before you had existence—you were nothing at all; for if you had been a man, you might have remembered something of it. As therefore you may be said to be nothing before you were in being, to just such a nothing will you return again when you cease to be. Why then cannot you be recalled from this second nothing, as you think it, by the same Almighty word which called you from your first? Where now is the wonderful difference in these two cases? You who were not are made to be, and when you shall not be again, God shall make you what you were. Be pleased now, if you can, to solve me the mode of your creation, and then demand the manner of your resurrection. And yet methinks you may easily conceive the possibility of restoring you to a former being, since you were with the same ease made something out of nothing. Is the power of that God to be disputed who raised this universe from nothing, from nothing as it were but the death of privation or pure void, and animated it with that spirit which is the universal life? And He has impressed upon this world for your conviction many testimonials of the human resurrection. For the light which

daily departs rises again with its primitive splendour; and darkness succeeds by equal turns; the stars which leave the world revive; the seasons, when they have finished their course, renew it again; the fruits are consumed and bloom afresh; and that which we sow is not quickened except it die, and by that dissolution rises more fruitful. Thus you see how all things are renewed by corruption, and reformed by dying. And you, O man! did you but understand the nobility of that title, and which you might have understood even from Apollo's oracle, how could you imagine that man, the lord of all these dying and reviving things, should himself die for ever? In what place soever therefore the cord of life is broken, whatsoever element has your body in destroying, in abolishing, in annihilating, it shall deliver up the pledge, and return you whole; for pure nothing is as much at the divine word as His whole creation.

But then, say you, here will be nothing but dying and rising in endless succession. If the Sovereign of the world has ordered it thus, you must have taken your destined turns whether you would or no; but now He has established a resurrection once for all, as He has taught by His Word; that Word or Reason which composed the universe of various elements, and made it a consistent harmonious system by a due temperament of opposite principles, of vacuum and matter, animate and inanimate, comprehensible and incomprehensible, light and darkness, life and death. The same Word who thus made and preserved the world has likewise so pointed and distinguished time, that the first period from the creation shall run out the determined stage of years, but the succeeding space on which all our thoughts are fixed is endless duration. But between these two there is an isthmus or middle term of time,¹ and when this period is over, and the beauty of this

¹ *Cum ergo finis, et limes medius qui interhiat adfuerit*, etc. "Between the conclusion of this world and the commencement of the world eternal there is an isthmus or middle term of time." By which he undoubtedly means the Chiliasm, or thousand years' reign upon earth; for this he maintains in his books *against Marcion*, lib. iii. cap. 23, p. 411. Now this is an error (if it be one) wherein Tertullian stands not alone, but in the good company of Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, Iræneus Bishop of Lyons, Justin Martyr, Nepos, Apollinaris, Victorinus, Lactantius, and Severus Gallus, with many others. But then it is to be remembered that this was an opinion they laid no stress upon, for Justin Martyr confesses, and without any censure, that there were many sincere and devout Christians who did not hold it, and many others also of the same mind with himself, and so leaves it as a matter indifferent. *Vid. Dial. cum Tryphones*, pp. 306, 307, 369. This notion seems to be first set on foot by the forementioned Papias, a very good man but of no great reach, as Eusebius remarks, *Eccl. Hist.*

new world likewise had its season, which is but a goodly curtain between us and eternity, then all human kind shall be restored to life, to answer for their several works, whether they be good or evil; and then consigned over to a state of immense perpetuity; and then death and resurrection shall be no more, but we shall be the same we now are, and the same for ever. The worshippers of God shall be clothed upon with a substance proper for everlasting duration, and fixed in a perpetual union with God; but the profane and the hypocrite shall be doomed to a lake of everflowing fire, and fueled with incorruptibility from the divine indefectible nature of that flame which torments them. Philosophers are not unacquainted with the difference of secret and common fire; the fire which serves for the use of man is quite of another nature from that which ministers to the justice of God; whether it be that which shoots the thunderbolts from heaven, or that which belches from the bowels of mountains, for it burns without consuming, and repairs what it preys upon; the mountains therefore burn, and maintain themselves by burning, and the man who is blasted from heaven is insured from being burnt to ashes; and this may be a testimony of the eternal fire, an emblem of those flames which are decreed to nourish the damned in torment. The mountains burn with perpetual fire, and are mountains still; why, therefore, may not the wicked and the enemies of God burn like these?

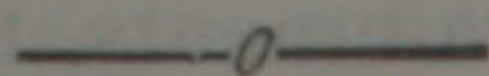
lib. iii. cap. 39, p. 112, who by not seeing into the mystical meaning of the apostle's discourses, ran presently away with it as an apostolical tradition; just perhaps as we find from the misunderstanding of our Saviour's words to St. Peter: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple (namely John) should not die." Now from a doctrine so harmless in itself and consequences, according to the sense of the orthodox (though abused indeed by Corinthus and his followers), recommended by the venerable antiquity of an apostolical person, as Papias was, an opinion that has so much to be said for it from Scripture, from the Revelation especially, as appears by the learned Mr. Mede and others, and which we are freely left to believe or disbelieve at our discretion; is it not, I say, very disingenuous as well as very trifling in Mr. Daillé to argue from hence against the authority of the Fathers? As if their authority was the less valuable in matters of faith wherein they are all unanimous and pressing, and in matters of fact wherein they cannot be mistaken, because, forsooth, in some cases of tradition or reasoning it is possible they may be mistaken, and wherein they expressly declare that it is no matter of consequence if they are.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THAT THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OUGHT NOT TO BE PERSECUTED,
BECAUSE THE WORLD CANNOT BE WELL WITHOUT IT.

THESE things then are decried as groundless whimsy and capricious in us alone ; but in the philosophers and poets who stole them from us are deemed prodigious attainments, the brightest discoveries and noblest flights of human wit ; for the same things, they are the sages and we the simpletons ; they are laden with respect, and we with derision, and what is worse, with punishment. But allowing our tenets to be as false and groundless presumptions as you would have them, yet I must tell you that they are presumptions the world cannot be well without ; if they are follies, they are follies of great use, because the believers of them, who under the dread of eternal pain, and the hope of everlasting pleasure, are under the strongest obligations possible to become the best of men. It can never therefore be a politic expedient to cry down doctrines for false and foolish, which it is every man's interest to presume true ; it is upon no account advisable to condemn opinions so serviceable to the public. You, then, are the presumptuous and impertinent, and not we ; you who rashly adventure to pass sentence against principles so palpably conducing to general good ; however, if you will upbraid our religion with folly and impertinence, yet certainly you can never charge it with mischief to any person breathing ; you can at most but look upon it like abundance of other romances, which by the laws are not penal, and which, though vain and fabulous, are not criminal, but as harmless stories, without accusation or punishment, pass freely among you. For errors of such inoffensive nature at worst should only be condemned to ridicule, and not to fire and sword, gibbets and beasts ; at which savage executions, not only the mob are transported with insolence and cruel satisfaction, but even some of you magistrates pride yourselves in the same barbarities, the better to recommend yourselves to the populace ; as if the whole of your power against us was not dependent upon our own will, and defeatable at pleasure. For instance, I am certainly a Christian because it is my will and pleasure so to be, then you shall condemn me, if I please to be condemned ; and if you could not condemn me if I would not persist in my religion, it is plain your power depends upon my will. In like manner, the people show as much folly as brutishness in rejoicing at the sufferings of Christians ; for these sufferings which give them only a malicious

pleasure, a pleasure they usurp without a title, feed the Christian sufferers with just and substantial comforts, who choose to be condemned rather than to fall from their affiance in God, and the expectations of the other world ; for would these people act consequently who thus hate us, they ought rather to grieve than rejoice at our torments, because these torments put us in possession of our heart's desire.



CHAPTER L.

THE CHRISTIAN TRIUMPH.

WHAT reason then, say you, have we Christians to complain of our sufferings, when we are so fond of persecution ; we ought rather to love those who persecute us so sweetly to our heart's content. It is true, indeed, we are not against suffering, when the Captain of our salvation calls us forth to suffer : but let me tell you, it is with us in our Christian warfare as it is with you in yours, we choose to suffer as you choose to fight ;¹ but no man chooses fighting for fighting sake, because he cannot engage without fear and hazard of life. Yet, nevertheless, when the brave soldier finds he must engage, he battles it with all his power, and if he comes off victorious is full of joy, though just before not without his complaints of a military life, because he has obtained his end, laden with glory, laden with spoil.

Thus it is with Christians we enter into battle, when we are cited to your tribunals, there to combat for truth with the hazard of our

¹ *Plane volumus pati, verum eo more quo et bellum miles, nemo quippe libens patitur.* "We choose to suffer as you choose to fight, but no man chooses fighting for fighting's sake." Some of the blinder and perverser sort of heathens derided the primitive martyrs (as their passive followers since have been) for a sect of besotted, infatuated fellows, who did neither know nor feel what it was they underwent. But our author tells them that the flesh and blood of Christians was like other folks, that they understood natural rights and liberties, had the same aversion to suffering, the same passion for preservation and pleasure that the heathens had ; and whereas they alone were the people who seemed to have forgot humanity, by their enduring the most exquisite torments not only with patience, but with joy and thanksgiving, yet this was far from the effect of any stoical apathy, but purely the strength of their faith, which overcame the reluctance of nature, the sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, which enabled them to despise the life present, and that light affliction which is but for a moment, and which worketh for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

life. To set up truth is our victory, and the victor's glory is to please his God, and the precious spoil of that victory is eternal life; and this life we certainly win by dying for it, therefore we conquer when we are killed, and being killed are out of the reach of you and all other vexations for ever.

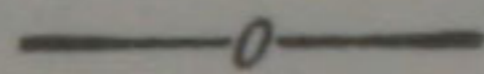
Give us now what names you please from the instruments of cruelty you torture us by; call us Sarmenticians and Semaxians, because you fasten us to trunks of trees, and stick us about with faggots to set us on fire;¹ yet let me tell you, when we are thus begirt and dressed about with fire, we are then in our most illustrious apparel. These are our victorious palms and robes of glory, and mounted upon our funeral pile we look upon ourselves in our triumphal chariot. No wonder then such passive heroes please not those they vanquish with such conquering sufferings; and therefore we pass for men of despair, and violently bent upon our own destruction. However, that which you are pleased to call madness and despair in us are the very actions which under virtue's standard lift up your sons of fame and glory, and emblazon them to future ages. Thus Mutius Scævola immortalized himself

¹ *Hæc Palmata vestis*, etc. This among the Romans was the triumphal robe, all over embroidered with palm branches in token of victory. A Christian then, says Tertullian, never thinks himself so fine, never so illustrious as at the stake, with fire and faggot about him; he then is in his triumphal chariot going to heaven in state. Eusebius tells us it was a most charming sight to behold the martyrs in prison, to see how their misery became them, how they adorned their fetters, and that they looked as captivating in chains as a bride in all her glories at the day of marriage. *Vid. Eus. Hist. Ecc. lib. v. cap. 1, p. 160.* So far were they from complaining of providence, that they blessed God the more for the honour of suffering, and gave thanks to their judges for condemning them; so far from being ashamed of their bonds, that they gloried in them, and therefore we find that Babylas the martyr ordered the chains he wore in prison to be buried with him. *Vid. Chrys. l. de S. Bab. tom. i. p. 669.* Here then we see a Christian triumph, the true spirit of the first ages, nor would I interpose any cold criticisms on this last and most excellent chapter, that my reader might not be interrupted, but go off with a full impression, with all the fire and devotion of the writer; for in the Bishop of Sarum's words, "I confess there is no piece of story I read with so much pleasure as the accounts that are given of these martyrs, for methinks they leave a fervour upon my mind, which I meet with in no study, that of the Scriptures being only excepted." I conclude all with that admirable collect of our own Church upon the festival of St. Stephen, so exactly conformable to the primitive spirit, "Grant, O Lord, that in all our sufferings here upon earth for the testimony of Thy truth, we may stedfastly look up to heaven, and by faith behold the glory that shall be revealed, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, may learn to love and bless our persecutors, by the example of Thy first martyr St. Stephen, who prayed for his murderers to Thee, O blessed Jesus, who standeth at the right hand of God to succour all those that suffer for Thee, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen. Amen."

by voluntarily sacrificing his right hand to the flames for mistaking the enemy. O exaltation of mind! Empedocles offered his whole self to the flames of *Ætna* near *Catana*; O vigour of soul! the foundress of *Carthage* bequeathed herself to the fire, to avoid a second marriage; O monument of chastity! *Regulus* not willing to put his country to the expense of redeeming himself alone, with the liberty of many enemies, chose to go back and suffer all the torments they could inflict upon every part of his body; O brave *Regulus*, in captivity conqueror! *Anaxarchus* while the executioner was pounding him like barley in a mill; Pound on, pound on, says he, for you pound not *Anaxarchus* but his budget. O notable magnanimity of the philosopher, who had presence of mind enough to pun while he was pounding! I mention not those who seem to have contracted for praise at the price of cutting their own throats, or despatching themselves by some sweeter method; for lo! you crown as meritorious even a mere spiteful contention for degrees of torture: for a strumpet of *Athens* having quite tired out her executioner, at length, to her immortal honour, bit off her tongue, and spit it in the tyrant's face, that so she might put it out of her power to discover the conspirators should the torments chance to get the better of her resolution. *Zeno Eleates* being demanded by *Dionysius* the use of philosophy, told him it was to raise men to a contempt of death, and by the tyrant's order was whipped to death for an experiment, and ratified his doctrine with his blood. The *Lacedæmonian* method, of enuring their people to hardness, is to put them into a course of scourging, and to double their discipline in the presence of any of their friends, who read the scholars a lecture of patience while they are under the lash; and every scholar carried home a quantity of honour, according to the quantity of blood he left behind him. O true glory, because of human stamp and fashion! not one of all these contemners of death and cruelty in its several shapes have had their actions sullied with the imputation of despair and madness. A man shall suffer with honour for his country, for the empire, for a friend, what he is not tolerated to suffer for his God. Strange! that you should look upon the patience of Christians as such an inglorious thing, and yet for the persons aforesaid cast statues, and adorn figures with inscriptions and magnificent titles, to perpetuate the memory of their actions to eternity, to such an eternity as monuments can bestow; and by this means give them a kind of resurrection from the dead. On the contrary, he who expects a real resurrection, and in hopes of this suffers for the word of God, shall pass among you for a sot and a madman.

And now, O worshipful judges, go on with your show of justice, and, believe me, you will be juster and juster still in the opinion of the people, the oftener you make them a sacrifice of Christians. Crucify, torture, condemn, grind us all to powder if you can; your injustice is an illustrious proof of our innocence, and for the proof of this it is that God permits us to suffer; and by your late condemnation of a Christian woman to the lust of a pander, rather than the rage of a lion, you notoriously confess that such a pollution is more abhorred by a Christian than all the torments and deaths you can heap upon her. But do your worst, and rack your inventions for tortures for Christians—it is all to no purpose; you do but attract the world, and make it fall the more in love with our religion; the more you mow us down, the thicker we rise; the Christian blood you spill is like the seed you sow, it springs from the earth again, and fructifies the more. Many of your philosophers have set themselves to write the world into patience and a contempt of death, as Cicero in his Tusculan questions, Seneca in his remedies against accidents, Diogenes, Pyrrhon, and Callinicus; but their pompous glitter of words has not made the tithe of disciples that our lives have done. That which you reproach in us as stubbornness has been the most instructing mistress in proselyting the world; for who has not been struck at the sight of that you call stubbornness, and from thence pushed on to look into the reality and reason of it? And who ever looked well into our religion but came over to it? And who ever came over, but was ready to suffer for it, to purchase the favour of God, and obtain the pardon of all his sins, though at the price of his blood? for martyrdom is sure of mercy. For this reason it is that we thank you for condemning us, because there is such a blessed emulation and discord between the divine and human judgment, that when you condemn us upon earth, God absolves us in heaven.

THE
CONVERSATION OF THE
EMPEROR MARCUS ANTONINUS:
A DISCOURSE WITH HIMSELF.



BOOK I.

I. THE example of my grandfather Verus gave me the advantage of a candid and dispassionate temper.

II. By the recollection of my father's character I learned to be both modest and manly.

III. As for my mother, she taught me to have a regard for religion, to be generous and open-handed, and not only to forbear doing anybody an ill turn, but not so much as to endure the thought of it. By her likewise I was bred to a plain, inexpensive way of living, and very different from the common luxury and liberties of young people of my quality.

IV. I am to thank my great grandfather¹ for not running the risk of a public education, for providing me good masters at home, and making me sensible that I ought to return them a large and honourable acknowledgment.

V. From my governor I learned not to overvalue the diversions of the race-ground and amphitheatre, nor to dote upon the liveries and distinctions of jockeys and gladiators. He taught me also to

¹ Catilius Severus.

put my own hand to business on occasion, to endure hardship and fatigues, and to throw the necessities of nature into a little compass. That I ought not to meddle with other people's matters, nor be easy in giving credit to informers.

VI. Diognetus gave me the hint not to keep quails for the pit,¹ or bestow my pains and inclination upon trifles. Not to be led away with the impostures of wizards and figure-flingers, who pretend they can discharge evil spirits, and do strange feats by the strength of a charm. This Diognetus helped me to the faculty of bearing freedom and plain dealing in others; brought me to relish philosophy, and apply myself to it; and procured me the instruction of those celebrated men, Bacchius, Tandacides, and Marcianus. He likewise put me upon improving myself, by writing dialogues when I was a boy; prevailed with me to prefer a couch covered with hides to a bed of state; and reconciled me to other resembling rigours of the Stoic discipline.

VII. It was Rusticus² that first set me upon correcting my humour, and bringing it to a better state; who prevented me from running into the vanity of the sophists, either by writing pretendedly upon learning and life, haranguing upon moral subjects, or making a fantastical appearance of being mightily taken up with exercises, discipline, and business. This philosopher kept me from being smitten with the charms of rhetoric and poetry, from affecting the character of a man of pleasantry, or the dress and mien of a beau, or anything of this kind, which looks like conceit and affectation. He taught me to write letters in a plain, unornamented style, like that dated from Sinuessa to my mother. By his instructions I was persuaded to be easily reconciled to those who had misbehaved themselves and disobliged me. And of the same master I learned to read an author carefully; not to take up with a superficial view, or resign to every noisy impertinent, but to look through the argument, and go to the bottom of the matter. And to conclude with him, he procured me a copy of Epictetus's works.

VIII. Apollonius³ taught me to give my mind its due freedom, and disengage it from dependence upon chance; and furnished me with such precepts for steadiness and ballast, as not to float in uncertainties, or be at a loss about design or event; nor so much

¹ Quail-fighting amongst the ancients, like cock-fighting with us.

² A Stoic philosopher.

³ Most probably a Stoic philosopher.

as to look towards anything uncountenanced by reason and truth. To maintain an equality of temper under trying circumstances, such as tedious sickness, acute pains, and loss of children. To give him his due, his practice was a handsome instance that a man may be master of his own behaviour, that he may be earnest and easy, force and unbend his humour as occasion requires. To go on with him. The heaviness and impertinence of his scholars could seldom throw him off the hooks. And as for his learning, and the peculiar happiness of his manner in teaching, he was so far from being smitten with himself upon this score, that one might easily perceive, he thought it one of the least things which belonged to him. This great man let me into the true secret of managing an obligation, without either lessening myself, or being ungrateful to my friend.

IX. The philosopher Sextus recommended good humour to me, and to make nature and reason my rule to live by. He also gave me to understand that good usage and authority were not inconsistent, but that a family might be governed with the tenderness and concern of a parent. By his precedent I was instructed to appear with an unaffected gravity, to study the temper and circumstances of my friends, in order to oblige them; to bear with the ignorant and unthinking; to be complaisant and obliging to all people, even up to the smoothness of flattery; and yet at the same time not to suffer in one's quality, or grow a jot the cheaper for it. Conversing with this philosopher put me in a way how to draw up a true, intelligible, and methodical scheme for life and manners; and never so much as to show the least sign of anger, or any other disturbing thought; but to be perfectly calm and indifferent, yet not in the latitude of letting my fancy stand neuter, and be unconcerned for the advantage of others. However, he let me see in himself that a man might show his goodwill significantly enough, without noise and transport, and likewise be very knowing on this side vanity and ostentation.

X. Alexander the grammarian taught me not to be ruggedly critical about words, nor fall foul upon people for improprieties of phrase or pronunciation; but to set them right, by speaking the thing properly myself, and that either by way of answer, assent, or inquiry, or by some such other remote and gentlemanly correction.

XI. Fronto, my rhetoric master, obliged me with the knowledge of men. For the purpose; that envy, tricking, and dissimulation

are the character and consequences of tyranny; and that those we call top quality have commonly not much of nature in them.

XII. Alexander the Platonist advised me, that without necessity I should never pretend not to be at leisure to assist a friend, nor make business an excuse to decline the offices of humanity.

XIII. I learned of Catullus¹ not to slight a friend for making a remonstrance, though it should happen to be unreasonable, but rather to retrieve his temper, and make him easy. That, like Domitius and Athenodotus, I should never be backward to give an honourable character of those who had the care of my education; and that I should always preserve a hearty affection for my children, without any little jealousies of being supplanted or overtopped by them.

XIV. I am indebted to Severus for the due regard I have for my family and relations, and for keeping this inclination from growing too strong for justice and truth. He likewise made me acquainted with the character and sentiments of those celebrated patriots and philosophers, Cato, Brutus, Thraseas, Helvidius, and Dio; and gave me the idea of a commonwealth, in which the general interest was considered, without preference or partiality in the constitution; and also of a monarchy, where the liberty of the subject was principally regarded. To mention some more of my obligations to him. It was of him I learned not to grow wise by starts and broken fancies, but to be a constant admirer of philosophy and improvements; that a man ought to be generous and obliging; hope the best of matters, and never question the affection of his friends; to be free in showing a reasonable dislike of another, and no less clear in his own expectations and desires, and not to put his friends to the trouble of divining what he would be at.

XV. The proficiency I made under Maximus² was to command myself, and not to be overborne with any impotency of passion or surprise; to be full of spirits under sickness and misfortune; to appear with modesty, obligingness, and dignity of behaviour; to turn off business smoothly as it rises, without drudging and complaint. By observing the practice of this Maximus I came to understand a man might manage himself so as to satisfy the world,

¹ A Stoic philosopher.

² Another Stoic philosopher.